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Urban Crime Prevention

Multi-disciplinary Approaches

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Editor

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Preface

The main keyword of this book, as its title implies, is “multidisciplinarity”, namely in the field of urban crime prevention. The Oxford Dictionary describes a multi-disciplinary approach as something “combining or involving several academic disciplines or professional specializations in an approach to a topic or problem”. Indeed, urban crime prevention is an inter—or trans-disciplinary field; i.e. it relates “to more than one branch of knowledge”. This is because the occurrence of crime (the why, the how, the when, the where) is an intricate and complex phenomenon that has never been explained, understood or interpreted in its entirety. Consequently, distinct or overlapping theories, methodologies and practical ways to mitigate or prevent crime have been put forward, applied, studied and combined by various scientific areas, or even by the same field.

For example, within Criminology—which Jeffery (1978) once called an “inter-disciplinary behavioural science”—traditional approaches often focused on the individual (“the offender”) and on why crimes are committed, whereas environmental criminology approaches have explored the relationship with the surrounding morphological/geographical environment. Both approaches have given important contributions to urban crime prevention, but so have others associated with social sciences such as policing, sociology, psychology, urban planning, geography, architecture, landscape architecture or urban and product design. This does not mean that some approaches are more valid or effective than others. It just means that, as the concept of urban crime prevention has several rationales, it is by definition multi-disciplinary. Not one solution, of a given field, has fitted all crime prevention conundrums. But a common approach has recognizingly helped steer towards safer cities and neighbourhoods.

Over the past two decades, environmental criminology principles have been increasingly acknowledged in research and practice (see reviews in Andresen 2014; Weisburd et al. 2016; Wortley and Townsley 2016), as well in the most important strategies for prevention and quality of life. Consequently, the importance of multi-disciplinary and multi-level approaches in urban crime prevention has been noted. The recent Oxford Handbook of Criminology (Liebling et al. 2017) recalls David Garland’s words that the essence of modern crime prevention includes “terms

such as ‘partnership’, ‘inter-agency cooperation’ or ‘multi-agency approach’”. UN’s Handbook on the Crime Prevention Guidelines (UNODC 2010) calls partnerships a “challenging but important component” where key partners such as the police or urban planners need to be actively integrated into prevention strategies. Several EU Council Reports (11298/12; 8933/18) have emphasized that “multi-disciplinary approaches” are paramount in addressing Europe’s crime prevention priorities. And very recently, the Urban Agenda Partnership Security in Public Spaces Action Plan (PSPS 2021) discusses the multifaceted aspects of security and the increasing role of multiple stakeholders, as collaboration between all level of governance needs to be strengthened towards a “co-production of security”.

Consequently, multi-disciplinary and integrated approaches are seen today as a crucial component for the success of urban crime prevention and community-based strategies. In various urban areas around the world, collaborative arrangements in research and practice have been devised between police, academic researchers (of various fields), administrative and civil society bodies, local or non-governmental associations, youth organizations, the private sector, regulatory authorities and, of course, the community at large. These multi-level, multi-domain and multi-agency partnerships have identified and tackled relevant urban challenges, thus helping to establish new research paths, new mechanisms and institutional frameworks or, more directly, new design and implementation strategies that activate local action and help reduce feelings of insecurity and increase prevention.

However, recent literature on urban and community crime prevention, stemming from an environmental criminology perspective, has not yet sufficiently emphasized and discussed such examples, except in some cases with a specific geographical or sectorial context (e.g. housing planning; police procedures). Although multidisciplinary has often been implied as an intrinsic part of the models presented, discussion on how actors from different fields and spheres connect in the urban landscape, how they gain from sharing knowledge and information and how they act together in research, planning and in implementing solutions, seems to have eluded recent publications. As far as this editor is aware, no recent book has collected a comprehensive, worldwide review of experiences of multidisciplinary in urban crime prevention, ranging from theoretical frameworks, to education, to research and empirical partnerships. This has been the main inspiration and stepping stone for this book. That these interconnections are changing the panorama of *Urban Crime Prevention* and are crucial to understand the pathways of current research and in the implementation of successful solutions. Consequently, they need to be shared.

Multidisciplinary can take different forms, associated with wide-ranging nature of fields that need to interact for crime prevention, and necessarily shift according to the specificities of local challenges. As UN’s Handbook on the Crime Prevention Guidelines (UNODC 2010) says: “Experience over many years has shown that working in partnerships is not simple. Partnerships can be time-consuming and frustrating”. Because, as the Urban Agenda Action Plan (PSPS 2021) adds, working methods need to be adapted to share information and reinforce cooperation (and consequently transparency and accountability). Hence, it is important to understand and discuss how a multi-disciplinary approach works best: how different priorities

are managed; how actors align their complementary (and sometimes conflicting) perspectives and contributions in each stage of the working process; how different types of tools, data and activities are used, crossed and coordinated; how participation in the decision-making process is managed; and ultimately how partnerships are widened, stimulated and strengthened to tackle the implementation and monitoring of preventive programmes. This sharing of knowledge and experiences is much needed in current times, in pandemic and post-pandemic era, where many local partnerships have often been physically disconnected, and new strategies and solutions need to be devised to face old and new challenges of urban safety and insecurity.

Therefore, *Urban Crime Prevention: Multi-disciplinary Approaches* has, as a main objective, to present a collection of scientific papers and essays that brings these experiences to the foreground. It is aimed to contribute to crime, planning and urban studies, by cross-cutting several fields (including policing, sociology, geography and arts) and by presenting and discussing theoretical and academic challenges, research experiences and real-life cases and applications. Nonetheless, this book also sought to present and disseminate lessons learned from less known, yet innovative and decisive, local approaches from various countries in several continents. The common ground that links together the more global and the more local experiences narrated in the book is always the notion of several areas of expertise working together, be it in theory or policy development, in education, in planning, in research or in practice, for achieving the goal of safer cities and safer urban spaces. This has been, precisely, the division taken by this book.

Written during 2021 through successive lockdown and reopening periods caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, this book thus presents 14 chapters by 24 authors from nine countries around the world, namely Austria, Chile, Colombia, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the USA. The multi-disciplinary nature is implicit, with authors possessing academic, administration or police backgrounds from several fields of expertise as criminology, policing, sociology, urban planning, geography, architecture and even urban art. Most have also been associated with theoretical breakthroughs, cutting-edge research, empirical applications, and recognized international experiences in associations such as International CPTED Association (ICA) or funded research projects such as the CPTED Cost Action, Erasmus+ SWAPOL or H2020 projects CCI—Cutting Crime Impact and TRANSGANG. Chapters have been divided into three parts.

In the *Multi-disciplinarity in Theory and Education* part, Francesc Guillén opens the discussion by, precisely, establishing security as a plural concept, pertaining to multiple disciplines and actors that go beyond the traditional conception of the state—through police—as the exclusive provider of security. The author debates how multiple actors should integrate and cooperate in a new model of security co-production, what are their legitimacies and shared responsibilities. Then, Gregory Saville and Mateja Mihnjac discuss the (multi-disciplinary) evolution of CPTED—Crime Prevention through Environmental Design. The authors present the most recent conceptualization of CPTED, which they dub the third generation. This is

considered to be a holistic model developed by those whom they refer to as “integrationists” because it integrates planning, crime prevention and neighbourhood liveability principles, through four main sustainability strategies.

This is followed by Günter Stummvoll’s discussion on how two different professional groups whose radius of action overlaps, social workers and police officers, should and can work together. Framed in the presentation of an innovative five-day interdisciplinary training scheme named SWAPOL, the author discusses the importance of multi-disciplinary education as a way to move across occupational boundaries and to understand each other’s functions, responsibilities and work ethics. To end the first part, Paula Guerra looks at how youth cultures have been a recurring topic of research at the interdisciplinary intersection of urban, social and crime and insecurity studies. Then, the author dwells on how arts-based research can be a very important catalyst to help move beyond classist approaches towards a new paradigm of urban prevention and social cohesion, especially concerning young Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEETs).

The part *Multi-disciplinarity in Policy and Planning* starts with Paul van Soomeren’s account of the history of (again, inherently multi-disciplinary) standardization processes in urban crime prevention, particularly in Europe, leading up to the recent publication of the worldwide ISO 22341:2021, named security and resilience—protective security—guidelines for crime prevention through environmental design. The author emphasizes the difficulty in reaching a consensus between the partners, who all speak different professional language, but how such a consensus is crucial for successful implementation. The remaining chapters in this part deal with country, regional, and municipal processes for establishing partnerships between various areas of expertise. Ana Amante and Miguel Saraiva start by describing the mechanisms for implementing local safety contracts, a multi-level and multi-disciplinary instrument for crime prevention in Portugal, which generated from the institutional cooperation between the central and local administrations, partnering with local security organizations, local entities and communities.

Then, Anke Schröder et al. present the Centre of Competence for Urban Security (KURBAS) in the Lower Saxony region of Germany, that recognizes urban security as a diverse and trans-disciplinary approach, which requires the contribution of multiple actors. The authors discuss how KURBAS has bridged the gap between theoretical basic research and practical application and how that influences the creation of master plans. For the same region, Herbert Schubert describes the Security partnership in urban planning, an interdisciplinary working group which influences planning and construction for crime prevention. This group has moved towards the “safe quarter” as a new basic urban unit of intervention, in which all relevant technical issues and interests are weighed up and coordinated spatially, cross-sectorally and temporally.

Finally, in the *Multi-disciplinary in Research and Practice* part, Saraiva et al. start by introducing the importance that geospatial technologies can have in place-based decision support, as places possess multidimensional characteristics that can be important predictors of the spatial distribution of crime and insecurity. The authors present how a partnership between university and police resulted in the first-time georeferencing of space-time crime patterns at the micro-scale in Porto,

in Portugal. Then, these are understood in relation to the morphological, functional, socio-economic and perceptual profiles of the city, using spatial statistical and data mining tools.

Both Gian Guido Nobili and Melissa Valdez López move deeper into the inner-city local scale, whilst adding subjective components of perceptions of insecurity and fear that also possess a spatial dimension. Nobili presents and discusses a survey on perception of safety, combined with an innovative Geographical Information System approach, using direct observation and subjective perceptions, applied to assess and monitor the level of local disorder and urban decay. Feelings of insecurity appear to be less correlated to actual experience of victimization and more to social and spatial conditions associated with the presence of such “incivilities”. López presents a case study in the Puente Alto district, in Chile, arguing that multi-disciplinary connections are needed between environmental psychology, architecture and urban planning. The author uses mapping, photographing and interviewing techniques to identify configuration variables and urban elements, whilst discussing how fear affects community cohesion, the disintegration of neighbourhoods and the appearance of crime. Next, Macarena Rau Vargas focuses specifically on the history of CPTED evolution and initiatives in various countries in Latin America, including the inspiring Cloud of Dreams, an instrument successful in mediating and analysing the perception of the urban insecurity in children. The most recent projects in Latin America are framed within the launch of the already discussed ISO Standard and the most recent ICA Umbrellas initiatives.

In the concluding chapters, Paula Guerra et al. first look specifically at how planners, sociologists and other members of local organizations can work together with artists such as artists or musicians to develop arts-based research in action initiatives particularly aimed at the social inclusion of NEET. This discussion is framed with a case study example of a workshop in the social neighbourhood of Cerco, in Portugal, carried out during the pandemic. Finally, to end the book, Carles Feixa et al. continue this theme by showing how an art and culture centre in Colombia, Casa Kolacho, became an international benchmark and offered, through hip hop, an alternative way of life and a powerful weapon against violence. This narrative comes to life in a different format, with the first person vivid descriptions of Jeihhco, one of the driving forces behind Casa Kolacho, a rapper and cultural animator who also became, in his own words, an “educator, peace manager, a community leader”.

It is proof that the goal for creating safe, secure and livable environments is shared by multiple persons, in various levels of society and from various professional and personal backgrounds. Although distinct, both in narrative form and in content, in common these chapters hopefully show that multi-disciplinary approaches in planning and prevention are greatly needed, as the pathways towards integration and safety are entwined with those leading to greater cohesion, quality of life, and the reduction of urban and social vulnerabilities.

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Lastly, I would like to acknowledge all the anonymous reviewers who have contributed to increase the quality of the chapters here presented.

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Part I
Multi-disciplinarity in Theory
and Education

Chapter 1

Plural Security: Diverse Disciplines, Multiple Actors



Francesc Guillén Lasierra

Abstract The idea of security being an area of the unique competence of Police has always been a fallacy. The Hobbesian idea of the state monopoly of security has also been a myth. It has always been other actors coproducing security (or normative) with the state. Landlords and large companies have always procured security for their possessions and facilities, but even social institutions as the school, the church or the family have played an important role in monitoring people's conducts. Dynamics of modern societies with the fading or institutional social controls in a world with individual rights as a centre and an extremely high mobility make Police and the state unable to keep even the appearance of guaranteeing security by themselves. Several actors, public and private ones, are called to co-operate in order to provide with a sustainable security. This reality has a lot of implications. The kind of contribution of each actor should be coherent with the legal powers they have and what they can provide with. Legitimation of every actor does not come from the same source, since they have different interests: who should watch over the general one and lead the process? Getting an answer to that requires thorough analysis.

Keywords State monopoly · Transversal security · Legitimation · Public/private interest · Plural policing

1.1 The Illusion of the Almighty State: The Police (and the Army)

What we know as state (some call it “modern state”) has had as a preeminent quality the fact of holding an irresistible power, the highest power over the territory. Most

Although the concept used in Anglo-Saxon countries is “plural policing”, “plural security” provides with more clues about what's in. Furthermore, in non-Anglo-Saxon countries makes much more sense.

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authors have followed Hobbes' postulates (1651/1980) that justify this political structure by the fact of being able to make all people under its power follow its provisions (Shearing and Wood 2011). The only entity capable of avoiding the war of everybody against everybody, which was supposed to be the natural human tendency (Hobbes 1651/1980), although, in fact, previously to the state, security was assumed collectively (Baker 2008) in a much more stable and quiet scenario. The large and relatively fast process of urbanisation and industrialisation required more formal structures, strong and institutionalised. The old system could not cope with the new forms of crime and the quite frequent riots. This *absolute* power, or the *benign giant*, as some call it (Holley and Shearing 2017) was supposed to guarantee the safety of people within its territory, being able to tackle the new challenges. For this idea of state "the protection of its people from internal and external threats stands consequently as the first and defining priority of Government" (Loader and Walker 2007, Position No. 160). If it did not succeed, people had the right of rebellion. However, this almighty power of the state constituted not only a guarantee of security of individuals, but also a threat to it (Loader and Walker 2007, Position No. 160). Although, progressively, the absolute character of this power was being modulated towards an idea of check and balances and an area of freedom for citizens, the idea of the state as a structure capable of keeping safe its citizens was held as the main function of it (Shearing and Wood 2011), despite the shadows of unease that excessive state power had caused (Shearing and Wood 2011). Even under the theoretical rule of law, every time that there is a threat that is considered beyond *normality*, the idea of recovering that almighty power with scarce limits to its actions is back there. In this point, it is as if security cannot coexist with freedoms and only could be guaranteed by an unlimited power. It comes from both sides. First of all, politicians that raise that fear speech in order not only to get the attention of the most fearful ones, but to reduce notably the public scrutiny of their actions. Secondly, there is a notable sector of the public that, before serious attacks to societal life, tend to demand very severe measures, with high level of right's restrictions as if it was a solution for something.

If security is supposed to be a fundamental state function, then the main actors should be the Police and, collaterally, depending on the contexts and the circumstances, the Army. A clear evidence of that is that in English the term "security" has not had a great presence in this area of, let us say, *internal security*. The most used word has been "policing", in the assumption that security is what Police provide with. If you compare texts in English with texts in Spanish, French, Italian or German, you will notice that the correct interpretation of "policing" in those languages should be "security" (Guillén 2016).

Actually, we may well add the criminal justice system in which Police is one of the relevant actors, as concerned with security (or with crime). As soon as a crisis concerning security raises, the Police (in particular situations the Army too) and the criminal justice system are supposed to do something: being tougher, better equipped, new conducts established as crime, tougher penalties, etc. The Police were (even now they are) in charge of preventing children from school's absenteeism, because it was not considered as a social problem with several influencing actors but as the violation of a legal duty (children should be at school). So, it was a matter of policing, had

the Police resources and capacity to maintain it or not. If children had to work at an early age in order to support the mean salaries that their parents got, it was not a matter of security, not a matter of policing (obviously it is not) or a matter of the state. Security should be withheld by preventing the evil to break legal provisions, and it was a Police matter. So, Police were the first immediate mechanism to prevent school absenteeism.

1.2 Evolution of the Concept of Security

A core fact that affected the measures to be taken to maintain security was the evolution of what was considered as “security”. First of all, it was the physical security, the prevention of being physically attacked, robbed, injured or damaged in any way. This protection could be carried out by using any coercive means, and there were no limits to state intervention in order to guarantee citizen’s security. Gradually, this lack of control was also considered as an insecurity factor: if the state could use any means to guarantee your security, it could also affect your expectations about what the state should provide you with. So, for instance, the state could force you to stay at home or prevent you from doing no matter what activity and use coercion to enforce it. Consequently, “security” should include clear expectations about what the state could do (or not do) with you. It is important because “expectations” are not physical, but psychological. That change paved the way to a new concept of security where the personal and social factors started to be relevant, although it would take quite long to be assumed and conceptualised. So, to counteract this uncertainty, guarantees about what the state could do (and how) with its citizens were established. From then on, security included a framework in which the state should move in order to protect you from evil. It is true that, as abovementioned, before exceptional (negative) circumstances people have tended to accept state intervention outside of this regulated framework, bringing back some uncertainty about what you can expect from the state (Guantanamo is a paramount example). However, conceptually speaking, the need of this predictability has not been denied. Furthermore, unfairness of public actors (especially Police) has been a cause of insecurity, fear and public turmoil till now. Discriminatory and violent Police behaviour with members of minorities has constituted a true cause of fear among African Americans, emigrants from Latin America, Africa or Asia in Western countries. The very recent outbreak of the *black lives matter* movement has put on the table how biased and unfair state agent’s interventions may cause panic among the concerned public.

Some additional light about the true contents of security was brought up by crime victimisation surveys. In the second half of the twentieth century, both the American (Moore et al. 2019) and, afterwards, the British Crime Victimisation surveys showed how what people mentioned that made them feel unsafe were not always crime or direct attacks against them or their properties or rights (Guillén 2018; Killias 2010). Those surveys (and later all those that followed them everywhere) evidenced that people, quite often, felt unsafe when they faced what we could call “disordered

spaces”. Dirty places, with lack of light, or with no visibility from neighbour spaces, unknown people on the beat, noise, kids playing in places not thought for that or people drinking, singing or prowling, were mentioned by interviewees more often as cause of insecurity rather than serious crimes. Even interviewees manifested that they modified their conducts because of those circumstances, not carrying out activities that they had liked to do or taking protective measures despite of the fact that those mentioned circumstances might not imply any true risk for them (Guillén 2021).

This evidence shattered the traditional idea of tackling insecurity by the Police and the criminal justice system. The facts that people mentioned as cause of their insecurity could not, in most cases, be solved by Police or magistrate’s actions. The solution required the participation of several public and, sometimes, private actors. This reality facilitated the raising of new approaches to security that included multiple actors, with expertise in the perspectives to be taken into account, and the actions to be carried out. Maybe one of the best known perspective was the movement “Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design”, that at the beginning was quite centred in the urban design and, later on, included people, participation and the facilitation of certain urban activities that could foster conviviality and the peaceful use of public spaces (Van Soomeren 2001). The well-known Bonnemaison report in France¹ or the setting up of the European Forum for Urban Security advocated to build up more transversal and comprehensive responses to insecurity in cities. Very recently, even the current security approach in New York, as it will be mentioned later on, focuses primarily in substituting the former CompStat (based on Police crime statistics) by a NeighbourhoodStat (based on support networks established at the level of neighbourhood). It acknowledges that the increase of crime in the last third of the twentieth century in New York coincided with a period of growing unemployment, degradation of the middle class, concentrated poverty and reduction of social services (Glazer and Sharkey 2021).

This need to tackle the grounds that facilitate insecurity or crime is already a quite spread idea among the population. A survey carried out in the French city of Rennes at the beginning of 2021² has shown that the 77% of interviewees think that in order to combat insecurity it is necessary to reduce poverty and inequality. The 53% of respondents think that people in the most precarious situation are those with higher exposition to insecurity, and *only* the 47% think that security problems require mainly a repressive response. Concerning what the respondents consider to be the most serious challenges to be dealt with, 54% answer that it is the fight against poverty and precariousness, 53% answer that it is environment protection and climatic change, and 52% affirm that it is security. At the same time, when interviewees are asked for the reasons why insecurity grows in the city, 26% of them affirm that it is due to media reports, social networks information and stories been told

¹ Vid. <https://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/var/storage/rapports-publics/834037801.pdf>.

² Vid. https://metropole.rennes.fr/sites/default/files/inline-files/R7974%20VILLE%20DE%20RENNES%20Livre%20blanc%20de%20la%20s%C3%A9curit%C3%A9%20-%20R%C3%A9sultats%20de%20l'enqu%C3%AAt%20aupr%C3%A8s%20des%20Rennais-%20Mars%202021%20PRESENTATION%20ATELIER_0.pdf.

mouth to ear. So, although there is still a tendency to link insecurity with repressive measures, the idea of insecurity as a result of social disparities has even a slightly wider presence among interviewees. However, Kübler and de Maillard (2020) show us, with the results of their survey to mayors, that there is still a not negligible number of them that think that the repressive response (Police and criminal justice) is the most efficient to maintain and restore security.

1.3 The Deceit of State Monopoly of Security. The Myth of the Hobbesian Idea. The Paradox of Zero Tolerance Policing

It was obvious that even in the *old times*, when allegedly the state was the only and capable actor to guarantee security, family, religion, schools and social informal control played an estimable role. Parents and elder relatives, priests, teachers and neighbours took an active role in preventing and repressing deviated conducts through different ways. Punishments in and out home by those actors were quite common. Parents and teachers could even use physical punishment to prevent and repress deviation. However, the official speech never attributed them a role in keeping society safe. The idea of security being an area of the unique competence of Police has always been a widely accepted fallacy. Security is depending on such a wide array of factors that it is evident that other disciplines should be involved in maintaining it. There have always been other actors coproducing security (or normative behaviour in the wide sense) with the state (Baker 2008; Zender 2006). Landlords and large companies have always procured security for their possessions and facilities, but even social institutions as the school, the church or the family have played an important role in monitoring people conducts, making order more feasible. Some professionals have also been charged with formal security responsibilities (teachers, doctors, jewellery vendors, precursors vendors, etc.), and the number is still widening (in some countries, hotels and accommodation resorts should keep a register of the people that stay in their facilities and share it with the Police). Shearing and Wood (2011) call it *enlistment* of private actors to work on behalf of the state. For instance, currently, if a woman or a child goes to the medical service with injuries of dubious origin, it should be reported to the Police or at least to the administrative services in charge of protecting women or children. Furthermore, nowadays in some countries people in charge of bars, restaurants, theatres, cinemas, concert halls and many other public facilities have to check whether the members of the public have got Covid-19 vaccination (or a negative test) in order to allegedly keep public health security. So, the incapacity of the state to take care of public security has been and is extremely manifested and, consequently, the state has been forced to *enlist* private actors in order to be able to properly guarantee public security. However, till very recently (in historical terms) the myth was still there and had not been really challenged. It was the large growth of private security companies maybe the most visible symptom of state's

power decadence (Crawford 2008). Especially, there are quite symbolic examples of the incapacity of the state to take over the responsibility on security. The fact that public facilities are protected by private security (even Police facilities) offers a clear message about the new trends. Even legislative reforms in some Western countries have allowed private security to take care of security in public spaces (even some Police tasks haven been carried out by private security in UK, and commercial areas are the domain of private security in most countries in our geopolitical context).

Furthermore, it should be stressed that dynamics of modern societies have weakened informal social controls. Two connected factors should be mentioned as core in the dismantlement of them, first of all, the growing mobility of our societies. Previously, people could always be in the same territory for their whole life, working just some hundred metres away from home and being their whole life in a very well-known environment. Nowadays, people can live in a city, work or study in a different one, have a cultural or sport activity in a third one, getting out in the evenings in a different space, and spend weekends in a second residence far away of their daily whereabouts. The amount of risk's spheres generated by that mobility is huge, impossible to protect without the self-responsibility of people. This weakening of social spatial links has implied that people around us have lost the capacity to influence our conduct. Who can tell the man in the newsagent's box that a kid did something wrong? (to reflect on the most popular Jacob's example—Jacobs 1961). He may not know the parents of the kid and even may not speak the same language as his family. Secondly, the fading of institutional social controls such as religion, family and school, in a world with individual rights as a centre of our values have, on one side, demotivated informal social controls and, on the other side, caused quite a confuse situation. People are not certain that parents will accept information about wrongdoing of their children, and teachers can be afraid of the reaction of parents of punished pupils. Contrary to the past, parents tend to protect mainly children's liberty rather than monitor their conducts. However, the State has provided with quite a contradictory response. In such a kingdom of individualism and proscription of authoritarianism, the State has tried to involve the Police in taking care of former informal social control mechanisms that have been gone (Guillén 2015; Loubet del Bayle 2012). The aforementioned importance of incivilities and external disorder in the people's perception of insecurity have moved politicians to substitute old controls by Police (and administrative controls). Fostered by the broken windows theory (Wilson and Kelling 1982) and its operational version some years after *broken windows policing* (also known as *zero tolerance policing*) by the New York Police under the guidance of its Police commissioner, Will Bratton, the idea of using the Police in order to get a civic behaviour of the public was spread everywhere. Its alleged positive effect in crime in New York stimulated its adoption in most of Western countries. There was no empirical evidence that the large crime reduction in New York had been caused by that policy, as several authors had pretended (Bottoms 2011; Guillén 2009; Karmen 2004; Shearing and Wood 2011; Taylor 1999), but NYPD and some well-known American criminologists with all their propaganda apparatus affirmed that zero tolerance with incivilities and hard criminal sentences were the key point not only to restore the perception of security but also to reduce criminality (Kübler

and de Maillard 2020). It is understandable that for the State (public powers), it is easier to produce norms and to activate the Police and criminal justice system rather than to bring the old social system back or substitute it by a new one. Since the issue of insecurity was in the political agenda (Crawford 2002; Guillén 2015), politicians felt that they were obliged to provide with a response to the problem. They probably did not realise that they were using the strongest power of the state (coercion) in order to substitute old informal social control systems (Guillén 2013). At the same time, Police powers were already quite strictly monitored, or, at least, people were sensitive to any use of the force (coaction) by Police. It was crystal clear that to use the Police to repress conducts such as throwing papers on the street, speaking loudly, begging, street drinking and any other incivility could be controversial in case they had to resort to the force (or to extremely high fines) to get a normative conduct from the public. People that could even agree on the need to cope with antisocial behaviour would probably see it as disproportionate. At the same time, it required an extensive use of the administrative machinery in order to get all the consequent penalties in force which could collapse local administration. Even, in some cases, Police reports could not be successful since legal provisions were in a lot of cases dubious due to their invasive effect in citizen's rights. The evidence for all that were public criticisms against those policies carried out in different cities and countries (Borja 2006; Guillén 2009; Sampson and Raudenbush 2004) Gradually, several thorough researches have criticised what they consider the old system to fight crime and have showed how even New York City has clearly distanced of such policies, qualifying them as simplistic and inefficient. As Glazer and Sharkey (2021, 4) affirm "After decades of relying on aggressive, zero-tolerance policing designed to dominate city streets, New York City was moving away from Police enforcement and criminal justice system operations as the exclusive response to violent crime...", "The new model is driven by the ideal of integration and relies on weaving together a social fabric composed of residents and community institutions, upheld by the social supports that government budgets are intended to nurture." As these authors show, there is no correlation between massive arrest and incarceration taxes and decrease of crime. In fact, between 2013 and 2019 arrests and incarceration reduced drastically and still crime kept going down. The current Major's Action Plan for Neighbourhood Safety tries to foster the strengths of neighbourhoods and residents by taking care of them, listening to them and improving the social bounds as much as possible.

However, it should be noted that in those countries where, parallel to Police interventions, wider policies involving other (municipal) services and fostering public commitment were deployed, the success to redress incivilities was much higher. For instance, alternatives for youngster's entertainment with the setting up of new facilities or new activities that could fill their free time have been efficient and have justified law enforcement for those that rejected to take part of the new reality (Guillén 2009). Some (Bottoms 2011) argue that fostering order in public spaces has also a multiplying effect. In the same sense that an unrepaired broken window can facilitate further destructive behaviours, the quick repairing of deteriorated spaces may stimulate civic behaviour. So a proactive public intervention can be much more useful

than just a repressive one. This kind of response is most of times out of the reach of Police and has to be taken under the command of other agencies.

There is another change that has questioned even much more seriously the traditional concept of state. The unprecedented international mobility and the development of new technologies, especially the birth of internet, have also overwhelmed state's power to combat traditional crime (Bowling and Shepticky 2012; Guillén 2015). Criminal gangs have now more than ever ramifications in different states and cannot be prosecuted without the co-operation of other states. The web is out of the state control (it is in a virtual territory with servers that may be thousands of kilometres away of the state where a crime is committed using the web). Cyberspace fits with difficulties to the traditional idea of state territory and also requires a very tough, thorough and efficient international co-operation (Brodeur 2010). So, the plurality of actors should also include foreign law enforcement agencies and even international ones (such as Interpol or Europol) (Brodeur 2010), without excluding transnational private security companies (Bowling and Sheptycki 2012). This co-operation is difficult to monitor and is enveloped in a sort of dark cloud, since it is not usual the case that there is transparency concerning the laws that have been enforced in every case and the responsibilities of each one (Bowling and Sheptycki 2012).

1.4 The Heterogeneity of Crime and Insecurity. Places, Times and Different Vulnerabilities

Crime and insecurity can be caused but extremely diverse factors. First of all, as it has already been mentioned, they are not equivalent concepts or synonymous. Outbreaks of insecurity can be the result of factors other than crime. A disordered neighbourhood, the presence of newcomers, antisocial behaviour, repeated news about crime in media, It is likely that in most cases, crime and insecurity happen at the same time in the same spaces although not with a proportional correlation. That is to say, in spaces where crimes take place, people can have a negative perception of security. However, it is not necessary that the crime be very serious (homicides) in order to cause a high perception of insecurity. We can, then, have a third situation in which crime and insecurity coincide but with no proportionate correlation. For example, high levels of thefts can cause insecurity and serious fiscal crimes (not paying taxes) cannot.

It has already been noted that perception of insecurity can have its origins in very different factors. Consequently, in order to be able to tackle it, it will be crucial to identify particularly what's behind any insecurity outbreak to identify what should be done. Noisy streets, with people drinking and signing outside, require a different response that lack of public lighting and graffiti on the walls or increase of batteries and assaults. So identifying that the problem is a matter of perception is not enough so as to provide with an adequate response. The particular factors that ground it should be identified. Not always an increase of Police presence is needed or positive.

When it could be a contribution, additional contributions of further authors should also be included. An improvement in street lightening can be a solution sometimes, while in others may be irrelevant.

Crime cannot either be considered as a general or homogeneous problem. Actions oriented to prevent and repress crime vary enormously depending on the type of crimes, even within the same crime categories. To prevent homicides between gang members has nothing to do with the prevention of homicides in the area of gender violence. Burglaries have nothing to do with pickpocketing. Fraud of any sort of energy is meaningfully different from taxes fraud. We could mention thousands of differences. The parts of the territory, the seasons of the year and the times of the day would sometimes imply different measures and actors to be involved. So, this transversal character of the responses to crime and insecurity and the consequent intervention of multiple actors do not design a system of stable partners. Both, the measures to be taken and the partners, are bound to change in most of cases. Let us take perception of insecurity as an example. A crisis originated by the high presence of foreign juveniles wandering on public spaces would probably imply the intervention of education, immigration, juvenile services and, depending on the case, even the Police. Instead, another crisis caused by dirty and poorly lighted places requires a different approach (municipal brigades repairing lights, cleaning the spaces, campaigns to make the neighbours aware of the importance of keeping public spaces clean and some particular reports from the Police for incivilities).

So, crime and perception of insecurity are not equivalent concepts, but they are usually mixed, confused and overlapped into each other and both are part of the problem. Subjective security, or perception of security, is also a matter to be dealt with by security managers. People that feel unsafe modify their conducts and tend to aisle themselves or buying defence weapons, what means a severe risk for social life. It is crucial that those managers be able to detect what's behind that insecurity, no matter what it is. The times when the only relevant factor to be tackled in the area of security was crime or objective risk are gone. However, there is no absolutely contrasted methodology to articulate the proper responses. There have been notable instruments that have been produced by different institutions (e.g. "Guide sur les audits locaux de sécurité. Synthèse de la pratique internationale"³ "The Efus Safety Audit Guide: A guide to better understand new challenges in urban security"). However, they provide with extremely thorough procedures of analysis that, although can be excellent for planning, are normally out of reach for operational actors, be they Police officers or not. Actors on the field are expected not to delay responses to expressions of fear and insecurity coming from the population, especially if there has been political controversy among the public. Aware of this difficulty, in the framework of the Cutting Crime Impact Project,⁴ the Department of Interior of the Generalitat of Catalonia designed the toolkit "Perception Matters".⁵ It is a sort of guide to provide actors

³ Vid. https://issuu.com/efus/docs/efus_safety_audit_f_web_61c0ac6ea0dd07.

⁴ Vid. <https://cuttingcrimeimpact.eu>.

⁵ Vid. https://interior.gencat.cat/web/.content/home/010_el_departament/publicacions/seguretat/Toolkit/booklet_Digital_ENG_no_20210602.pdf.

in the field (prevention officers, city officials, Police officers) with practical advice in order to be able to detect the grounds that cause any insecurity outbreak and provide with appropriate responses looking for the adequate actor for any action. During the experimental use of the toolkit, it was detected, for instance, that the insecurity of an area of the old city district of Barcelona had mainly to do with what neighbours considered an institutional abandonment of the area. No matter that the strict security indicators have improved considerably in last years, they kept thinking that they were in an unsafe situation since they did not perceive institutional involvement in neighbourhood needs. So, in this case, one of the main responses to offer is a much better communication between all municipal levels and the population of the area, since actually, the municipality had carried out numerous and intense actions in the area to improve public spaces. However, it had not been exactly the case some years ago, when the levels of drugs dealing in private occupied apartments (their fundamental concern) were really much higher than nowadays, and Police and administrative measures to fight it were needed (and taken).

Another source of insecurity and victimisation is vulnerable groups. They are made out of people that for different reasons are in a position that make them a target for crime or place them in a quite weak position in which it is very hard to feel safe. Minority members, young people in marginalised areas, homeless or senior people can be clear examples. So, strategies should be designed in order to protect members of those groups. However, the fact that in all cases the goal is provide vulnerable groups with protection does not mean that we need similar measures and actors to realise our objectives. For instance, Police presence and protection will be received in a very different ways among youngsters, seniors or minorities. Public agencies involved in youngsters, minority members or seniors are different as the problematics as well. For instance, it is likely that immigration services may have some role to play with some groups of minorities and more unlikely with homeless or seniors.

It is evident that the number and kind of actors in every case are related to the background situation and it is not possible to draft a uniform list of them for all security policies. Anyhow, saying that security policies require a transversal approach is not saying that much in relation to the necessary partners for all of them. They should be identified in any case. The municipality of Barcelona drafted in 2019 a map of prevention's actions with more than 500 foreseen actions, defining quite precisely what should be done and who should take part in each one.⁶ That is an approach that takes into account what here has just been said, actions should answer to particular circumstances to be effective. A general prevention plan cannot be more than an umbrella for all particular actions.

To frame all those actions and actors, it will be necessary that somebody assumes the leadership to select and look for adequate partners. It is not possible to establish it in a general way, further than drafting legal provisions that call for such an integrated approach. Without leadership, it will hard to identify, mobilise and manage all necessary actors to cope with particular security dysfunctions. So, one of

⁶ Vid. <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/prevencio/ca/directori-accions-prevencio>.

the crucial points is to agree on who should take the role of leader, but that will be discussed further on.

1.5 The Organisation of Multiple Actors

The need to involve several partners in the maintenance of security brings up a not minor problem: how to manage it. Different actors mean different authorities, diverse organisational cultures and combination of frequently segmented visions of the problem. It is not enough to involve different actors; they should also undertake complementary actions, not duplicated or contradictory ones. All actions should be oriented in the same direction, and there should be somebody with the capacity to decide in cases of conflict. At least there should be mechanisms to sort out different perspectives of actors that have the capacity to impulse and lead the strategies. We have already experienced it within the Police world itself, where different Police organisations working at different territorial levels (or with different specialisations) have been forced to make their efforts complementary as much as possible, in order to represent a coherent Police system not always successfully (Guillén and Calaresu 2021). Brodeur (2010) uses the term “policing web” to properly describe the concurrence of diverse actors (he includes even private ones) in the policing function. So, the variety of actors is not new even for those used to work in the field of policing.

In order to precise everybody’s role and responsibilities, some formalisation of the process has been required (in Spain, mainly the autonomous communities have enacted several laws that aim to precise what should do every Police service and security actors in order to get a coherent system and how they should co-operate—Guillén 2014; Guillén and Calaresu 2021). The forms it has taken may vary, being the most common ones (apart from legislation): a sort of contract among all partners in a replication of private contracts and security plans that include specific objectives, duties, responsibilities and evaluation criteria. In any case, there must be a certain formalisation of what everybody should do in order to make all interventions have a multiplying effect and to avoid duplications or contradictions (Guillén 2006; Hewitt et al. 2000). However, it should not imply a bureaucratisation of public response to security troubles. If it has been hardly criticised that Police are quite bureaucratic (and rigid) in their interventions and that is an obstacle to tackle changing background problems, we cannot pretend that bureaucratising all partners can bring anything positive (Guillén 2006).

This conception of the collective or plural response to security troubles, similar to the ones in other fields, has had as collateral consequence the incorporation of the concept “governance”, as a capacity to push those initiatives ahead with the necessary stimulus and coordination, as a way of governing all the actors intervening in managing the cities (Pasqual 2011). A stream that assists to flow in a fluid way the whole project, “a new way of governing contemporary societies, especially cities and metropolitan areas, which is characterised by managing the interdependencies between all of the agents involved in tackling the urban challenge and in seeking

the greatest degree of collaboration and public responsibility in treating it” (Pasqual 2011, 11).

The questions to be solved are as follows: which are the criteria to deliver responsibilities, how the connection between different interventions should be kept in a way that the results are not negatively affected and who is going to lead the whole process. How should be organised the governance of these processes? The enthusiasts of modern community Police approach advocate for a Police lead of the whole process. The debate is: provided that nowadays community policing means co-production of security, should Police assume the governance of all the process (Fernández and Yñíguez 2014)? This idea, although quite flexible in relation to the traditional approaches to security and policing, since it accepts that further actors should be included, still is rooted in the idea that security is a Police responsibility. Consequently, they should lead, foster and monitor the whole process of producing security and preventing crime. There is no doubt that Police have a privileged position since they are the only public service that works 24 h a day/365 days per year on the beat. That provides them with a lot of knowledge about social dynamics and key actors in the different territories. However, as mentioned before, Police have their own particular perspective and the rest of actors have different ones and different dependencies which makes it difficult to place them under the monitoring/coordination of the Police. Even their goals are different from the ones other actors have. It is not the Police to decide which goal/approach is going to be predominant in the intervention of every actor. Furthermore, if we understand that insecurity expressions are related to educational, health, unemployment, social services, inclusive urbanism and so on, to involve the natural actors in these fields in security policies and put these policies under the hands of Police means securitising them. That is to say, we would not be providing with better education or health care for everybody because it is fair or fundamental rights, but in order to prevent security incidents (Guillén 2015; Loader and Walker 2007). Everything would be taken into account depending on its incidence in security, which is perverse. So, investment in deprived neighbourhoods it would not be any longer a matter of justice but of crime prevention and, consequently, the target population would be transformed in potential criminals. In the same direction, facilitate *positive* forms of entertainment for young people would not be a matter of improve their culture and quality of life, but a sort of insurance against the temptation of crime (Crawford 2002).

It could be established the principle of competence: the actor to be given priority and command is that one that is in better position to achieve the goal pursued by every action. For instance, if there is an action focusing on making drug addicts to overcome their addiction, it is not something that Police know how to do. There are other professionals (medical, social) that have the knowledge, the skills and resources to be successful in that field. Theoretically, that is simple and apparently feasible. However, reality is more complex. There are goals of the different actors that can be contradictory. To continue with the same example, it is possible that somebody under a detox treatment of drugs can commit some offence related to consumption or trafficking. Very probably, Police would reclaim their functions as law enforcement agency and be tempted to intervene. However, a very strict law enforcement could

jeopardise the process of detox of that person because it could mean removing him/her from a “protected” space and jeopardising the whole detox programme. It is also true that, in some landscapes, law enforcement could be a reinforcement of the detox way, but it depends on the circumstances and the decision cannot be left in Police hands. There should be somebody (or some mechanism) capable to take those controversial decisions. Let us take a different example: let us imagine that there is a plan to tackle the security and crime problems in a particular degraded area. It may include a quick cleaning of any graphite or draw on the walls. However, the municipal unit in charge of cleaning public spaces may have some other priorities because its responsibilities go beyond the security strategies. In these times of pandemic cleanliness in public places, parks, benches, etc., may be a priority. Should Police decide which is the action to be given priority? It is sensible to think that there should be somebody with a wider perspective and capacity to decide in all concerned fields.

It should also be taken into account that there are professionals with overlapping areas of intervention that mistrust each other and a joined action cannot be commanded by any of them. Social services tend to consider homeless a very vulnerable group and tend to support them, whereas some other public services (not only the Police) can think that they are responsible for their situation and that that support is an obstacle to reintegrate them in normal social life, since that would mean that they get away with their previous asocial behaviour. Immigration services and Police also tend to disagree in policies for migrants; social services and educational services do not always agree in what is better for members of the vulnerable groups. In consequence, there should be further goals that allow for a particular priority of different actions. No matter that the achievement of those goals depends on the all partner's actions, it cannot be done just with the isolated enforcement of all them. Every action should be carried out in coordination with others that have influence in the same area. The governor, manager or leader of all that there should be someone with capacity and enough leadership to be followed by all actors. Actually, there is also a matter of legitimacy that will be dealt with in the next chapter in order to establish levels of decision and leadership.

Eventually, there is the public, the people that have to be involved in these processes of security co-production. In which terms are they integrated? It is clear that a society with such a high level of risk areas it is not manageable without the involvement and the responsibility of the public (Guillén 2016), but who should guide and monitor what they do? Could they be left to their good will? Are their perspectives compatible with the ones of other actors? Even are the perspectives of different sectors of the public compatible? It is quite a delicate issue to define which the paper of the public should be in this approach to security. It does not matter if we take the people as individual or we talk about private associations that can provide with crucial contributions to security. Some years ago, in 2009, the municipality of Barcelona drafted what they called “prevention and conviviality's actor map of Barcelona”. There they identified all actors involved in any way in relevant functions in order to facilitate crime prevention in the city. Well, it turned out that more than 50% of them were private. Normally, different kinds of NGOs work in areas that promote prevention (support to drug addicts, to ex-mates, homeless people, etc.). It

is evident that those groups should be taken into account in Barcelona prevention policies. Something more complex that we are going to discuss in the following chapter is where they take their legitimation from and which should be their role in relation of the rest of actors or partners.

This multi-actor reality has a lot of implications. First of all, the kind of contribution of each actor should be coherent with the legal powers they have, the legitimation of every actor does not come from the same source, and it should affect their role. Furthermore, most of them are not looking for the general interest, but for theirs, and a way to adapt that to public policies and interest should be devised. So, there should be coordination mechanisms to give some coherence to all that. Anyway, mission, legitimation, relations to the law, relations with public powers and citizens and accountability should be revisited and reconstructed. Most probably, those items will have a different meaning depending on the actors and the field of action should be defined. Security requires complex and diverse systems, and it is not something temporary, but it is here to stay.

1.6 New Model of Security. Partners, Legitimacies and Responsibilities

There is no doubt that this global or multiple actor's approach to security is not only valid for specific areas or problems, but also for the general model of security/policing. It is evident that we are within a system of plural security (Guillén 2016), that in the Anglo-Saxon context is called *plural policing* (as mentioned before) (Newburn 2008). All security issues have to be handled considering the actions of all actors, be they public or private ones. We have just said that the correct implementation of the system requires particular adequate actions and actors; however, we are now to deepen on the qualitative role of different categories of actors that build the whole security system.

Once this point of reasoning has been reached, we should think on the political bases of the model/system. Where does legitimacy come from in the new security world? Does it come from a single source? Have the diverse actors the same political position? Can all of them intervene in any area of security? In which way?

It is quite obvious that not all actors have the same *quality* for the model. All are necessary partners but their position varies profoundly. We can start with the Police. Which is the Police *qualitative* role? Where do they get the legitimacy from? If we take into account the theoretically democratic framework of Western states, Police legitimacy cannot come from anywhere else but the public, the people (Guillén 2016). One of democracy basic principles is that sovereignty is based on the people. We are dealing here with what we could call *material legitimacy*, since Police get the formal legitimacy from intervening within the legal framework. That is to say, law provides the Police with formal legitimacy and the people with the material one. If we accept that in Democracy material legitimacy is central, that has several implications:

- People should intervene in the establishment of Police priorities.
- Police should be articulated as a public service rather than as a force.
- Police should be accountable before the public.

In this framework, Police mission would be the satisfaction of the needs of the public providing them with an efficient security service that allow them to carry out their daily activities facing reasonable risks they can manage (Guillén 2021). It is important to clarify that absolute security is a goal to be discarded, because it is impossible and trying to achieve it may be a catastrophe (in the same line that health authorities cannot promise us eternal life). That service provided by the Police should be transparent, offering the public all necessary information to make a proper assessment of the security situation and Police performance. Only Police data concerning running investigations should be kept away of public. The traditional resort to “security issues” in order to keep most Police data away from the eyes of the public should not be used in the next future. Nevertheless, Harkin (2015) considers that there are natural limits to Police transparency that should be taken into account.

Obviously, this satisfaction of the needs of the public has a limit: public demands to unfairly restrict rights of members of particular groups or any other citizen should be managed in a way that be acceptable for human right’s regulations. Actually, in order to be able to maintain security with the least resort to force, Police should get *auctoritas* from acting with procedural justice (Tyler 1996). Procedural justice would be integrated by four elements: participation, neutrality, dignity and trustworthy motives in Police interventions (Bates et al. 2015; Mastrofsky et al. 2016). Worden and Maclean (2018, 150) tell us what they consist of:

- People are more satisfied when they have an opportunity to ‘tell their side of the story—to explain their situation or behaviour to authorities.
- People are more satisfied when they believe that authorities’s decisions are based on facts.
- People are more satisfied when they feel that they have been treated with dignity and respect.
- People are more satisfied when they trust authorities’s motives, which is more likely when authorities explain their actions in terms that demonstrate that they have taken into account citizen’s concerns and needs.

It is not the fact that Police may intervene on people, restricting (sometimes very seriously) their rights what make the concerned ones to reject the Police. Most offenders know that what they do is inappropriate. It is the fact of feeling unfairness in the treatment by the Police towards them what influences their point of view about the Police (Tyler 2003, 2011). There is research that confirms that arrested people do not assess necessarily Police intervention as negative, which would be the case if the opinion depended on the severity of Police intervention (Guillén 2018). So Police fairness is important in all cases, even (especially) with criminals. In most cases, if they understand that Police did what she should, a Police severe intervention on them will not affect negatively Police legitimacy (Van Craen 2016). However, a disproportionate or disrespectful intervention before incivilities can endanger Police

reputation and legitimation. That is important because when people think that the system is reasonably fair (fair laws, good procedural justice in their execution), they tend to abide by the law (Tyler 1996), which should be the main way of law enforcement in democratic states. It would not be acceptable that the only way to get normative behaviour was the actual threat of coercion (or punishment). That would imply a mistrust between State and citizens on which no democracy cannot be built. Most authors assume that the effect of procedural justice on people is quite stable and invariant. However, very recent research points out that Police legitimation by procedural justice varies depending on the individuals (Pina and Brunton-Smith 2021). Still, it could be withheld that in general terms procedural justice (Police fairness) would be a positive factor in order to keep Police legitimacy on the eyes of the public. Even, as Bottoms and Tankebe (2017) affirm, Police legitimacy affects the authority of the State. A lack of it means a serious trouble for the credibility of the State and, consequently, for the acceptance of its rules.

Legitimation for any other public services involved in security plans, contracts, projects or networks would not be far away from this of the Police. Since all public prerogatives come from the people, those would get legitimation from public consent and satisfaction. Although only Police can use directly physical force, many other public agencies are allowed to exert the state power of sanctioning by different ways. Parents that do not take care of their children can lose social benefits, those that do not pay taxes within deadline are charged with additional amounts of money (fines), etc. So, even a certain procedural justice could be applicable to some other public agencies involved in transversal security plans, no great differences with the Police source of legitimation.

Legitimation of private companies, especially private security ones, is in its origin radically different from the public ones. They have, of course, the same formal legitimation, acting according to the law. In case their employees violate the law, there is no legal support for them and can be sanctioned. They have also a second level of formal legitimacy: the bilateral contracts between providers and buyers of security services. Private security companies sign contracts with their clients where they oblige themselves to provide certain services (protecting client rights, properties and activities) in exchange for an amount of money. That is to say, if private companies provide with the promised services according to the law, no objection can be made to them. No matter how awful the client may be or how unfair can be their activities. The company fulfils its duty keeping the client safe, although security levels can be very low in the roundabouts. Satisfaction can also be important here, but only concerning the company's services. Shearing and Wood (2011) raised the concept of *market accountability*. Under this idea, private security companies would be *monitored* by the market, since they would get more or less contracts depending on their efficiency or prestige. However, again this monitoring does not guarantee that public interest is taken into account, but an assumption that the companies are efficient in the fulfilment of their contractual obligations. In order to prevent that private companies take exclusively into account their customer's interests, states have introduced some legal provisions to constraint them to co-operate with Police services and public security strategies, even, as it is the case in Spain, providing them

with the quality of authority's agents when they work under the commandment of Police.⁷ In more general terms, it is clear that the State, after the growing evidence of its incapacity, has been involving private security companies to guarantee public security (Shearing and Wood 2011; Dupont 2014). It is an attempt to get positive outputs for the general security system from activities that are originally thought for private benefit. However, conceptually, this is not that different from the legal obligations for doctors, teachers, hotel managers, etc. They are thought to provide a service for a price, to make a living of it, and legislation requires them to carry out some surveillance activities for the system. So, in some way what they do is not one 100% private and they are under some kind of monitoring by public authorities.

A very sensitive question is the legitimation of the public. If we understand that such a complex and mobile society cannot be protected if there is no co-operation from the citizenry (Guillén 2016, 2018), a source of legitimacy for it should be identified. The simplest answer could be: provided that democracy is based on the people, they possess the sovereignty and their actions are legitimate *per se*, in origin. However, that definition of sovereignty is said to belong to the people as a group, as a concept, not individually to all of them. Otherwise, were we to provide with individual legitimacy to every citizen, what would happen when they propose opposed priorities or actions? Moreover, it is not guaranteed that citizen's priorities or actions proposed for them are looking for the general interest. Even when they claim that what they are demanding responds to the general interest, it is not necessarily the case. For instance, it is quite usual that neighbours in a particular area of the city ask for more Police presence on the streets near their homes. It does not mean that there is no need for it in other urban spaces or that there are enough constables to guarantee their demand without overlooking other ones (Guillén 2016). That is to say, citizen's needs and demands respond to their reality, their particular fears or problematics and it is not usual that they take into consideration other territories' or people's needs, although there are experiences of sensibility towards problems in other neighbourhoods different from theirs (Harkin 2015). So, quite often they represent particular interests, not the general one. Sometimes, even neighbours can ask public actors (especially the Police) to carry out illegal actions or interventions in prejudice of third people. For this reason, it should be stressed that citizens are entitled to address the Police (and any other public actor) their priorities and proposal of actions, but it does not mean that they should be put into practice in all cases. As clearly points out Harkin (2015), it is the Police the actor with higher responsibilities in keeping democracy and the general interest. Maybe it could be widened to say: public agencies are the only ones obliged to maintain or promote the general interest. That would imply the assumption that security governance should come from the state, since it should pursue the general interest. However, this assumption is controversial, as we are going to see now.

There is no academic consensus about whether the legitimation of security governance should come from the state. That is to say, some argue, that, although several public and private actors should be involved in networking in order to produce safe

⁷ Vid art. 31 of the Law 5/2014, of 4th of April, of private security.

environments, they could only get legitimation from the state, because its authorities are the only ones that have gone through a political process of legitimation. So, the state should give a sort of “go-ahead” and monitor it. A clear exponent of that was the former Local Security contracts in France (and to a lesser extent in Italy) at the beginning of the century and the current prevention plans at different territorial levels in France and other countries (CEN-TR 14,383–2 2007; Germain 2012; Guillén 2011). Those, although include different actors, are always under the supervision of a member of the government (in case of the “local contracts of security” introduced by Jospin’s Government the last legislature of the twentieth century) or the municipality (in case of the “local contracts of security and crime prevention”, introduced by law in 2007 in France). Holley and Shearing (2017) think that those multi-actor projects could work properly without any *central* (state, administration) control. To their eyes, it is the same group of actors that guarantees the good orientation and efficiency of it. They can work properly with or without state intervention. However, Shearing and Wood (2011) accept that not all *their nodes* are in the same position in terms of power, and there are weaker and stronger ones. They propose to design strategies in order to empower the weaker *nodes* and make them able to *compete* with the stronger ones. For instance, the fact that a weak *node* (an NGO, for instance) can be seen as a right’s defender can make their position stronger before the Police and the public (provided that the majority of public considers human rights as core of the system).

What we could qualify as the normative position (as a quite solid exponent of it, Loader and Walker 2007, that qualify their proposal as *anchored pluralism*) opposes to accept governance without the state supervision, because it would lack of legitimation and a general interest perspective. Loader and Walker (2007) argue that, since security is ontologically social (it is directly related to our life in society) and is the instrument (or the constitutive element) for other social goods, it should be managed by somebody with legitimacy for ruling the whole system thinking of the general interest. Those authors accept that there are risks in keeping a ruling role for the state. They mention four main ones: *paternalism*, *consumerism*, *authoritarianism* and *fragmentation*. So, the state should not pretend that its agents are the only ones with capability to cope with security challenges, since they have proved their inefficiency; at the same time, it should not try to provide services only because they are asked by people, should not only focus on Police and criminal justice and should prevent inequalities by fragmentation of the security offer depending on the level of income. If those caveats are under control, the State is supposed to be best actor with legitimacy to lead the whole process of security governance.

However, Holley and Shearing (2017) sustain that the presence of the State does not guarantee a good governance of security; the key factor is to be able to get the proper actions of all actors with power or influence in a particular situation. In some moments, even it seems dubious that they consider “governance” as necessary, since it may be understood as a centralisation of the process that they reject. That is to say, there is a pragmatic approach (*what works is okay*) rather than a principle’s one. Scarpello (2016, 114) describes very well both positions: “...the starting point of both nodal governance and anchored pluralism is the effects of neoliberal globalization on

the provision of policing services. The first then argues that the proliferation of nodes indicates that the pluralization has gone beyond neoliberal-driven privatization and globalization-induced trans-nationalism (Scarpello 2016, 114), and that nodes are neither state nor non-state, but new forms of governance outside the state parameters (Scarpello 2016, 114). Anchored pluralism instead argues for the need to keep the state in the core of pluralized policing via its power to supervise and legislate over non-state policing actors". There is, still, another position, the so-called *multi-choice policing* (Baker 2008; Scarpello 2016). It is applied to realities, such Africa, where the presence of the state has always been very weak (with the exception of Northern Africa and South Africa). The monopoly of the power of coercion by the state has not been a reality there, and when it has been tried, it was brutal and focused on domination of lower classes rather than providing with general security. Consequently, it did not get acceptance from the communities that preferred alternative forms of protection (Baker 2008). Then, the different realities, the availability of capable actors and the acceptance of communities built security systems where further than the State or private companies, local communities were also called to perform security functions. So, the duality public/private is widened with the population. Baker (2008) argues that since most state experiences in Africa only pursued the imposition of the dominion of the elites, we can conclude that state Police services had not a different nature from private security. Both were thought to preserve particular interests. So, the separation public-private is extremely blurred. The last perspective (multi-choice policing) would not be far away from the *nodal* approach since the role of the state is not really meaningful in any of them.

It is not easy to solve this dispute (in case it is possible or necessary). Theoretically, it is true that the different actors have different (and sectorial) interests. Even it can be argued that security can be left in the hands of concurrent particular interests and benefits. There should be a need or interest for everybody that, although they can be different from one to another, would guarantee the global general interest of the community. Actually, it was like that before the State. However, political science has advocated that it is the State the one born to guarantee social peace, what would include to provide with a sort of social harmony that allowed the political society to survive. However, in practice, the state, as acknowledged by Loader and Walker (2007), and even by Baker (2008) (although he focuses on Africa), has been dominated for particular groups, adopting partisan positions that have taken care of interests of different groups instead of those general. Actually, democratic elections consist of different groups with different interests and priorities that compete for the vote of electors. The ones that get the power (the majority) to rule try to impose their point of view about the public goods, in a way that it will be said that favours the general interest, although they are only interested in theirs. As Shearing and Wood (2011, 150) state: "...elected governments are, by definition, partisan. They represent the interests of a party or a coalition of parties that...represent the interests of scarcely a fraction of the country's citizens".⁸ So, that neutral entity that necessarily

⁸ The book consulted by the author was a Spanish version. The translation into English was made by the same author and may not coincide with the original version in English.

pursues the general interest would be more a will, an illusion, than a reality. However, it is true that there is a formal process in order to theoretically build political legitimation and accountability of state representatives and there is not such a process in the case of private companies (including security ones), citizens or NGOs. Still, there is some room to influence the leadership of governance (in all areas) if it is placed in the hands of state, mainly taking into account the current process of politicisation of security (Kübler and de Maillard 2020). If security policies are discussed in the political (electoral) debate, the winning option would have certain democratic legitimacy. Otherwise, it will be practically impossible. On the other hand, when Shearing and Wood (2011) are faced with the inequality of nodes that could result in a security system where only the strongest would have a say, they refuse that risk, arguing that such weak nodes should be empowered in order to participate with a similar level of influence and power as the other ones. However, who should empower the weaker nodes? In order to get them empowered, somebody should take the active role in it. Who could have interest in it? The strongest ones? It does not seem likely that the ones with more possibilities to impose their interests are going to promote something that worsens their position. So, again there should be somebody that, taking into consideration issues of justice and equality (public goods), could establish mechanisms or put in place actions that would increase the power of influence of weaker nodes. Who can/should do that except the state? Eventually, *anchored pluralism* and the nodal perspective are not that far away: all of them, at some point, think that some corrections to the *natural* balance of strengths should be done. The normative position proposes the state as that called to perform such a role (which would require some adjustments in case of international networks and *nodes*) and the nodal one does not clarify who should do it. If we look to the *multi-choice policing*, it is not clear either how the choice should be done in order to obtain a proper and balanced participation in the *choice* of all groups or nodes.

Eventually, such complex networks or partnerships make the public very difficult to identify who is responsible for what. It would be a good temptation to focus responsibility on those that have been legitimated by an electoral process, that is to say, the state. Although there are many actors, since we have just said that the State should perform a sort of supervisory role, we could forget who actually failed in their commitments and understand that the supervisor is the final actor to be blamed for the failure, because the failure would evidence that supervision did not work. This thread of argumentation makes certain sense, since it is true that the supervisor or the leader (call it as you prefer) failed in keeping all the actors fulfilling their commitments. However, it would be unfair and inefficient to exonerate private and civilian partners of responsibilities. No matter that supervisory powers should be accountable, actual actors should also face responsibility. At least, to be known as inefficient actors, which in case of private companies would not be a minor question. So, all actors should be accountable for what they had assumed to do, with different kind of responsibilities, political in some cases, commercial in other ones and at the level of prestige for those that do not have any kind of monetary profit in their actions.

The identification of responsibilities, however, is not likely to be possible if there is no transparency in the procedure of establishing needs and priorities, designing

actions and actors. If normally, only with public actors, there is a thick cloud to prevent the concrete actors (persons) bearing the last responsibility for administration failures from being accountable, when we face different *nodes*, qualitatively diverse, taking part in complementary or coordinated actions, the chance to identify who is responsible for the results, good or bad ones, becomes a very hard work. So, an increase of transparency and communication will be a requirement without which responsibilities (positive or negative) will not exist, and the credibility and legitimacy of these networks will vanish in the air. It is important to remember that procedural justice, as it has been said, includes proper and enough information about what's on, why and who does what. Without that information, people cannot assess whether the system is looking for the common good or favouring private ones. So, transparency will be a prerequisite for the acceptance of it by the public. It is convenient in this point to remember that, as it has also been said above, this transparency will be even much harder to achieve when there be international or transnational actors (Bowling and Sheptycki 2012).

1.7 Some Conclusions as Starting Point of the New Governance of This Plural System of Security

It is clear that Police or the state is unable to keep even the appearance of guaranteeing security by themselves. First of all, the state needs the co-operation of other states and international organisms, whose decision-making process is out of reach of the State (or at least, requires a certain consensus with foreign and international actors). Secondly, there is no doubt that security policies should be designed and executed taking into account something else than criminality and Police. There is far sufficient evidence for that. So, the traditional narrow-minded approaches should be forgotten. It is paramount that not only diverse disciplines are called to produce security but also a plurality of actors is necessary to intervene in crucial areas that may affect security. Other public agencies different from Police and the criminal justice agencies should be incorporated. In the private sector, it is not only private security companies, but neighbour associations, NGOs and even individual citizens should take part, in different manners, in maintaining security. Otherwise, keeping a reasonable level of security for all would be a chimera.

The state (public administrations) that so far has failed to approach security in a proper democratic way should impulse and monitor the plural response to detected weaknesses. The different type of actors (nodes) are not in the position to do that by themselves (or would do it in their interest). The state should guarantee that fundamental rights are respected (rule of law) and that all necessary actors are involved in a way that can make their points of view heard and their action capabilities properly incorporated. The State should impulse and monitor security networks, but be ready to leave protagonism and a high degree of initiative and decision when other partners

are working in their particular dominions. The State should not be the Police of the network, but the promotor, driving force and facilitator.

The security system should be aware of the need to establish particular actions and partnerships in order to cope with different security problematics. General plans or policies should establish the principles that should rule the procedure of analysing and articulating responses to public demands or needs. They should also create the mechanisms that facilitate the identification of necessary actors and the way to make them active. The State should not use this plural process as a way to legitimate previously taken decisions. It should keep the process of analysis, decision and implementation within the necessary fairness. All groups and interests should be taken into account as much as possible in order to prevent and tackle security troubles.

Police have still a role in the system, although far away of an exclusive one. They should integrate themselves in wider policies and strategies, working in coordination with other public and private actors in order to achieve the common security goals. Nevertheless, Police should keep being the only actor with power to use physical force and should have the whole citizenry as target of their interventions. So, Police should, within the legal framework (actually all actors should do), perform their role within the general strategies and policies keeping in mind that they are a public service for all.

Transparency of all procedures, roles, actions and systems of accountability for all is a requirement *sine qua non*. It is not only public actors that should be transparent and responsible for their actions. Individuals, private companies and associations, as far as they take part in maintaining security, a public good, should be submitted to the same rules of transparency and accountability as public actors.

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Chapter 2

Third-Generation CPTED—Integrating Crime Prevention and Neighbourhood Liveability



Gregory Saville and Mateja Mihinjac

Abstract The crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) pioneers first began writing about the connection between environment and crime in the early 1960s. Since then, the theory and practice of CPTED have been adopted by academics and practitioners from a number of different disciplines and professional backgrounds who have collectively contributed to evolution of this crime prevention approach over the past 60 years. The most recent conceptualisation of CPTED was by who introduced a new theoretical framework that amalgamates these developments with contemporary urbanisation challenges to develop a holistic integrated model of CPTED centred on neighbourhood liveability and conceptualisation of human needs (Mihinjac and Saville, *Social Sciences* 8:182, 2019). This chapter builds on this new conceptualisation of the Third-Generation CPTED by introducing the four sustainability strategies—4 S that form building blocks for developing safe, sustainable and liveable neighbourhoods and cities. The 4 S strategies: (a) environmental sustainability, (b) social sustainability, (c) economic sustainability and (d) public health sustainability are further deconstructed into examples of specific tactics that CPTED practitioners, planners, community developers, local communities and other professionals could employ. Some indicators for those tactics are also provided to promote empirical testing.

Keywords Sustainability · 4 S · Environmental sustainability · Social sustainability · Economic sustainability · Public health sustainability · Maslow

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2.1 Introduction

Over the years, theories into the causes of crime have not always translated well into its prevention. Some theories offer elegant macroviews of crime at the largest scale—for example, conflict theory or critical theory—and they propose that crime results from class conflicts in society or that those who commit crime do so against, or in response to, powerful elites. However, the reality is that crime victims and perpetrators often reside within the same classes, and many criminals do not victimise those in power or because of those in power. Thus, preventing crime using macrotheories is a difficult task because prevention at this level is distantly removed from the actual places where it occurs and the specific problems that lead to crime occurrences. These are called “distal” theories (Smith and Clarke 2012).

Other distal theories offer complex socio-psychological causes that are difficult to prove and even harder to prevent. For example, life course theories predict that traumatic stresses throughout a person’s course in life can trigger choices towards a criminal lifestyle (Ward 2019). Social control theory assumes that society at large has a responsibility to provide stability and education in the lives of people in order to demarcate the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable behaviour (Hirschi 2014). Unfortunately, because human behaviour is complex, people live in different kinds of communities and are influenced by different factors; is it virtually impossible to know what how many social controls are needed to prevent crime or what specific stressors trigger criminal behaviour? Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) differs from other approaches to crime control for a number of reasons.

First, few theoreticians agree whether CPTED is a theory of crime prevention or simply a strategy embedded within other, more comprehensive, crime theories (Eckblom 2011). This remains a debate in criminological circles; however, in this article, we take the position that CPTED is both a theory and a practice aimed at preventing crime.

Second, CPTED began with the explicit intention of responding to the place where crime occurs and not the social, psychological or political causes leading to it in the first place. This means that it is possible to use CPTED strategies in a wide array of social situations, in places where conflicts exist between groups and in situations where social controls for crime are intact or broken. At its theoretical centre, CPTED is a situational and specific method for preventing crime—it focuses on small-scale geographies and the lives of specific populations who reside or work inside, or in close proximity, those geographies. In technical terms, CPTED is a “proximate” theory (Smith and Clarke 2012). All the different forms of CPTED, described below as the First-, Second- and Third-Generation CPTED, are applied to a specific location in close proximity to a particular neighbourhood (Walters 2016). This distinguishes CPTED from the prevention of crime through social or political theories that operate at a distal level.

Third, CPTED did not originate within the field of criminology or crime theorising. It began with studies into urban planning, architecture and, to a lesser extent, the social geography of small urban places. This means that, due to its proximate orientation,

CPTED can first focus on the physical opportunity for crime at specific locations (what is now termed the First-Generation CPTED). It can then tap into internal relationships, social cohesion and social capacity existing within each community to maximise social controls (now termed the Second-Generation CPTED). In this chapter, we extend that process and describe how to minimise or remove social, environmental and psychological stresses that lead to crime motives so that residents reach their personal and psychological potential—what psychologist Abraham Maslow called self-actualisation—with as few obstacles as possible. We call this the Third-Generation CPTED.

2.2 Evolution of CPTED

2.2.1 *The Urbanists—1960s to mid-1970s*

Although some writers and advocates claim the practices of CPTED, such as access controls, began with the development of defensive walls and moats around mediaeval castles, this analogy thoroughly misses the point. CPTED did not emerge at a time of feudal warlords and autocrats; it emerged in contemporary times within representative democracies. The lesson is clear; crime prevention in modern times must relate to the conditions of contemporary life and lives of people today. In the current modern, democratic state, we do not tolerate autocrats or ruling classes, ruling from behind walled fortresses with no accountability to the public.

This was the thrust of the writing of architectural journalist Jane Jacobs, particularly her 1961 book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs 1961). Although she never termed her work CPTED, Jacobs nonetheless illustrated how trends in planning—specifically modernist architecture—created alienating and isolating physical environments, where offenders could offend with impunity without fear of apprehension or censure. She focused on urban environments versus suburban or rural environments, and she used the term “eyes on the street” to suggest that neighbours who know each other and have positive social relations are more likely to exert a positive influence over a place if they can see who occupies it. This became known as the strategy of “natural surveillance” in what is now termed the First-Generation CPTED, and it prevented crime because potential offenders knew they were being watched by neighbours who cared for their neighbourhood, a form of social control particular to a geographical neighbourhood.

Jacobs wrote about the size of residential blocks, the diversity of land uses in an area and human-scale development, so local residents were not alienated from the streets where they work and live. Unlike modernist architecture where architects imagined large-scale boulevards and grand buildings, she described something different:

Planning for vitality must promote continuous networks of local street neighbourhoods, whose users and informal proprietors can count to the utmost in keeping the public spaces

of the city safe, in handling strangers so they are an asset rather than a menace, in keeping casual public tabs on children in places that are public. (Jacobs 1961, p. 409)

This is social control at its most proximate form. She wrote from the perspective of life in the proximity of local urban places and not from the distal causes of social class conflict. She did not ignore powerful elites who were controlling the lives of middle- and working-class people, in fact she mounted political protests against development projects supported by such people. And, she was able to successfully employ direct democracy through public protests to change the course of development in her neighbourhood in New York's Greenwich Village.

Other urban writers contributing to the early development of CPTED included Elizabeth Wood, a housing advocate with the Chicago Housing Authority, who wrote *A New Look at The Balanced Neighborhood* (1960) and *Housing Design: A Social Theory* (1961). CPTED formulations for territorial and social control, especially the presence of people, emerged directly from Wood. Her writing on both the physical design and social conditions within public housing is instructive:

Obviously, if the absence of people creates hazards, the solution lies in the planned presence of people... Positive social controls will grow, first, out of the physical opportunity [but] physical opportunity is not, of course, enough. ...there must be widespread acquaintanceships, and a general recognition of a community of feeling about the project, not only as a physical entity but as a society. (Wood 1961, pp. 17–20)

Perhaps, the greatest impact on early CPTED came from Oscar Newman, an architect who studied public housing in the late 1960s and early 1970s in New York and St. Louis. Newman consolidated the work of Jacobs and wrote the influential book, *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Design* (1972). Newman's main work described public housing and the failure of modernist architecture, but he ended up defining the major principles of the First-Generation CPTED: natural surveillance, territoriality, image and milieu (today termed image and maintenance). Newman showed how to use street design, symbolic barriers like planters, neighbourhood population size and architectural definitions of places, to create what he called defensible space. Newman aimed to reduce crime opportunities with defensible space, but he did so without fortress architecture, today termed defensive architecture (Smith and Walters 2018).

The evolution of CPTED throughout the 1960s and early 1970s was the domain of these kinds of urbanists, architects and urban planners. Strategies were based on physical opportunity reduction, but always in the context of the cultural lives of people, how they socialise with each other and their opportunities for pro-social behaviour. Planning for vitality, as Jacobs termed the concept, spoke to inspirational neighbourhoods, where people had a role in their own liveability.

2.2.2 *The Criminologists—1970s to 1990s*

In 1971, criminologists began to examine the hypotheses of Jacobs, Wood and Newman. The first was criminologist Clarence Ray Jeffery (1971) who wrote the first book titled *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design*. Jeffery was interested in revising the long history of crime theorising which he saw as too narrow and ineffective. He critiqued the main preventive programmes and their corresponding theories at the time and uncovered their ineffectiveness. He described the failures of rehabilitation and the prison system, interpersonal group therapy models, anti-poverty and job creation programmes and generic community action programmes (programmes that were implemented through a large-scale distal model).

Conversely, Jeffery recommended the development of an “environmental criminology” in which urban planning, behavioural controls and science and technology led the way. This became a broad, interdisciplinary definition of CPTED that included bio-social and neurological research, urban geography and urban planning. Studies into brain research, diet and health all played an important role (Jeffery 1990). As we will describe below, recent technological breakthroughs in these fields have led to their reappearance in the evolution of the Third-Generation CPTED (Mihinjac and Saville 2019).

Jeffery especially wrote about internal biological-environment-brain relationships and how those relationships establish the conditions for crime: “Behavior is a product of the brain, not the environment. For behavior to occur, the environment, including social class, education, and age as a social role, must enter the brain and be processed” (Jeffery 1990, p. 309). Jeffery’s view of environment was broader than what many criminologists consider today; his conceptualisation included the internal environment (brain), the external environment he described in his work on environmental engineering (Jeffery 1969) as well as the social environment that incorporated more immediate strategies referred to as urban planning strategies for social cohesion and more distal strategies that influence poverty and education (Jeffery 1971). It is the interaction of those different levels and different approaches that Jeffery saw had predictive power for explaining criminality and having the power to prevent it.

Jeffery’s early recommendations (later revised in 1977) were ignored in the early years, especially regarding how to treat the biological and psychological stressors that trigger criminal actions. His attention to bio-social research was politically unpopular among criminologists at the time. However, his call for a geography of crime under the rubric of environmental criminology did lead to a flurry of studies in the 1980s on spatial aspects of crime opportunities.

One cluster of studies emerging in the 1970 and 1980s includes the geographical patterns of crime (Herbert 1973; Harries 1974), environmental criminology that introduced the geographical cognitive templates that criminals might use to search for crime locations (Brantingham and Brantingham 1981) and the physical displacement of crime from one location to another (Clarke and Mayhew 1988; Barr and Pease 1990). Some of these studies provided details of the situational circumstances creating crime opportunities, and thus, they hinted at strategies for modifying the

physical layout of places. Unfortunately, on the whole, most studies in this era offered only geographical crime theorising with vague references to preventive strategies.

Other more practical criminological theories in the 1980s relating to CPTED included Clarke's Situational Crime Prevention (Clarke 1980; 1983), Clarke and Mayhew's Designing Out Crime (1980) and Cohen and Felson's Routine Activity Approach (1979). Each perspective examined a different aspect of the locations where crime took place, to the exclusion of the motives that led to crime causation in the first place. These studies revolutionised our understanding about what attracts crimes to some places and not others, why crime clusters in time and space and the power of what became known as "crime attractors" and "crime facilitators/detractors" (Brantingham and Brantingham 1995; Kinney et al. 2008).

The criminologists abandoned Jacob's notions of planning for liveable neighbourhoods and public spaces, where residents had a role in their own safety. They substituted Jacob's "vital neighbourhoods" with a focus on methodological rigour, an understanding of crime patterns (Harries 1981) and an analysis of the causal mechanisms of crime at a micro-spatial level (Chainey and Ratcliffe 2005). On whole, the criminological explorations did not provide many new practical CPTED strategies to prevent crime, beyond what was already articulated by the urbanists a decade earlier.

Interestingly, this focus on place and geography coincided with the introduction of target hardening into CPTED, a term that is absent in CPTED writing of the 1960s. This was not surprising, given the new situational and geographical focus in criminology; however, it had the unintended consequence of distancing the social aspects of crime motivation away from CPTED practice. Years later, this would result in the decline of motive reinforcement in CPTED, contrary to the urbanist's insistence that motive reinforcement in neighbourhoods was a critical ingredient for safe places. Motive reinforcement addressed both offender motivation for criminal behaviour as well as motivation of residents and space occupants to care for the space and exert ownership over that space (Westinghouse National Issues Center 1978, pp. 2–10).

Motive reinforcement may have declined, in part, due to the overuse of security technologies by some CPTED practitioners. For example, target hardening-like metal spikes in low-level concrete walls to prevent homeless sleeping have led to criticisms by political activists about exclusionary planning and hostile architecture to the point where they now call for the removal of all CPTED design guidelines from development review systems in Canadian and American municipalities (Yasin 2020). Clearly, this was never the intention of the original CPTED theory as articulated in the 1960 and 1970s and it appears, at least in retrospect, this might be an unintended consequence of the choice to exclude motive reinforcement and social cohesion in favour of physical crime opportunities, target hardening and security technologies (Fennelly and Perry 2018).

2.2.3 *The Practitioners—1990s to 2010*

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, CPTED shifted from popularity to periods of obscurity. On one hand, academic work in CPTED diminished and municipal governments in the English-speaking world (since that is where most CPTED took place at that point) looked elsewhere to solve crime. On the other hand, police officers were taught CPTED in courses across North America and the UK, while builders and architects hired consultants to advise on plans for new developments. Many municipalities that lauded the government approach to crime prevention hired crime prevention consultants such as Tim Crowe (1991, 2000) and Severin Sorensen (1995) who delivered CPTED training on risk management and a security-focused approach to crime mitigation. Newman republished his defensible space concepts in *Creating Defensible Space* (Newman 1996) and US Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Henry Cisneros, published a monograph, *Defensible Space: Deterring Crime and Building Community* (1995). It was no small matter that the US Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the most senior federal government leader to acknowledge the influence of CPTED, authored a widely distributed monograph on defensible space, an event that no doubt spurred interest in a reinvigorated CPTED. A few years later, the American Planning Association published *SafeScapes: Creating Safer, More Livable Communities Through Planning and Design* (Zelinka and Brennan 2001), thereby cementing CPTED as an integral part of the planning process in many American cities.

Throughout this period, practitioners were at work documenting their projects, particularly a broader form of CPTED that reincorporated some of the social themes in early CPTED, especially Jacob's broader vision of liveability and planning for vitality. This was notable in the work of urban planner Sherry Plaster and police Captain Stan Carter, when they published their version of *community CPTED* in *Planning for Prevention: Sarasota, Florida's Approach to Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* (1993). Then, in 1996, a landmark event in CPTED took place in Calgary, Canada. Dozens of practitioners gathered together to form the world's first professional, non-profit CPTED organisation, the International CPTED Association—ICA. The ICA not only established regular publications and conferences, but it also advanced CPTED theory and spread the concept of CPTED to other parts of the world (<https://www.cpted.net/A-brief-history>).

One example of theory expansion in the ICA was the introduction of the Second-Generation CPTED by Cleveland and Saville (1997, 1998) during the second and third annual ICA conferences. The ICA published a professional journal from 2002 to 2006 in which a few dozen studies and articles documented how CPTED strategies were evolving into a much broader practice. This was highlighted in articles by Chilean architect Macarena Rau (2006) and Saville and Cleveland (2006). The ICA was a major step for consolidating the theory and practice of CPTED into the First and Second Generations, and it illustrated how a more expansive theory gradually emerged in the practitioner community. This expanding theory echoed at least the

general framework for a broader CPTED that C. Ray Jeffery called for within his integrative, “environmental criminology”.

The gradual expansion of CPTED theory grew from a small micro-scale, in the First-Generation CPTED’s focus on local architecture, to the medium meso-scale, of the Second-Generation CPTED, with its focus on the social conditions of neighbourhoods. This hearkened back to earlier criminological theorising at the University of Chicago in the 1920s to the 1940s, where urban sociologists looked at the social geography of the neighbourhood (Park et al. 1925). Their theory—the ecology of crime—envisioned the city as an interconnected network of neighbourhood ecosystems. They published dozens of books on their studies showing how neighbourhood conditions could trigger crime motives. The creation, and expansion, of the Second-Generation CPTED in the 1990 and 2000s was, in a sense, a rediscovery of that ecology of crime and, while many traditional CPTED practitioners still obsessed on target hardening and opportunity reduction, in fact a new era of CPTED theorising had already begun.

Throughout the 1990 and 2000s, there were also numerous partnerships between government organisations, police and community groups for applying CPTED through trainings and guidebooks. One example was the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who were active in CPTED training across Canada through the use of their 1985 CPTED guidebook, *Reduction of Opportunity for Crime: Handbook for Police Officers* (RCMP 1985).

One final trend emerging in the late 1990s through the 2000s helped to influence the evolution of CPTED, but it did not emerge from crime theorising. It grew from the urbanist roots of CPTED, and it involved the birth of the Smart Growth urban planning movement, which first emerged in the USA in the mid-1990s. Smart Growth offered a new way of thinking about urban planning while considering questions about urban sprawl, housing, transportation, environmental sustainability and the effect of these on neighbourhood liveability and safety (Goetz 2005). In Britain, Colquhoun (2004) wrote about “designing out crime” and the need for considering the questions of social sustainability, housing and planning practices to sustain a good quality of life in communities free from crime and fear of crime. In Australia, Cozens (2007a, 2007b) wrote about urban sustainability informed by planning practices that support desired social, environmental and public health outcomes and concurrently prevent crime. In Canada and the USA, Saville (2009) introduced the urban planning concept called SafeGrowth that directly integrated the sustainability concepts of Smart Growth with the First- and Second-Generation CPTED concepts. Authors in these writings made it clear they were seeking to integrate planning, crime prevention and neighbourhood liveability into the new expectations and demands of our contemporary living environments.

2.2.4 *The Integrationists—2010–Present*

An obvious characteristic to an integrationist approach is that no single methodology from any single discipline will suffice. The two different generations of CPTED already integrated the micro-scale in architecture to the meso-scale of neighbourhoods. It is clear that the search for scientific evidence on preventive successes is not a small matter; how else will we replicate a successful approach and scale it up in other places? Indeed, situational crime prevention has had some success at applying some preventive strategies (Clarke 2018). As Clarke notes: “Situational crime prevention is radically different from other forms of crime prevention as it seeks only to reduce opportunities for crime, not bring about lasting change in criminal or delinquent dispositions” (Clarke 2018). This is precisely why situational crime prevention and the related concepts of target hardening and technical security devices fit more properly into the domain of technological security and less into CPTED. And while spatial criminologists advocate for aggregating micro-level units of analysis to an area without artificial boundaries or neighbourhood level geographies to understand the differences between those geographies (Weisburd et al. 2012), this approach yields little benefit for understanding the underlying social conditions and neighbourhood dynamics that contribute to crime and disadvantage within neighbourhoods.

Some theoreticians, such as Jones and Pridemore (2019), suggest integrating routine activities, social disorganisation and the law of crime concentration as an integrated way to examine street segment and neighbourhood-level conditions conducive to crime. Others such as Ward et al. (2019) offer that crime is a dynamic interplay between biological, psychological, cultural and social processes, and they call for multilevel studies of crime to devise appropriate responses. Hipp and Williams (2020) see the future of spatial criminology in combining the dominant deductive focus on micro-level geographies with inductive approaches that will offer more explanatory power for social conditions within the meso- and macro-geographies. Finally, Reynald’s (2018) research on guardianship integrates street-block and neighbourhood-level variables to understand the predictors of guardianship within the neighbourhood.

The different levels of research these authors describe are also important in CPTED research. If the focus is exclusively on the larger meso-level units (e.g. neighbourhood land uses), one might miss the facilitators that make specific places and small areas unsafe or fear-inducing. That is the level in which the First-Generation CPTED excels. However, if the focus is only on micro-level units (e.g. street corner lighting), we will ignore the importance of the neighbourhood-level social factors that may induce motivation for criminality and undesirable behaviour. That is the level at which the Second-Generation CPTED excels.

Added to this debate is the enormous progress of an entire branch of environmental and psychological research over the past few decades with brain imaging, the role of emotional control and violence and the impact of psychological trauma on child development. All these point to factors within the internal, psychological environment, factors absent from CPTED practice and theory. If an integrated approach

is a realisable goal (we contend that it is), these factors must find an expression within CPTED theory, especially considering Jeffery's contention that the internal psychological and biological environment is connected to the external environment of the place where we reside. This is the foundation from where the ideas of a Third-Generation CPTED began to germinate.

While we argue that the search for rigorous evaluative methods at a micro-scale led CPTED away from its original intention of liveable neighbourhoods, we contend that crime opportunity reduction through the First-Generation CPTED and crime motive reduction through the Second-Generation CPTED are both integral to any contemporary preventive strategy. Further, trends in the evolution of CPTED over the past 20 years have brought it back to its origins, which is the planning for safe and liveable neighbourhoods. Therefore, to move CPTED theory forward, it seems logical to focus on neighbourhood liveability as well as developing an integrative approach that includes external as well as internal environments. In 2019, these developments in research and practice led to the evolution of the Third-Generation CPTED.

2.2.4.1 Third-Generation CPTED—Integrating Crime Prevention and Liveability

Mihinjac and Saville introduced the Third-Generation CPTED in 2019 and began by stressing the importance of developing neighbourhoods that satisfy the highest-level needs on psychologist Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs (Maslow 1943). Maslow chose to integrate human needs because it was clear there is not one simple equation of human satisfaction but rather that humans are complex with many different personalities and facing different bio-social conditions and neurological characteristics. Therefore, Maslow's hierarchy of needs, presented in the hierarchy of human motivation pyramid, reflected different orders of need's satisfaction. Some of those, he based on obvious deficiencies that lead to suffering—poverty, malnutrition, lack of shelter—and others he based on cognitive and social psychological needs—a sense of belonging, emotional connection to others. Today, our understanding of this last category has expanded considerably with research into emotional intelligence and the psychology of trauma (Lowe et al. 2016).

Mihinjac and Saville developed a neighbourhood liveability hierarchy to demonstrate the types of needs that neighbourhoods at different levels of hierarchy may satisfy. That conceptualisation of neighbourhood hierarchy suggested questions of crime and safety are not simply answered by the reduction of crime opportunities in the physical environment. Instead, they include opportunities for residents to achieve all levels on Maslow hierarchy, including the highest needs of self-actualisation and self-transcendence (satisfying altruistic goals like giving oneself to something beyond oneself or achieving one's maximum potential within a larger personal goal). It may not be instantly apparent how these higher liveability needs in the hierarchy can prevent crime, but the goal of the Third-Generation CPTED is high functioning

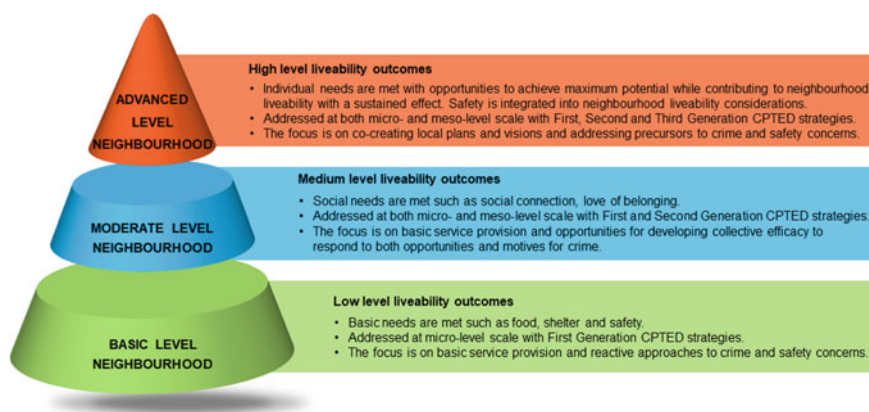


Fig. 2.1 Neighbourhood liveability hierarchy and corresponding liveability outcomes

and safe neighbourhoods where not only crime is reduced, but also personal potential is maximised. Places that seek to reduce crime opportunities with only the First-Generation CPTED access controls or improved lighting cannot in and of themselves create highly liveable and satisfying environments. Crime opportunity reduction is important, but it will never create a neighbourhood, where people are satisfied and participate in pro-social behaviour that sustains a safe environment that they find fulfilling. As an integrative approach, the Third-Generation CPTED offers a way to sustain both crime prevention and different aspects of liveability in a neighbourhood. Figure 2.1 graphically depicts how neighbourhood liveability hierarchy informed by Maslow's theory of human motivation corresponds to liveability outcomes in those neighbourhoods.

2.3 Third-Generation CPTED—The 4 S Strategies for Liveability

2.3.1 *Hierarchy of Needs and Liveability*

The preponderance of scientific thinking currently uses Maslow's hierarchy not so much as a precise predictive theory, but rather as a conceptual framework for explaining how people satisfy their own needs in their everyday life. In urban planning, these concepts are generally termed "quality of life" or, more specifically, "liveability" (Kihl et al. 2005; Conger 2015; Gough 2015).

They allow us to see urban environments from the perspective of high, medium or low levels of liveability depending on what level needs on Maslow hierarchy they have the power to address. Indeed, there are a number of liveability indices employed around the world today to assess the quality of life of different cities from

the perspective of health, safety, job opportunities and general happiness of residents. For decades, economists, urban planners, demographers and others focused on the macroconditions of urban places around the world have used these indices to craft different policies to improve city and neighbourhood liveability. They is, therefore, an immensely useful tool for assessing and improving the quality of life, and it is from this standpoint that we adopt the hierarchy of human needs, and the liveability that it infers, into the Third-Generation CPTED.

Below we propose four strategies to plan and develop neighbourhoods that offer opportunities for achieving high-level outcomes, including ways to sustain crime prevention along with other types of sustainability.

2.3.2 *The 4 S Strategies*

Liveability and sustainability are intrinsically connected. Gough (2015) writes that communities cannot be sustainable unless people want to live in them and that people need to have a say in identifying liveability preferences in order to ensure long-term environmental, economic and social impacts. While liveability focuses on the present, sustainability focuses on the future; it is therefore crucial that that two are reconciled to achieve the highest-level outcomes.

The four proposed sustainability strategies depicted below on a diagram (Fig. 2.2) are: (a) environmental sustainability, (b) social sustainability, (c) economic sustainability and (d) public health sustainability. The four strategies are conceived of as sustainability strategies because of the need for a future-oriented dimension that considers long-term impacts instead of short-lived outcomes (National Research Council 2002).

Fig. 2.2 4 S strategies of the third-generation CPTED



These four strategies are culminated from the body of CPTED-related research and from recent trends in urban developments that highlight the need for considering these four elements for safe and sustainable city and neighbourhood development. They are closely related to achieving high-level outcomes on the Maslow hierarchy of needs and thus high liveability outcomes for neighbourhood residents.

Taken individually, there is empirical support for the preventive mechanisms in each of the Third-Generation strategies. For example, public health research demonstrates how physical exercise through neighbourhood walking enhances safety from crime (Loh et al. 2018). Similarly, environmental factors also contribute preventive impact, such as how street tree canopies contribute to reduced street crime (Troy et al. 2012). Moreover, investment in local infrastructure and economy (Montolio 2018) and the focus on social sustainability through grassroots community-based developments (Peterman 1999) have enhanced the quality of life for local residents and reduced crime. Such high-performing neighbourhoods provide a more robust and long-term solution to prevent crime and achieve a higher quality of life. Taken together, these factors point to the powerful role of integrating these diverse approaches to generate local opportunities for psychological wellbeing and to develop resilient, liveable neighbourhoods. They also provide the basis for Maslow's hierarchy of human needs as the framework for an integrated theory of crime prevention.

The strategies we propose for the Third-Generation CPTED not only draw and relate to other disciplines but also connect with one another. The interactive nature of the four sustainability strategies (4 S) explicated below means that the strategies, when implemented effectively, intensify the effect of one another and therefore enhance liveability.

2.3.2.1 Environmental Sustainability

One of the first attempts to create a Third-Generation CPTED was the UNICRI and MIT (2011) publication, *Improving Urban Security Through Green Environmental Design: New Energy for Urban Security*. The authors concluded the pathway to the Third-Generation CPTED was through technological enhanced urban navigation to reduce (a) the distance travelled from one destination to another and (b) the amount of energy expended in carbon consuming vehicles. Another was controlling pollution through urban waste reduction and reprogramming the urban environment to use more recycled materials. Of course, these are all excellent suggestions to enhance the quality of life in neighbourhoods, although the direct link to crime was rather vague. However, there are many more direct links to quality of life and crime through environmental sustainability.

Environmental sustainability comes in many forms. This includes the damaging effects from urban designs without enough greenery and too many artificial materials such as asphalt, concrete and steel. Overuse of artificial materials results from sprawl design, excessively large roadways in suburban areas and low-density commercial

strips in downtowns. This produces green-deficit areas with many deleterious health impacts.

For example, artificial materials create heat islands within urban areas, a well-known climatological impact that drains energy, increases electricity usage from air conditioning, increases greenhouse gases and adds to global warming. Heat islands also increase psychological stresses in residents of neighbourhoods without the means to cool themselves, especially low-income communities (many of which already suffer higher crime rates). The heat-violence relationship has been documented in the criminological literature for decades (Harries 1994), and the environmental impact from green-deficient neighbourhoods is also well known (Kats and Jarrell 2019; Chang et al. 2010).

There are other public health disadvantages of green-deficit neighbourhoods in the form of air pollution and ozone production. One study from Baltimore describes how greening low-income areas in a much more intensive way will improve public health: "...based on the ozone analysis, the health benefits for Baltimore's low-income neighbourhoods are about 1.5 times greater per person than the benefits for the average city resident" (Kats and Jarrell 2019, p. 225). Another study puts the impact in much starker terms: "Our estimates suggest that the monetary cost of heat-induced crime incurred by the highest poverty neighbourhoods is five times larger than that incurred by more affluent areas" (Heilmann et al. 2021, p. 104,408).

There are other indirect effects from environmental sustainability, quality of life and crime such as how the greening of vacant lots decreases gun assaults (Branas et al. 2011) and, as mentioned above, the impact of street tree canopies on reduced street crime (Troy et al. 2012).

Environmental research provides many tactics that can improve conditions for mitigating the environment/crime linkages. These include:

- Increasing the percentage of trees, urban gardens, and vegetation in a neighbourhood. In some residential areas the available greenery is very limited, often less than 20% of the surrounding area. Landscape architects have many inventive ways to increase the greenery in a neighbourhood to 35% or 40% of the area. These include rooftop gardens, community gardens, greening boulevards with suitable groundcovers such as grasscrete, and green walls with different forms of ivy (Cui et al. 2021).
- Conducting an asset map inventory of "third places", where social gatherings can occur for socialising, recreation (such as board games, music, or storytelling). Many elderly residents, disabled residents or others are trapped within their apartments in that they may not have safe, or comfortable, places to socialise in public, and by creating an inventory of the places of pro-social deficits in the neighbourhood, local residents can plan positives uses of public places (Mehta and Bosson 2010).
- Placemaking in poor environmental areas, such as vacant lots, abandoned buildings and "no-man's land" areas. By reprogramming dead environmental areas with pro-social activities, it is possible to turn land use deficits into assets (Garvin et al. 2013). Further, during extremely hot days when older buildings may not

have adequate cooling, trapped residents risk physical stresses from overheating. By locating outdoor places with adequate overhead cover and tree canopies, and plentiful breeze, trapped residents might have ways to use the surrounding environment in a pro-social way. This will also decrease the power usage for air conditioning, thereby saving energy (Gilstad-Hayden et al. 2015).

2.3.2.2 Social Sustainability

Social sustainability strategy is defined as:

A process for creating sustainable, successful places that promote wellbeing, by understanding what people need from the places they live and work. Social sustainability combines design of the physical realm with design of the social world – infrastructure to support social and cultural life, social amenities, systems for citizen engagement and space for people and places to evolve. (Woodcraft et al. 2012, p. 16)

Social sustainability hinges on social cohesion, a concept central to the Second-Generation CPTED (Saville and Cleveland 2008). In academic circles, it is also known as collective efficacy (Sampson et al. 1997; Sampson 2012). Social dimensions of society are frequently measured; however, there is little attention to the social sustainability of places, at least in comparison to research regarding environmental and economic sustainability. Social sustainability therefore remains a somewhat understudied and unclear concept within academic circles, where different authors tend to develop their own definitions (Colantonio 2009).

Social sustainability relates to urban regeneration and development. It is crucial for fostering a sense of belonging and for developing balanced neighbourhoods that maintain a high level of interpersonal connectedness between inhabitants, a feature of social life that protects neighbourhoods from internal tensions and irreconcilable differences (Dixon 2011). There is additional research suggesting that well-entrenched social sustainability within a neighbourhood helps mitigate future problems (Woodcraft et al. 2012, p. 7). Socially sustainable communities are also more resilient (Magis 2010) and can therefore respond much more effectively and efficiently to challenges such as natural disasters or pandemics.

Woodcraft et al. (2012) identified four groups of building blocks for promoting social sustainability: (a) amenities and social infrastructure; (b) social and cultural life; (c) voice and influence; and (d) space to grow. In concert, these building blocks provide opportunities in physical and social space for local communities to form lasting attachment to the neighbourhood, build social capital and form interpersonal relationships.

In his infamous book *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) blames the collapse of civic and social life with the decline in social capital in the USA since the 1960s—particularly feelings of alienation and isolation—due to pressures of time, finances, mobility and urban sprawl, television and generational differences. These are the challenges that can be addressed with a coherent action, political will, partnerships and community involvement.

One example of social sustainability comes from the once-troubled Toronto San Romanoway housing complex that experienced decades of major crime and social disengagement issues (Saville 2009). It did not change until special attention was given to organising residents into a non-profit association to systematically address dozens of problems at the site over a multi-year timeframe. Assisted by the landlord and local social organisations, the non-profit association helped improve spaces for social interaction, created youth programmes through sports and afterschool activities, constructed a large community garden, developed apprenticeship programmes, as well as arts and music programmes. By engaging local residents in social and recreational activities to improve their daily lives and also ensuring their neighbourhood association remained active and focused on preventing crime and improving social conditions, the positive effects of these changes have endured for over 20 years (Mihinjac 2018).

Steenbeek and Hipp (2011) also empirically demonstrated that social characteristics are influenced by several dimensions of social sustainability. On an example of a longitudinal Dutch study, they found socioeconomic status, neighbourhood stability, and social cohesion predicted social control and that neighbourhood disorder that leads to reduced neighbourhood stability and diminished social controls fuels more disorder. The socioeconomic makeup and neighbour relationships therefore warrant special attention when considering social sustainability.

The discourse on social sustainability transcends into the discussion of built environment. Land use, local infrastructure and amenities, activity and gathering places and third places are only some examples that are essential in any thriving neighbourhood. For example, Oldenburg (1989) who coined the term “third places”—places outside home and work that serve as informal gathering places—emphasised the importance of such places for vibrant social life in the neighbourhood. He emphasised the importance of such places across different ages and social strata in the neighbourhood and was critical about post-war planning practices and suburbia that designed neighbourhoods to protect rather than connect people from the neighbourhood (Oldenburg 1997). Williams and Hipp (2019) empirically supported this notion that third places support neighbour interaction and lead to greater social cohesion, especially in poorer neighbourhoods, where the residents are more likely to resort to available opportunities within their home neighbourhood.

Some tactics that could be used to promote socially sustainable neighbourhoods include:

- Special attention should be given to urban design practices. Evidence shows that compact walkable neighbourhoods that include services and amenities that attract people are conducive to informal social interactions and offer a potential for building social cohesion (Talen and Koschinsky 2014). It is paramount that those places are equitable and inclusive to ensure they cater various age, cultural and gender groups (Pineo 2020). The urban planning principles of Smart Growth, with their emphasis on walkability and human-scale development, offer urban design opportunities for neighbourhood connectivity with easy access to mobility and various neighbourhood amenities (Goetz 2005).

- Attention to “collaborative urban design” in the neighbourhood and planning practices that provide opportunities for participation of different demographical groups with principles of equity and diversity in mind. Sufficient room should be given to “flexible places” and “meanwhile places” (Woodcraft et al. 2012) that attract creative participation and offer the novelty effect. Tactical urbanism and pop-up shops approaches complement these design practices. “Third places” play an especially important role in the neighbourhoods with limited structured activities and in neighbourhoods with “social deserts”.
- A successful neighbourhood consists of active residents who have a voice, direct influence and stewardship over various questions pertaining to their living environments. Community organising and local governance are therefore central to socially sustainable neighbourhoods. Local governments should embrace partnerships with local residents and civic organisations and provide a platform for residents to develop leadership skills and build capacity to solve problems. Safe-Growth, a neighbourhoods community development and safety planning method, offers one such approach (Saville 2018). A social sustainable neighbourhood will have those participatory practices and partnerships between various local and city actors embedded in its daily operations.
- Each neighbourhood team also needs a central physical place that serves as its own “command centre”. A neighbourhood hub or community centre with an active neighbourhood association could offer such a place where local democratic decision-making occurs. This neighbourhood hub should be a dedicated place where the neighbourhood leadership team comes together on a regular basis to identify neighbourhood priorities and concerns and develop an action plan to move forward.

2.3.2.3 Economic Sustainability

Economic sustainability strategies refer to a viable means of economic production for current and future generations. Yet when basic human needs are not met because of inadequate means of production to ensure mere survival, there are limited prospects for economic sustainability.

An extensive body of research shows indisputable relationship among income inequality, disadvantage and crime and their negative effect on social capital (Kawachi et al. 1999; Fajnzylber et al. 2002; Papachristos et al. 2018). Neighbourhoods that suffer from unemployment and low income are generally also characterised as neighbourhoods with socioeconomic problems and are frequently associated with higher levels of crime. When economic standard is low, access to employment opportunities and other basic needs may be limited which further perpetuates this vicious cycle. Because economic and social sustainability are intrinsically linked, economically sustainable neighbourhoods also tend to be socially sustainable.

Following the 2008–09 global recession, one study looked at the impact of local investment policies on unemployment and crime rates across 900 Catalonian municipalities. The study found a significant drop in crime rates and reduced unemployment numbers resulting from this boost (Montolio 2018). However, these results were short-lived because the sustainability of this policy received little attention. Another study found an increasing number of coffee shops—as a proxy of gentrification measurement and increase in neighbourhood economic status—were associated with decline in homicide in White, Hispanic and Black neighbourhoods (Papachristos et al. 2011). However, the same study found an increased number of street robberies in Black neighbourhoods that underwent gentrification. Finally, Grogan and Proscio (2000) showed how a combination of social and economic investment policies that relied on collaboration between public–private partnerships and grassroots non-profit organisations addressed some of the persistent neighbourhood problems and successfully revived some of the USA’s most disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The results of these studies speak to the importance of considering social sustainability together with economic sustainability to endure the effect of initiatives and to ensure socially responsible and ethical economic practices.

One successful example of a local economic initiative represents a Hollygrove Market & Farm from New Orleans that supported local agricultural businesses and generated local economy that was reinvested back into the neighbourhood community (Wolnik 2018). While successfully operating for over a decade, the land that was home to the Market since its inception was eventually sold for other purposes. During its operational years, however, the farm offered a platform to many local business providers and it created numerous economic and learning opportunities for various age groups and, importantly, became a place of local pride, relationship building and neighbourhood revenue generation.

Because our unit of analysis in the Third-Generation CPTED is the neighbourhood, we embrace the concept of local economy on a neighbourhood level rather than the macro-economic level. With the advent of “thinking globally, living locally”, local means of production and local economy have gained traction suggesting that “Without prosperous local economies, the people have no power and the land no voice” (Berry 2001). Moreover, as the pandemic has shifted our routines so that we spend more time in our neighbourhoods, the demand for local services and production has increased which created increased opportunities for emergence of local business.

Some tactics that can be incorporated to foster economic sustainability include:

- Develop neighbourhood infrastructure that will create space for local businesses and services. “Pop-up shops” may offer new and small business temporary retail space to feature their products and services and introduce themselves to the neighbourhood. Support creativity of local business developers.
- Support local businesses with neighbourhood investment funds, affordable retail space, job creation and mentorship programmes. The neighbourhood might incentivise certain types of business to address local demand.
- Develop special employment transition and reintegration programmes for individuals with criminal history. Unemployment is a common reason for recidivism, and

criminal history makes finding employment more difficult. Focusing on reintegration as an economic sustainability tactic can be beneficial for that individual who becomes a productive member of the neighbourhood as well as the neighbourhood community in the long run.

2.3.2.4 Public Health Sustainability

In the Second-Generation CPTED, the principle called social cohesion plays a large role for improving conditions to reduce crime (Cleveland and Saville 1997). The original formulation of social cohesion was divided into two parts—one relating to what urban sociologists call collective efficacy and another referring to interpersonal relations between individual residents and psychological traits like self-esteem. Based on recent findings in the neurological and cognitive sciences, our estimation is that the concept of positive esteem, along with other aspects of the socio-psychological life of residents, fits more appropriately into the public health sustainability of a neighbourhood.

There are two dimensions to public health sustainability—physical health and emotional health. For example, one neighbourhood employing a SafeGrowth urban planning method to reduce crime discovered that an outdoor public health strategy for reducing obesity (walking exercises in large groups) resulted in improved feelings of safety and enhanced the mental health of residents. When residents banded together in physical exercise and engaged in a pro-social activity, they not only reduced street illegal activity and their own fears of walking outdoors, but they also reduced their mental stress from their constant fear from illegal street activities (Tudor 2018; Mihinjac and Saville 2020).

In contemporary psychological terms, it is the general emotional intelligence of residents within specific places that plays a major role in whether residents feel comfortable socialising and working with others to deal with crime problems. Victims of crime, or family-based crime such as domestic assault, often suffer post-traumatic stress and exhibit poor physical health (Ardino 2012), which in turn has a major impact on their quality of life. If they are fearful, or in some way traumatised, due to the existence of crime events, neighbourhood blight or interpersonal conflicts where they reside or work, it is not likely they will engage in local activities or pro-social behaviours.

Clearly, public health plays a major role in neighbourhood safety and quality of life.

For example, as mentioned above, there is considerable research emerging regarding the role of trauma and subsequent offending behaviour (Ardino 2012; Lowe et al. 2016). If family members have no nearby social or peer supports, they have no way to learn how to respond to family dysfunction such as violence or substance abuse, factors that have a direct impact on childhood violence.

Research shows direct correlations to crime and violence emerging from childhood traumas, many of which might be addressed in the earliest years of a child's life through pro-social activities in the neighbourhood, such as mentoring, family

counselling and substance abuse programming. It is unwise to ignore trauma-based research in a healthy neighbourhood, as illustrated in studies dating back decades:

In 1989, Widom conducted a pioneering study on 900 individuals with experience of abuse prior to the age of 11 years, and she demonstrated a clear link between trauma and antisocial behaviour, showing that such children were at a greater risk of being arrested in adolescence. (Maxfield and Widom 1996, as cited in Ardino 2012, p. 1)

Obviously, there are many useful neighbourhood-based responses that will improve both the individual mental health of residents and, in turn, the public health and quality of life in their neighbourhood. That will allow more members of that neighbourhood to feel a sense of community and participate in pro-social activities. The key is that provision of these services should be based directly within the neighbourhood with easy access for all residents. The Second-Generation CPTED illustrates that it is the proximal delivery of responses that neighbourhoods require, not some distal service delivery from a far-off central location. Specific examples include.

- Training in conflict management and emotional intelligence directly within neighbourhoods or within neighbourhood schools (Brackett 2019). Research is well established in emotional intelligence as a self-help strategy to improve social relationships (Lopes et al. 2003). In the SafeGrowth planning system (Saville 2018), practitioners establish voluntary weekly classes in a “Livability Academy”, where residents learn self-awareness and community leadership skills. Topics in their curriculum include conflict management and emotional intelligence.
- Creating locations in the neighbourhood for restorative justice and “peace circles”. These utilise the restorative justice model for conflict resolution and have significant success in resolving conflict between individuals and groups. They also are useful for helping reintegrate offenders back into their community with minimal recidivism (Fernandez 2010). Examples include the Near Westside Peacemaking Center, in Syracuse, New York (Cissner 2019).
- Building neighbourhood hubs where local organisers and residents can co-develop their own plans for recreational, economic and social places—what planners call placemaking. Hubs can offer services in assessing the psychological preconditions associated with delinquent behaviour, such as the trauma-based adverse childhood experience tests, along with counselling programmes to alleviate those adverse experiences (Reavis et al. 2013).
- Since local teens are often the victims, or perpetrators, of local crimes and incidents of delinquency, schools have a role in helping teach stress management, self-awareness and pro-social behaviour to young adults. Some families teach pro-social strategies for young people; however, this is not consistent across neighbourhoods. Therefore, local schools have an ideal opportunity to incorporate stress management methods such as meditation and mindfulness skills (Hagelin 1999). Schools can enhance pro-socialisation strategies such as the adoption of a school curriculum that employs the project-based learning (PBL) method with

community-based projects in the surrounding neighbourhood. PBL has the advantage of boosting student learning in real-life settings and also helping students interact positively with local residents (Saavedra et al. 2021).

The matrix below synthesises the 4 S strategies, the proposed tactics discussed above and possible measurement indicators (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Matrix of the third-generation CPTED strategies and measurement indicators

Strategy	Possible tactics	Possible indicators
Public health sustainability	Liveability academies with emotional intelligence and conflict management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Market penetration of academy courses in a neighbourhood • Percent of residents with conflict and emotional training and rates of disorder and crime
	Restorative justice and peacemaking centres	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recidivism of ex-offender attendees
	Neighbourhood hubs with trauma programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of residents receiving trauma programming
	School programmes in stress management and PBL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of students exposed to PBL classes and stress management • Rates of local delinquency or mental health
Environmental sustainability	Expanding the percentage of greenery through gardens, green walls, rooftop gardens, overhead canopies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of green spaces, urban gardens, rooftop greenery, etc • Percent of tree canopies, green walls, green groundcover
	Asset mapping and development of “third places”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Availability of local assets per capita; usage of “third places”
	Placemaking in vacant or dead areas. Programming those areas with pro-social activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of vacant or dead areas • Usage rates per capita of those areas with environmentally friendly activities (local food production, recycling activities)
Social sustainability	Smart Growth urban design and walkability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Walkability scores” for the neighbourhood • Number of Smart Growth designs within the neighbourhood
	Collaborative urban design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percent of urban designs in which resident collaboration was part of the process • Number of tactical urbanism projects and “third places” within the neighbourhood
	Neighbourhood governance and presence of hubs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence and active use of neighbourhood hubs for organising local activities • Extent to which local leaders organise visioning and planning activities with residents

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Strategy	Possible tactics	Possible indicators
Economic sustainability	Infrastructures for locally owned services and business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence and percentage of local services and shops • Percentage of business pop-ups and creative activities
	Local job creation/mentorship, affordable retail, neighbourhood investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of local investment • Provision and percentage of affordable retail and housing space
	Re-entry programmes for ex-offenders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision for employment transition • Provision of reintegration programmes or restorative justice for ex-offenders

2.3.3 A Theoretical Model of CPTED Generations

Taken on whole, the different generations of CPTED theory produce a far more holistic and integrated theory of environmental crime prevention. In this new version, CPTED redefines “environments” in the same holistic way that C. Ray Jeffery employed in 1971. The physical environment in which crime opportunities are reduced is now combined with the social environment in which neighbourhood cohesion creates opportunities for pro-social activities. It follows that the practice of incorporating well-designed strategies from both the First- and the Second-Generation CPTED will enhance the safety and crime prevention in a place.

However, the inspiration and liveability of a place demand that higher level human needs are also addressed and that is where the Third-Generation CPTED adds four dimensions of sustainability to CPTED theory. Graphically, the conceptual model appears below (Fig. 2.3).

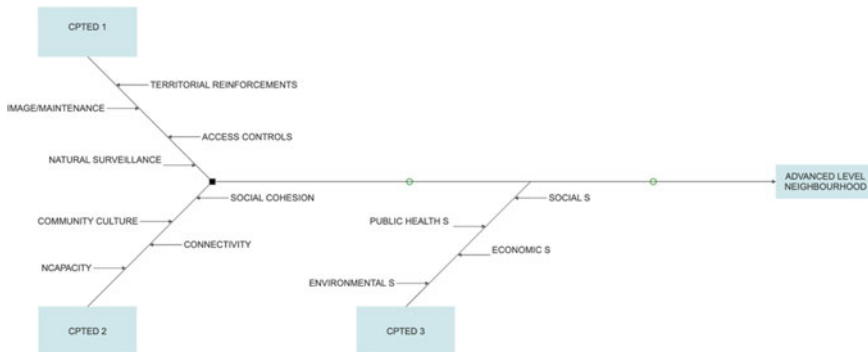


Fig. 2.3 Conceptual integrated model of the first, second and third-generation CPTED

Note that each of the three different generations contains four independent strategies, and each of those strategies may include a host of specific tactics to implement CPTED. The four strategies are not prescriptive, that is to say not every strategy in the First Generation must be in place prior to implementing strategies in the other generations. For example, if a neighbourhood employs ample street and walkway lighting to improve natural surveillance in risky areas, but no access control strategies in adjacent properties, that neighbourhood may still adopt social cohesion strategies in the Second-Generation CPTED or environmental sustainability strategies in the Third-Generation CPTED. The main point is that as each strategy from all three generations finds its way into neighbourhood design and the everyday life of residents, the neighbourhood will achieve a higher level of neighbourhood liveability. Each neighbourhood has a different starting point depending on how well advanced it is in terms of neighbourhood liveability and quality of life indicators, and each neighbourhood identifies its priorities for achieving (or maintaining) the desired level of liveability.

2.4 Conclusion

Ideally, CPTED in the First Generation will combine with more advanced styles of prevention in the Second and Third Generation. Neighbourhood developers and planners will adopt strategies from all CPTED generations since, while the First-Generation CPTED may make it difficult for offenders to offend with impunity, tactics like lighting, fencing and territorial control will never in themselves help build a sense of neighbourliness or create opportunities for achieving a satisfying neighbourhood life. In the Second-Generation CPTED, social cohesion may contribute to good neighbour relations and collective efficacy; however, those are difficult strategies to sustain if residents fail to see long-term prospects for realising their personal and creative potential in the neighbourhood where they spend most of their time. The Third-Generation CPTED offers a different way of thinking about neighbourhood liveability outcomes.

The less fulfilling our neighbourhood living environments, the more likely we are to look for engagement and stimulation somewhere else. It is within our neighbourhoods, particularly high-functioning, advanced neighbourhoods, with ample opportunities for realising our intrinsic human needs, where we will find lives of safety and satisfaction. Satisfying our highest-level Maslowian needs was once unreachable from within the First- or Second-Generation CPTED, but the Third-Generation CPTED provides new strategies for crime prevention and neighbourhood development that CPTED practitioners, planners, neighbourhood developments and local communities could employ.

The Third-Generation CPTED and the 4 S strategies amalgamate safety with neighbourhood liveability. Rapid urbanisation and the trend towards resilient and smart cities across the globe mean that we need an integrated approach that draws from a multi-disciplinary body of knowledge. This is not only how we will employ

effective crime prevention to address urban crime and safety, but it is also how we will create places within the neighbourhoods, where people can realise many of their long-term needs. Most importantly, by extending the discourse of public safety and crime prevention beyond the focus on crime, we will create opportunities for a different kind of environment in which residents will not only survive, but thrive.

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Chapter 3

Social Work and Policing: Multidisciplinary Vocational Trainings for Urban Security



Günter Stummvoll

Abstract The response to social disorder in public places is located in different professions. In this chapter, I present results and implications from an interdisciplinary vocational training project for police prevention officers and social workers. What will happen, if police and social workers get together for 5 days in a seminar on urban security? The idea of involving the police in discussions about social welfare may at first sound doubtful and odd. Can the police be considered a social service provider? Can the police be included in the governance of social services? And conversely: can social work organisations be included in the governance of security? What do social workers have to say about public order and law enforcement? How can policing and social work join forces for a safe and healthy living particularly for the benefit of vulnerable people in society? This chapter highlights some of the challenges that can arise in joint vocational trainings where police officers and social workers meet. Professional concepts on both sides are discussed in terms of their convergence to support cooperation between these opposing professions.

Keywords Vocational training · Social work · Policing · Drug prevention · Homelessness

3.1 Introduction

It was Max Weber's great achievement at the beginning of the twentieth century, to describe and explain modern capitalism as an original occidental phenomenon. Max Weber particularly emphasised *professionalism* (*Fachmenschentum*) in the modern bureaucratic state as the vital force for capitalism to develop in the Occident: the "rational systematic enterprise of specialist sciences", he claimed, existed only in the Occident (Max Weber, 2011: 12/orig. 1920). Out of a Protestant spirit, people in the West developed "a peculiar ethic" in which the profession is understood as

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“calling” (*Berufung*), a medium for the creation of meaning and self-affirmation in life (ibid.).

In today’s secular world, the spiritual motive may have been lost, but the pursuit of education to become a professional in a particular discipline is still strong, and vocational training represents an important step in anyone’s career. Perceptions about functions, responsibilities and prestige of professions are first created in career counselling for young people who make decisions towards a particular career path. Throughout vocational trainings, each discipline naturally creates its own logic and its own culture. Moreover, students become familiar with techniques, practices, work habits and with a particular work image during their early apprenticeship. Later on, a professional collective identity is maintained by artefacts such as clothing (e.g. uniforms) and languages (jargon). Dressing, gestures and language shape a particular “habitus” that is reinforced through repeated practice (Bourdieu 1977). Professionalism requires not only a high level of generalised and systematic knowledge, but also a high level of self-control according to codes in work ethics.

In short, vocational trainings convey identity and shape behaviour. In the end, each discipline seems to resemble a social micro-cosmos where expertise is expected only inside, never outside a discipline. There is at first nothing wrong with social cohesion and solidarity within a profession; it may even be an explicit aim of the training to develop a strong loyalty to the profession. However, a corporate spirit within a profession (in-group feeling) also creates stereotypes, suspicion and sometimes hostility towards “the other” (out-group feeling) (Sumner 1959/1906). Lack of understanding of other professions, their cultures, responsibilities, work concepts and behaviour are the downside of a strong corporative identity. This becomes problematic between professional groups that have a certain relevance for each other and whose operating ranges occasionally overlap.

The need to move across occupational boundaries is often neglected in vocational education and training. In most academic and non-academic fields, a one-dimensional understanding of occupations has long dominated vocational education and training, and it is still difficult to initiate a change towards interdisciplinary approaches. Multi-disciplinary education is a concept that aims to bring different professions into contact with each other to help them understand each other’s professional habitus and discover similarities and differences.

In this chapter, I want to use an example to demonstrate the significance of multi-disciplinary vocational trainings in urban security. This example refers to a 5-day joint training course for police officers and social workers.¹ This joint training course in continuous education intends to strengthen strategic partnerships between the police and social work organisations. The professions of police and social work were deliberately chosen for that project, as they represent very different service institutions that nevertheless have points of contact in urban security work.

In a first section, I introduce the management plan proposed for this training and point out the didactic structure of the curriculum as elaborated for this pilot training

¹ This joint vocational training for police and social workers was developed and tested in the European project “SWaPOL” in 2018–2021 with co-funding from the EU-programme ERASMUS+.

by the project partners. The dramaturgy in three modules will be presented together with selected didactic examples to help understand the specific social dynamics that can develop in interdisciplinary vocational trainings.

Second, I will introduce specific professional conceptual frameworks in social work and in policing that seem to be most compatible and therefore most appropriate for this interdisciplinary training: social group work, street work, community networking and socio-spatial analysis are social work inputs. Social crime prevention, community policing and problem-oriented policing are police inputs. The convergence of these concepts can be beneficial for joint cooperation in the field of urban safety.

In the last section, I will argue that the professions are more complex in terms of ideas and practices than general stereotypes may suggest. On the one hand, it is important to see different opinions about the power relations between social workers and the police. On the other hand, different images of offenders as opportunistic actors or as victims of their circumstances play a major role when it comes to strategies of collaboration in practice. These hidden ideological positions and counter-positions *within* both professions need to be exposed in order to gain the full benefit of this interdisciplinary endeavour in vocational education.

A misunderstanding must be cleared up at the beginning: the SWaPOL training scheme does not propose to establish a new subject “social work” in the police training curriculum, nor does it promote a course on “policing” in social work trainings. Rather, it is argued that in a course on crime prevention for police officers, a meeting with social workers is recommended and that social workers in a course on public space and security will benefit from a meeting with police officers.

3.2 SWaPOL Trainings: Social Work and Policing

The vocational training for social workers and police officers—in short SWaPOL training²—has been designed as a series of workshops on five consecutive days within one week. Crime prevention officers in the police and social workers in various capacities such as youth workers, street-workers, community workers, probation workers and those in drug prevention come together to work out solutions to problems of social conflict, disorder and crime in public spaces.

A general schedule for SWaPOL trainings consists of three parts: Module 1 supports exchanges between participants in the two professions regarding their organisational structures, work methods and work ethics. In general, participants are asked to locate their position in the spectrum between help and control. Module 2 puts substance use and its implications for safety in public spaces up for discussion. Here, the nexus between social and legal issues becomes especially evident, and methods of prevention and harm reduction are at the centre of discussions. Module 3 is dedicated to the problem of homelessness, which is at first clearly located in the

² See also the project webpage <http://www.swapol.eu/>.

realm of social work, but as a problem of disorder, fear and anxiety of citizens also concerns the police.

Each of the three modules applies the same three didactical methods: (1) keynote presentations; (2) games and exercises; and (3) excursions and field trips. *First*, keynote presentations are expert inputs by high-ranking guest speakers from the Ministry of Interior or police headquarters, academics in social work, criminology, pedagogy, social geography and practitioners who work in social work facilities. *Second*, games and exercises are important to create a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. This includes role play about real work scenarios; establishing word clouds as a means to express stereotypes; discussions on the drugs wheel³ (a game designed to discuss substances and their potential physiological and psychological effects); and quizzes and other playful activities to enhance interaction between participants. Here, sufficient time shall be dedicated to discussions that may arise on certain topics. *Third*, excursions and field trips are important to exchange views about observations while walking together through hot-spot areas and during visits to social service facilities, for example, in-patient facilities for substance users, youth centres and homelessness facilities.

SWaPOL trainings turn away from a conventional teacher–student relationship with its one-way education process. Instead, the training pursues a participatory approach as SWaPOL lecturers give a thematic impulse and then moderate a discussion. One reason for the suggestion for SWaPOL trainings to address mature or experienced students in policing and social work is the advantage of sufficient practical experience, but also the fact that high personal competences are useful throughout this training: creativity, problem solving, communication skills and teamwork are some of the required attributes. The general prerequisites for this training are *cognitive competences* to generalise from specific situations to overall concepts and in turn apply general concepts to specific situations; to make connections between single cases to form a synthesis; to evaluate situations in public space according to given criteria; and to analytically deconstruct situations and show its structure. In addition, *affective competences* and self-control in relation to attitudes, values and feelings are needed for the development of interest, insight and understanding for others.⁴ Finally, creative thinking and a good sense of humour will make role plays and exercises a success. These competences of participants will be helpful for a constructive work atmosphere.

In the following, I will introduce a metaphor to visualise activities in SWaPOL workshops. This metaphor of the dramaturgy is of course reminiscent of the US sociologist Erving Goffman, who first used it to describe the role performance of actors in social situations (Goffman 1959). In the dramaturgical model, social life is seen as though played out by actors on a stage, because how we act depends on the roles we are playing in a particular situation. Here, the “front-stage” is presented, on which participants “act out”.

³ <http://www.thedrugswheel.com/>.

⁴ See Biggs and Tang (2011) for details on “constructive alignment” and “student-centred learning” in higher education.

3.2.1 *Raise the Curtain!*

Imagine the SWaPOL training course as a theatre play: persons from different professional backgrounds play different roles as they bring their expertise to the stage. The following characters appear: first, the *course coordinator* plays the role of the director who writes the script for the course programme, designs the sets and makes all practical preparations for the performance. Second, *course facilitators* explain exercises and lead discussions. Third, *guest speakers* are academic experts and well-informed practitioners. *Academic experts* give statements using theoretical concepts and empirical data for reflections. Experienced, maybe high-ranking, *practitioners* give insights into their professions. Fourth, *participants* in the training are considered as experts in their fields and bring in experiences from their everyday work. Finally, there is the *target group of vulnerable people*, who shall be heard at excursions and during field trips and are thus included in the play.

This theatre play resembles an “improvisational theatre” with a vague script and uncertain outcome. Guest speakers design their presentations, and discussions are free to unfold. No two training workshops will be alike. However, the training is not meant as entertainment or a show, but rather presents a place where knowledge and expertise are acquired, hopefully in a friendly atmosphere.

Although the script for the 5-day training is relatively flexible, all players on that stage should have a good understanding about the general goals and intentions of this training. Some general rules of conduct should be communicated in a briefing prior to the SWaPOL training: open-mindedness towards all issues and target groups, support for basic human rights and rejection of discrimination of vulnerable people are commitments that all participants must accept. Also, co-trainers, guest speakers and participants should be prepared, at least for the time of training sessions, to practise what Erving Goffman called “role distance”, or the interim alienation of the actor from his usual role (Goffman 1961). This means that experts need to “outgrow” their usual professional role and show that their identity is not totally exhausted in fulfilling the behavioural norms and duties of their profession. Accordingly, in their engagement in communication with others, they are asked to practise role distancing as far as possible. This is certainly a high demand on all participants.

3.2.2 *SWaPOL on Stage*

Experiences from pilot trainings show that it is very important to first dedicate sufficient time reviewing and exchanging ideas about professional cultures, identities and stereotypes. It will quickly become clear that police and social workers meet with good intentions but show deep-seated differences in the perception of the problem of public order. Both professions deal with public order problems such as substance use and crime in the wake of hooliganism, prostitution, domestic violence and others, but hold different views on respective problem solutions. There are indeed two sides

to the problem: substance users, homeless persons and migrants are often in need of social and medical care, and at the same time, they are considered a problem of safety and security. Police and social workers envisage different responses and therefore send ambiguous and incoherent signals to vulnerable people in public spaces.

Module 1 is designed to support a first exchange about occupational stereotypes and to foster clarifications about the legal basis, organisational structures, responsibilities and tactics. This process may be supported by an exercise in which participants introduce each other to their overall training curriculums and point to priorities in their training schedules. In the debate, police officers will refer to the police code of conduct, the criminal code and administrative law as the basis for their actions. They will explain the organisational structure and the respective internal division of labour in different departments. Social workers will point to the basic human rights, the right to receive assistance in personal development and self-responsibility, they will highlight the child and youth welfare act as the legal basis for social interventions, and they will refer to the network of associations and possibly to connections with religious and medical services. Moreover, participants will realise different levels of constraints due to a more or less hierarchical structure in organisations. Flexibility and constraints to act in organisations provide much material for discussions, especially with regard to cooperation with other organisations. Finally, participants will recognise differences in the relationship with people in the community: social workers are seen as trusted persons; and police officers are seen as distant authorities. Module 1 is about familiarising participants with the specifics and peculiarities of the other occupational group and about understanding the cultural and administrative backgrounds that determine their actions. It is hoped that insight leads to understanding, and finally to appreciation and sympathy.

The case of substance use in public spaces, examined in **Module 2**, often presents a point of conflict between social workers and police officers. Psycho-active substance use is a problem for both the police and social workers, but they pursue different approaches in response to that problem. If it is considered a health problem (addiction), social workers use harm reduction methods. If it is considered a criminal offence (drug trafficking), the police argue they have to enforce the law. Without communication between actors on the ground, this different interpretation leads to fierce controversies. However, there is no quick solution to this ambivalence between harm reduction and law enforcement. The police must decide when and where to enforce the drug law and when to refrain from intervening in order to allow social workers to do their job. On the other hand, social workers should be informed about drug laws and the obligation of the police to investigate according to the police code of conduct. The SWaPOL training shall guide social workers and police prevention officers to obtain a compromise in organising joint prevention programmes that integrate expertise about substance use from both sides. Comprehensive risk models about substance abuse integrate macro-level influences (economic, social and physical environment), micro-level influences (family, school, peers) and personal characteristics (genetic susceptibilities, mental health and personal traits, neurological development, stress reactivity) (EMCDDA 2019: 35; UNODC 2013). Police and social workers can work better together, if they share their expertise on substances, the motives for substance

use, the complexity of risk factors for developing a drug dependency, the drug law and their understanding about prevention and harm reduction.

There are, however, a number of mostly hidden but critical issues that can arise in the debate. The following example, which can be used especially in this training session, shows that the issue of confidentiality is one of the most critical issues that will challenge participants in a SWaPOL course.

Example: The critical issue of confidentiality between the professions Pete was a difficult child at school. Diagnosed with ADHS he was restless, had trouble concentrating and often acted on impulse which led to early convictions for vandalism and assault. He used cannabis as self-medication to calm himself down, and later he experimented with all kinds of so-called New Psychoactive Substances (NPS), got involved in drug dealing and became heavily dependent on psychedelics and opioids.

Pete's parents supported him as much as they could until he moved out at the age of 17. One day he called his dad, saying: I lost my drugs, but I need them very urgently. Please don't tell anyone or I will get in trouble with the police. Can you come into town? Please bring money!

The first thing a sensitive father would do is call an ambulance, but that was out of question for Pete as he avoided any contact with officials. He obtained his drugs illegally and was afraid of getting caught after his latest deal. The father helped him out this time.

In this thought experiment, we can now replace the father by Cathy the social worker. Cathy is probably going to help Pete in some way to get the drugs that Pete so desperately needs to keep him going, and Cathy will keep the incident confidential. But let us now assume that Cathy has just completed a SWaPOL training course, where she met Steve, a friendly police officer, with whom business cards were exchanged and cooperation was agreed. Steve is not familiar with Pete's drama, but coincidentally on that day he calls Cathy to talk to her about plans for a police raid to thwart a big drug deal in town. How will the social worker react?

On the other hand, we can also replace the father by Steve, the police officer, who has made investigations on a drug gang and found Pete on the list of suspects. How does the police officer, who met Cathy recently in a SWaPOL training react? Will the police discuss the list of suspects with the social worker?

In a SWaPOL training, participants will insist that in reality no police officer will ever share information on a police raid with a social worker, and no social worker will share personal details of a client with the police. The case of confidentiality in the professions can trigger fundamental debates about legalisation of drugs, the purpose of police raids, the obligation for the police to take legal action, complicity in crime and more. When the dust has settled in the SWaPOL training, police officers

and social workers can begin to talk about new strategies and conceptual frameworks in crime prevention and harm reduction as a basis for cooperation.⁵

Module 3 is dedicated to the problem of homelessness, which is at first clearly located in the realm of social work. Homelessness is a multifaceted and complex social problem, and it concerns several areas in social policy beyond housing. A homeless person may be someone without a job, someone with a mental health problem, someone with an addiction problem, someone without any financial resources or a combination of it all. FEANTSA, the European Federation of National Organizations Working with the Homeless, claims there is a continuum between the status of homelessness and a stable home that contains and conceals many facets of the problem (Toro and Janisse 2004). The purpose of accepting an understanding of homelessness as a continuum rather than as a straightforward definition is to widen the scope of possible responses and to embrace aspects such as housing policies, welfare policies and migrant integration policies.

But why is homelessness a problem for police? Today, life in public space is rather anonymous, and some people are irritated when they get confronted by a stranger who simply asks for the way. In direct confrontation with homeless persons, also with beggars, mentally ill and intoxicated persons, irritation turns into discomfort and fear. Some people experience this confrontation as intrusive and react disparagingly. Alternatively, people turn to the police and complain about drunkenness, begging, racketeering, noisiness and homelessness as signs of social disorder in public space. Therefore, social disorder is a multi-dimensional social problem that is not predominantly a matter between the police and a homeless person, but rather a matter between three parties: the police, the homeless and the general public who raise complaints about social disorder. Here, police and social workers must join forces to act as conflict managers and peace-keeping officers.

3.3 Conceptual Frameworks for Interdisciplinary Trainings

SWaPOL trainings present participants with the great challenge of working out how vocational concepts can be reconciled in regard to problems such as substance use, homelessness and other forms of social disorder. In the next section, I will suggest promising approaches as inputs from both sides which all participants in SWaPOL trainings can work on. These professional approaches can be used as a conceptual basis for cooperation between police and social work in the future. First, some work concepts in social work will be introduced; second, concepts in policing are presented.

⁵ Similar ethical dilemmas in legal matters exist for medical doctors who learn of domestic violence against patients, priests who learn of a paedophile fellow church member, and for any civilian who learns of the fraud of a good neighbour.

3.3.1 *Social Work Inputs: Group Work, Street Work, Community Networking—and Socio-Spatial Analysis*

Group work is a method that deliberately uses small and manageable groups to help individuals in their processes of personal change in a positive and healthy direction. Social workers seek to harness the positive social forces of group dynamics in the change process of clients. As social workers have regular contact with clients and their immediate peers, they get a better insight in their client's personality, which helps them to develop and apply appropriate intervention measures, including personality trainings, pedagogy, employment, health promotion and housing. Moreover, social workers understand group dynamics and are familiar with social habits of local subcultures; they recognise insiders and outsiders, and understand their jargon, norms and values, including inter-personal as well as territorial demarcation lines. This knowledge can be very useful in the collaboration with other service providers in the community.

Street work is a vital element in the social work profession and particularly relevant for discussions on homelessness, drunkenness and illegal drug use in public space. The International Guide on the Methodology of Street Work throughout the World (INSSW and Dynamo International 2008) introduces principles and objectives of street work, presents practices, methods and tools and discusses contexts and challenges of street work. Here, a strong feeling of responsibility and solidarity with target groups is clearly stated. Objectives include the practice of *outreach work* to support children, youth and adults who are unable to contact health services by themselves; *motivation and accompaniment* to seek treatment, make positive choices and undertake alternative activities (school, work, hobbies); *social education* in terms of information on how to use the established remedial system, but also to guarantee that resources in the area are used accordingly to supply homeless persons with appropriate services and tools; and a *bottom-up approach* to support target groups to better adapt to social situations.

Social workers also have a strong *administrative* function in communities. In *community networking*, social workers coordinate and mobilise resources in political administrations according to their clients' needs in social well-being. Social workers play an active role in identifying social problems and in negotiating resources for their clients in order to create the best social and physical environment. This hinging function of social workers is noticed in thematic overlaps with other institutions such as psychiatry and medical services (e.g. drug rehabilitation facilities); psychology, pedagogy and child care; religion and cultural groups (migration!); architecture, urban design and landscaping (designing public spaces); and law enforcement agencies (probation work, prison services, police, private security guards). Local politicians must somehow coordinate this kaleidoscope of interests in city administrations. The way social workers present themselves in this administrative network and how they negotiate with other stakeholders is crucial for the entire process of policy administration. As we will see below, this provides a link to community policing concepts.

Table 3.1 Template for a protocol in a socio-spatial analysis

Questions in relation to the place:	Questions in relation to users in that place:
What kind of buildings are there in terms of size, function and material?	Who is using the spaces?
Are there stores, bars, restaurants, sports grounds, green spaces, housing complexes, public transport facilities, taxi stands, pedestrian zones, passages, playgrounds, streets, bicycle tracks, etc.?	How long do people stay (is it mainly a transit space or place to stay)?
What is the general character of this place? Please describe!	What are the people doing? Is there social interaction?
What kind of furniture is there? What kind of lighting is used?	Are there different generations and cultures? Are there certain groups that predominate in this place?
Are there any signs of graffiti or tagging? Political statements, signs of subcultures?	What is the mood of people who use this space?
Are there green spaces? What do they look like? What flora and fauna do you see?	Do you observe conflicts? Which kind of conflicts and what are they about?
Is there a hierarchy of public, semi-public, semi-private, private spaces?	Imagine this place in another time of year! What will change?

One example taken from the list of exercises in the SWaPOL training scheme will demonstrate the benefits of collaboration of social workers and police officers in a local area. A “*socio-spatial analysis*” is applied as an observation exercise for problem identification, when social workers and police officers (not in uniform) walk together through a so-called hot-spot area (railway stations, city squares, public parks, etc.). In this joint field visit, participants shall become sensitive to physical and social attributes of public places as they link social problems to social structures. When preparing observation protocols of places, participants will recognise differences in their socio-spatial perception due to different vocational perspectives. Table 3.1 shows an example for an observation protocol template.

Back in the classroom, observations are shared with the plenary. Then, the task is to discuss the socio-spatial nexus:

- In what way are physical and social features related? Does one cause the other?
- What determines the way people behave in the observed place?
- Are there hot spots of disorder? Are there “honey pots” (attractions to certain populations)?
- What kind of security and safety problems (may) occur, and what may be the causes for potential conflict?

Second, and separate from the analysis, a future perspective is discussed:

- What needs to be done to make this place better, nicer, safer?
- How can police and social workers act together to achieve this?

- Who else should be involved (public transport services, urban planners, product designers, schools, health services, resident associations, etc.)?

In that exercise, participants will quickly realise that they are running out of time and that a thorough socio-spatial analysis is much more comprehensive than this exercise allows. Also, this exercise can be extended to include users, employees and residents of that space. Even more important is to recognise the value of the collected material as a basis for problem solving. It will quickly become clear that this process, that also should include respective conclusions for implementation of intervention, will have to be coordinated in a full project.

In the encounter with police prevention officers in a SWaPOL training, it is particularly important to see that social workers take sides; they often show solidarity with the disadvantaged and stand up for their rights. This is something social workers do not necessarily expect from police, but maybe this will change when they learn about concepts such as social crime prevention, community policing and problem-oriented policing.

3.3.2 Police Inputs: Social Crime Prevention, Community Policing and Problem-Oriented Policing

What special tactics can the police offer to social workers to invite them into security and safety partnerships? Naturally, approaches in *social crime prevention* resonate better with social workers than strategies for opportunity reduction through target hardening and surveillance. Social crime prevention has been defined as “aims to strengthen socialisation agencies and community institutions in order to influence those groups that are most at risk of offending” (Bright 1991: 64; quoted in: Hughes 1998: 20). This broad definition allows a variety of interventions in local neighbourhoods, in schools and in youth organisations. However, it is not clear from this definition on what basis and by whom it is decided who belongs to these vulnerable groups. Here, it is suggested that police and social work associations make this decision together as they are planning prevention measures.

Further, Sutton et al. (2008) specified:

Social prevention tries to reduce the likelihood that individuals or groups will include crime in their repertoire of behaviours by strengthening informal (immediate and extended family, neighbourhood networks, peer group) and institutionally based (e.g. in education, work, culture and sport) incentives to be law abiding. (Sutton et al. 2008: 22).

Here, the term “incentives to be law abiding” needs specification. Informal incentives address the immediate social environment of young people to involve them in social interventions. Using peers, school and family as informal control agencies is a welcome extension to the formal, sometimes repressive control strategies by authorities. In SWaPOL trainings, a fierce discussion may develop on the question of shared responsibility of criminal justice and social welfare institutions. How can policing

programmes be merged with social welfare programmes? Are social problems an issue for criminal justice authorities at all? More recently, the fight against crime and social disorder has become a policy-mix of social welfare services and case- and place-specific security interventions. Two examples of *social crime prevention* shall demonstrate the close intertwining of social work and criminal justice institutions.

First, the police can be involved in school-based counselling programmes that focus on substance use and prevention of violence. The aim of these programmes is to raise legal awareness, improve conflict resolution skills, promote responsible use of digital media and encourage low-risk substance use. Similar programmes exist around the world, sometimes supplemented by pre-school programmes, anti-bullying programmes, individual personality training, psychological and mental support, group therapy in class, parent training and others (Farrington 2002; Welsh and Farrington 2012).

Second, “social network conferences” support young people who have come in contact with the criminal justice system. For example, in so-called family group conferences offenders meet their family networks under supervision of probation workers to develop a realistic and binding plan for their personal future (Burford 2000). This plan shall then support the court in its decision for alternative measures to prosecution, i.e. conditional dismissal or a suspension of a prison sentence. The aim of these conferences is to work towards milder measures for juveniles as alternatives to imprisonment.⁶

In general, *social crime prevention* offers interventions under controlled circumstances. The specific role of the police shall be discussed in SWaPOL trainings in regard to general concepts. A reference to *community policing* as another crucial concept in crime prevention will be helpful at that point:

Community policing focuses on crime and social disorder through the delivery of police services that includes aspects of traditional law enforcement, as well as prevention, problem solving, community engagement and partnerships. The community policing model balances reactive responses to calls for services with proactive problem-solving, centred on the causes of crime and disorder. Community policing requires police and citizens to join together as partners in the course of both identifying and effectively addressing these issues (Fisher-Stewart 2007, pp. 3–4).

⁶ *Youth Justice Family Group Conferences* were first introduced in 1989 in New Zealand, where this intervention was first applied as a form of restorative justice for young Maori offenders (MacRae 2004).

This definition represents a compromise between conventional police work and partnership-based crime prevention and can be put up for discussion as to how it should be applied in practice.

Community policing is based on the idea that police officers and citizens build constructive and valuable strategic partnerships to address community concerns related to crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder in neighbourhoods. This model of policing requires the police to develop a close relationship with citizens, allowing them greater involvement in the process of identification of security needs in the community. Community policing stresses that the police cannot successfully investigate or prevent crime without active participation of citizens. Therefore, police should contribute to transform communities from being passive consumers of police protection to active co-producers of public safety (Bayley and Shearing 1996).

The organisation of community-based crime prevention involves a re-orientation of patrol activities towards non-emergency servicing, engagement in local community safety partnerships, increased police accountability to local communities and the decentralisation of command structures. It thus involves major changes in the customary roles of the police. The use of tactics such as informal foot patrols and participation in community meetings facilitate exchange of information between the police and communities (Skogan and Hartnett 1999).

According to the principles in community policing, the quality of policing is measured by how much police officers know about the people in their district, not by how many arrests they make (Kappeler et al. 2020). Still, from the perspective of social work, police involvement in local communities is a delicate matter. Social workers challenge the police and ask: what information other than criminal offences do the police need to know about our clients? According to this logic, the police are accused of spying on people's privacy. How does the police justify that?

One possible response is to invoke the principle of proportionality, as it is usually applied to the use of police force: the need to use force follows the potential threat in a situation; accordingly, the need to know any details about people and their living conditions in a community arises from the severity of the perceived problems of physical and social disorder. From a police perspective, prevention is mostly a reaction to a series of incidents in the past which make up a structural problem and require proactive intervention beyond criminal investigation.

This way of argumentation is very similar to the concept Goldstein called *problem-oriented policing* (Goldstein 1990). Scott and Goldstein⁷ define “key elements of problem-oriented policing”, in which they place a *problem* rather than a crime, a case, calls, or incidents at the centre of police work. Here, a *problem* is something that concerns to citizens, not just the police. Addressing problems, the authors claim, means more than quick fixes: it means dealing with conditions that create problems. In problem-oriented policing, the police focus their efforts on the causes rather than on symptoms of security problems. Whereas in this approach the police are dedicated to mobilising other policy actors in security and safety partnerships, and community

⁷ See: <https://popcenter.asu.edu/content/key-elements-problem-oriented-policing-0>.

policing officers emphasise the development of strong partnerships with residents and traders in the community (Braga 2008).

3.4 Whose Side Are You on? Positions and Counter-Positions in Interdisciplinary Education

Pilot trainings in the project were peaceful and friendly, but was that just a coincidence? Was this due to skilful recruiting of participant by partner organisations in the police academies and universities of applied science? Who in the police and who in social work turned away when they first heard about this interdisciplinary training—and why?

In this final section of the chapter, I will argue that professions are not as coherent in their ideologies and tactics as we first thought or as their stereotypes suggest. At this point, it may be useful to have a clearer picture of ideologies and paradigms *within* the professions that will oppose the idea of interdisciplinarity between policing and social work. This is not to exclude people in the recruitment process or to help course organisers select the “right” people for their trainings, but rather to understand the resistance that can occur in training administrations against multidisciplinary education and to prepare conveners for potential conflicts in a joint training with police officers and social workers.

3.4.1 *Conventional and Progressive Social Work*

The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) presents social work as a unitary profession following a Global Agenda for Social Work and Social Development, a Global Social Work Statement of Ethical Principles, and Global Standards for Social Work Education and Training. All these documents refer to a Global Definition of Social Work.⁸

Not everyone in the social work academia fully agrees with this alleged unanimity. For example, Mullaly and Dupré claim that “(t)here is no consensus within social work with respect to the ideal nature of society, or the nature and functions of the welfare state, or the nature and political consequences of social work practice” (Mullaly and Dupré 2019: 2). Mullaly and Dupré recognise two opposing ideologies in social work, *conventional* and *progressive*, with severe consequences for the

⁸ “Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledges, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing”. See <https://www.iaasw-aiets.org/>.

vocational self-image and hence for orientation towards other professions, especially state authorities.

The *conventional* view “acknowledges that social problems do exist but defines them in terms of personal difficulties or immediate environmental issues that require social work intervention either to help people cope with or to adjust to existing institutions or to modify existing policies in a limited fashion” (ibid.: 4). The conventional or conservative view in social work tends to focus predominantly on individuals as both the source of and the solution to problems. Also, a change of the individual’s environment is limited to the family, the community, the school or the workplace.

In contrast, a *progressive* view “does not believe that our present social institutions are capable of adequately meeting human need” (ibid.: 4). Proponents of a progressive or critical, sometimes radical, view in social work criticise the system as unjust and strive for a fundamental transformation of society and its institutions. From their perspective, social justice in the conservative sense is defined only in terms of the distribution and redistribution of society’s resources, “which excludes doing anything about the social institutions, policies, processes and practices responsible for the inequitable distribution in the first place” (Mullaly and Dupré 2019: 14). The support for conventional perspective is generally associated with consensus-theories such as psychoanalysis, structural functionalism and ecological approaches. On the other hand, conflict theories such as (Neo-)Marxism, multiculturalism, feminism, political economy and structuralism, form the ideological background for social workers in the progressive, critical or radical sphere.

This tension between ideologies in the social work profession can spiral in SWaPOL trainings when the notion of *social order* is discussed: the goals of conventional social workers are well consistent with the order perspective regarding social problems, as this generally means a restoration of social order in terms of rehabilitation, re-socialisation, counselling and advocacy in order to help individuals to better fit into the mainstream society. It is also compatible with a partnership approach in policing, if the police show a sincere interest in problem solving and social crime prevention. Conventional social workers and social order theorists consider disorder as deviance, as social disorganisation and as a loss of collective consciousness that needs to be restored. In contrast, progressive critical theorists in social work interpret disorder as a normal consequence of exploitive and alienating practices of dominant and powerful groups, and therefore call for change at all social, economic and political levels.

“A conflict analysis of society reveals who is benefiting from established social arrangements; it shows how domination is maintained; and it suggests what must be done to bring about changes in power and resources” (Mullaly and Dupré 2019: 212).

A radical social work approach does not exclude intervention with individuals, families and subcultures, but social workers in this tradition would always emphasise the link between people’s private troubles and the structural causes of these troubles inherent in the political economy. And this is the *thorny moment* in an

encounter between radical social workers and members of state authorities, especially the police, who according to their logic must defend and guarantee the status quo in regard to public order.

3.4.2 *Variants of Crime Prevention*

Like the division of ideologies in social work, police officers also bring different beliefs and personal convictions about their job to the SWaPOL trainings. This training is dedicated for prevention officers in the police force, and still, what prevention is, and what people do when they practise prevention, can turn into a fierce debate. I will try to briefly deconstruct that notion to help understand possible confrontations among participants in the training. I will distinguish two positions: a rational choice perspective and scientific positivism.

An important element in crime prevention certainly is deterrence by detection of a crime and respective legal consequences. Today, deterrence of crime implies a dense network of surveillance measures by the authorities often supported by complex surveillance technologies. This position is traditionally strong within the police, and it justifies all kinds of formal control measures in the name of law enforcement within the daily performance of police officers. There are several underlying assumptions about individuals in this “classical” approach to crime prevention. First, human beings are seen as self-seeking and self-interested individuals. Their equal capacity to reasons and hence free will and individual choice forms a *voluntaristic view* of human nature. Second, it follows that criminality is primarily seen as a matter of making the wrong choices, by violating the law; hence, individuals are held responsible for their actions. The source of criminality thus lies within the *rational choice* of individuals, who are either making intentional decisions to do wrong by weighing up rewards and consequences or engage in irrational behaviour by not using their reasons adequately.

As people make informed choices according to the principle of pleasure-and-pain, the task of police prevention officers is, first, to inform people at an early stage about the law and, second, to explain the consequences in cases of violating the law. Besides this kind of cautious warning in, for example, school-based counselling programmes (see above), police also advise the population as potential victims on how to protect their lives and properties. This includes trainings on self-protection and self-defence, giving product information on security and alarm systems for burglary prevention, and providing general advice on private property protection. In criminology, this form of “responsibilisation” has been critically discussed as an attempt by state authorities to withdraw from the role of social control and shift more and more of the burden to individuals and communities to take more responsibility for their own safety and security (Garland 1996). The police, however, insist on these tasks as a vital part of their responsibilities in crime prevention.

Another form of crime prevention that follows from the rational choice perspective is found in re-designing the physical environment in order to reduce opportunities for

offending. Opportunities for crime are given in socio-spatial situations that enable or induce a motivated offender to commit a crime. In that sense, individuals are rational utility maximisers who carefully assess risks and rewards to make choices (Clarke and Eck 2005). Therefore, crime prevention needs to study and change the design of the physical environment to determine the social circumstances in places at certain times in order to deflect offenders and generate social order. Following this idea, a research tradition has developed to study carefully the social geography of crime. Crime pattern analyses, hot-spot analyses, geographic profiling, space syntax analysis and product design are some of the research fields that have grown since the 1980s in order to “design out crime”.

So, deterrence, responsabilisation and opportunity reduction represent the first set of arguments by police in a discussion on crime prevention.⁹

A second line of argumentation informed a counter-position to the “neo-classical” position. The development of positivistic perspectives constitutes a major break with the rationalistic position that saw crime primarily as a matter of individual choice. For positivists, behaviour is primarily *determined* by forces outside the immediate control of individuals. Hence, the focus of explanation of crime shifts from the situation to the personality of the individual and various biological, psychological or social influences. Here, positivism means that factors leading to criminality can be diagnosed, classified and ultimately cured in some way. Therefore, crime is not an individual choice but rather a matter of pathology of the individual caused by internal or external factors. Deviance is caused either by personality traits (impulsivity, socialisation deficits) or by the immediate social environment of the person (peers, family, community). Consequently, initiatives in crime prevention must implement individualised rehabilitation programmes at an early stage of development of juveniles. Alternatively, prevention should focus on entire communities and the pathological social conditions in neighbourhoods that determine the criminogenic tendencies of its inhabitants. The crime prevention strategy that emerged from this approach tries to foster community building and enhance social cohesion among the residents. Hope (1995) argued that the Chicago Area Project, initiated in 1932, has served as the source model for community crime prevention projects to this day, with its aim to develop opportunities for socialising young people into appropriate norms of the mainstream society.

Therefore, the second set of arguments that will be put forward by the police in SWaPOL trainings comes from the school of biological, psychological and social positivism. Participants will promote individual treatment combined with community interventions in local areas.

⁹ Some criminologists deliberately do not address the criminal justice system when classifying crime prevention and look at practices that operate outside the formal law enforcement agencies (police, courts and prisons) (e.g. Tonry and Farrington, 1995; Welsh and Farrington 2012).

3.5 Conclusion

Summing up, this short discussion of ideologies should, first, make clear that professions are incoherent regarding their functions, responsibilities and work ethics. There is neither a homogeneous cop culture (Behr 2008), nor agreement on policies within the social work professions. Assumptions about a coherent “professional habitus” or collective identity are inadequate and in fact counter-productive in interdisciplinary trainings in urban security, particularly as the SWaPOL training scheme is transferred to and applied in different countries and continents. General vocational attitudes and the preparedness for collaboration between different stakeholders are contingent, first, on political stances on a national and regional level and, second, on the systems of vocational education.

Second, it shows that the composition of participants in SWaPOL trainings is crucial for the specific interaction in our *improvisational theatre*. Therefore, discussions and possible solutions will vary depending on the policy positions of the training participants. In an interesting, although ethically doubtful, social experiment one could pre-select participants for a SWaPOL training after a concise survey of attitudes towards vocational ideologies following to the classification suggested above and then speculate about the chances of possible consensus: the juxtaposition of progressive social workers who see the police as allies in an unjust political system, with rational choice proponents in the police who advocate deterrence and who see social workers as protectors of offenders, is likely to lead to heated debates. On the other hand, collaboration between conventional social workers, who emphasise family support programmes and individual development in a local community, and police officers, who show an understanding for social deprivation and poverty, can lead to promising outcomes in crime prevention partnerships.

In an ideal world, SWaPOL training participants recognise each other’s dual function: the police as a law enforcement authority that can engage in social crime prevention, community policing and problem solving, and social workers as promoters of social change, structural development, social cohesion and people’s empowerment and liberation. With this principle in mind, police and social workers can establish strategic partnerships to tackle problems such as substance use, homelessness and other forms of social incivilities that can cause conflicts in a community. In that way, a one-dimensional form of education can be replaced by a multidisciplinary vocational training in urban security.

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Chapter 4

From the Borders and Edges: Youth Cultures, Arts, Urban Areas and Crime Prevention



Paula Guerra 

Abstract Youth cultures and their place in the city are a favourite topic of social scientists, with more than a century of research existing on this subject. This chapter begins with a diachronic conceptualization of the concept of youth and youth cultures in their different modes of transition to adulthood, considering their disruptive and deviant tendencies in relation to the prevailing norms. We identify the main recent approaches based on the inclusive power of the arts regarding the possibilities of inclusion of youth cultures in the city and the prevention of crime and deviance, thus examining the main approaches, methodologies and projects based on arts-based research, highlighting their potential to create a strategy of social cohesion and sustainable development.

Keywords Youth · Youth cultures · Urban space · Social inclusion/cohesion · Arts · Crime and deviance prevention · Arts-based research

4.1 Youth is More Than a Word: Youth, Youth Cultures, Arts and Territories

Youth can be seen as the fruit of modernity and of a set of social, urban, political and economic conditions specific to each social context. This chapter¹ begins with Bourdieu's (1998) concept of *habitus*. According to Bourdieu, the *habitus* is expressed through the appropriation of the individuals of a set of capitals (social, political,

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economic, cultural and symbolic), allowing the identification of a system of objective structural provisions (attitudes, tastes and behaviours) that translate into ways of living and lifestyles; it is a way of viewing the social world. This is the core of sociology: the defence of a continuous reconstruction of the identities of youth social actors in their social interactions. In this sense, the concept of youth or the broad concept of youth forms this *habitus*—distinct forms of seeing, internalizing and externalizing the social world. Since its emergence, this concept of youth has been constantly evolving and has been the genesis of several academic studies focussing on a diverse range of themes, such as crime and delinquency (Jensen and Rojek 1998); the experience of social exclusion (Guerra 2002; MacDonald and Shildrick 2007); the perspectives of social intervention (Flannery and Huff 1999); pedagogy (Santos and Guerra 2017); research based on the arts (Knowles and Cole 2008); culture (Feixa-Pàmpol and Pais 2020); and politics and urban planning (David and Buchanan 2019). In the context of Portuguese sociology, it is impossible to address a theme such as youth or youth cultures without referencing the emblematic studies of Pais (1990, 1996, 2016).

In his most recent book, Pais (2020) presents and reflects on his works, which we believe contribute to a deeper understanding of youth as a latent force in society. The author states that, at times of crisis, young people are the driving force behind the reinvention of society. They are also responsible for uncovering new social trends and questioning social and daily life. Moreover, they are also responsible for creating research challenges, in the sense that they gradually find different forms of externalization of the concept of youth. It is also important to highlight the theoretical contributions around youth cultures. Authors such as Feixa-Pàmpol and Nilan (2009) point out that the concept of youth cultures has become a primary topic of contemporary social research and that this concept has become a useful way for scientific and academic research to refer to social experiences that are expressed collectively through the construction and manifestation of lifestyles.

This chapter focuses on the socio-economic factors and technological developments that have allowed the transformation of the notion of ‘youth’: ‘between 1945 and 1955, youth went from a taken for granted stage and largely unrecognized as the transition from childhood to adulthood, to a cultural category marked by certain stylistic trends, musical tastes and consumption patterns’ (Bennett 2001: 7). For Andy Bennett, the transformation of the notion of ‘youth’ owes an immense debt to the development of an economic market aimed at young people in the post-World War II period that catapulted young people to the centre of society, along with a disproportionate amount of attention from the media. The chapter therefore aims to elaborate a theoretical-reflective systematization around some key themes of contemporary research, such as youth cultures and their interrelationship with research based on the arts and culture, and the prevention of crime and insecurity. This exercise falls within the post-subcultural theory that began to dominate in the late 1990s in response to the limitations identified in subcultural theory, with works by authors such as Bennett (2011), Blatterer (2007), Muggleton (2000) and Miles (2000) making it possible to conceive that the issues affecting young people were

more complex and dynamic than subcultural theory had considered them to be—in other words, the identities of young people began to be seen and analysed as reflective identities, articulating specifically local issues with global issues, going beyond a mere generational or classist approach and focussing on young people in their complex living contexts, where relationship with space, time and employment, their supporting institutions, school and consumption (Chaney 1996) were at stake. In addition to providing a brief contextualization of these frames of reference, we also provide some case studies clarify these concepts. This chapter is based on applying of these concepts presented so far to the Portuguese case, specifically to the city of Porto. These projects are focussed on arts-based research, and the project that underpins this chapter is based in Porto. Thus, we seek to demonstrate possible synergies, similarities, barriers and bottlenecks to initiatives of this nature. Studies of this nature are still scarce in the Portuguese scientific and academic field; moreover, we are interested in demonstrating the materiality of ABR methodologies in the Portuguese context.

4.2 A Brief Genealogy of the Study of Contemporary Youth Cultures

Youth cultures have been a recurring topic in youth studies relating to urbanization, but also in studies on delinquency, criminality and insecurity at the interdisciplinary intersection of geography, sociology, anthropology, psychology, ecology and urban studies. The first theory that led to the study of this phenomenon came from the Chicago School, with an ethnographic tradition that attempted to explain the deviant phenomena that existed in large American cities (Thrasher 1927; Whyte 1943). Albert Cohen (1955) synthesized the theory of the Chicago School: juvenile delinquency would be treated as a collective phenomenon, which he called the *mutual gravitation* of young people with the same adjustment problems. Faced with these problems and their low social status, young people responded by creating a new set of values and norms in opposition to the dominant society, which could give them statutory value. Cohen (1955) argues that subcultures represent a series of values and norms that are internalized by their participants. The emergence of the concept of subculture evolved in the 1960s and 1970s, and other configurations have since emerged gradually. If, in these decades, young people were seen as a social problem, today they are understood as a solution. Also important are the contributions of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), also known as the Birmingham School, in the 1960s and 1970s, which opened new fields of research possibilities on subcultures, broadened the horizons of the theories hitherto in force on subcultures as the homonym of juvenile delinquency and placed emphasis on contemporary leisure practices and lifestyles, but also on gender, race, education, the labour market and income (Guerra 2010). For Dick Hebdige (1979), subcultures are a metaphor for resistance to everything hegemonic, with style the main variable introduced as a

means of reporting this resistance. In this case, youth subcultures are a symbolic structure that mediates the tensions between the culture of young people and their parents, and classist reading is given a special focus. In the case of Hebdige (1979), the concepts of class and style are fundamental to perceive the revolt associated with punk, in the sense that there was a rebellion of young people from working classes in the United Kingdom who criticized and opposed the socio-economic conditions of British society. However, this opposition was based on socially repugnant attitudes, such as deviance or crime.

The studies of juvenile cultures underwent a huge change from the mid-1980s because of new approaches to social theory, which then focussed on issues such as fragmentation, individualization, uncertainty and fluidity. Muggleton (2000) considered that because of this diversity and fluidity, it would be increasingly difficult for young people to commit themselves to clearly delimited and defined subcultures. The barriers between subcultures would have become insignificant in view of the increasing recycling of new fashions and musical styles. Another consequence was that issues such as authenticity and rebellion would have lost their meaning. The term 'neo-tribes' is perhaps the most widely used substitute for the concept of subculture. Based on the works of Maffesoli (1996) and advanced by Bennett (1999), it is a concept that seeks to consider all the fragmentation and individualization in the tastes of young people to be essentially fluid and unstable. Considering the growing importance of ethnicity and diaspora in youth cultures, many works have emphasized the importance of cultural hybridism of the second and third generations of ethnic minorities (Huq 2006).

In order to establish a link between the concept of juvenile cultures or subcultures, the urban, arts-based research and crime prevention, it is important to highlight the relationship of multiple causalities, as well as the strong interdependence that exists between these concepts. This is all the more evident when we focus on concrete examples, such as the emergence and construction of musical genres such as punk or hip hop—genres negatively labelled by society (Dedman 2011) due to their relationship with the social, urban, political and research contexts that have loomed over them. Taking hip hop as a sound and poetic example of the statements we have been developing, it is relevant to mention that this genre is associated extensively with urban and suburban youth cultures (Onanuga 2019). As Hull (1976) states in relation to surfing, hip hop as a subculture refers to a set of established interaction patterns that are stable and stratified. They have specific forms of language, material symbols, norms, values and particular and identifying aesthetics (Schloss 2009). Like the punk subculture in England in the 1970s, the concept of subculture refers to the aggregating and integrative capacity that anyone possesses, in the sense that it gives rise to feelings of community and collective action associated with spaces and territories.

4.3 Culture, Creativity and Innovation: Youth Cultures at the Eye of the Hurricane of Arts-Based Research

We introduced arts-based research (ABR) as an effective methodology for capturing and perceiving complex and multidimensional youth (sub) cultures (Guerra 2010). ABR can be seen as a repercussion of the ethnographies of the self and insider investigations (Wolcott 1999). Pais (2020: 190) states that ‘growing contemporary individualism does not prevent the (re)emergence, especially among young people, of collective forms of social participation that allow the affirmation of socio-centric subjectivities’. When we talk about new cultures and new works, we must question the emergence of a new creative ethos among young people, since ‘these “creative” young people work in the field of the arts, books, music and digital technologies, exploiting cooperation networks that prevail in the so-called cultural industries’ (Pais 2020: 196). Here, we will give an account of the main potentialities of ABR in the approach of the polyhedral contemporary youth cultures. Archibald and Gerber (2018) mention that research involving mixed methods, informed arts and methodologies based on the arts is a relatively recent phenomenon that allows a deeper understanding of youth (sub)cultures (Mueller 2011). As a methodology, ABR proposes the creation of a theoretical framework constructed from participation and collaboration (MacDonald et al. 2021) as heuristic principles; it affirms itself as the potentiator of possible solutions to the social problems that emerge, especially in peripheral urban contexts (Miettinen et al. 2019). Thus, art can be used in the process of collecting information and data, analysing it and as a means of promoting reflectivity, but also as an information medium (Woodgate et al. 2021).

According to Richards and Haberin (2019), art can capture, perceive and internalize forms of knowledge that would be inaccessible through the application of traditional research methods and techniques. ABR is seen as a form of intersubjectivity dialects (Dick and Müller, 2021); through the methods it mobilizes, it becomes possible to understand the dynamics of the dialogues between multiple and complex realities, as well as the forms of knowledge that exist at various levels of consciousness, temporalities and spatialities (Archibald and Gerber 2018).

Regarding youth cultures, the notion of community/collective (Brazg et al. 2010) is also a determinant, and art and the artistic creation can be seen as a form of understanding individual and collective identities (Coemans et al. 2015). In today’s society, the do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos and the resistance processes of the 1970s have increasingly become a form of communication in juvenile cultures. ABR is essential for understanding these forms of activism. At this level, as it accompanies young people from South Africa in their protests and their demands, Tournadre (2019: 3) notes that this group of activists can be seen as a community: ‘The activism and the familiar world of these individuals thus occupy the same space: the social relations characterizing one are regularly confused or cross-referenced with those defining the other, and vice versa’.

Villenas (in Rodriguez 2019) states that in ethnographic research, there must be times when definitions about the self, us and the other, and at the same time a formal

contextual and approach analysis, are made clear; perspectives of young people and subjects of study should be included in a logic of active participation in the research process. When we approach the theme of methodology, as well as referring to ABR, we also speak of acts of creation or artistic practice (Bach 1998) that can be seen as a methodology—whether through the existence of new moulds of interpretation or the impacts of these movements and practices on the scientific investigations that are carried out. As an example, these acts of creation or practice with artistic components relate to the musical field—in this instance, hip hop and rap.

Active participation in political decision-making can also be seen as a form of empowerment, to make individuals involved and aware of the decisions that affect their daily lives and their communities (Conrad and Kendal 2009). Thus, authors such as Byrne et al. 2020 analyse musical and artistic expressions such as rap, seeking to understand how they can be used as a means of qualitative exploration with young people and children, especially those experiencing social disadvantage. This facilitates the introduction of new languages and themes in political decision-making. Rap has been consolidated as a practice of contestation, a process that ended up being associated with negative reputation; some other genres such as gangsta or grime (Byrne et al. 2020) are seen as a corruption of urban cultures and an act of validation for criminal practices. By contrast, other authors (Guerra et al. 2020) have mentioned that rap and hip hop assume themselves as a kind of pedagogy, as a musical genre allowing artists to provide accounts of social realities, of lived lives and experiences of youth—in other words, a youth self-soundtrack from many cities. In this case, creative methods are seen as an incentive to participation, and they prove to be a way to facilitate young people and children to express themselves. The basis of this research is working with the community and with individuals, rather than studying the genre (Byrne et al. 2020). The arts applied to community contexts are seen as a means of promoting dialogue, and as a solution to the problems faced by these communities.

The usage of ethnography as a technique is also important, since the social sciences often have difficulties engaging with groups within communities that may have been aggravated by the application of traditional methods. For this reason, Goopy and Kassan (2019) advocate the implementation of a new methodological approach: arts-based engagement ethnography (ABEE). This allows participants to express their ideas, perceptions, visions and experiences in forms that transcend the linguistic characteristics of more traditional techniques (Gause and Coholic 2010). ABEE offers a research approach designed to facilitate the collection of experiences and narratives in multicultural contexts. ABEE uses visual artefacts such as photography, videos, drawings and other items (Pink 2013) and sees them as facilitators of data creation (Goopy and Kassan 2019) to support knowledge and policy guidance. An example of this methodology is the documentary film *Bass Culture*, created by Mykaell Riley as part of his AHRC research project. The film maps the impact of Jamaican music over the last half-century² through the voices of four generations of African-Caribbean

² For more information, see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wFm7NOkQXek&ab_channel=ahrcpress.

and Black British cultural producers: musicians and songwriters, DJs, sound system crews and industry professionals. Through key voices central to five decades of new British genres, the impact of Jamaican music on popular British culture is explored.

4.4 Happy Experiences of Polyhedral Relationships Among Young People: Precariousness, Crime Prevention and the Fight Against Insecurity

One challenge of working with young people is their complexity; moreover, we must consider the diversity of capacities, interests and issues of neurodevelopment (Suleiman and Dahl 2019). Thus, research developed by and with young people—the so-called youth-led participatory research (YPAR)—is commonly used to involve young people and to improve the development, impact and relevance of interventions that focus on youth cultures. Involving young people in the research process has been a growing trend over the last 40 years (Anselma et al. 2020). With the application of a YPAR methodology, young people are invited to identify social problems within their communities and describe their experiences (Morrell 2008)—that is, they collect information about these problems to offer contributions within the framework of a sustained intervention. It is advocated that YPAR methods should meet the needs of the young people's personal development, acting from an empowerment perspective (Ozer and Piatt 2017).

We consider it important to explore the relationship between YPAR and young people who are not in employment, education or training (known as NEETs) (Eurofound 2021); it is therefore essential to present the contributions of Berzin et al. (2018). Some studies demonstrate that young people who come from disadvantaged economic and social backgrounds (Wilkinson and Wilkinson 2017) are more likely to give up their studies and have the greatest difficulties transitioning from education to the labour market (Bynner and Parsons 2002), leading them to be considered as young NEETs.³ Entrepreneurship has been one of the main techniques used to combat this situation, enabling these young people to free themselves from exclusion mechanisms and situations of poverty. The arts also play a fundamental role in this process (Ozer and Piatt 2017) because when young people struggle in regular education, they are labelled as disinterested or incapable. In fact, Bourdieu (2001) describes the cultural context of learning as more than just a background for educational experiences, stating that, on its own, learning is a cultural phenomenon characterized by profound social inequalities and forms of social exclusion. The arts have emerged as a vehicle for circumventing these obstacles (Poyntz et al. 2019).

Youth intervention can occur at various levels, and social, economic and cultural constraints can affect young people in many ways. They are impacted by social factors such as social exclusion (Guerra 2012) or urban marginalization (Barbosa et al. 2020), as well as by economic factors related to family income, educational factors, and

³ More information available at: <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pt/topic/neets>.

urban and political factors. Location is crucial because it presupposes the existence of leisure and convivial spaces—which in this case intersect with peripheral living conditions—such as public parks, seen as valuable resources in the development and socialization of young people and children (Peréa et al. 2014). When we think of social neighbourhoods in outlying areas, these conditions are not always assured, and the streets are the main stage for interaction. Yet some problems can arise, mainly at the level of feelings of insecurity, as these parks can be used for other types of conviviality and activities, and often cause crime problems and negative perceptions about the security of a certain space (Carvalho and Duarte 2013; Pinto and Gonçalves 2000).

With regard to these feelings of insecurity, there is a need to get young people more politically involved. Currently, some research on youth political participation shows that it has been decreasing in its classic form yet increasing in forms of protest and social movements (Pais 2020). On this point, Roger Soler-i-Martí and Mariona Ferrer-Fons (2015) have analysed the level of involvement of young people in protests, particularly in the European case, seeking to focus on the effects of youth transition systems and assuming they are determining factors in the increase or decrease of their political participation. In order to consider these dimensions, the notion of exposure to risk (Soler-i-Martí and Ferrer Fons 2015) and the notion of exposure to vulnerability on the part of young people should be highlighted, since the more vulnerable they are, the more precarious their participation will be. This is why themes such as activism (Guerra 2019; Guerra et al. 2021) as a form of artistic, political and social participation have gained importance among young people. Although there are nuances in some European countries, these risks often prompt state interventions aimed at ensuring the existence of mechanisms to address these situations. This raises a question: Is this early intervention effective? Moreover, how can we guarantee continuity of active political participation?

Traditional forms of political involvement no longer meet the needs of young people, so it is important to adopt new measures to promote innovative political participation mechanisms. This will ensure that the choices of these young people are heard. Some authors argue that if new forms of active participation are created, more young people will be mobilized, while others argue that those who are already politically active will be more likely to use new participatory policies (Dalton 2017). We intend to demonstrate that all these issues of political participation, active citizenship, activism, artistic practices and the geographical context in which these young people live should be seen as a catalyst for successful intervention among young people—more specifically, young NEETs. Social change takes place in long-term cycles, according to the resilience dynamics of socio-ecological systems. Today, we are witnessing strong imbalances in environmental quality, the stability of economies and political systems, and social justice, all of which demonstrate the need for change. According to Nilsson (2003: 3), the significance of a social innovation process is measured not only by the scale that it reaches—‘number of people, geographical area, as by its reach—ability to stir various social dimension, and also by the resonance it causes—the intensity with which it captures people’s imagination’; rather, the scope implies an integrated approach to social problems, realizing that their causes

are as complex as the forms they take, and often different dimensions of exclusion are interconnected (e.g. degraded housing and/or school failure). What resonates is the capacity of a certain social initiative to capture the imagination of individuals, to integrate them through their mental structures and social practices, promoting a reinterpretation and appropriation of the message that favours their production. These three criteria are fundamental in the analysis of any dynamics of social innovation since they embrace its potential for dissemination.

Some readers will recognize the reference to the project *Collective Self-managed Space Alto da Fontinha (Es.Col.A.)* in Porto.⁴ This self-managed site operated in a space occupied by the municipality and aimed to promote the development of the local community as a place of conviviality, with community cuisine, a cycle workshop, library, Internet access, theatre, cinema, with the help of volunteers in the service of cultural and social development on the margins—even in opposition to the municipality. It was associated with a space of libertarian culture of youth musical and cultural dissemination, *Casa Viva*.

With urban development, individuals are increasingly interested in creating community spaces where they can live and relate to one another. Using quantitative methodologies—namely surveys—Molavi et al. (2016) focussed on the development and improvement of spaces, basing themselves in the discourses and desires of the individuals who used these spaces. The objective was to analyse and investigate the creation of meanings within spaces. The meanings of the spaces appealed not just to the previously mentioned security issues, but also to the emotional awareness of the social actors (Molavi et al. 2016). On this path, the concept of space can be defined phenomenologically as something that goes beyond an abstract location: it is a definition that is assumed as a panoply of elements that define the character of the environment, which can essentially be seen as a place (Norberg-Schulz 2006). This sense of place implies immaterial characteristics because it seeks to understand the meaning of symbols in everyday urban activities. Despite the philosophical considerations around the notion of place or the creation of place, we are dealing with a terminology intrinsically associated with individuals and the uses they make of these spaces.

Along with active planning, the existence of artistic and cultural elements is an important means of relating people with spaces. Culture is a way to create and assign meanings, but also to create links and relationships with urban spaces while fostering interpersonal ties. Since the 1980s, numerous cities have experienced urban regeneration processes, and many of these regenerations have focussed on recovery and street-based urbanism. These processes materialize in ‘streetscapes’ (Degen 2018: 1075); in social terms, they reflect and imply new social practices. At this level, it is in the public space that various types of social relations succeed, and these can be seen as a cluster of small communities, which in turn are replete with multiple dimensions and various objectives. There has thus been a growing interest in understanding how

⁴ This non-profit project offered drawing, yoga and guitar classes. It appeared in 2012 and even had a chess club. It was located at the Fontinha School in Porto.

we can conceptualize this ever-changing heterogeneity—the various revelations in public spaces according to different contexts.

The ‘Sonópolis’⁵ project of Casa da Música in Porto started in 2008. This project was intended to be a platform for openness, exchange and dialogue with the community. The result was a collage of various groups in a great spatial, social and musical diversity, which was the matrix of the music project in the communities. Later, and within the work plan of the Training Course for Musical Animators at the Sonópolis of Casa da Música, the S. Tomé Choir emerged, associated with the children and youth of the neighbourhood of S. Tomé in Porto.⁶ The Som da Rua⁷—Sonic Street Ensemble project is a successful ensemble of social inclusion. The project began in 2009 when a musical group was created, comprising people with difficult, socially fragile life paths. This motivation gave rise to an emotionally intense repertoire of its own, which soon won public recognition. Today Som da Rua [Street Sound] is a formation with a singular identity and in a state of permanent evolution.

Public services are largely related to the capacity for effective interaction between the state entity that manages them and the dynamics of civil society in the communities that enjoy them. The key to improving the quality of public services lies in the ability to develop local solutions based on functional social relations. Many of today’s social problems result from the dysfunctional relations that sustain communities where the economic and social precariousness of young people is paradigmatic. Peer-to-peer solutions have proved valuable precisely because ‘One of the reasons why people change their habits and behaviour, whether they quit smoking, eat healthier foods or recycle is that they respect people who have managed to do the same’ (Leadbeater 2009: 5). Counting on this type of solution imposes a relaxation of the methodologies used in approaching these communities. Consider the Second Opportunity School,⁸ resulting from a partnership between the Association for Second Opportunity Education, Regional Directorate of Education of the North and the City Council of Matosinhos in 2005. The results of this Second Opportunity

⁵ A project that counts on the musical direction of Paul Griffiths and Pete Letanka, it has existed for 15 years. The Training Course for Musical Animators culminates in this show. This project is an encounter between different communities, having become over time an international reference in participative art that integrates professional and non-professional artists in a homogeneous manner. More information available at: <https://www.casadamusica.com/pt/servico-educativo/agenda/2020/07/05-sonopolis/1800/?lang=pt#tab=0>.

⁶ A social neighbourhood located in the parish of Paranhos in Porto, characterized by severe housing and infrastructural problems, as well as feelings of insecurity.

⁷ A social intervention project created in Porto in 2009 by the Casa da Música Education Service. The project relies on the participation of professional musicians and social educators, and targets homeless people who are accompanied by social solidarity institutions. More information available at: <http://www.inetmd.pt/index.php/investigacao/projetos/406-som-da-rua-um-projeto-musical-de-intervencao-social>.

⁸ This initiative has been in operation since 2008 with the support of the municipality. It is aimed at young people aged between 15 and 25 years, residents of the municipality of Porto who are socially excluded, with low levels of qualifications and who do not find an adequate response in formal education/training processes. More information available at: <https://www.cm-matosinhos.pt/servicos-municipais/comunicacao-e-imagem/noticias/noticia/escola-de-segunda-oportunidade-21>.

School were very positive, with almost all students reaching the end of the school year with skills acquired in one of the four vocational areas (arts, home support, cooking and computer science) and returning to regular education with a certificate that gave them equivalence of the sixth, seventh, eighth or ninth grade. More than these acquired skills, these students gained a new perspective: that of the diversity of paths, so they could see that they were not confined to the small world of the neighbourhood. Moreover, the exit route was hip hop, and failure was combated by breaking down the students' fears, valuing their knowledge and practices, knowing the reasons for their failures and their absences, and understanding their life stories.

Social innovation through the arts at the crossroads of spatial justice is the ultimate path for a debate about inclusion. The concept of justice thus incorporates an agency dimension and a practical component of a project under construction that, according to Zukin (1995), involves denouncing spatial and social inequalities and the illegitimate use of state and economic power in various aspects of collective life, such as increasing segregation, urban surveillance, the private acquisition of public infrastructure and the increasing militarization of national and municipal borders. Within this context, spatial meaning allows us to evaluate both the results of redistribution systems and the degrees of access and participation in decision-making processes—both quantitative and qualitative. It also allows us to overcome disciplinary barriers and propose methodologies for the promotion of justice and democracy. In analysing the multiscale realities with which we live, the spatial causality of justice is clear, particularly in the face of development and under-development (Soja 2009).

4.5 Closing Remarks

Our main objective in this chapter has been to systematize and discuss recent research about urban youth cultures that has been anchored in the arts, creativity and innovation. In addition to this theoretical systematization, we have also sought to provide the reader with brief empirical notes that may arouse their curiosity and inspire questions regarding the intersection of these fields. On the one hand, we examined youth culture as a historical, political, economic and social phenomenon that, to a certain extent, is at the root of youth studies; on the other hand, we provided some notes on the APR, the YPAR and the ABEE by reflecting on their role as alternatives to the studies that have been developed about youth and youth cultures. We aimed to demonstrate that just using the traditional techniques of collecting and analysing information, such as surveys or interviews, makes it impossible for the researcher to unravel some topics or experiences. With this reflective exercise, we have demonstrated that the use of artistic practices in research processes is a fundamental tool if we are to obtain a broader view of the lives, experiences and meanings attributed to the social life of young people (MacDonald et al. 2021; Miettinen et al. 2019).

In the final section of the chapter, we also briefly explored the connection between the young NEET, the cities, and civic and active political participation, as well as examining the relationship between such axes and social movements—including

activism and urban issues—and the fight against feelings of insecurity. We were interested in showing that the voices of young people tend not to be heard—an aspect that is the result of a long process of political disregard of them. In fact, in line with the views of Pais (2020), we have highlighted that today young people can no longer be seen as the source of social problems; rather, they should be considered the driving force of our society.

This issue is particularly relevant if we focus on the Portuguese welfare state, a semi-welfare state that is incompatible with the four central elements of structuring a welfare state—the pact between capital and labour and the conciliation of capitalism with democracy; the consonance between accumulation and legitimation; the high level of social expenditure; and the incorporation of social rights as citizenship rights—instead of them being viewed as the result of state benevolence (Molavi et al. 2016). At this point, and as a touchstone, when we speak of the contextual elements of the Portuguese welfare state, we must acknowledge the tax policies that exist with no redistributive function and protection systems with low levels of overall performance. Changing demographic and family dynamics are also important, resulting in increased numbers of unprotected elderly people and single parents. It is also important to highlight the misalignment between the dynamics of betting on qualifications (individual and institutional) and the slow pace of change in the current economic development model, as well as the design of active employment policies that face enormous difficulties in terms of the activation and training of the most disadvantaged citizens.

This chapter has been based on the challenges of resolving the dilemma between the weaknesses of the welfare state and the growing need for social responses to processes of social inclusion, innovation and justice—particularly for young NEETs. One of the main governance challenges is finding a new social policy approach, fostering the emergence of integrated social support networks at local levels that can help to activate responses and actors, combine the efforts of different entities in social intervention, optimize existing responses and innovate through the implementation of social policy measures. Here, the arts-based research developed in and for youth cultures shows great potential. In all the research that has been carried out around youth cultures and the possibilities of social integration and inclusion, approaches such as ABR have resulted in integration, articulation, subsidiarity, innovation and participation (Degen 2018). The implementation of ABR initiatives is based on the need to articulate the effective and dynamic partnership of the social-artistic-cultural interventions of the different partners that act in each territory.

This partnership, built on a common objective, presupposes defining the object of cooperation and jointly considering the contribution of each partner, organizing the partnership according to operational and effective models through a smaller or broader participatory scheme of partners. This must depend on the times and type of actions to be undertaken, concretely translating the partnership through actions that adjust the different modes of intervention and provide learning through cooperation, and sharing responsibility with young people involved in the development and success of all actions—assuming that the various actors define a common strategy, in addition to their respective interests and even their differences. Through subsidiarity,

the ABR aims to activate a logic of problem-solving in smaller (micro) instances, avoiding their transfer to broader instances and thus ensuring their support for the former when necessary. We therefore assume that it is in neighbourhoods that problems will have to be solved, close to the population in a concerted, articulated and preventive way, ensuring a descending planning logic (Norris et al. 2020).

The principle of participation advocated by ABR is based on the view that the fight against social exclusion and insecurity is more effective if it results from a process that is widely shared by the population, where membership-based organizations are constituted as tools for strengthening social links (Bennett and Guerra 2019). This same principle seeks to characterize the planning strategy itself, to the extent that a new, broader, systemic and integrated context is emerging, which now provides the terrain for public policy, local development, combating segregation and exclusion, and promoting identity. Local authorities expand their field of action and feed new initiatives into the field of urbanism, urban organization, social policies, culture, arts, memory and economic action (Hubbard and Lyon 2018). These experiences have in common some partnership and negotiation procedures that characterize the beginning of the process: initial discussion of the project design; agreement on the action programme and a timetable of achievements; and co-financing by the recipients. Contractual policies bring the state, local communities and civil society into contact without tutelary (though not necessarily egalitarian) relations provided for by law (Brotherton and Gude 2018). A plurality of actors, of diverse social configuration and legitimacy, comes into play: public and private; central, regional and local; economic, social and cultural. Negotiations acquire new visibility and legitimacy. Finally, the principle of innovation is imposed since, when new problems and social changes arise at an accelerated pace, a change of mentalities and attitudes, and the acquisition of new knowledge (Feixa-Pàmpols et al. 2016) emerge. Indeed, it is essential to innovate in working processes, decentralize services and cut red tape with a view to providing active information through an easy and accessible communication system between services and citizens, enabling information-sharing in the face of the immense creativity of contemporary youth cultures (Guerra et al. 2020).

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Part II
Multi-disciplinarity in Policy and Planning

Chapter 5

Standardisation and Multidisciplinary Processes in Urban Crime Prevention

The Only Crime Prevention Standard in Europe Since the Roman Empire: from the CEN 14383 Series to the Worldwide ISO Standard 22341:2021



Paul van Soomeren

Abstract Crime, as well as fear of crime/feelings of insecurity, can be reduced by crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED); a multidisciplinary approach by which a partnership of different stakeholders/actors tackles crime problems in existing environments and prevents crime problems in new to be designed environments. In such a very diverse partnership, all participating disciplines speak a different professional language. Hence, reaching a consensus becomes difficult, and the situation resembles the design and building of the Tower of Babel. Nevertheless, a consensus between the stakeholders—from architect and urban planner to resident, police officers, local politician and city manager—about the chosen approach is crucial. Consensus about the definition of problems, goals and solutions, important social and physical features of an environment, ethical and aesthetic issues, the step-by-step approach to be taken together: scan-prioritise/analyse/respond/assess-evaluate (or: plan-do-check-act). Voluntary following a standard on the principles and process of CPTED might help in such a situation. This chapter describes the history and content of such a standard, its theoretical background and the use of the CPTED standard in Europe and worldwide.

This article is partly based on research done within the framework of the EU COST (COoperation in Science and Technology) action TU 1203. See: Grönlund, B., Korthals Altes, H.J., Soomeren, P. van and Stummvoll, G. (2014) Review of CEN 14383, The death and life of great European standards and manuals. Development and implementation of the CEN 14383 standards EU Standard Implementation Resource. August 2014. See: <http://costtu1203.eu/downloads/cost-tu1203s-results/>.

See also results of the Horizon 2020 EU funded project Cutting Crime Impact (www.cuttingcrimeimpact.com) especially the work done on CP-UDP (Crime prevention through Urban Design and Planning). An important source has also been the Webinar of the International CPTED Association (www.CPTED.net) on Standardisation from March 26th 2021.

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Keywords Crime prevention · Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) · Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning (CP-UDP) · Standardisation · Urban design · Urban planning · Urban management · Partnership approach · Multidisciplinary working · Multi-agency approach

5.1 Introduction: Let’s All Unite and Work Together Make Our Cities Safe Again!

Urban planning, architecture, design, engineering and urban (place) management can prevent¹ crime and fear of crime. Over the last 60 years,² several researchers have demonstrated the relation among design, urban planning and urban management characteristics and the occurrence of crime and fear of crime. The EU COST Action TU 1203 (Cooperation in Science and Technology; see www.costtu1203.eu) and the EU Horizon 2020 project Cutting Crime Impact (www.cuttingcrimeimpact.eu) also show that Crime Prevention through Urban Design, Planning and Management is a feasible and effective approach to reduce crime and fear of crime in new to build/design environments as well as in existing environments.

Worldwide this approach is known as crime prevention through environmental design or CPTED (pronounced as Sep-Ted; see also www.cpted.net). In Europe, sometimes other terms prevail—security by design,³ designing out/against crime—but CPTED is the name most used in the America’s, Australia/New Zealand, Africa and Asia. Exhausting and time-consuming disputes over the terms of the concept are possible—and fierce academic wars are indeed fought over it (Armitage and Ekblom 2019). But here, we will use the internationally most accepted term: CPTED. There is a worldwide ISO standard on this issue now that uses the term CPTED (ISO 22341:2021).

CPTED is defined (www.cpted.net) as: “*a multi-disciplinary approach of crime prevention that uses urban and architectural design and the management of built and natural environments. CPTED strategies aim to reduce victimization, deter offender decisions that precede criminal acts, and build a sense of community among inhabitants so they can gain territorial control of areas, reduce crime, and minimize fear of crime*”.

Nowadays, there is consensus about the main principles and the main process of CPTED:

1. CPTED implies two concepts:
 - **physical** CPTED (or first-generation CPTED)
 - **social** CPTED (or second-generation CPTED)

Hence, CPTED should consider physical CPTED strategies as well as social strategies. As we will show below, ‘social’ and ‘physical/technical’ are in fact as inseparable as two sides of the same coin, though the distinction may be useful.

2. CPTED always includes all stakeholders/actors that are involved in—or connected to—a specific environment (neighbourhood, place, area), and CPTED is thus always about **participation**.
3. CPTED is a standardised **circular learning process**, like the plan-do-check-act circle or the SARA model scan-analyse-reduce-assess. The central aim in these approaches is to learn from practice in the real world. From projects, programmes and policies on what works and what doesn't work and use that as evidence base.⁴
4. CPTED always focuses on a **specific type of environment** (residential area, city centre, transport hub, schools/campus, etc.).

Therefore, architects, urban planners, urban designers and urban managers, but also police, social workers, residents and users can—and should—play an important role in the prevention and reduction of crime and fear of crime. However, successful actions and results require a well-orchestrated approach from private and public institutes with residents and users. Terms like partnership process (Schubert et al 2016), multidisciplinary working or multi-agency approach are often coined in this respect. In short: *“let's all unite and work together make our cities safe again!”* This may sound easy, but in reality, it often proves to be complicated. Often, the professional disciplines involved differ too much in knowledge, budgets, culture, information, priorities and power. When this is the case, standardisation is a helpful tool. Certainly in a highly diverse continent like Europe, where not only the professional languages vary but also the country languages.⁵

5.2 Standardisation

In the previous century, several countries already had their own standardisation in CPTED on a national level. These countries had guidelines, schemes, codes and manuals. But by the end of the century, there was a call for more and better European cross-border cooperation in CPTED. The idea of standardisation was born. This wave started at the beginning of the nineties in North-Western Europe (Denmark, UK and The Netherlands). This group of countries, following a Danish initiative, started to work on a European standard on 'Prevention of (fear of) crime, Urban planning and building design'; CPTED, as we call it nowadays. About 25 years later, this has resulted not only in a complete series of European standards including updates and a handbook (CEN 14383 series and Safe Polis) but also in a worldwide ISO⁶ standard on CPTED (ISO 22341:2021).

What is a Standard?

Standards define the characteristics of a product, material, process or service. These characteristics usually determine the design, performance or safety requirements voluntarily agreed upon by interested stakeholders or actors. Standards exist for a wide variety of products, from paper size and computer operating systems via the symbols on a motor vehicle dashboard to credit card size, weight, measures and

boxes making up most of the present world trade. This trade in standardised boxes—called containers—accounts nowadays for most seaborne trade, valued at trillions of dollars. Hence, standardising a simple box/container and standardising the logistical processes changed the world!

In the case of CPTED, standards for processes are important. Process standards can be very successful; the best-known example is the worldwide standard on quality management ISO 9000. This ISO 9000 standard defines and explains a step-by-step process for the quality management of an organisation, process or project. Like integrating crime prevention in a plan, design or management process. The ISO standard for Sustainability (ISO 14000) and Risk Management (ISO 31000) are similar standards for processes. The risk management standard is, of course, also important for CPTED, and the latest European standards—CEN EN 14383-1 and CEN TS 14383-2:2023—are formatted according to this general worldwide risk management standard.

CEN, the European Committee for Standardization based in Brussels (www.cen.eu), is responsible for developing and defining standards at European level.⁷ ISO has the same function worldwide. CEN provides a platform for the development of European standards and other technical documents in relation to various types of products, materials, services and processes. Its membership includes every national standards institution in Europe.⁸

5.3 Standardising Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

Following a Danish initiative in 1995, CEN started a Technical Committee (TC 325) with the main scope:

Preparation of European standards on urban planning and building design to provide methods of assessment and performance requirements for the prevention of crime in residential areas at new and existing housing.

They organised the work into three lines of work or working groups (WG):

- WG 1 on terminology.
- WG 2 on urban planning with the aim to provide a general ‘umbrella’ standard for urban planning, design and management.
- WG 3 on a series of standards for specific buildings (dwellings, shops and offices, petrol stations, schools, public transport facilities and the ram raiding of buildings) (Table 5.1).

The ‘umbrella standard’ on urban planning made by Working Group 2 is relevant for urban planners, designers and managers, police, justice officials, social workers, shop owners and residents (Cardia 2013).

The work on this standard started in 1995 and was finished in 2003. This document was revised in 2007 including the explanatory Handbook ‘Safepolis’ (2008).

Table 5.1 CEN 14383 series of standards on ‘Prevention of Crime, Urban Planning and Building Design’ (CPTED)

1. Terms and definitions (EN 14383-1:2006; will be superseded by a new re-edited version 2023)
2. Urban planning (ENV 14383-2:2003 superseded by TR 14383-2:2007 and TS 14383-2:2022)
3. Dwellings (TS 14383-3:2005)
4. Shops and offices (TS 14383-4:2006)
5. Petrol stations (TR 14383-5: 2010)
6. Safety in schools (TS 14383-6)
7. Facilities for public transport (TR 14383-7:2009)
8. Protection of buildings and sites against criminal attacks with vehicles (TR 14383-8:2009)

The second revision was issued in 2023 (following the ISO risk management standard 31000). This ‘umbrella standard’ follows a new design-led and environmental approach to crime prevention in combination with a managerial process-focused approach like the one used in other international standards on quality and risk management (ISO 9000 and ISO 31000 series). However, it also differs from these ISO standards. The umbrella standard focuses on the process as well as on a specific environment. Such an environment might be a whole city, neighbourhood, city centre, transport hub, campus or any time-space and physical-social specific environment.

The umbrella standard CEN/TR 14383-2 aims to combine questions of environment-specific ‘contents’ and ‘process’ and:

- helps to develop “*strategies and measures which may be implemented to prevent and reduce crime problems in a given environment*”,
- gives advice on “*how to follow an effective and efficient procedure in which stakeholders should choose the strategies and measures most effective and feasible to prevent and reduce the crime problems as defined by the stakeholders*”.

5.4 Environment = Physical, Social and Organisational (E = pso²)

An environment is not only a specific three-dimensional space; it also includes time, as Einstein teaches us. Every environment is always a four-dimensional manifold: time-space.

Furthermore, an environment is not only a physical entity but also a social one. Every urban environment is a human-made environment and thus a mix of objective physical features and social features: people, actors, interactions and also offenders, victims, guardians. Bruno Latour (1994) showed this philosophical idea in a simple way: a man alone without a gun cannot shoot someone. The same goes for a gun. A gun needs someone to pull the trigger. But together, the man + gun form a new entity: the gun-man. In a human-made environment, it is impossible to separate the

physical and social environment. Or, as Bruno Latour (1994, page 64) states: “*We are sociotechnical animals, and each human interaction is sociotechnical. We are never limited to social ties. We are never faced with objects. [...]. At the very least, I hope to have convinced you that, if our challenge is to be met, it will not be met by considering artefacts as things. They deserve better. They deserve to be housed in our intellectual culture as full-fledged social actors. Do they mediate our actions? No, they are us*”.

Bruno Latour uses the Actor-Network Theory (ANT), which is rooted in science and technology studies. ANT can be defined⁹ as a research method focusing on the connections between both human and non-human entities. It describes how these connections lead to creating new entities—like the ‘gun-man’—that do not necessarily practice the sum of characteristics of constituent entities. ANT is like what happens if a chemist puts together two chemicals or the gun-man example. Hence, the social-technical/physical dualism is a false dualism.

When talking about a social and a physical/technical environment, we are in fact talking about a four-dimensional (time/space) sociotechnical—or social-physical—space. Envisage for example a community (=social) in a physical environment, e.g. concrete houses, brick lanes and metal lampposts (all physical), where people live together and interact in a neighbourhood/community (social). And of course this social-physical entity evolves over time. It cannot be seen and studied ‘timeless’; it is one huge interactive process. Changing, influencing and engineering such a process are thus both physical engineering and social engineering. The same goes for urban design, planning and management. And since every urban environment also implies design, planning and management, each environment is also a governance and organisational environment, a design (planning/management) process.

This philosophical exercise also puts an end to the internal CPTED discussion about first- and second-generation CPTED. We might use that distinction introduced in 1998 by Cleveland and Saville (see also Saville 2018), but Latour and ANT teach us that there is only one generation of CPTED: the socio-physical time-space one.

5.5 A Standard is Born

The publication of the European CEN standard on CPTED in 2003, the CEN ENV 14383-2:2003, represents the achievement of an important milestone. Following a French/Italian initiative, the ENV from 2003 was slightly revised and issued anew in 2007 as a Technical Requirement (TR; see CEN TR 14383-2:2007). Thanks to EU funding in 2006 (AGIS; Directorate-General Justice, Freedom and Security), the revised standard was issued together with an explanatory manual called Safepolis (published in English, French, Italian and Spanish).

This ‘Mediterranean initiative’ showed that the main interest in Europe by that time had shifted from the North-Western European countries to the Mediterranean countries. The experiences from North-Western European countries that started the

CPTED standardisation process have, in that respect, paved the way for other European countries. EU COST research (www.costtu1203.eu) that included 22 EU countries and their ‘output’ of CPTED documents (guidelines, policy docs and academic work) sketches a kind of CPTED wave rolling over Europe from the north-west to the south and then to the east:

“After a start in the US in the 1960s and early 1970s, the wave first arrived in the UK in the late 1970s, moving to the Netherlands and Denmark in the 1980s, and then to Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland in the 1990s. In Southern Europe, the wave came to Spain, Italy and Portugal in the 2000s and to some degree also to Greece. In eastern Europe, the wave did not arrive until the 2000s or later, with the Czech Republic and Hungary being early exceptions. Finland has shown some interest in CP-UDP (PvS = CPTED) since about 2005.” (Grönlund et al 2014, page 13)

The process of making the standard (between 1995 and 2003) definitely helped this wave because several European countries participated—and still participate—in this standardisation process work. The first issued 2003 version (ENV), the 2007 (TR) and 2023 revisions were exceptional because these CPTED standards were based on a consensus from all European countries forming CEN. The process to reach this consensus was often tiresome and sometimes even resembled a cold war (Benbouzid 2011, page 177: “...une guerre froide des paradigms au gouvernement”). Reaching consensus—like multidisciplinary working—sounds easy, while often decades of cold wars are necessary to reach consensus. No wonder that the standard CEN/TR 14383-2 is said to be “*the only Crime Prevention Standard in Europe since the Roman Empire*” (Grönlund et al. 2014), and the same goes for the superseding CEN/TS 14383-2023 revision.

5.5.1 Content of the Design Guidelines

To support the standard in 2008, a handbook/manual entitled ‘Safepolis’ was produced (LabQUS 2008) explaining the possible measures and approaches in various urban contexts. The core of the Safepolis manual consists of the explanation (in text, clarified with many maps and photographs) of 20 guidelines (Table 5.2).

The Safepolis manual is a well-documented and illustrated checklist, and the emphasis is on the ‘content part’. The ‘process part’ is dealt with only very briefly in the manual but is presented in more depth in the standard CEN/TR 14383-2.

5.5.2 Content of the Process Standard

The process part of the European CPTED standard outlined an almost universally applicable seven-step model for structuring and monitoring a design, planning,

Table 5.2 Content of the Safepolis handbook

<i>Preface</i>	
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>Urban design strategies</i>
	Continuity of urban fabric
<i>The link between urban planning and safety</i>	Location of activities
The concept of urban safety	Time and calendar of activities
Historical development of environmental crime prevention	Visibility
Environmental crime prevention theories	Accessibility
CEN technical report: prevention of crime by urban planning	Territoriality Attractiveness
How to use this Handbook	Quality of materials to prevent decay
<i>Urban planning strategies</i>	<i>Management strategies</i>
Considering existing social and physical structures	Maintenance
Guaranteeing accessibility and avoiding enclaves	Surveillance
Creating vitality	Rules governing conduct in public spaces
Providing mixed status	Receiving particular groups
Creating adequate urban density	Communication with the public
Avoiding physical barriers and waste land	Target-hardening

management and development process to include CPTED in a regular urban planning, design and management process.

The 2007 process standard contained a flowchart for the structuring and monitoring of the planning process. In this flowchart, a working group responsible for including crime prevention in the urban planning, design and management process plays a central role. The standard offered two operational approaches for the functioning of this working group (CEN/TR14383-2:2007, page 24 and clause 7.2.2 in the superseding CEN/TS 14383-2:2023).

5.5.2.1 The Integrated Approach

The working group of a regular planning process for the new or existing area should be expanded with some experts specialised in safety, security, crime prevention: police officers, security risk professionals, social workers or some residents.

5.5.2.2 The Specialised Approach

A separate working group specialised in preventing crime and fear of crime by urban planning, design and management should be set up to advise (and influence) the planners/designers, developers/builders and services.

This particular process approach shows a clear resemblance with international standards on risk management (ISO 31000), quality management (ISO 9000) and sustainability (ISO 14000) which are nowadays widely used on a worldwide scale. This type of process-oriented standards can also be found in the world of engineering (e.g. the ISO 15288 on Systems and Software engineering) and other social science methods and innovation tools from the design industry like the well-known 'design-thinking' approaches. In the CEN standard, experts on the work floor (planners, architects, designers, police, transport, management) together with the residents and users are important actors or stakeholders. Hence, the approach is human-centred instead of pure physical-technical. In short, the chemical 'gun-man approach' as elaborated by Bruno Latour.

5.6 Diffusion and Implementation of the Standard

As a follow-up of making this CEN standard, academic researchers, practitioners and designers from 26 countries have worked together in a European COST Action for safe urban planning and design from 2012 till 2018 (COST 2012; <http://costtu1203.eu>).

In this network, the question about the diffusion and implementation of the standard and manual was raised. All network members were convinced that both documents (standard + manual) have played an important and valuable role and contribute to the safety and security of the urban environment. But, there was also severe doubt about the diffusion and implementation of the standard and manual. Are they widely known and have these documents been widely distributed and disseminated? Are they being used on a large scale by planners and designers in urban projects?

From the 26 participating countries in the COST network, 13 countries¹⁰ carried out a SWOT analysis in 2012/13 on the standard and the manual. The SWOT analysis was based on interviews with urban planners and desk research. The 2012/2013 results from the participating countries may be considered representative for all European countries. The detailed results of the SWOT analyses are presented in

the next two paragraphs, one from a pessimistic perspective and the other from an optimistic one (see also Grönlund et al 2014; Soomeren 2020, 2021).

5.7 Implementation; The Pessimist View

Neither the standard nor the manual have been widely implemented in urban planning in 2012/2013.

The dissemination and promotion of the standard and the Safepolis manual have thus far been a weak point. The standard is available from every national standardisation institute in every country in the world. But, the price is high—about € 400 for the complete CEN 14383 series and € 70 for the umbrella standard on urban planning. Furthermore, the European and national standardisation institutes never did any promoting or marketing. These institutes are used to produce and issue standards for the private market, not standards with a very diverse private-public audience that is not very familiar with standardisation documents. Copyright© issues strictly forbid publishing the standards on public websites.

Not very successful marketing

According to the 4P marketing mix model (McCarty 2001), if one wants to sell a product, the best possible mix of 4P's is needed: product, price, place and promotion. In terms of 'selling the CEN standards to the market', two of the P's (prize and promotion) are not too good:

- the price is too high, especially for the mainly non-profit-oriented market that wants or could use CPTED like neighbourhood/community organisations, residents and users,
- promotion has been almost non-existent.

The product (= the standard) is effective and good and moreover—since there is an obligation to review and re-edit each standard once in a while—always up to date (see the revised documents from 2007 and 2023). Also the 'place' were one can order and obtain the standard is perfect since the standard is available from every national standardisation institute in the world and can be bought online—thus, distribution is not a problem (Table 5.3).

However, the target group for the standard, which has always implicitly and explicitly been defined as 'architects, designers and planners', might be the wrong one. It might be a better strategy to consider focusing on urban managers, (local) authorities

Table 5.3 4P marketing mix for the CEN 14383 standards

Product	++
Price	–
Place	++
Promotion	–

and politicians, citizen/resident initiative groups, housing associations and universities/students. The core target group should probably be political authorities (councils, parliament, aldermen, mayors) or 'top management' (to use ISO 31000 terminology). These top dogs can simply 'order' the implementation and use of the CPTED standards compulsory by saying, "*we all want a safe and secure environment; hence, use these CPTED standards and design me a safe environment!*" Or: "*shut up, unite and do it together make my cities safe again!*" This change in focus on the most important target group can be found in the new version of the standard that was issued by CEN in 2023: TS 14383-2:2023 (Crime Prevention through building design, urban planning and city maintenance—Principles and process).

5.8 Implementation; The Optimist View

The diffusion of the standard took place all over Europe, has reached several other continents and a worldwide ISO standard was born from it!

The European standard helped—or was at least part of—the CPTED wave that conquered Europe from the north-west to the south and then the east. Also, within countries, there have been further developments. To present just a few examples (see also Soomeren et al. 2019/2022).

France is the only European country that implemented regulations on a national scale similar to CEN/TR 14383-2 in the French national legal system. In France, a study preliminary to the start of the realisation of an urban project (Étude de Sécurité et de Sécurité Publique; ESSP) is obligatory. This study has to be carried out parallel to the planning and design of major urban renewal projects, schools, railway stations and sports facilities such as a soccer stadium. The obligation exists only in cities with more than 100.000 inhabitants. This obligation is implemented in the French urban development act (article L. 111-3-1 and R. 111-48,49 of the 'Code de l'urbanisme', 2007). For more information, check: <http://costtu1203.eu/publications-on-urban-safety-in-french/>. The city of Lyon has gained much experience with this approach (Corbillé et al. 2017).

In **Italy**, the CEN/TR 14383-2 was translated in 2010, by the Italian standardisation institute (Ente Nazionale Italiano di Unificazione) as standard UNI/CEN/TR14383-2:2010. The website of the Italian standardisation institute states that this standard is an exact translation in Italian of the English text of the CEN/TR 14383-2:2007. The Technical University of Milan (Department of Architecture and Planning) established a special 'laboratory' for crime prevention studies and disseminating knowledge about CPTED. This laboratory—called 'LabQUS', laboratory for urban quality and security—conducted several studies. LabQUS became an independent research and consultancy group later on and still works on CPTED (<https://www.labqus.net/web/index.php/en/>). An example of a study for the city of Milan aimed at crime prevention and improvement of the living conditions in four urban areas perfectly shows the very sophisticated LabQUS approach (Barosso et al. 2014).

In 2002 in **Estonia**, the CEN/ENV 14383-2—which was then still a draft version—was translated in Estonian and was issued as a provisional national standard EVS 809-1:200240. Also, training was and is given to police, local municipalities and crime prevention institutions in Estonia (Leps 2014). The training included four countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland), and the main aims were: (1) the development of existing CPTED methods in partner countries; (2) raising the levels of professional knowledge for CPTED participants; (3) the creation of a network to improve cooperation and the exchange of best practice; (4) the preparation of learning materials and a specific manual for police officers. The CPTED manual that resulted from the training is “*a practical CPTED handbook specifically for police officers who are taking part in the planning processes, and also for other officials who are responsible for ensuring a safe living environment*”. (<https://eucpn.org/document/cpted-manual-for-police-officers>). The training was later on elaborated in the EU H2020 Cutting Crime Impact project (CCI): Building Safer Cities Together (Supporting the effective planning, design and development of safe urban environments). See: <https://www.cuttingcrimeimpact.eu/toolkits/building-safer-cities-together/pjp/>.

In **Sweden**, the standard CEN/TR 14383-2 was also translated into the national language, and an early version of the standard was used in the planning for Hammarby Sea City in Stockholm in the late 1990s (Grönlund 2012).

Finland used the Swedish experiences around 2000. In Tampere, the neighbourhood Muotiala was build (approximately 2000 residents) following the ideas laid down in de standard ENV 14383-2: “*Muotiala was the first and only CPTED neighbourhood in Finland*” (Kyttä 2011/348). In 2008, the outcomes of the approach were evaluated by the Helsinki University of Technology (Kyttä et al. 2008). Overall, the results were very positive: residents considered Muotiala as very safe, and they used the public space a lot. Planning solutions focusing on facilitating social interaction proved to be successful, well-designed lighting promoted a sense of safety and active use of spaces, and the building costs were not different from other projects.

In **Denmark**, the CEN/TR 14383-2 and the national Danish crime prevention standards were used for the first time in 2013-2014, as documents in two architectural competitions to improve the 1950s and 1970s suburban housing areas and shopping facilities. Denmark was also the organiser of a summer school on CPTED in 2015. This brought young students from all over Europe to Denmark to learn in a very practical environment (the Copenhagen neighbourhood Norrebro) how to tackle crime and support safety by producing practical analyses and proposals for improvements in the district with the best methods available (Wolterbeek et al. 2016)

In **The Netherlands**, the European standard was developed more or less at the same time that Dutch crime prevention experts developed a general safety assessment for buildings, complexes and neighbourhoods (Safety Effect Report; Soomeren and Woldendorp 1997; comparable with the Crime Impact Statement as used in Greater Manchester) as well as the Police Label Safe and Secure Housing (Jongejan and Woldendorp 2013).¹¹

The Police Label Safe and Secure Housing is also used till this day and proved to be very effective (e.g. burglary risk minus 80%). See, Davey and Wootton 2019/2022 and see <https://www.politiekeurmerk.nl/>.

In the **UK**, schemes like Secured by Design (SbD) were already available when the European standards were made. Based on SbD in Greater Manchester (approximately 3 million inhabitants), the police (GMP) and Salford University (Davey and Wootton 2018) developed a GMP Design for security consultancy service: Design for Security (DfS; www.securedbydesign.com). This scheme was developed without very much influence from the European standards. The knowledge was—like in The Netherlands—already available. DfS makes a Crime Impact Statement (CIS) obligatory for a regular planning application. The CIS process involves identifying, predicting, evaluating and mitigating the crime and disorder effects of a development proposal early in the design process—before planning decisions and commitments made. A CIS is a report that has to be submitted with planning applications and includes a Crime Impact Assessment (crime pattern analysis, risk assessment relating to type of building and its uses and a police site visit and site-specific risk assessment) and Crime Prevention Recommendations. The process is embedded in the obligatory regular process of getting a planning application (“Yes, we allow you to build this building”). Hence, the client pays for the application and the embedded CIS. The process yields enough money to pay for a small Design for Security office within the GMP. The CIS’s purpose is to ensure that design decision-makers consider crime, disorder and fear of crime before determining whether to proceed with new projects.

5.8.1 Worldwide—From Korea to ISO

A rather unexpected effect was that the CEN 14383-2 standard was also translated in Korean and issued in **Korea** as standard KS A 8800:2008 (Korean Standards Association). Based on this Korean Standard, Dr Hyeonho Park took much effort to develop a worldwide ISO standard on CPTED as Project Leader of the ISO committee of experts that developed the standard with the Swedish-held secretariat—security and resilience—held by SIS. The result was published in 2021 as ISO 22341:2021. Hyeonho Park¹²: “*When well-planned and wisely implemented, CPTED improves community safety and industrial security in a cost-effective manner. What’s more, some jurisdictions have introduced requirements to meet specific security standards in building regulations, for example, so it is important for CPTED stakeholders and practitioners to clearly understand the fundamental principles, scope, roles of institutions, elements, strategies and processes*”.

5.8.2 ... and Back to Europe

The fusion of knowledge, expertise and consensus that kicked off in 1995 to make the European CPTED standard (“*the only Crime Prevention Standard in Europe since the Roman Empire*”) in the end resulted in the publication of a worldwide ISO standard on CPTED.

But, the work is never done.

In 2019, CEN/TC 325 chaired by Czech experts started revising and updating the existing set of European CEN standards—CEN/EN 14383-1:2006 on terminology and definitions and CEN/TR 14383-2:2007 on principles and process. Almost 20 European countries as well as affiliated experts from the International CPTED Association (www.CPTED.net) participated. The 2007 technical report (TR) was re-edited using the ISO standards on risk management (ISO 31000) and CPTED (ISO 22341:2021). The result is the new CEN/TS 14383-2:2023 entitled ‘Crime Prevention through building design, urban planning and city maintenance—Principles and process’.

5.9 Conclusion

5.9.1 Aim of the Standards

In 1995, the original founding idea of publishing standards on crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) on a European level was that it was vital to achieve a European consensus on:

- A synthesised generic theoretical but practical framework on the **contents** of CPTED that somehow explains the basics of CPTED and establishes consensus about the main principles of CPTED. In short:
 - the social-physical combination (the CPTED gun-man) including also ethical aspects like the ones tackled in the preliminary declaration of CEN TR 14383-2:2007 (inclusive, no security for the rich, no gated communities, etc.),
 - the partnership/participation/stakeholder approach,
 - last but not least, the focus on specific environments (time-space and socio-physical).
- A standardised and **well-structured urban planning process**, in which the principles of CPTED are taken into account. This should also be rather generic since it must fit with national procedures and regulations (from laws on special planning to building codes). The seven-step model in the 2003 (ENV) and 2007 (TR) standard worked well as a kind of elaborated plan-check-do-act circle that became popular later on. Mind the fact that at the time the work was done on the early CEN 14383 standards, the ISO risk management standard did not yet exist. ISO 31000

was published in 2009. The history of the ISO quality management standards in the 9000 series dates back longer. However, only the 2000 version performed a radical change in thinking by focusing on the idea of process management (the monitoring and optimisation of a company's tasks and activities, instead of just inspection of the final product). The development of the CEN ENV 14383-2 (Summer 1995: Copenhagen: Launch of CEN/TC325: WG1+WG2+WG3) took place more or less parallel with the ISO 9000 way of thinking (process focused) at the start (1995).

- In the new CEN/TS 14383-2:2022 version, this structured process of including CPTED in regular participatory urban planning, design and management is fully integrated in the document including a sophisticated framework, a set of handy principles (how to do and what to do) and a specific CPTED process for one project/environment.¹³

5.9.2 Publication and Diffusion of the Standards

The set of European standards on CPTED Design is on sale by all national standardisation institutes. Furthermore, the Safepolis manual explains in more detail the guidelines for planning and design. The Safepolis manual is available online free of charge (<http://www.costtu1203.eu/downloads/other-documents/>).

For the National Standardisation Institutes, these standards on CPTED are a bit of a stranger in their midst. Standardisation institutes are usually focused on the big—mainly industrial and service-oriented—private market and ask a very high price for a relatively short text. The standardisation institutes did not invest in any marketing and publicity for the CPTED-standards. These standards are still not widely known nor used by planners and designers. The public sector—EU, governments and local/regional authorities—could have stepped in sooner to promote the use of these standards and the manual. Also, universities and other educational institutes could play an important role in the promotion activities. They hardly ever did so in Europe. The weird reality was that a worldwide ISO standard on CPTED (ISO 22341:2021) suddenly seemed to bypass its older and sophisticated European parents and predecessor, but the new work done on standardisation in Europe (CEN/TS 14383-2:2023) puts Europe back in the innovation race although it might be still too early to judge the results of the ISO 22341 child and the newer European CPTED standards.

5.9.3 *Contribution of the Standards to the Quality of Urban Environments*

In the European CPTED standards and the Safepolis manual, a practical body of knowledge is available on CPTED from the early millennium. Furthermore, the standards and manual are available in several languages: English, French, Italian, Spanish and others (e.g. Estonian and Swedish). A set of well-developed ideas on preventing crime, fear of crime, incivilities and anti-social behaviour through urban design, planning and management. Europe-wide, a consensus was achieved in relation to these texts, ideas and approaches. The CEN CPTED standards and the Safepolis manual are not final products that require no further revisions. On the contrary, a more 'synthesised' theoretical framework is still an important goal to be achieved for both academia and the community of crime prevention practitioners. Also, the process flowchart of the 2003 and 2007 standards was updated according to new standards in risk management (the ISO 31000 family), sustainability (ISO 14000) and human-centred design thinking and ISO 15288 on systems and software engineering. This update requirement was partly fulfilled with the publishing of ISO 22341:2021 and the serious and intense marketing of this new worldwide standard by the International CPTED Association. That also boosted regular procedures followed within CEN that anticipate a constant process of re-editing existing standards. Under Czech chair and secretariat (see CEN TC 325), work started on re-editing and revamping the European terminology standard (CEN EN 14383-1:2006) that indeed badly needed some elaboration and reconstruction as well as the CEN 14383-2:2007 on principles and process. As mentioned above, this resulted in the new CEN/TS 14383-2:2023. This renewed standard included the 'old' TR 14383-2:2007 that was updated and remodelled following the very popular ISO 31000 on risk management.

Europe needs safe and secure cities. The European Urban Charter asserts the basic right for citizens of European towns to *"a secure and safe town free, as far as possible, from crime, delinquency and aggression"*. This basic right to a safe community has been enshrined into many national and local programmes all over Europe. Local authorities, urban planners, designers, managers and developers, all who take this message seriously, should use the existing and new CPTED standards and the available manuals. Just decide together, *"Let's use that worldwide ISO standard on CPTED ISO 22341:2012 and let's work in compliance with the European standard CEN/TS 14383-2:2022 ...!"*

Notes

1. Prevention of crime shall here be understood as reduction of crime and fear of crime. A reduction of up to 90% is possible depending on circumstances and selection of prevention methods.
2. See research carried out by (among others) Jane Jacobs (1961), C. Ray Jeffery (1971), Oscar Newman (1972), Timothy Crowe (1991 and 2013), Vollaard and Ours (2011), Ronald Clarke

- (1983 and 1997) Jan van Dijk (1991 and 2012), Cozens and Love (2015), Davey and Wootton (2017), Soomeren, Davey and Wootton (2019/2022).
3. See Franke, K. and Soomeren, P. van (2021) Security in Public Spaces; Action 6 of the Urban Agenda for the EU – 10 Rules of Thumb for the Security by Design approach (<https://futurium.ec.europa.eu/en/urban-agenda/security-public-spaces/library/action-6-10-rules-thumb-security-design-approach>).
 4. See also the practical way how police, local authorities, residents and entrepreneurs can do something about High Impact Crime together as prototyped, demonstrated and implemented in the Dutch ProHIC approach (problem-oriented approach to High Impact Crime): <https://prohic.nl/?lang=en>
 5. ‘Only’ in the EU there are already 24 ‘official’ languages!
 6. ISO = the worldwide International Standardisation Organisation.
 7. There are several types of ‘standards’ or ‘standardisation documents’. In this article the following types of European documents issued by CEN are mentioned: EN, ENV (a pre-EN), TR and TS. International standards are issued by ISO. We refer to them as standards; whatever the ‘type’ may be.
 8. CEN members are more than thirty national standards bodies—more than only the EU!
The current CEN Members are: All member states of the European Union; three of the EFTA members: Iceland, Norway, Switzerland; and other states: United Kingdom, North Macedonia, Turkey, Serbia. The current affiliates are Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, Tunisia and Ukraine.
 9. <http://ritskedankert.nl/publicaties/2010/item/using-actor-network-theory-ant-doing-research> (last consultation 27/04/2021).
 10. The participating countries: UK, Italy, Poland, Belgium, Ireland, Portugal, Denmark, France, Germany, Serbia, Austria, Hungary and The Netherlands.
 11. The Safety Effect Report/Crime Impact Statement instrument was revised several times and is still used: <https://hetccv.nl/fileadmin/Bestanden/Bestellen/PKVW/ver-engelstalig.pdf> and <https://hetccv.nl/onderwerpen/veiligheidsbeleving/praktijkvoorbeelden/alle-praktijkvoorbeelden/veiligheidseffectrapportage/>.
 12. Source: <https://www.iso.org/news/ref2620.html> (last consultation 27/04/2021)
 13. See in CEN/TS 1438-2:2022 Figure 1 – Principles (How to do CPTED and What to do by CPTED), framework and specific CPTED process for managing crime risks

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Chapter 6

Local Safety Contracts: Profiling a Multidisciplinary and Multilevel Cooperation for Crime Prevention



Ana Amante and Miguel Saraiva

Abstract Since the 2009s political framework which promoted a paradigm shift from a reactive to a preventive model of proximity security, Portugal has been integrating new planning policies for crime prevention. Concerns over crime statistics, perceptions of fear and urban and social vulnerabilities have led to the emergence of multidisciplinary mechanisms that address and regulate territorial inequalities. In this context, the Portuguese Local Safety Contracts have been promoted as an instrument to guide public policies, participation strategies and local integration. At the core is an institutional cooperation between the Central and Local Administration which allows sharing accountability, along with further liaisons with security forces and services, local entities and communities, although a critique may be made that it is still very limited to the institutional sphere. Consequently, this chapter presents the cross-sectional perspective within Local Safety Contracts. Considering various dimensions including security, demographics, education, health, employment, housing and social protection, a qualitative comparison is made on the preventive measures and initiatives established by each relevant group of actors in the Contracts. Conclusions dwell on the multidisciplinary and multilevel facets of the Contracts, and their relationship to place-based initiatives of security and prevention in urban contexts.

Keywords Crime prevention · Local Safety Contracts · Multidisciplinary · Multilevel cooperation · Preventive measures · Portugal

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6.1 Introduction

Urban security is, undoubtedly, a multifaceted topic, as it has recently been considered by the Urban Agenda for the European Union on Security in Public Spaces (EC 2021). In the last decade, this has been underlined by studies with a focus on crime but that have approached, often using spatial modelling, how it relates to aspects such as urban morphology and the built environment, accessibility, land use, as well as socio and economic profiles of the territories (Bella et al. 2012; Leitner 2013; Matijosaitiene 2016; Melo et al. 2017; Saraiva et al. 2021; Setiawan et al. 2019; Sohn 2016; Weisburd et al. 2020; Weisburd 2015). However, the integrated understanding of these multiple dimensions has only recently been applied to strategies aiming to respond to social and territorial vulnerabilities (Müller 2021; Tulumello 2014). Indeed, although it has been doubly recognized that the understanding of insecurity patterns requires a spatial-temporal perception of crime, sociodemographic and urban variables (Bannister et al. 2019), and that social and territorial cohesion as well as collective efficacy are relevant in prevention strategies, empirical evidence considering cross-cutting modelling approaches is still not widely seen (Barolsky and Borges 2019; Melo et al. 2017; Saraiva et al. 2021; Weisburd et al. 2021).

Such relationship is at the core of environmental criminology principles, that today are as ever prevalent when discussing situational prevention (Clarke 2018), criminology of places (Weisburd et al. 2016), community crime prevention and new policing models (Braga 2014; Gill et al. 2014; Maillard and Terpstra 2021; Rosenbaum 1988; Weisburd et al. 2010). Personal experiences have a strong connection to the built environment, as individual's perceptions of places depend on the particularities of each context and on the existing demographic and social conditions, relational networks and mechanism of social regulation and formal structures (Bella et al. 2012). Thus, this inclusive understanding of the local operating environments, as Barolsky and Borges (2019) call them, is required in successfully responding to social and physical disorder (Fisher-Stewart 2007; Hicks and Brown 2013), promoting a sense of belonging (Hipp, 2016; Wilkinson 2007) and reducing risk and fear (Foster et al. 2014; Henson and Reynolds 2015; Reid et al. 2020). This understanding should include a contextualization through qualitative and quantitative analysis to ensure interventions are attuned to the environment in which they are to be implemented, and thus with higher likelihood of being successful (Barolsky and Borges 2019).

Less, however, has been debated on the required complementary practices across different fields between actors involved in putting such prevention policies in place and managing them (Amante et al. 2021). On the one hand, overall, the transition to preventive models and implementation strategies based on multilevel instruments is still emerging (Tulumello 2018b), as the political engagement to new security paradigms has not been uniform between countries (Crawford 2009). On the other, this is a challenge (not always easy to achieve) that calls for multisector integration (Oneto 2019). Prevention requires, as the European Crime Prevention Network (EUCPN 2013) states, an effective involvement of a variety of actors, both public (as local authorities or social workers) and private (as business associations or citizen

groups). This joint integration is the catalyst for effective prevention policies, adapted to specificities of the territories (Hunt 2019; Marques et al. 2019).

Such need is more pressing in the context of urban areas, where the greatest feelings of insecurity are still registered (OECD 2020), and also after a decade of a succession of economic, social and now health crisis, that have accentuated territorial disparities and socio-economic inequalities (Macharia et al. 2020; Madanipour and Weck 2015; Marques et al. 2021). Portugal has experienced this double reality of increasing feelings of insecurity and the existence of territorial contexts of crime and socio-economic vulnerability (Marques et al. 2019; Saraiva et al. 2021; Tulumello 2018a). Therefore, if National agendas have stressed the need for multilevel and place-based strategies (Law nr. 99/2019, of September 5), the recently approved national security decree has sought to promote a systemic rationality of public security through multilateral cooperation among different actors, including the central administration (State), local administration (City Councils), security organizations and services, sectoral entities and communities (Decree-Law nr 32/2019, of March 4).

This rationale of institutional cooperation had already started to be put in place earlier, with the creation of an instrument named Local Safety Contracts (CLS). They were envisioned within the scope of Strategic Directive nr. 10/2006 of May 15 which promoted the shift towards a preventive and partnership approach of security inspired by proximity policing, community participation, and sustained by a territorialized and multilevel governance model (Oneto 2019). Precisely, the implementation of these contracts has aimed to find new paths for sharing responsibilities between political, coordinating and operational levels, and overcoming limitations in Portugal on multidimensional and multilevel integration of territorial policies (Tulumello et al. 2020).

At the same time they emphasized the importance of understanding territorial and social contexts and vulnerabilities (Amante et al. 2020), they also revealed weaknesses in partnership dynamics (Amante et al. 2021). These works also point to difficulties in collecting integrated and accessible databases at different scales, that both empirically portray local contexts and local interventions carried out by the partnerships, as these are allocated to different levels of governance and often are institutionally restricted. Thus, so far, it has not been possible for researchers to evaluate the effectiveness of the CLS nor to have a holistic view of their multidimensional management model and place-based strategies. Based on official CLS reports supplied by the Ministry of Internal Administration, this chapter offers an innovative insight into these initiatives, by presenting a cross-sectional view of their implementation focussed on the multidisciplinary and multilevel governance structure.

This chapter is divided into five sections. In Sect. 6.2, this governance model is presented. Section 6.3 describes the framework of the CLS, in terms of development stages, axes of intervention and typologies. Section 6.4 discusses the main guiding questions of the research. Section 6.5 displays the findings, by comparing the role of each actor according to the crime prevention measures adopted. Section 6.6 presents the discussion and main conclusions.

6.2 Second Generation CLS: A Brief History of How They Came to Be

In the nineteenth century, the Portuguese model was based on reaction, privileging a rapid response to incidents and criminal investigation (Guinote 2019). For the major part of the twentieth century, the model continued, based on the containment of incidents, preserving evidence at the crime scene and gathering technically supported evidence to increase convictions in court. The geopolitical context saw the Government as a single political unit and the policing model as a horizontal structure. The shift towards a vertical structure only occurred in the 1980s, and Portugal started the so-called special proximity security programmes, replicating international proximity policing models, particularly the French, in accordance with the Portuguese legislative framework (Tulumello 2014, 2017).

This model was supported on a collaboration between security organizations and local administration, and particularly since the 1990s, the Ministry of Internal Administration supported a revision of security models and policies which included a greater articulation of police with communities. As a result, several programmes led by the central administration were implemented, such as “Safe School”, “Elderly65” and “Safe Retail”. In 2006, Strategic Directive nr.10/2006 of May 15 further decentralized competences, giving more power of action to municipalities and recognizing the role of communities, in a new Integrated Model of Proximity Policing (MIPP). Many of the outreach security and safety programmes initiated in previous years were integrated into MIPP and its more encompassing crime prevention strategy. It was precisely in this context that, following the French model, the instrument Local Safety Contracts would first appear in 2008, as a pilot project. According to DGAI (2009), the framework model of the first generation consisted on (a) a systematic analysis of problems associated with crime (causes, risk factors and consequences); (b) processes that outline the most appropriate measures and that are able to adapt to specific local issues; (c) action plans that responded efficiently, sustainably and effectively; (d) the mobilization of entities and other actors capable of dealing with diverse causes; and finally, (e) monitoring and evaluation.

However, their first foray was short lived, being discontinued in 2011 without a large impact on the community, mainly due to the consequences of the severe economic crisis that hit Portugal shortly afterwards (particularly between 2008 and 2012) and substantial reductions in public funding. Nonetheless, a few years later, in 2016, there was a governmental decision to produce a second generation of CLS, sealed by a so-called Cooperation Agreement between different government sectors and once again emphasizing alternative governance models and sharing of competences and responsibilities, in a multisector approach that moved beyond the central administration to encompass local communities and organizations.

6.3 Understanding CLS: Framework, Development Stages, Intervention Axes and Typologies

The new generation of CLS is supported by regulatory guidelines under Law decree nr. 32/2019 of March 4, where the governance model and the evaluation and monitoring processes are identified. Following a decentralization model, various government sectors are expected to collaborate, such as those related to Citizenship and Equality, Education, Employment, Housing, Solidarity and Social Security, Health and Justice. Such a change in the organizational model also permitted the commitment of other entities and actors, more closely associated with proximity policing models. Their integration with government representatives, a more tangible improvement from the first generation, besides enriching the partnerships, had three main goals: (1) promoting the debate on security issues that affect communities; (2) bringing public services closer to the communities they serve; and (3) sharing responsibilities in the three levels intervention: political, coordination and operational.

The organizational model is divided into three levels: the Interministerial Commission, the Coordinating Committee and the Operational Core. The Interministerial Commission is composed by the government departments and monitors the run of the contracts by a Coordinating Committee. This entity approves the action of the Operational Core, that includes all decentralized sectors of the Central Administration, along with the specific municipalities, security organizations and local partners of each CLS. This entity will effectively implement the measures (Stage 3), defined in each Action Plan (Stage 2), produced after a Local Safety Diagnosis (Stage 1) is developed. After the area is characterized in its various socio-economic, urbanistic and crime dimensions, Action Plans identify partnership responsibilities, roles of different actors, available financial resources as well as foreseeing problems that may arise. The developing model is complete with Stage 4—Monitoring and Evaluation, jointly carried out by the Interministerial Commission and the Coordinating Committee.

By mid-2021, 33 CLS have been put in motion in 33 Portuguese municipalities. Of these, 6 are still in the initial draft after the signing the Contract in 2019, but most have now moved past Stage 1, with a total of 46 Local Safety Diagnoses having been completed. According to the most recent information that these authors have accessed, 8 of the CLS are likely to have finished their Action Plans, with Stage 3 kicking off during 2021. This means, however, that none of the CLS have reached Stage 4 at the moment of writing (last quarter 2021).

Overall, four priority axes of intervention have been pre-established by the Interministerial Commission (Amante et al. 2021): (1) strengthening security through the prevention of juvenile delinquency; (2) requalifying urban areas; (3) reducing social vulnerabilities; and (4) promoting citizenship and gender equality. Specifically, due to the recognition that territories are diverse, three typologies of CLS have been created: MAI Municipality (covering a municipality in terms of public policies and safety strategies), MAI Neighbourhood (in identified specific urban areas

of social risk, focussing on the prevention of juvenile delinquency and the protection of public space) and MAI Citizen (in contexts where risk situations are constrained in space and time, often associated to specific target groups and seasonal events). Consequently, the geographical level of CLS include both local and micro units of analysis. On the one hand, local scale refers to “the municipality” being an administrative division with its own corporate statute and jurisdiction, understood as a political territorial space associated with a local authority (MAI Municipality). Thus, local scale is related to intra-urban areas when compared to others of a regional or national dimension. On the other hand, micro-scale comprises the population, criminal, urban and social phenomena of a given territory. Therefore, neighbourhoods are considered small territorial units, composed of limited street blocks and buildings (MAI Neighbourhood). Other places correspond to sparsely populated areas with specific population features (MAI Citizen).

As Fig. 6.1 displays, the spatial distribution of CLS is mainly concentrated in the two major Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Porto and in the Algarve Region, located in the centre, north and south of Portugal, respectively. The MAI Neighbourhood typologies have been implemented around the two major cities of Portugal (Porto and Lisbon), with the highest rates of population and crime densities in the country (Saraiva et al. 2021). Here, overall 10 municipalities have celebrated contracts. MAI Municipality, on the other hand, has been mostly implemented in the Algarve, the most touristic region of Portugal. Of the 22 Contracts of this category, 16 are in the Algarve, in all but one of the municipalities in the region. Finally, a MAI Citizen contract has only been celebrated once, in the municipality of Serpa, a location where at harvest season the present population substantially increases due to migrant workers.

6.4 Main Research Methods and Questions

Based on the exclusive documentation provided by the Ministry of Internal Administration, a qualitative comparative method was applied to evaluate mainly the first two stages of the Contracts, in particular the role of the various actors. This research sought to analyse the systemic approach of the CLS, how social and political actors perceive the main problems identified in the Local Safety Diagnoses (the first stage), and how they translate their understanding to preventive actions proposed in the Action Plans (the second stage). For comparative analyses, the sample includes 33 CLS (Table 6.1). These include 46 Local Safety Diagnoses completed by mid-2021 (in 27 CLS), and the elaboration of 16 Action Plans is covered in a small number of 8 CLS. Each Action Plan seeks out to define the priority axes of intervention, the preventive measures to be adopted, the partnerships and the timeline of each step. Based on textual analysis technique (Rei 2007), the main points in common are matched and highlighted to identify particularly problems addressed in the CLS, as well as the preventive measures collected by each group of actors. The actors were aggregated according to whether they were from Central Administration

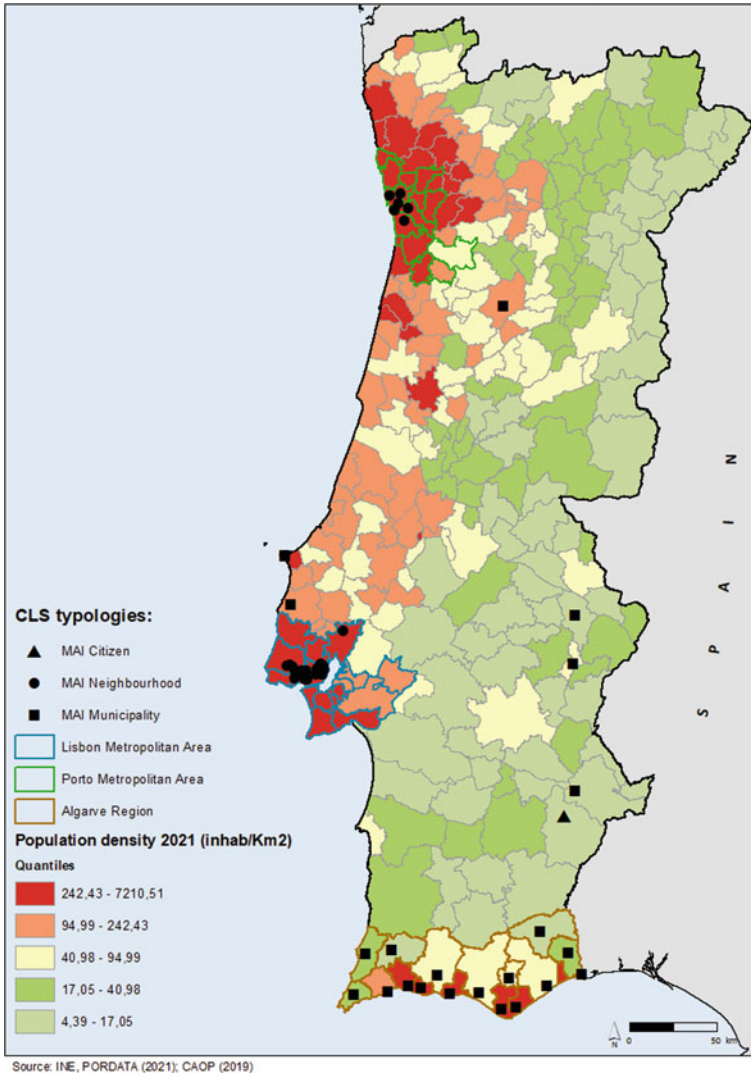


Fig. 6.1 Spatial distribution of CLS by municipalities and typologies (*Source own*)

sectors (Citizenship and Equality and Integration and Migration; Internal Administration; Justice; Science, Technology and Higher Education; Education; Labour, Solidarity and Social Security and Health); Local Administration (Municipal Councils), Security Organizations (Proximity Policing) and other Local entities.

Table 6.1 Distribution of Local Safety Contracts, Local Safety Diagnoses and Action Plans by geographic regions (*Source own*)

Portuguese regions	Local Safety Contracts (CLS) signed by Municipality	CLS started	Local Safety Diagnoses by territory within the Municipalities	Action Plans by territory within the Municipalities
North region	5 (Maia, Vila Nova de Gaia, Porto, Matosinhos, Viseu)	3	10 (6 started; 4 under development)	5 (in 2 CLS)
Lisbon Metropolitan Area	6 (Amadora, Lisbon, Loures, Oeiras, Sintra, Vila Franca de Xira)	6	22	8 (in 3 CLS)
West region	2 (Peniche, Torres Vedras)	1	2 (1 started; 1 under development)	None
Alentejo region	4 (Bora, Monforte, Moura, Serpa)	4	4 (1 started; 3 under development)	1 (in 1 CLS)
Algarve region	16 (Alcoutim, Albufeira, Aljezur, Castro Marim, Faro, Loulé, Lagoa, Lagos, Monchique, Olhão, Portimão, São Brás de Alportel, Silves, Tavira, Vila do Bispo, Vila Real de Santo António)	16	16	2 (in 2 CLS)
Total	33	30	54	16

The main research questions are:

1. How have Local Safety Diagnoses been devised and who writes them?;
2. How are Local Safety Diagnoses structured and what thematic domains and indicators are adopted?;
3. Which actors and work teams are included in the Action Plans?;
4. What are the main contributions of each actor for the crime prevention strategy?

6.5 Findings

6.5.1 Stage 1—Local Safety Diagnosis

As mentioned above, 46 Local Safety Diagnoses (DLS) have so far been completed with the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Administration, with a further 8 being developed to other territories. The main goal is to assess the safety issues of a given community, and in the process forge a basis that can sustain the most adequate solutions that fit the local needs of each Contract. Regardless of the dimension of the territory, or the typology of CLS, the DLS have shown the importance of multilateral cooperation, introducing, on a systematic basis, an assessment based on nine different topics: Security, Population, Education, Housing, Social protection, Justice, Employment and Labour market, Health and Available Resources (including policing staff and existing public facilities, such as those related to sports, recreation and culture).

The common template for the DLS was based on international standards and practices related to security audits and safety diagnosis for problem-oriented responses at both local and micro levels. Specifically, it was based on a 2008 Portuguese-language manual (DGAI 2009) adapted from the report “*Guidance on Local Safety Audits—A Compendium of International Practice*”, produced by the European Forum for Urban Safety (Efus 2007). As a methodological reference, the DLS have the Portuguese-language version, published at the same time as the country’s new internal security law of 2008 (Law nr.53/2008, of August 29).

The DLS template requires that at least 36 indicators are filled or calculated, as indicated in Fig. 6.2, which also summarizes the thematic groups under analysis and who is responsible for collecting the data for each. Main data sources are generally derived from either official statistics, or from government departments that belong to the Interministerial Commission. Entities that supply data, later validated by this Commission, include the Ministry of Internal Administration (MAI), the Ministry of Justice (MJ), the Ministry of Education (MEdu), the Ministry of Health (MS), the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MCTES), the Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security (MTSSS), the Ministry of Infrastructure and Housing (MIH), the National Association of Portuguese Municipalities (ANMP) and the National Association of Parishes (ANAFRE). In addition, other entities as the National Institute of Statistics or the Directorate-General for Justice Policy (DGPI) can also assist, directly or indirectly, in collecting or treating the required data, whereas local authorities further provide specific local-level inputs to the diagnosis. The data collected aims to draw a generalized picture of the territories under study, with statistics presented either at the level of municipalities or parishes.

1. Security a) Crimes Reported to the Security Forces and Services (FSS) b) Operational activity of the Security Forces and Services c) Staff of the Security Forces and Services	2. Population a) Evolution of the resident population b) Resident population by age groups and gender c) Families by number of individuals d) Household typologies e) Resident population by nationality	3. Education a) Resident population by level of education and illiteracy rate b) Network of existing school facilities c) Number of resident children and young people with educational support
4. Housing a) Family, collective accommodations and buildings b) Family accommodations of usual residence c) State of conservation/repair of buildings d) Housing by type of occupation	5. Social protection a) Beneficiaries of social security by type of grant b) Pensioners c) Children/Youths followed by the Commission for the Protection of Children and Youth	6. Justice a) Number of young people subject to educational tutelary measures b) Number of residents subject to penalties and security measures
7. Employment and labour market a) Residents by employment status b) Residents employed by sector of activity c) Residents by level of income	8. Health a) Residents undergoing treatment at a Drug Addict Support Centre and by age group b) Alcoholic patients undergoing treatment by age group c) Disabled residents	9. Resources a) Municipal Police b) Existing Equipment and Facilities c) Existing sports, recreational and cultural facilities and/or projects
Directorate General for Justice Policy (DGPJ) and Security Forces and Services (FSS)		
Statistics Portugal (INE, PORDATA) and local entities		
Ministry of Education (MEdu), PORDATA and local entities		
Ministry of Infrastructure and Housing (MIH) and local entities		
Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security (MTSS)		
Ministry of Justice (MJ)		
Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security (MTSS), Statistics Portugal (INE, PORDATA) and local entities		
Ministry of Health (MS)		
Local entities		

Fig. 6.2 Matrix of dimensions, indicators, and main sources of data of Local Safety Diagnosis (Source own)

6.5.2 Stage 2—Action Plan

Following the results of the Local Safety Diagnosis, several suggestions are made by the intervening actors that are then taken up both by the Interministerial and Coordinating Commissions, entities responsible for elaborating the Action Plan. The guidelines for the Action Plan deem it as a decisive step in the development of the CLS, because it is assumed that the effectiveness of the strategies adopted depends on a rigorous reading of the local needs and on an understanding of the existing threats and opportunities.

A total of 8 CLS (16 neighbourhoods overall) have thus far advanced to the Action Plan Stage, namely CLS of Amadora (x2), Maia (x1), Porto (x4), Lisbon (x5), Vila Franca de Xira (x1), Serpa (x1), S. Brás de Alportel (x1) and Olhão (x1). The information contained in these Plans is, in fact, very rich and diversified, catering to the local contexts for which they are produced. Considering the 8 Action Plans available, Table 6.2 summarizes the main points in common, considering the relationship of the Intervention CLS axes to the problems found and the different sectors responsible for the measures, as well as the administration and security branches involved.

The Sectors of Security (through police organizations and proximity policing initiatives) and those of Citizenship and Equity have been directly involved in the

Table 6.2 Matrix of existing Action Plans and focal dimensions of crime prevention measures (*Source* own)

CLS intervention axes	Main issues to be addressed	Sectors (multidimensionality of measures)
Prevention of juvenile delinquency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Early dropout from school – Lack of occupation by young people – Juvenile Delinquency and Groups associated to criminal activities 	Health Employment and Labour market Social solidarity Citizenship and Equality Justice Security City Council
Requalification of urban areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Poor urban qualification – Places with poor lighting – Vandalized places – Physical degradation of buildings – Graffiti inscribed on walls – Places associated with the practice of illegal activities 	Citizenship and Equality Security City Council
Reduction of social vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Presence of unstructured families – Problems of social and economic exclusion – High rates of unemployment – Problematic social fabric – Early dropout from school – Lack of occupation by young people – Drug addiction and alcoholism – Elderly population – Unemployment 	Health Employment and Labour market Social solidarity Citizenship and Equality Justice Security City Council
Promotion of citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Conflict/integration of ethnic minorities – Unsafe environment caused by fear and vandalism – Consumption of alcohol and psychoactive substances 	Employment and Labour market Citizenship and Equality Justice Security City Council

measures related to all CLS intervention axes and are exclusive in the Requalification of Urban Areas. The sectors of Justice and Employment and Labour market have intervened in all the other three axes. Finally, the Health and Social Solidarity Sectors have been involved in the axes of Prevention of delinquency and Reduction of social vulnerabilities.

6.5.3 Contribution of the Main Actors in the Proposal and Implementation of Preventive Measures in the CLS

Central Administration (governmental sectors)

The central administration has been active in defining guidelines for preventive measures across all intervention axes of the CLS, which are deemed to be implemented by integrated working teams, including those of proximity policing. The most common that appears throughout the studied CLS reports is the prevention of juvenile delinquency in both the school and the community environments. In schools, the major actions follow the concept of inclusive education and have included the promotion of Programs for the prevention of risk behaviours, working with families, and signalling and forwarding both students and their families, especially in cases of addictive behaviours. After this identification process, most actions are targeted towards classes with a high number of students at risk, with the purpose of helping the students develop personal and social skills, and create initiatives based on peer education approaches, informing on different subjects concerning risk behaviours in adolescence. The families of students can also be involved in awareness sessions on these topics, along with others related to adolescent development, parental practices and school–family integration, and psychosocial support.

Some of the analysed CLS also put an emphasis on training actions for the education staff, related to addictive behaviours in school. To better deal with this concern, some government sectors propose the creation of a Guide of Procedures, with clear guidelines for action, as well as a support system for students, managed by specialized working groups. Training on gender equality and citizenship, or initiatives on domestic and dating violence, are seen as a cornerstone for academic achievement, as are roleplaying of judicial trials (to get a sense of the Judicial system), the promotion of healthy habits and lifestyles, also associated to sports, actions of volunteering and social solidarity, and the awarding of university scholarships to underprivileged and youngsters from the Roma community.

Within the community, preventive measures of proximity are oriented towards the reduction of risks and the minimization of damages, in contexts of young people where psychoactive substances can be used. The aim is to motivate and assist these youngsters, developing both personal and social skills in conjunction with their reintegration. These include communication, emotional and other basic social skills, as well as personal skills and interests associated to vocational guidance. Some of the actions have in place, or aim to improve, partnerships that technically support the identification and monitoring of the psychological and psychotherapeutic levels within these groups and their families. The goal is to suitably reduce risk factors and redirect them to treatment and harm reduction initiatives, that effectively reduce the severity and intensity of addictive behaviours.

Social vulnerabilities are further reduced with integrated care and appropriate therapeutic responses, improving accessibility to treatments and strengthening the follow-up in dependency care centres, along with preventive intervention and reintegration measures through experiences of healthier lifestyles. The contracts intent

that this is to be achieved by a continuous articulation with the local health units and local response teams, that should be seating together along with the target groups, addressing issues of employability and social reintegration of the most vulnerable populations.

The sectors mainly linked to Employment and Labour market and Social Solidarity are also focussed on providing social responses for children and youth at risk, funded by the Government under the CLS, in consonance with local solidarity institutions and youth homes. Three priority axes have been defined: (1) family and community; (2) vulnerable groups and employment; and (3) sports activities, entrepreneurship and professional qualification. The preventive measures are associated to other community activities, such as those related to leisure and social events, and other ongoing projects such as *Programa Escolhas* (Choices Program; <http://www.programaescollhas.pt/>), which since 2001 promotes social inclusion of young people in vulnerable contexts. Such articulation provides continuity in the community and strengthens the commitment of the partner institutions within local contexts.

Furthermore, these sectors tackle problems associated with unemployment in the CLS action territories. In order to avoid long-term unemployment, professional integration and personal development initiatives are promoted, allocating career managers that together with a wider team properly work to establish profiles and employment plans, promote guidance sessions and vocational training, and monitor the processes of re-insertion. This individualized approach helps empowering citizens with career managing skills and motivational levels that help them enter, remain and progress in the labour market. Such initiatives include apprenticeships, training courses, modular training, certification of professional skills, as well as support in getting hired or becoming self-employed, and entrepreneurship and internship programmes.

A specialized structure to support victims of domestic violence is also proposed in various Action Plans by the sectors related to Justice. Integrated social responses are to be funded in articulation with local reintegration teams, support associations, other competent entities and specific places as shelters and care centres. Local mediators are also to be trained, in terms of signalling and monitoring risk situations, and how to connect to competent authorities and other entities. For the victims, awareness-raising actions are proposed, as well as psychological, social and legal support. Aggressors are also object of a special judicial measures, including electronic surveillance.

Likewise, elderly and disable people are supported through programmes and initiatives financed by cooperation agreements between the Government and local social institutions as day and social centres, occupational activity centres, and various home, residences and support services directly catered for the elderly or those with disabilities. A priority in the Action Plans analysed is the provision of meals to isolated elderly.

The integrated agreements of all these sub-sectors, between the government and local entities as community centres, social canteens, counselling centres and self-help groups, street teams or monitoring centres, actively contribute to promote citizenship within the CLS. A special care is also evident on the integration of the Roma and migrant communities, through active inclusion programmes and awareness-raising

initiatives on migration and human trafficking in schools and the community in general. Such initiatives bring together the sectors of education, health, social support and other local entities, and can be linked, if possible, to ongoing local projects and partners with extensive experience.

Local Administration (municipal councils)

Local authorities play a clear yet very important role in defining the measures to be carried out in the CLS: first because proposed contributions are place-specific, and should depend on the needs of each municipality, that need to be defined and, second, by promoting and managing the articulation between the different partners at various levels, and with these with the community. Local authorities assume thus a shared responsibility, closely cooperating with the actions of the Central Administration and the police, identifying and jointly resolving local-level issues and facilitating the planning and implementation of projects.

Furthermore, in the axis of citizenship and social reintegration, municipalities are able to propose and promote various meetings, public initiatives and other events for debating issues related to crime, feelings of insecurity, safety best practices, and self-protection. To reduce social vulnerabilities, preventive measures particularly concern the domains of public or mental health, working together with local hospitals, health centres and other integrated entities to ensure adequate responses and offer adequate psychiatric services to communities and individuals in need. Municipalities also wish to play an active role in implementing standardized care protocols for victims of violence and regarding youth mental health, across hospitals and primary healthcare networks, particularly in the most rural areas of the CLS. This is to be done along with proper dissemination, raising awareness to these issues.

In the CLS Action plans, municipal councils also propose several measures of requalification of urban public spaces and housing renewal in order to reduce vulnerabilities. These actions often involve the application to state or European funding. Further initiatives promoted by the local administration to potentiate integration within communities include outdoor sporting activities and other youth-targeted activities.

Security Forces and Services (Proximity Policing)

In the majority of the Action Plans analysed, the main initiatives proposed by Proximity Policing teams involve awareness and hands-on actions developed in partnership with social security institutions, municipal councils, and other stakeholders.

For the prevention of juvenile delinquency, these teams articulate between the youngsters themselves and the various institutions. The actions proposed are designed to consolidate the young persons' feelings of integration in civil society. For example, initiatives that aim to occupy their free time in order to fight school truancy and improve school performance are promoted in partnership with local entities and community associations. They also signal children and young persons at risk; provide assistance in situations of crisis and emergencies; and promote sessions on public security, where contexts of higher risk and possible intervention strategies

are discussed. The latter include raising awareness to the harmful effects of excessive consumption of alcohol and drugs, as well as their likely criminal consequences.

In terms of requalification of urban areas, proximity policing teams are expected to signal to the proper entities various needs, including in terms of building rehabilitation, infrastructural changes, the improvement of street lighting, or the monitoring or closing of abandoned houses to avoid drug trafficking or crimes against property. In some CLS, such installation of technical security equipment and electronic surveillance is proposed, but important as well is the contribution to improve the neighbourhoods' iconography. Authorized murals for graffiti art, for example, have the dual aim of reviving public spaces and increasing the sense of belonging, especially for the youths. The reinforcement of foot patrols also adds to the place-based strategy. Around certain schools, patrols on home-school routes help prevent or contain bullying, physical or verbal violence and robberies.

For the reduction of social vulnerabilities, the police partners with social security entities, social institutions and health authorities. It is their competence to signal risk situations and forward the case towards competent authorities, be it a case of elderly at risk, homelessness, migrants and other vulnerable groups. For example, proximity policing agents can, in partnership with local entities, help improve living conditions for the elderly, as carrying out small domestic repairs. The specific case of domestic violence is also pointed out, with the police assuming the responsibility of signalling and monitoring risk situations and victims. As for homeless and other deprived persons, proximity policing teams assist in the distribution of free meals in social canteens and actions providing basic needs such as bathing or donations of clothes, furniture or appliances. Unemployed are referred to employment guidance sessions and professional training.

The promotion of citizenship is covered through lectures and actions to raise awareness on civic rules, community and societal values or the preservation of public space. This is particularly relevant as derelict or abandoned areas can potentiate criminal practices and increase the sense of insecurity. These sessions can also address specific target groups (e.g. Gypsies, Roma and migrants), to promote integration in the community, as well as, if that is the case and particularly outside the main metropolis, the employers for which such target groups may be working for.

Finally, the police have also devised actions to make herself known to the community, particularly children and young persons. By learning the day-to-day of policing teams, and how they respond to safety challenges, the police gain recognition and hopefully strengthen their ties with the community.

6.6 Concluding Notes

The CLS have been devised as guiding instruments of public security policies, stemming from an integrated national strategy combining the interests of the various government sectors of the Central and Local Administration. The implementation of crime prevention strategies is based on an alternative model of political, coordinative

and operational governance around the multilevel cooperation of actors. As shown, the direct participation of all actors is decisive, indispensable for the cohesion of the territories, supported by top-down and bottom-up policies (Tulumello 2018b, 2020).

As the State (Central Administration) is the principal manager of the Contracts, municipalities assume a crucial position in the definition crime preventive strategies catered to the specificities of each territory. Local authorities are then the promoters of the articulation between different (local) partners, thus contributing, in a second stage, to an effective development and implementation of such strategies which consider and articulate the different dimensions of urban security (Oneto 2019). In particular, the CLS have been mainly focussed on the reduction of crime and insecurity through dealing with juvenile delinquency, social vulnerabilities and reintegration, the requalification of public space and the promotion of citizenship.

Exploring the existing documentation on the ongoing CLS, this research shows how the definition of preventive actions importantly depends on the multidimensional integration of different sectors (housing, employment, education, health and so on) and also on the knowledge of the local specificities of communities. This is in line with the importance of “place” in contemporary environmental and criminology of place literature (Weisburd et al. 2016) being directly linked with the preventive strategies of local and micro-scales of the CLS, as well as with the call for a joint cooperation between proximity policing models and local partnerships (Maillard and Terpstra 2021).

Therefore, the first stage Local Safety Diagnosis is seen as a crucial step in both helping define and supporting the preventive measures proposed in the second stage Action Plans, as they characterize local communities and the effects caused by criminal occurrences and fear of crime. Consequently, time must be taken to understand geographical factors and the different multilevel perspectives of all those involved in the programme, and of how they can contribute to maximize the effects of the actions and interventions (Amante et al. 2021; Barolsky and Borges 2019). However, perhaps due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the succession of restrictions and lockdowns, not all government sectors have been directly involved in proposing preventive measures in all axes of intervention of the Action Plans, even if they were allocated to a given CLS by the Local Safety Diagnosis.

Overall, preventive measures proposed have focussed on community well-being and increasing the sense of belonging by encouraging pro-active behaviours and supporting the most vulnerable groups as children, youngsters, the elderly, unemployed, persons with addictions and victims of domestic violence. These include merging proximity and community policing initiatives, with local-based events, support networks, urban projects of public space and building preservation, and focussed actions on awareness raising and social reintegration. Following the holistic concept of community crime prevention (Rosenbaum et al. 1998), such initiatives, development of skills and the commitment of local partners are deemed to have a strong impact on urban contexts, reducing opportunities, incivilities and insecurity, and improving territorial and social cohesion within the CLS action neighbourhoods.

However, an important aspect is the centralization that still ensues in the Ministry of Internal Administration. Some criticisms can be raised regarding the challenges of

the implementation process, if we look closely at the overall framework of the CLS and which can jeopardize its success. There (still) is a “black box” between policy formation (across institutional contexts) and its implementation often applied to the early years or first steps (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984). It seems CLS are no exception, when looking at stages 1 and 2. While their process seems apparently simple, it involves multiple actors and may not be manageable across all of its political, social and economic resources. In order to move from one Stage of the CLS to another, municipalities depend on an evaluation considering human and financial resources allocated. By the time of writing (last quarter 2021), only 8 of the 33 CLS have been approved to move on from Stage 1. The remainder are either concluding their reports or are awaiting the evaluation and the funding provided by the Coordinating Committee. It is also noticeable that some of the local projects allocated to CLS were discontinued due to the prevalence of others that also ensure community interventions outside the scope of CLS. Other situations point to the lack of delivery of new proposals for the continuity of ongoing preventive actions by some city councils to the Coordinating Committee, despite the willingness of the municipalities to continue or reactivate them. On one hand, there is the financial dependency of the Central Administration to give continuity to these actions. On the other, the conditions for such a continuity over time need to be in place, because it is time consuming to articulate several sectors as well as to gain trust within the community. It is a gradual process and municipalities need time to organize themselves, both internally and with the local partners and stakeholders. Precisely, the main obstacles perceived as hindering the successful implementation and the larger-scale impacts of CLS, according to the findings of this research, are a fluid articulation between partners, and a lack of project funding. Only when the proper conditions for implementation are in place, can CLS be well articulated and successful in urban areas.

When that occurs, most successful preventive measures seem to bring together a combination of different tools and organizational networking as an interactive process. The inclusive dimension of security policies should be in line with public policies, and this commitment is to be assumed by all when managing CLS and implementing strategies and solutions. The availability of data regarding CLS is still scarce, but proper impact assessments are paramount, not only as a way to guarantee that interventions are being successfully carried out and have, precisely, a continuity, but also as a way to ensure the transfer of knowledge to other contexts, other projects and programmes, and the proper development of policies. At a time when strategies for the 2030 horizon are starting to be implemented, and sustainability and cohesion goals are in the political discourses and agendas, the articulation with security and safety policies needs as well to be place-based, considering the diverseness that exists at mid- and local scales. Further analyses down the road need to be performed when the majority of CLS reach the fourth and final stage, but at this point, it is consensual that most initiatives that have been put in place have been successful. But for that to continue, additional commitment efforts need to be made by all actors within the partnership, including to what extent are preventive measures attained over time, to find mechanisms that ultimately transform what is a well-conceived programme

into a well-conceived and ongoing implementation strategy at both local and micro levels.

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Chapter 7

Beyond Simplicity—Urban Security as a Diverse and Transdisciplinary Approach



Anke Schröder, Melanie Schlüter, and Maurice Illi

Abstract According to (Sennett in *The uses of disorder: personal identity & city life*. W.W. Norton. New York, 1992), urbanity is a result of social processes and a construct that is defined by various components, including insecurities. The aim of crime prevention is to avoid these insecurities. Public places are often inflexible structures designed with longevity in mind (e.g. BBSR 2010), whereas society changes dynamically. Thus, the public environment is subject to a constant transformation in demands. The article shows that structural-spatial conditions and socio-spatial coexistence have an influence on the individually experienced insecurity and fear of the population. The spatial feeling of security refers primarily to the subjective (in)security in relation to the respective district, the neighbourhood or one's own home. Different influences affect the living environment at the same time: structural and design elements, social elements and organisational elements. This broad range of influences shows that not only one actor alone can be responsible for safety in the urban environment. In order to improve the quality of life and, consequently, the feeling of safety in the neighbourhood, the cooperation of actors from different disciplines such as criminology, planning, administration and management is an important framework condition. Safety-relevant aspects must be taken into account on all levels of crime prevention. Furthermore, it always requires measures adapted to the respective situation or possible disturbances. The exemplary presentation of possible measures shown in the article is based on the typical prevention levels of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention in criminology and shows solution strategies of situational crime prevention in German-speaking countries.

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Keywords Urban security · Urban crime prevention · Fear of crime · Feelings of insecurity · Transdisciplinary approach · Design thinking

Isn't urban crime prevention an oxymoron? According to Sennett (1992), urbanity is a result of social processes and as a dynamic construct it includes components such as insecurities, whereas the aim of crime prevention efforts is to avoid crime and insecurities. Public spaces are often inflexible structures designed with longevity in mind (e.g. BBSR 2010), whereas society changes dynamically. Thus, the public environment is subject to a constant transformation in demands.

Structural-spatial aspects and social conditions show a causal relationship. Whether a space transforms into a space of fear depends on subjective security—which itself can be determined by fear of crime and subjective feelings of insecurity (transit 2016). It becomes clear that crime prevention measures will only prove effective if those responsible record and analyse the connection between objective and subjective security (transit 2016).

7.1 Subjective Security

In the past, theoretical basics, explanatory approaches for criminality-related attitudes and behaviours, as well as relevant approaches concerning perceptions of security and safety have been illustrated and discussed at length. The most prominent criminological theories can by now be read about in numerous well-known publications (e.g. Querbach et al. 2020; Hummelsheim-Doss 2017). Usually, explanatory approaches of fear of crime as well as relevant theories regarding feelings of (in)security are discussed in the context of the relationship between space and crime. Furthermore, approaches to situational crime prevention, such as the Routine-Activity approach that aims to eliminate crime opportunities, are presented.

There is a large number of already existing empirical studies on the relationship of criminality, fear of crime and space. Examples for such studies are crime victimisation surveys in Anglo-Saxony and Northern Europe or surveys on criminality and security in Lower Saxony, Germany. Independent of whether crime has been reported or criminal complaints were made, victim surveys attempt to record victimisation experiences as well as the subjective feeling of security among the population. In these studies, fear of crime and feelings of (in)security are measured by different indicators (LKA NI 2020).

The terms “fear of crime” or “criminality-related feelings of insecurity”, that continuously appear in the relevant literature, measure criminality-related attitudes. An essential distinction between these attitudes is the division into social and personal fear of crime (Boers 1991; Skogan 1993). Social fear of crime relates to a population's perception of criminality as a societal and political issue at large, its perceived consequences on internal security and the importance the topic itself carries for the

individual. Personal fear of crime however focusses on individual suspicions, feelings of insecurity and the individual fear of becoming a victim of crime oneself. This phenomenon is seen as the original fear of crime and can further be split up into a cognitive (intellectual), affective (emotional) and conative (behavioural) dimension.

The cognitive component is usually determined by the individual risk evaluation of falling victim of a crime oneself. The affective component relates to the actual fear of becoming a victim of crime and includes all emotional responses to the fear of crime (in Querbach et al. 2020; Hummelsheim-Doss 2016; transit 2015). However, the subjective feeling of insecurity goes beyond the fear of crime. While fear of crime only refers to the concern about one's own immediate danger from crime, the feeling of insecurity can be determined by situational, structural-spatial, but also individual aspects, which, in addition to fear of crime, are also formed by individual vulnerability, age or gender. Situational aspects can be antisocial and deviant behaviour, unfamiliar situations or groups that appear threatening. Structural-spatial factors causing feelings of insecurity can be undefined areas of responsibility and accountability due to undefined transition areas or the lack of design (SIPA n.d.). These aspects are discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

Numerous studies relating to the (affective) fear of criminality found that young women and the elderly have much higher feelings of insecurity than, for instance, young men. The victimisation rates however oppose these individual apprehensions. Young men are proven to fall victim to criminality in public spaces more often. However, this does not take into account that the possibility of being a victim of sexual violence triggers a higher level of fear. This paradox in fear of crime (Müller 2018) highlights the imbalance between the anticipated threat and the actual victimisation rate (Schröder 2015).

The conative (behavioural) component of the personal fear of crime describes behaviours that aim to protect the individual from crime or to mitigate crime, for instance, individuals taking behavioural initiative to create a distance to potentially criminogenic risk areas or individuals (e.g. the physical avoidance of fear-inducing squares) or individuals taking any safety precautions to prevent themselves or their domestic environment from crime (e.g. carrying pepper spray or installing home security systems) (Querbach et al. 2020; Hummelsheim-Doss 2016). In this definition, behaviour is seen as consequence of crime rather than a form of fear of it.

The three dimensions within the personal fear of crime are correlated, without the causality being yet fully understood (Hummelsheim-Doss 2016; Querbach et al. 2020; LKA NI 2015). Furthermore, all three dimensions are subject to individual perception. As Floeting (2015) illustrates at the example of graffiti, it depends on various social factors like age, economic status and milieu affiliation whether they are seen as malicious damage and sign of deviant behaviour or not. Consequently, individual perception and social factors constitute conditions to the extent of personal fear of crime.

7.2 Spatial Criminality

Space and criminality seen from a planning perspective have been far less discussed than the theories mentioned above. However, the relationship between crime and space and structural-spatial factors of phenomena like criminality are increasingly recognised in academia and applied science (see Schröder 2020; see Pfeiffer 2020). According to Schröder (2020), it was not until the mid-2000s that the analysis of criminal context and small-scale spatial inspections were seen as correlated. In their publication “Why small is better” (2009), Wikström und Oberwittler establish the causality of immediate (small-scale) social context and criminal circumstances. They wrote: *“So why small is better? Small units of analysis are better on theoretical grounds because they more closely approximate behavior-settings. Individual’s actions and development are only influenced by environments they can access with their sense and the part of environment which individuals can access with their senses is, arguable, generally small. [...]”* (see p. 57 in Oberwittler and Wikström 2009). Weisburd et al. (2012) and Andresen (2014) later put the focus on the observation of small-scaled segments specifically. In their study “The criminology of space”, Weisburd et al. (2012) recognise significant differences on urban street level. Consequently, they stress the importance of small-scale spatial analysis of crime and the need for approaches to further optimise it. Andresen (2014), in turn, points out the influence of a potential crime’s time and the built environment on criminality at large (Schröder 2020).

Although these findings are seemingly new, there is historic evidence of “urban layouts of the antique and the middle ages, as well as the renaissance and the baroque period” that suggest “clear planning of safety measures” even then (see p. 81 in Zenk 2020). The protection of life and limb, from wild animals, from the elements and enemies’ attacks was often ensured by defence walls. Ancient records show that even in earlier times there was a clear distinction between public (urban) life and private life. According to the Defensible Space approach by Oscar Newman (1972), the differentiation between public, semi-public and private space constitutes an essential element in the regulation and evaluation of space. It is only through the clear distinction between public, semi-public and private spaces that territorial claims (on e.g. usage) can be risen and social control, jurisdiction and responsibilities can be assigned. Thus, the physical design of buildings and districts can have positive and negative effects on the sense of control a population has over their surroundings. Not always are harsh safety measures such as extensive security installations or fences necessary to achieve the desired effect. Even “soft measures” such as low hedges, specific greenings or colours and textures can help separate private from public space (Van Soomerem 2020 in Newman 1972; Querbach et al. 2020). It is only through the four principles of territoriality, social control in the form of informal supervision, overall attractivity and a good public image that a space becomes a “defensible space” (cf. Newman 1972). Newman hereby builds on Jane Jacobs (1963), whose approach “Eyes on the street” first highlighted the need for social control in the urban environment.

With his Defensible Space approach, Newman's work aligns with the concept of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) that was majorly contributed to by Jeffery (1971). CPTED, as previously discussed in this book, represents an approach in crime prevention that aims to prevent disturbances of order, anti-social behaviour and feelings of insecurity throughout an interdisciplinary process. Certain spaces (cities, villages, neighbourhoods and districts) or individual objects (such as buildings or bus stops) are suggested to be planned in a more efficient manner both physically and socially by implementing more safety- and environment-oriented measures (Van Soomeren 2020). This can be done by considering crime prevention aspects in environmental design (CPTED) and during the entire planning process and by making adjustments after a measure's, project's or object's completion (Crime Prevention Through Urban Design and Planning, CPUDP). The intention here is to start thinking prevention not once problems arise but when new urban projects and developments are still at planning stage.

In Germany however, there are no binding legal specifications to implement CPTED or CPUDP approaches in planning a safe residential environment. Aspects relevant to safety are commonly seen as a given and therefore often not explicitly alluded to in conventional planning. The respective planning and assessment do neither form part of common tender procedures in urban development, nor are they expected to be considered in detailed planning submissions. Consequently, if aspects of crime prevention or safety measures as key components of civil quality of life are not systematically considered in training or applied planning, the practical implementation of urban structural-spatial crime prevention measures is inhibited. In the past, safety aspects were demanded from a women's perspective and transported as a quality criterion under the aspect of gender mainstreaming or gender planning (Zibell and Schröder 2008), but so far they had not been established in planning processes. The correlation of subjective safety, constructed space and the creation of crime opportunity structures and disadvantageous districts, however, is scientifically evident.

Within the personal dimension of fear of crime, the observation of security in public spaces focuses specifically on individual, space-bound feelings of insecurity. Subjectively perceived spaces that stand out for an apparent absence of security-related measures can transform from being "normal" spaces to being spaces of fear (transit n.d.). This transformative process of a space's perception is less to be seen as fixed but much rather as a flexible phenomenon dependent on individual judgement. The perception of space is influenced by diverse factors such as individual vulnerability to outward impressions as well as age, gender, socio-cultural heritage or possible victimisation experiences. Furthermore, structural-spatial and socio-spatial factors play a role in space perception. Ruhne (2003, see p. 18) lists factors such as "lack of clarity, insufficient illumination, missing possibilities of escape, vacancy or neglect of maintenance". Sailer (2004, see p. 72) further presents "time of day, darkness, human desertion, neglect and pollution" as dynamic factors (see p. 3 in transit 2015). Häußermann and Siebel (2004) see antisocial or deviant behaviour, unfamiliar situations and groups as additional contributions to perceptive change. As shown in Wacquant's (2007) work, stigmatising media reports can again impact

upon public perceptions of spaces and manifest undefined urban areas as spaces of fear. Hereby, these areas “cannot always indefinitely be determined by specific places” (see p. 3 in transit n.d.). Equally, minor punishable offences like disturbance of peace or waste disposal can contribute towards insecurities. This rather subjective perception of safety confronts the objective security status, which itself shows a direct relation to space.

Spaces, “in which factual space-related criminality as well as antisocial and deviant behaviour can be documented” (see p. 1 in transit 2016), are commonly identified as spaces of fear. However, it is not only serious offence that influences the subjective feeling of security, but measurable space-related petty crime, misdemeanour, antisocial behaviour, as well as other incivilities that do not constitute punishable offenses. The latter does not necessarily have to refer to actual issues in crime, however, can provoke feelings of insecurity in similar ways (transit 2015; Pfeiffer 2006). Not every event has the same effects on space-related feelings of security: “The space-related feeling of security predominantly relates to the subjective (in)security linked to certain districts, neighbourhoods or the own domestic environment. This has to do with the individual insecurity or fear that is determined by spatial circumstances as well as the sociospatial atmosphere” (see p. 3 in transit 2015).

7.3 The Link Between Space-Related Crime and Subjective Feelings

“If crime is associated with a specific place, it is necessary to consider what effects this assessment can have for the residents and the place itself. In order to prevent stigmatisation, a differentiated consideration of the different influencing factors of objective crime and subjective security is necessary” (see p. 379 in Schröder 2020). Both levels of consideration build on different theoretical basis and approaches from different disciplines. This makes the approach more complex and thus requires different methods to increase protection against crime and the prevention of crime opportunity structures as well as subjective safety. The connection of theoretical concepts on spatial crime must be established by the corresponding approaches in planning. During a planning process, it is not uncommon for decades to pass from the initial idea to the establishment of planning law basis, detailed planning and realisation. Various parties within and outside the municipal administration are involved with the task of planning.

In her article, Zenk (2020) describes the different planning levels and procedures in German urban planning processes. Here, it becomes clear that crime prevention aspects must be applied both in formal planning, which is legally binding in the Building Code, and in informal planning, which “...is not bound to any established procedures [...]” (see p. 86 in Zenk 2020). For now, the binding urban development planning begins only after the foundations for detailed planning in framework and master plans have been worked out. The participation of police and other “bodies of

public interest” is only regulated by (TÖB) in §4 (2) BauGB once urban construction plans are binding. It is then the responsibility of the building administration to weigh existing public and private concerns regarding spatial planning objectives against and among each other fairly. At all other planning levels, there are no formalised procedures for taking crime prevention concerns into account. Here, it is up to either the planners themselves or the good will of responsible parties whether aspects of urban crime prevention are explicitly included.

However, the execution of security-relevant and structural-spatial aspects into practice, i.e. the implementation of the theoretical constructs and approaches of structural space, social space and crime into the practical work of various actors, is still largely unaccounted for. The existing education and training of future planners, police officers and social workers still do not include the consideration of security-relevant and structural-spatial aspects (see page 100 in Zenk 2020).

7.4 The Establishment of a Centre of Competence for Urban Security (KURBAS) in the LKA Lower Saxony

With the establishment of the Competence Centre for Urban Security (KURBAS) in 2017, the topic of urban security has been permanently anchored. It acts as part of the department of criminological research at the state office of criminal investigations (LKA) of Lower Saxony and works hand in hand with the LKA's Central Office for Prevention. As part of the police, the LKA has the legal mandate to ensure public safety and order in Germany.

Essentially, it has the tasks of averting danger, prosecuting criminal offences, pursuing administrative offences and protecting victims (Hagemann and Kohrs 2010). Due to the increasing demand for knowledge-based findings to improve perceived safety and reduce actual crime and disorder in public spaces, the LKA Lower Saxony builds on existing strengths and stimulates the exchange between theory and practice. In cooperation with local police and other actors in the field of prevention, urban security-related issues are detected and examined. KURBAS aims to differentiate the complex topic of urban safety and divides it into the areas of interdisciplinary consideration of criminology, administration, management and planning. The resulting interdisciplinary cooperation builds on three pillars.

1. In consultation and executive support, technical and constructional dimensions are linked with socio-spatial aspects. Based on the situational approach, individual perspectives are combined in a small-scale context. Local actors are supported in the assessment and planning of new and existing building projects regarding security aspects. Based on the small-scale crime reports, location-specific strength and weakness analyses are carried out and potential risks are calculated.

2. Through national and international research participation, future challenges can be recognised at an early stage and knowledge-based findings can be introduced into preventive security work. This concerns all topics in urban security related to criminological research and prevention, both within the police and in public spaces.
3. Through extensive networking, the police act as a reliable security actor within the framework of prevention. In all phases of preventive crime control, whether it is the development of a new housing area or the emergence of conflicts of use in existing areas, KURBAS provides guidance on security in urban and rural areas. The criminological perspective as well as police perspectives are applied, and solutions are developed that comply with common consensus and pre-defined goals.

KURBAS develops methods for urban crime prevention and is oriented towards the needs of the users as well as the different planning phases of a project or property. The gathered knowledge is made publicly available in the form of handouts and guidebooks. Even if the different planning phases are based on national guidelines, the templates can usually be adapted.

The establishment of a competence centre for urban security in a police force had become necessary because, on the one hand, the need for consultation was constantly increasing and, on the other hand, the gap between theoretical basic research and practical application had to be closed. In order to work out practical and flexibly applicable tools for the respective law enforcement agencies (LEA), the open research approach of Design Thinking was chosen for the tool-development process. According to Brown and Katz (2009), this approach focuses on the practice- and user-oriented generation of innovations and solutions to problems and addresses the concrete needs of the tool users at the beginning of the development process. Another strength is the identification of gaps or weaknesses in existing schemes, enabling participating parties to improve upon given standards.

The Design Thinking approach focuses on human (gender) dimensions and combines desirability, feasibility with technical factors and economic viability (Grots and Pratschke 2009). The actual experience of communities' individuals plays a key role in this process, as the assumption about their needs might be biased. The focus is on observation and understanding users' perspectives and demands.

For the Competence Centre Urban Safety (KURBAS), this approach is of great benefit. Local experts are usually consulted, employing diverse methods to provide an informed assistance. The basis for the consultations is security-relevant criterion from the planning and assessment of public spaces. Such consultations also confront municipal authorities with security aspects of the Security Partnership in Urban Development in Lower Saxony (SIPA n.d.), which is discussed in the following chapter of this book. Hereby, three key dimensions of protections are considered: (1) protection through urban planning, architectural design and technical equipment, (2) protection through management and (3) protection through user responsibility.

Consequently, the need for security-relevant aspects exists at all levels of crime prevention and always requires measures adapted to the respective situation. The

following examples are based on classic prevention aspects in criminology and show strategies of situational crime prevention in Germany.

7.5 Introducing Safety-Relevant Aspects to Prevention

7.5.1 Incorporating Safety Perspectives into Development Planning—Primary Prevention

An important starting point of situational crime prevention—that incorporates urban crime prevention—lies in primary prevention (Schubert et al. 2007). Primary prevention starts at planning stage to prevent crime and opportunities for crime and strengthen the feeling of security very early on. This means that security criteria and urban crime prevention should be considered from the first mappings of development plans and implemented through all steps of construction and project execution. In this early phase, the focus is on avoiding hazards and risks and reducing crime opportunity structures and conflicts of use. Numerous issues and actors must be considered. Whether it is a question of neighbourhood development, urban planning or building regulations or concerns open space planning, the consideration of subjectively and objectively relevant aspects should be considered by the respective actors involved, such as planners, housing companies or investors (SIPA n.d.).

Normally, KURBAS is only involved when problems have already occurred and there is a need for action due to complaints or the occurrence of crime. After all, the planning and design of public spaces are geared towards longevity, while social change processes develop dynamically (Schröder 2016). Consequently, if usage requirements and usage offers are not congruent, a square or a park can change from a meeting place to a deserted area over time.

7.5.2 The Consideration of Safety Criteria in the Creation of Master Plans

Mandatory police involvement in the development of new neighbourhoods is not a systematic part of planning. However, some municipalities now seek external expertise on subjective and objective safety. The integration of crime prevention expertise can be approached in different ways. However, it is essential that the approach is not designed to comment on- and criticise existing plans, demanding improvements or even execution delays. In this early planning phase, the aim is rather to build on a cooperative, accompanying process and to communicate “safety as a component of quality of life”.

The Competence Centre for Urban Security (KURBAS) of the State Office of Criminal Investigation of Lower Saxony builds on the foundations of the above-mentioned criminological findings. The focus is on the approaches of gender planning, the “Design for All” as well as on the consideration of different life forms and phases. The fusion of these perspectives to a methodologically new consideration of security in social space is a defining characteristic. There is a constant distinction between places that actually show crime and disorder (e.g. noise nuisance, helpless people or incorrect waste disposal) and spaces of fear, i.e. places where people feel unsafe (prompted, among other things, by intimidating groups or individuals, visible signs of decay, lack of orientation and insufficient lighting). It can be assumed that the two categories are not necessarily congruent, but that they have an impact on each other. The aim is to use the insights gained from the analysis and respective proposals to create spaces that allow for the most conflict-free equal use of diverse population groups, enable inclusion and at the same time prove resilient against misuse.

KURBAS raises awareness and communicates safety-relevant aspects in individual and group discussions. Hereby, conceptual, or concrete issues can be discussed, and advice can be given where needed. The analysis considers different planning perspectives (urban planning, open space planning, traffic planning and aspects of architecture and specialist engineering). A SWOT analysis of the corresponding master plan and of urban development/open space/mobility/supply and disposal is used to predict opportunities and potential risks early on. Additionally, potential conflicts of usage are estimated at the hand of neuralgic points. For this purpose, a socio-spatial basic evaluation is carried out using structural-spatial criteria from a security perspective. Hereby, both the surrounding area and the existing population are considered. The connections between neighbouring districts and neuralgic points within a neighbourhood itself are observed and discussed, taking into account future usage requirements.

7.5.3 The Consideration of Safety Criteria in Formal Urban Land-Use Planning

In the past, KURBAS was often asked by local police stations to support TÖB (public interest groups) in their participation. The reason for this was that the previous opinions of the police had so far not been considered in the formal urban development planning. When asked what was required for participation, the building authorities referred to the provisions of the Building Code and the fact that commenting statements could only be taken into account if they were relevant to planning law. Although the contents were acknowledged as interesting, the contents of the statements would only be applied at a later planning stage. In order to get to the bottom of the question of which factors would have a legally binding character, the KURBAS research team in the project “DIVERCITY—*Sicherheit und Vielfalt im Quartier* (Security and Diversity in the Neighbourhood)” has defined the goal of preparing necessary

planning steps for the police in such a way that opinions in urban security will meet the required legally binding conditions in future. However, this requires “sufficient knowledge of how and where concerns can be raised in a legally compliant manner, at the right place and at the right time” (see p. 2 in Rebe and Schröder 2020). Consequently, a guidebook for the formulation of comments in the context of binding urban development planning has been developed. The guidebook discusses existing planning steps in binding urban land-use planning and provides safety-relevant advice on the required legal regulations. “In addition to very pragmatic explanations of how to read planning symbols, what stipulations are involved in an urban land-use plan and how to proceed with the examination, the special safety aspects that need to be examined and evaluated are always taken into account” (see p. 18 in Rauterberg 2020).

7.6 Secondary Prevention—Setting up a Safety Management System

Secondary prevention serves to deter potential offenders. At a general level, crime prevention focuses on repression. This is where the prevention of crime opportunity structures is located. Early detection mechanisms are used to identify disturbances at an early stage, and measures for prevention and further expansion are developed. The focus is on supporting targeted interventions and strengthening public spaces, for example through demand-oriented conversion measures. At this stage, measures of crime prevention in the sense of municipal legislation can also be discussed (see p. 3 in SIPA n.d.). A situational analysis reveals undesirable developments and disturbances of use and public order for the respective area at hand and develops situationally relevant approaches to solutions. Since 2017, KURBAS has been providing regular advice on disturbances and problems in public spaces, primarily in cities and municipalities in Lower Saxony. However, the approach is not limited to the state of Lower Saxony or Germany at large, as the following example from Switzerland shows.

The Example of Security Management in the City of Lucerne in Switzerland According to police crime statistics at the beginning of the 2000s, Lucerne was and is a safe city. The probability of becoming a victim of a violent crime is low. However, these objective facts do not correspond with the subjective perception of safety of the population. In a 2003 population survey about safety, 20% of respondents said they did not feel safe in the city of Lucerne at night (DemoSCOPE 2003); many of these were women or people over 55 years of age. Because of this discrepancy between objective safety and subjective feeling of safety, the city parliament approached the city council in 2005 and demanded the preparation of a safety report by means of a motion (City of Lucerne 2005). The city council accepted this demand (City of Lucerne 2006). The first security report was then published in May 2007 (Basler and Partner 2007).

The report interpreted the term security in a very diverse manner and analysed a multitude of hazards that could affect a city like Lucerne. In addition to disturbances in the public space, natural hazards, technical hazards, animal and human diseases, terrorist attacks and crime were investigated. They were examined in terms of probability of occurrence and extent of damage and finally presented in a risk matrix. It visualised that the objective danger of floods or traffic accidents was much higher for the residents than the danger posed by social incivilities, which, however, were reported on far more frequently in the media.

The comprehensive examination of the security situation in the city of Lucerne clearly showed that ensuring security in a city is not solely the task of the police and fire brigade. Experts from the fields of urban planning, traffic planning, road maintenance, forestry office, city gardening, energy supply, civil protection, building insurance, social affairs, prevention as well as human and veterinary medicine were already involved in the processing of the report. Almost 120 measures were proposed and assessed for the further development of Lucerne's safety standards. With the implementation of a safety management, the measures were to be effectively implemented and, if necessary, expanded by considering the external experts.

The city of Lucerne's first security manager took up his work in November 2007. One of his first tasks was to resolve the conflicts of use on the square in front of Lucerne's famous concert hall, which was built by the Parisian star architect Jean Nouvel.

August 2009, Friday evening, 19:00, Europa Platz in Lucerne. The concert starts in half an hour. The most expensive tickets are priced at over 250 €. The concert is sold out. At the festival bar on the square in front of the hall, some of the concert guests enjoy a drink.

This square, the Europa Platz, beautifully situated between Lake Lucerne and the modern concert hall, was deliberately designed by the architect as a "place populaire" for all people.

Many teenagers and young adults are already on site at the "place populaire"; celebrating the start of the weekend. Two young men are already quite drunk, kicking their almost empty beer cans around the square. A concertgoer is hit by a can and the remaining beer splashes on her dress. A vicious verbal altercation ensues between the concertgoers and the young crowd. Many young people show solidarity with the "beer kickers" and quickly form a circle around the woman, her husband and their acquaintances. Only with great difficulty can the concert hall's security service calm the situation. The woman and her husband go into the hall. The young crowd is seen caught in a heated discussion with the security personnel. "The square is not only for champagne-guzzlers".

The next day, the organisers of the Lucerne Festival, the management of the concert hall as well as some guests complain to the cities' president in person or in writing. The incident is posted on social media in real time that same night. The uproar is huge—and a discussion arises: "Who owns the public space?" or "What is allowed in public space?"

An initial problem analysis revealed that the conflict of use was a recurring problem between concertgoers and younger audiences at the problem area and that a wider space around the concert hall was potentially conflict-inducing. As a result, a working group was formed from internal, municipal and external institutions.

Each institution was to develop proposals from its core area on how to defuse the conflicts on the Europa Platz. The proposals were discussed in the group and checked for synergies with other proposals. For example, it was worked out that the members

should be more involved in the planning of events in future, especially at an early stage. The different actors went on to be better coordinated in managing usage hours of the square. The police patrols were increased during events and had a calming effect on the crowds. Young people were not allowed to stay in the entrance area of the concert hall shortly before and during the concert breaks. The city cleaning services were also extended due to make for an overall more pleasant ambiance for all.

Additionally, the concert hall's gastronomy services were permitted to operate a summer bar on the square. This bar was an offer for all people and had the effect of integrating demographically diverse groups. Furthermore, offers such as an anti-litter campaign were employed.¹

To prevent youth from skating on the square in front of the concert hall—serious damage was done to the glass façades—several rubber strips were inserted into the floor. At the same time, the city campaigned for a skate park in a nearby neighbourhood. The park was opened to public use two years later. In addition, the city advocated for abandoned halls of a local shipping company to be closed off at night with gates that fit into the townscape. They had been misused as weather-protected party venues. This reduced the costs of vandalism and security personnel.

In dealing with the problematic situations and especially the negative event in August 2009 in front of the concert hall, the security management of the city of Lucerne was applied in a notable diversity. Within the process, various interest groups from the public sector and private partners joined together to form a focus group with a strong implementation capacity. The participants experienced how, through jointly developed measures and mutual support in implementation, it was possible to exert a great deal of influence on constellations in public space with even small amounts of effort. This approach—gathering the right people at the right time—became a tried and tested method in Lucerne.

7.7 Tertiary Prevention

The target group of tertiary prevention are people who have already committed a criminal offence and whose likelihood of recidivism is high. These are to be minimised through behaviour-oriented prevention concepts. For urban planning, this level is applicable to segregated, disadvantaged neighbourhoods and residential areas with a high rate of redevelopment. Here, safety aspects are applied to already existing problematic situations. “The design of new measures serves to contain and defuse existing complications as well as to prevent further problems such as structural deficiencies (lack of lighting, pollution, vandalism) or deviant behaviour (mobbing, excessive

¹ As part of an anti-litter campaign from 2009 to 2011, a litter bag could be picked up from the SIP (Office of Public and Social Order). Those who brought it back filled with litter from the Europa Platz received a drink voucher for a non-alcoholic drink at the summer bar. The action was well received by young people.

alcohol consumption, drug dealing or violence) in public spaces” (see p. 3 in SIPA n.d.).

According to Newman, the crime rate in a neighbourhood with large (high), densely occupied buildings is higher than in other residential neighbourhoods, and the use of (semi-)public spaces and social contact between residents is lower (Newman 1972). Often these quarters are not homogenous and large housing structures such as those mentioned are home to involuntary neighbourhoods. Residents in these areas are often dependent on affordable housing due to socio-economic disadvantage and may be allocated by municipalities or housing associations through occupancy regulations. The consequence is often that the proportion of unemployment and benefit recipients is high. These so-called low-income areas (see p. 345f in Shaw and McKay 1969) have a double-disadvantage effect. Due to high costs, low incomes and few offers, residents are not able to choose freely on the housing market. Studies show that a residential area’s poor infrastructure or image can have an impact on the quality of life and life opportunities of those living there (Häußermann and Siebel 2004). Further disadvantage arises when poverty—measured in terms of transfer payments and unemployment rate—is coupled with a lack of prospects and physical disorder and neglect occur. For example, Wilson and Kelling (1982) show with their Broken Windows approach that visible social or physical states of disorder and the lack of social control can lead to a reproduction of non-conforming behaviour and crime. Despite criticism of Wilson and Kelling’s potentially inadequate approach (Häfele and Lüdemann 2006; Hirtenlehner 2009), deprived neighbourhoods can lead to economic, institutional, social and cultural exclusion (Häußermann and Siebel 2004). Thus, due to a lack of continuity, it can become a problem if people change their place of residence as a first impulse when they have succeeded in moving up socio-economically. Within a certain set of circumstances, the residential environment can turn out to be disadvantageous for its residents. In European and North American cities, large housing developments with poor infrastructural connections and an unkempt living environment or anonymous neighbourhood are among the most common to exhibit this effect. “The high-rise construction and the low quality of the public space hinder the identification of the residents and the formation of protective neighbourhood networks ...” (see p. 310 in Schubert 2012).

In the past, these problems have led, though rarely, to entire building and housing projects as well as their occupancy policies proving to be identified as inhumane and insensitive (Müller 2008). In extreme cases, complexes were demolished in their entirety. An internationally known example of this is Pruitt-Igoe, which was first planned and built in 1951 on a site on the northern edge of St. Louis/Missouri and demolished again in 1972 after numerous difficulties. In her qualitative empirical thesis, Müller (2008) found similar effects between the structural-spatial situation and the living conditions of the residents in the Klingenthal in Hanover. Various causes could be identified for the area’s deterioration. Poverty, overcrowding, high fluctuation and redevelopment backlogs as well as an unclear allocation of responsibility were accompanied by an increase in crime and deviant behaviour. Based on small-scale crime situation reports by the police, it was possible to prove that reported and unreported crime were continuously increasing. For the first time in

Lower Saxony, a joint working group was set up to address the complexity of the problems in the Klingenthal and discuss possible joint approaches to solving them. For the particularly precarious residential structures in the Klingenthal, socio-spatial reports were prepared (Geiling et al. 2002; Janßen and Polat 2005). The situation was seen by the actors as overpowering and structurally unsolvable. In fact, it had such a negative impact on the living conditions of the residents that, after long consideration, it was decided to demolish the building (see Müller 2008). In a later study, Borchardt (2020) also proves that structural-spatial factors have an influence on juvenile delinquency.

In order to prevent such mismanagement in future, KURBAS has set itself the goal of developing an interdisciplinary approach to the complex topic of urban security by first dividing it into the areas of basic criminology, planning, administration and management as well as planning phases. Here, methods for urban crime prevention are developed for all planning stages. These are oriented towards the needs of the users and the different planning phases of a project or structure. The acquired knowledge is made publicly available in the form of handouts and guidebooks. Even if the different planning phases follow national guidelines, the KURBAS templates can usually be adapted to individual situations. In order to develop practical and customisable tools for the respective LEA, the open research approach of Design Thinking was employed.

According to Brown and Katz (2009), this approach focuses on the practice- and user-oriented generation of innovations and solutions to problems. It incorporates the concrete needs of users at the beginning of the development process or identifies gaps or weaknesses in existing applications. The design thinking approach focuses on the human (gender) dimension and combines desirability, feasibility with technical factors and viability (Grots and Pratschke 2009). The key role is the actual user-experience and not the assumption about the needs of the users. Observing and understanding the user's perspective and needs is central. In the context of the EU-funded project Cutting Crime Impact (CCI) toolkit development, previous methods were therefore extended by the Design Thinking approach and the toolkit "INSIGHT—Insights into Subjective Safety" was created.

The tool "INSIGHT—Insights into Subjective Safety" shows five ways of recording safety-relevant aspects in the living environment and neighbourhood. In total, these five steps capture both the expert perspective and the residents' internal perspective on perceived safety. A holistic picture of the situation on site is generated, and relevant stakeholders can be identified. Depending on the situation at hand, it is not always possible to carry out all five steps in succession and to the full extent.

1. The first step is to record and map the actual structural-spatial condition. It is focussed on the consideration of safety-relevant aspects in gender and diversity in order to identify qualities of daily life as well as potential (safety) risks on site. Features are recorded that represent opportunities for active and quiet activities, recreational facilities, equipment, loudness, brightness and cleanliness. In addition, photographs and video recordings of the current situation are made during day and at night. This way, potential day- and night-specific insecurities can be

depicted. So-called spaces of fear are triggered by the structural situation as well as by a lack of orientation and visibility, misleading routing, insufficient lighting, social control and a lack of cleanliness.

2. The second step is carried out in cooperation with the local police. Based on a small-scale crime report, it can pinpoint offences and disorder and be correlated with the inventory of the selected area (transit 2015). This way, it can be examined where offences related to the area (e.g. assault, threats/coercion, theft, damage to property and disorder) take place. Furthermore, it can be analysed which circumstances favour the offenders' modus operandi and how crime opportunity structures can be recognised and improved moving forward. These two steps enable the analysing party to obtain a geo-referenced representation of the problematic situation in the selected area.
3. The third step is a non-participant observation based on the Burano method (Dellemann 2002): The aim of non-participant observation is to observe different patterns of use by different groups of people in preferred, infrequently used or even avoided places and routes and to compare them with the previously gained knowledge. The observation takes place on different days and at different times. For instance, usage behaviour changes greatly in brightness and darkness. Within the observations, people's lingering, transit traffic, interactions or spatial compartmentalisation can be observed and mapped. This procedure enables a detailed analysis of patterns of use in a specific socio-spatial situation. In addition to gender and estimated age, the number of people and their activities are noted.
4. This is followed by an interdisciplinary (urban) spatial walk-through to assess (un)safe spaces. With the "Walk around your Hood" method, all responsible parties can be sensitised on site to develop the space as a user-friendly, liveable place. Furthermore, the method promotes cooperative collaboration. An on-site walk-through directs the professional view on everyday uses and assesses the quality of a space under safety-relevant aspects. The experts assess the space not only from their own professional perspective, but also from the perspective of use. During the inspection, the participating parties are asked to take on the interests of certain groups of people and to walk through the space according to the role they have taken on. This could be the young woman coming home from the disco in the evening, the little boy who wants to play football in the neighbourhood or the father balancing work- and family life are potential scenarios. The residents themselves are not involved in this method in order to avoid raising expectations that cannot be fulfilled (Rebe and Schröder 2020). The inspection includes an account of the guiding questions developed by the Safety Partnership in Lower Saxony (SIPA n.d.)
5. With the Emoji Mapping method, the direct involvement of the users is taking place in the next step. In the form of participatory tours and mapping of unsafe places, the lived experience of residents of a small-scale area can be captured. The photographic and video material from step 1 is prepared in such a way that frequented and unused pathways are selected as visual routes. The specially prepared material will be supported with photographic material and videos for better orientation. The involved group of a maximum of six people of different

gender, age, ethnic and social affiliation is selected by local actors. Older people can be reached through the work with senior citizens, children and young people through schools or youth institutions, and religious groups through places of worship. A coordinator leads the group. They describe the procedure with the help of an easily readable and understandable map of the district, which the emoji will finally be stuck on. Seven emoji represent different emotional states. Three positive (happy/well, safe, good), three negative (uncomfortable, unsafe, anxious) and one neutral emoji marker (I don't care/don't know) show the mood in the public space. This is followed by a virtual tour and a conversation about the selected area using the visual material (photo elicitation method). Simple, non-scientific language helps with communication, because technical explanations about positive or negative experiences are not part of the average residents' routine. Afterwards, the participants are asked to describe the used and avoided path connections and to mark their feelings using the emoji labels. The individual reasons for the choice of emoji are recorded on the map as well. The resulting visualisation shows places and routes that are avoided or used due to an (un)safe perception and thus provides information about the influence of uncertainty on the respondents' usage behaviour.

With the comprehensive presentation of the method INSIGHT—Insights into Subjective Safety in public space, responsible parties in the neighbourhoods are to be enabled to contribute to strengthening the population's sense of safety in a customised and situation-specific manner. Since individual methods can be used independently, it is also possible for other institutions and authorities with security responsibilities, as well as municipalities, housing companies, neighbourhood management or crime prevention councils, to use the tool. The newly developed Emoji Mapping method enables civic participation and provides direct insight into the residents' perception of safety (Schröder et al 2021).

7.8 Conclusion

The increasing urbanisation of people has greatly changed the interpretation of security. The original approach of protection against a danger, for example by building city walls, has changed into a claim to security. However, the claim from safety to individual security in the city and urban space presupposes that there are no aspects that create insecurity. The own experience and the personalised demands are the focus of attention here. Necessary negotiation processes, as they should be a prerequisite in a democratic system, often remain unconsidered. At the same time, it must be clear: Not every conflict of use is a violation of public order, and not every unsettling "border transgression" can be considered criminal (Floeting et al. 2015).

Planning and design of public spaces as well as usability of living environments and neighbourhoods have an impact on objective security and people's perception of safety. If security-relevant criteria are considered at planning stage, the likelihood

of a space or an object becoming less attractive to potential offenders increases. In keeping with the saying “opportunity makes thieves”—“Gelegenheit macht Diebe-”, opportunities for crime can be reduced accordingly. Additionally, careful planning and design taking into account heterogeneous usage requirements contribute to an increased sense of security and consequently the quality of life of the residents: Only those who feel safe participate in public life and make use of public spaces.

Safety should be part of good urban planning and urban planning overall. The aim is to create quality public spaces in which numerous forms of use can coexist. It should be noted that different influences affect the residential environment at the same time: structural-design, social and organisational elements. This range makes it clear that not just one actor alone is responsible for safety in the living environment. Rather, cooperative collaboration is required. The cooperation of these actors is condition to the effective improvement of the overall quality of life in the respective district. An interdisciplinary approach helps to understand the causes and correlations of insecurity. Only the joint development of strategies for action and measures creates effective and sustainable solutions. For a successful transfer of theoretical knowledge into building practice, however, findings must be prepared in such a way that they can be applied in planning practice. Hereby, all criteria and well-implemented manuals only prove valuable, if they are oriented towards the needs of the actors and make for a flexible scheme that is applicable to individual cases. To put it in the words of Hannah Arendt, “practice deprivation” should be avoided (see Assheuer 2021 via Hannah Arendt in *Zeit*, issue 18/2021: 52).

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Chapter 8

The Quarter as New Level of Urban Crime Prevention



Herbert Schubert

Abstract The urban quarter represents the central spatial level of action in the city. For the quarter as a new basic urban unit, an integrated and a public welfare-oriented approach is necessary, in which all relevant issues are coordinated spatially, sectorally and temporally. This also includes the design of safe public spaces. The article makes clear why the importance of quarters has increased, what constitutes a quarter and which types of quarters can be differentiated. Obviously, they are the places in the city where social integration and cohesion among residents are established and social disadvantage is prevented. Against this background, urban crime prevention must be extended to this spatial level. The interdisciplinary network of experts of the Safety Partnership in Urban Development of Lower Saxony therefore develops instruments for advising, planning and evaluating quarters from a crime prevention perspective. The underlying orientation framework is presented. It consists of the three dimensions: protection through an architectural and urban development of the quarter, protection through the management in the quarter and protection through social cohesion in the quarter.

Keywords Urban quarter · Livable quarter · Protection through an architectural and urban development of the quarter · Protection through the management in the quarter · Protection through social cohesion and quarter governance in the quarter · Responsibility by users · Self-administration · Self-organization · Typology of quarter patterns

8.1 Introduction: The Quarter as Socio-Spatial Form of Organization

The New Leipzig Charter was adopted on 30 November 2020 under German Presidency at the Informal Meeting of Ministers being responsible for urban development

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in the EU member states. The primary goal of the new Charter is to use the transformative power of cities for the common welfare. The public weal is to be strengthened through reliable public services of general interest as well as the reduction and avoidance of new forms of inequality in social, economic, ecological and spatial terms. Urban planning and urban development should make cities alive through high-quality, open and safe public spaces and infrastructure (cf. Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community in Germany 2020, p. 2). In addition to the municipality with its functionally interrelated spaces and—overriding—the region, the neighborhood of the quarter is highlighted in the New Leipzig Charter as the central spatial level (*ibid.*, p. 3):

Some neighborhoods can reflect social tensions, poverty or environmental stress. Other neighborhoods are arrival areas for migrants or subject to gentrification, social mobility and a shortage of affordable housing. Specific neighborhood policies should therefore encourage local commitment for community building and inclusiveness. Neighborhoods with a multitude of complex socioeconomic challenges need tailor-made policy programs and funding to stabilize in the long term. In addition, neighborhoods should be regarded as potential laboratories for innovative approaches covering all fields of urban development.

An integrated approach is required for urban development policy that focuses on the quarter as a new basic urban unit, in which all relevant technical issues and interests are weighed up and coordinated spatially, cross-sectorally and temporally (cf. *ibid.*, p. 8). Appropriate formal and informal instruments should be used for this purpose at all spatial levels—from the quarter to the local authority to the region (cf. *ibid.*, p. 9).

Robert Kaltenbrunner describes the quarter as a basic organizational module of urban agglomerations, which mediates between the city and the private household, creates social cohesion and enables identification with the location (cf. Kaltenbrunner 2021, p. 60). Based on (cf. Galster 2019), the quarter is declared a “socio-spatial form of organization”. The strategic tasks of future include above all the creation of urban spaces that are characterized by mixed use and the design and management of safe public spaces that are freely accessible to all citizens and offer a healthy living environment.

Against this background, the term “quarter” has turned into a kind of magic formula for urban development, because the spatial boundaries of a quarter are not clearly defined. In general, quarters are lively social spaces in which people get involved, take responsibility and support one another. Rather, it is a personal-spatial frame of reference and identification. The aim is to strengthen the social living space in the neighborhoods, quarters, villages and communities and to enable a high quality of life, participation and a personal-spatial frame of identification for all people living there.

It almost seems as if an ideal type of quarter is being outlined here, which the residents no longer have to leave because all conceivable public facilities are available. In addition, the understanding of the quarter is derived from the various everyday relationships with which people identify, so that it can be a short street, a small neighborhood and a comprehensive area. With this ambiguous and vague definition, the character of the term “quarter” as a “black box” is reinforced: The term is often used

in everyday language of planning professions, but its content and definitional components generally remain in the dark. In the following, I will make the term “quarter” transparent so that it can be used in a more differentiated and more detailed manner than before in the multidisciplinary practice of community work, urban planning and social management of housing companies for improving urban crime prevention.

8.2 The Urban Quarter—A Dazzling but Vague Term

In the old town of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck (in Northern Germany), the original meaning of the term quarter can be traced, which in Latin denoted the fourth part of something. Lübeck was divided into four zones for administrative reasons as early as the fourteenth century. In each of the areas, the patron saint of the respective church gave the quarter its name. All houses and households in Lübeck were clearly assigned to a quarter—and that implicitly also meant: a parish. The Lübeck quarter system lasted well into the nineteenth century. The street signs that were attached around 1850—and still exist today—name the quarter in addition to the street name.

Another example is the city of Bern (Switzerland), where the last subdivision took place in 2011. The traditional measure of dividing an area into four quarters did not play a role. A quarter in Bern consists of several small quarters and goes beyond the boundaries of a statistical district. There are a total of 792 small quarters as the smallest units. It is a Swiss tradition that there is a neighborhood association in every quarter, which represents the interests of the residents in a subsidiary manner toward the local authorities and promotes social cohesion.

In Germany, the term “quarter” represents an informal reference system that does not refer to the demarcation of local government boundaries (cf. Schnur 2013, p. 26)—this is particularly clear with the Cologne “Veedel.” As urban quarter, a “Veedel” constitutes the most important “perceived” reference area after the dwelling but does not represent an official administrative category. In this respect, the quarter blurs the general living environment and forms the “setting” in which the neighboring interactions can take effect (cf. Heinze, Kurtenbach and Üblacker 2019, p. 19).

8.2.1 *Living Environment and Social Area: Focus of the Quarter*

The vague use of the term results in some publications from the idea of a subjective definition, as if everyone had his or her own quarter (cf. Schnur 2013, p. 31). This understanding is based on the classic concept of the lived-in world (life-world in the phenomenology by Edmund Husserl), according to which every person has their own individual living environment for action and reference; it is related to the increasing individualization that took place at the end of the twentieth century—in the context

of changed life situations and biographical patterns—spread as a new mode of social integration in society (cf. Beck 1986, p. 205).

A connection to the term “social area,” which in the Human Ecology integrates the two components of a natural area and a cultural area (cf. Riege and Schubert 2016), appears more suitable than the reference to the living environment of the lived-in world. In the geographically defined natural area, social relationships and uses take place as a second layer of the cultural area. In this approach, the absolute and the relational understanding of space are brought into balance. In order to grasp operationally the concept of the quarter for community-oriented housing and urban development strategies of urban crime prevention, an absolute understanding of space is needed on the one hand, in which physical delimitations are possible and material spatial structures can be recognized as a framework. On the other hand, the relational understanding of space helps to understand the internal social processes in an area demarcated as a quarter.

It is worth looking into the classic “Death and Life of Great American Cities,” published by Jacobs (1963). The original term “neighborhood” used there is appropriate to understand the residential and urban quarter as the area of the city that surrounds one’s home. The neighborhood thus corresponds to the area of the quarter, i.e., the “hood,” which forms a—physically clearly defined—cover around a socially connected figuration of residents.

8.2.2 Name of the Quarter as Social Marketing

The personal construction of a quarter from the subjective point of view of the life-world perspective is contrasted with the attributable construction from the outside. Labeling a housing area physically from an outside perspective has recently become a popular marketing strategy in the housing industry, in which newly built ensembles are marketed with the label of a quarter. It is therefore common in real estate companies to design the identity of new quarters in advance “on a blank sheet of paper” (cf. Schiller 2021, p. 11). In a community-oriented understanding, it is a question of social marketing and that means that the housing industry gives the quarter a name and provides infrastructural services that strengthen the residents’ identification and feelings of safety. This is part of a “neighborhood branding” with which the image of a quarter is to be improved and the perception of safety is to be positively influenced (cf. Reicher 2013, p. 200; Zimmer-Hegmann and Fasselt 2006, p. 205).

Even the street names can act as “brands,” as is the case with the “composers’ quarter,” for example. In this context, Neitzel points out that the portfolio management of the housing companies, which was traditionally focused on the individual building, has now been extended to the quarter level in order to—from the perspective of sustainable rentability of apartments—the interrelationships between neighboring buildings in an ensemble to be taken into account (cf. Neitzel 2013, p. 181). The fact that the quarter can now be regarded as a “Unique Selling Point” for renting housing stocks underscores the singularity thesis that each quarter is special. According to

customer loyalty analyzes by the housing industry, marketing strategies are being expanded to include the quarter because its importance has increased from the point of view of the residents and the quality of the residential area is now valued more highly from the perspective of use (cf. *ibid.*, p. 185).

8.2.3 Significance of the Quarter in Current Urban Planning

The German Federal Institute for Building, Urban and Spatial Research (BBSR) has been observing since 2004 how the construction of new urban areas is developing—in the context of the pressure on the local housing markets. Franziska Bensch reports that, according to the results of a municipal survey, a total of 226 new city quarters have been created in Germany over the last two decades—with an average of 986 apartments on an area of around 38 ha (cf. Bensch 2020, p. 8). Characteristic features mentioned are the construction after 1990, a volume of more than 500 residential units or more than one thousand inhabitants and the existence of a uniform urban planning concept (*ibid.*). A continuation of this dynamic development is also expected in the coming years: In 2020, the BBSR database showed 85 quarters that are already under construction and a further 94 urban quarters that are still in the planning process (cf. *ibid.*, P. 10). Against this background, it can be assumed that settlements based on a uniform urban development concept and for which a quarter name is already used in marketing are currently being built in many German cities.

8.2.4 Strategies of Quarter Development Against Social Disadvantage and for Upgrading—The Example of the German Federal State Lower Saxony

In the political discourse, the term “quarter” is used primarily from two perspectives: on the one hand, in the context of social justice against disadvantage and, on the other hand, to upgrade quarters. This can be illustrated using the Federal State of Lower Saxony as an example. As part of the first strategy, the Lower Saxony Ministry for the Environment, Energy, Building and Climate Protection has been running the competition “Community Work and Quarter Management” since 2017 with the aim of strengthening disadvantaged residential areas. In the larger cities and medium-sized towns, many urban areas are disadvantaged—given the high level of immigration and the effects of demographic change, they are faced with special social and integrative challenges. The main aim of the political approach is to ensure that a quarter gains a quality that promotes integration and also develops self-help and self-employment. Measures are supported with which the affected quarters can be further developed positively within the framework of an interdisciplinary and integrated approach and with the significant participation of the residents. A

service point at the association “LAG Soziale Brennpunkte Niedersachsen e. V.” in Hanover accompanies the program (see <https://www.gwa-nds.de/wohnquartiere-staerken-integration-und-teilhabe-foerdern> [accessed on August 28, 2022]). According to the press release of the Ministry, local projects are funded that support integration and participation in residential areas and create spaces for social encounters. Integrative approaches that link community work with quarter development are also promoted (see <https://www.umwelt.niedersachsen.de/startseite/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/wettbewerb-gute-nachbarschaft-2019-startet--174527.html> [accessed on August 28, 2022]). The state program understands a quarter as a structural, urban—and partly historical—unit whose small-scale structure and manageability form the framework for identification with the city and for its further development from the perspective of the residents. With the approaches of community work, a preventive strategy is pursued (in the sense of secondary prevention).

At the same time, there is also the “Investment Pact Social Integration in the Quarter” in Lower Saxony, which is an additional component of urban development funding. These funds are available for investments in public facilities in quarters in which an interventional strategy is necessary due to a need for action that has already been identified (in the sense of tertiary prevention). The German government provides the state of Lower Saxony with funding for quarters that are included in federal and state urban development programs and whose social infrastructure no longer fulfills the functions of social integration and social cohesion. The structural renovation and the expansion or new construction of public needs and follow-up facilities (buildings, facilities, green and open spaces) in particular day-care centers, schools, cultural and educational centers, community centers, youth and neighborhood get-togethers, meeting centers and sports centers are considered eligible for funding (cf. https://www.umwelt.niedersachsen.de/startseite/themen/bauen_amp_wohnen/stadtebauforderung/investitionspakt_soziale_integration_im_quartier/investitionspakt-soziale-integration-im-quartier-150848.html [accessed August 28, 2022]). The investment pact ties in with the urban development scheme with the following objectives:

- creation of places of integration and social cohesion in the quarter,
- qualification of facilities of the direct and indirect public social infrastructure, also through the establishment of barrier-free access,
- construction, maintenance, expansion and further qualification of green and open spaces, and
- contribution to the development of the quarter by improving the building culture quality.

In addition to the urban development policy and community-oriented strategy of the state of Lower Saxony, the approach of the “Association of Housing and Real Estate Industries in Lower Saxony and Bremen e. V. (vdw)” is interesting—for example demonstrated in a practical guide that was developed for social management in quarters (cf. vdw 2017). The association tries to find a balance: What is to be understood by a quarter is, on the one hand, always dependent on the respective observer, because the radius of action of people in different life situations is clearly

different; on the other hand, the reference to social space—going beyond a residential unit or a building ensemble—is the decisive criterion; and thirdly, the quarter should not be removed from its environmental context as an island. When determining the boundaries of a neighborhood, structural and spatial criteria as well as social, cultural and milieu-related factors must therefore be taken into account (cf. *ibid.*, P. 10). In the connection of living environment and social space, a quarter represents both spatial and social components, and at the same time, it must be methodically differentiated both as an independent geographical planning area and as a different area of individual action—for example with regard to housing, supply, traffic, residence and encounter.

Social management plays a key role in the quarter approach (cf. *ibid.*, P. 13): Housing companies offer the children of tenant households the opportunity to supplement formal schooling with informal educational opportunities. In the quarter, children and young people will find out-of-school contact persons of social work who are provided by the housing company and not tied to public institutions (such as the local youth welfare office). In addition, leisure activities by volunteers are organized in a target group-oriented, cross-generational and intercultural manner. Mobility optimization is also an issue of the housing industry at the quarter level, for example when a housing company takes care of relocating a bus stop and setting up a shelter at the bus stop, providing barrier-free access, adjusting the parking space situation or taking care of prevention work to combat crime in the quarter. The social management of housing companies is intended to prevent individual situations in life from being marginalized—from people with disabilities to people with different religious or cultural backgrounds, everyone should be integrated into the “quarter community.” The *vdw* emphasizes the direct benefit of good networking between tenants, landlords, institutions and voluntary work in the context of quarter orientation: firstly, a decrease in quarter disputes and, secondly, the avoidance of isolation for single people (cf. *ibid.*, P. 14). In an expanded network, sponsors, institutions and actors are strategically linked on overarching topics outside of the quarter (cf. *ibid.*, P. 15). Cooperation with the municipality plays a major role in the quarter. The municipality can provide impulses in order to develop age-independent and cross-generational concepts for the quarter of the future together with all stakeholders. Multidisciplinary thinking is required in all areas. Housing, urban planning and social tasks must be combined and everyone involved in processes and cross-agency planning at an early stage. Overall, interdisciplinary and integrated cooperation in the quarter is intended to prevent social disadvantage. At the same time, the residents should be encouraged to participate and assume responsibility in local processes.

The second strategy for upgrading quarters is based on the model of Business Improvement Districts (BID), which has been widespread in the United States and Canada since the 1970s to offset the decline of inner-city business areas. In 2021, the draft of a Lower Saxony law to strengthen the quarters through private initiatives was passed (Lower Saxony Quarter Law—NQG): The aim of the law is to strengthen areas in the municipality that are important for urban planning and to promote upgrading measures through private initiatives (so-called quarter communities). The quarter community is an association of property owners, leaseholders, residents, tradespeople, freelancers and other people interested in

the development of the quarter. It applies to the local authority to define an area that is important for urban development as a quarter and to issue a statute. The municipality levies a property-related fee to finance the upgrading measures. The upgrading measures shall both increase the attractiveness of the quarter and strengthen its functions. It is about structural measures to improve public space or the living environment, construction measures on or in buildings, measures to improve energy efficiency, measures to improve cleanliness or safety, support in the management of properties, vacancy management, setting up coworking spaces and similar measures (see https://www.landtag-niedersachsen.de/drucksachen/druksachen_18_07500/06001-06500/18-06158.pdf [accessed on August 28, 2022]). While a single company or a resident household cannot stop the downward spiral of a quarter on its own, the association of a quarter community is able to do so—provided that the application for the adoption of a statute is supported by at least 15% of the property owners.

8.2.5 *Quarter as a Fuzzy Concept*

A look at the practice of using the term quarter reveals a great variety of constructions. As already outlined, they are developed either from a personal life-world perspective or from an area-related feature logic or from an external marketing logic. The spectrum—only roughly outlined here—underlines that “the” quarter does not exist. According to Olaf Schnur, the concept of the quarter is based on a “fuzzy concept” (Schnur 2013, p. 31): A quarter is a contextually embedded, socially constructed but blurred center-place of everyday living environments and individual social spheres, whose intersections are mapped in the spatial-identifying context of a manageable living environment. As a result, the size of the quarter can be variable—the only size criterion that counts is manageability. According to the fuzzy logic, there can be overlaps between the border areas; i.e., residents can attribute streets to their own as well as the neighboring quarter (cf. *ibid.*, P. 32). George Galster emphasizes that in addition to the geographical marking of the physical and symbolic boundaries—as the environment of the residents’ personal home—a quarter is also shaped by structural features. He gives some examples (cf. Galster 2019, p. 33):

- The spatial attributes are of types, sizes, materials, design and state of preservation of the residential and non-residential buildings as well as the landscape design and the street scene.
- Equally important in the perception are social attributes such as age distribution, the composition of household sizes, economic class congestion and ethnic and religious characteristics of the residents.
- From a further perspective, attributes of the public supply with day-care centers, schools, leisure facilities, parks and police security forces as well as the accessibility of retail shops and workplaces are important for the classification of a quarter—last but not least the existence of political networks via the residents

directly or indirectly through elected representatives is able to influence urban politics.

- Features of social cohesion also play a role, which is expressed in the informal networks of the residents, in trust between neighbors, the type and quality of common institutions.
- Finally, there are emotional aspects such as historical building fabric and other factors that strengthen the spatial bond.

As a result, Galster emphasizes that a quarter often cannot be clearly delimited because the aforementioned bundles of attributes are nested in the spatial hierarchy according to different orders of magnitude (cf. *ibid.*, P. 37). Instead of striving for a uniform definition of a quarter, it seems to be more sensible to show a range of patterns that can be empirically derived as well as normatively formed. In the empirical approach, spatial structural images of various sizes can be differentiated that have a name label that shapes the spatial concept of the residents. Normatively, an interdisciplinary conception of a quarter assumes validity, which on the one hand requires a specific infrastructure and on the other hand a mixture of uses in order of enabling to designate a settlement area as a quarter.

8.3 Excursus: Forerunner Perspectives on the Quarter at the End of the 20th Century

More than 20 years ago, Rohr-Zänker and Müller tried to clarify the importance of quarters in an expertise. One of their results emphasized that the stability of a quarter particularly depends on efficient mixed structures. Heterogeneous quarters show greater integration potential than homogeneous quarters: The homogeneous settlement promotes the formation of communities more strongly, which carries the risk of the development of parallel societies, whose local identity can lead to a demarcation of quarters in the vicinity (cf. Rohr-Zänker and Müller 1998, p. 5).

8.3.1 *Factors for Identification with the Quarter*

According to the expertise, there are several levels of relationship between neighborly contacts in the quarter, which can lead to the residents feeling comfortable there: At the basic level, identification and the feeling of safety are strengthened by the relaxed manners of everyday encounters. At the next level of reciprocity, this is ensured by the reliability of assistance—such as the acceptance of parcel deliveries—from trustworthy people in the immediate vicinity, and on a further level, more intensive relationships in the wider residential area, based on sympathy and common interests,

offer emotional support and further-reaching offers of help (cf. *ibid.*, p. 45). Rohr-Zänker and Müller identified several factors as initiators for identification with the quarter (cf. *ibid.*, P. 46):

- (1) The “constructional-spatial structure” facilitates identification with the area, staying in public places, the appropriation of the living environment and thus creates the conditions for a neighborhood network to develop. The architecture of the building, the spatial structure, the usability and design of open spaces form an important basis for this.
- (2) The quality of the “supply of goods and services” supports the everyday organization of the residents. In addition, places such as the grocery store, the bakery’s point of sale or a kiosk offer opportunities for casual meetings that are used for informal information exchange among acquaintances.
- (3) Social offers and resident-oriented “community work” facilities also provide impetus for contacts and for establishing neighborly networks. The networks are strengthened by community facilities—with rooms for group meetings, workshops and the like.
- (4) Another factor is the “residents’ structure.” The social mix of a quarter should be designed in such a way that people threatened by exclusion or isolation are socially integrated and that spatial segregation of socially disadvantaged groups is avoided. The prerequisite is that a large proportion of the residents are sedentary, as well as a bond with the quarter that encourages acceptance of responsibility and social control.
- (5) Finally, “self-administration and co-determination” are mentioned because shared responsibilities strengthen the sense of togetherness in the quarter. The interest-based control by networks—in cooperation with municipal and civil society actors—has been taken up over the past few decades in the discourse on “local governance” or “quarter governance” (cf. Schnur 2013, p. 24).

The result shows an interdependence between the absolute and relational understanding of space. According to the expertise of Rohr-Zänker and Müller, the structural and spatial design of a small-scale, manageable settlement structure with a clear zoning of the living environment, a human scale and distances that can be covered on foot is of great importance for the development of a quarter culture. Neighborly networks of relationships and an identification of the residents with the quarter emerge in physical settlement structures that can be appropriated.

In this context, reference is made to the model of “New Urbanism”: It emerged at the end of the twentieth century in the USA and represents the creation of mixed-use quarters with a compact design, small plots, a heterogeneous composition of the population, a quarter core as the center as well as workplaces and supply facilities within walking distance (cf. Atlas 2013, p. 406). The quarter is already declared to be a basic planning unit in these North American predecessors (cf. Katz 1994). It forms an identifiable area that encourages their citizens to feel responsible for its conservation and development. The quarter has a center, and clear boundaries to the outside—its spatial extension corresponds to a 5 min walk from the edge to the center. The quarter is mixed-use and offers living space for different social groups.

Buildings should serve different purposes but should be comparable in scale. This should be supported by an architectural code for each quarter (cf. Rohr-Zänker and Müller 1998, p. 41).

8.3.2 Bahrtdt's Model of the Residential Quarter from the 1970s

The long tradition of dealing with the topic of “residential quarters” is also made clear by the publication “Human Urban Planning” by Hans Paul Bahrtdt from 1973. With reference to Jane Jacobs, Bahrtdt prefers the concept of the residential quarter as a small-scale, contemplative public of everyday life, which is characterized by a relative anonymity, public relationships and mixture of functions (cf. Bahrtdt 1973, p. 114).

Bahrtdt's typology of quarter models is limited to a few ideal constructions: the mixed-use residential quarter, the commercial quarter, the city quarter—he sketches the university quarter, the harbor quarter and the clinic quarter as further mixed quarter types (cf. Bahrtdt 1973, p. 158). Bahrtdt emphasizes the mix of the population as a key element: For this, the number of apartments in a neighborhood first requires a variety of apartment types so that there is living space for different living situations from young to old as well as for different household sizes (cf. *ibid.*, p. 120).

In addition, the constructional structure and the age of the buildings must be heterogeneous so that different social classes can settle in the quarter (cf. *ibid.*, p. 128). For this reason, new quarters should not arise in one fell swoop, but rather shape their form in a process-like manner in the course of various construction periods (cf. *ibid.*, p. 138). According to Hans Paul Bahrtdt, the number of inhabitants in mixed quarters plays a central role, because a quarter center with retail and public service facilities as well as the connection to local public transport proves to be sustainable only within a certain quantitative framework (cf. *ibid.*, p. 139). Geographically, it should have a shape whose edges can be up to 2 km long (cf. *ibid.*, p. 143).

8.4 Typology of Quarter Patterns

Up to now, the intention was to get the term quarter out of the black box so that it can be used in a more differentiated and more detailed manner in the practice of urban crime prevention, community work, urban planning and housing social management. The relational understanding of space alone is not sufficient for this, because not least from the (urban) structural point of view, the traditional absolute perspective of the space must also be taken into account in the quarter definition: According to the theory of urban development (by Dieter Frick, quoted in Meisel 2013, p. 47), a quarter is a social and structural-spatial area unit of medium scale that can be delimited from

the outside or inside within built-up urban areas which differentiates the surrounding parts of the settlement and has a specific quality and identity. Viewed in this way, the residential quarter represents only one possible type among others—such as production quarter, trading quarter, commercial quarter, quarter of administration or mixed quarter.

8.4.1 Existing, New and Renewal Quarters

Basically, a quarter can be differentiated according to whether it is an existing or a new area—i.e., an old building stock (possibly with a need for modernization) or a new construction of physical structures (cf. Meisel 2013, p. 52). The focus of an evaluation of new quarters is on the design of the public space as well as of spatial sections, the different degrees of accessibility into the quarter, the building densities, structural forms and visual relationships and, last but not least, the linking of different types of use.

Meisel lists four typological levels of differentiation for existing quarters (cf. *ibid.*, P. 55):

- firstly, the design and implementation of urban planning principles,
- secondly, the ownership, resident structures and the possible uses,
- thirdly, the layout of the buildings and
- fourthly, the state of preservation of the buildings.

The key question is which uses and social functions in quarters should be guaranteed beyond housing—from recreation to education and transport to the supply of goods and the disposal of waste (cf. *ibid.*, P. 60).

Existing quarters can also take on the status of renewal quarters. In the context of social urban renewal, a quarter development concept is often the basis of improving both the social and the physical situation in an area. Concepts of this kind represent, on the one hand, a control instrument for local government (cf. Herrmann 2019, p. 157), but on the other hand they also serve, according to the control logic of public governance, to involve relevant local stakeholders—from housing companies to residents—in the strategy (cf. Schubert 2018, p. 22). The central fields of action concern public space and the quality of the living environment, housing supply, the local economy and infrastructure supply (social, cultural, health and education-related).

8.4.2 Ideal Type of the Mixed Urban Quarter

Christa Reicher normatively projects the ideal type of the urban quarter, which is located in the city context with good accessibility to facilities for daily needs and has a mix of uses with functioning local supply as well as a demographic mix, and above

is also characterized by an individual appearance, by a robust urban structure and by a good connection with the city as a whole (cf. Reicher 2013, p. 197). However, the concept of mixed use runs the risk of being overwhelmed because it is intended to perpetuate the structural and cultural heritage of the European city, minimize urban traffic, promote social integration, guarantee safety and enable everyday organization to be free of conflicts. The central material and physical characteristics of the urban quarter are the building structure, the structural density, the arrangement of the buildings, the design of the facades, the choice of materials and the design of a sufficiently large open space. And important criteria for the urban quarter are firstly possibilities of appropriation instead of aesthetic exaggeration and secondly social openness instead of excluded idyll (cf. Reicher 2013, p. 201).

The scale is of great importance: In order for the arrangement of the buildings and the outdoor spaces to be experienced as safe, harmonious dimensions and anthropological proportions are a fundamental requirement (cf. Fischer 2013, p. 218). Jan Gehl's definition of human dimensions can be used as a frame of reference (cf. Gehl 2015, p. 51): According to this, the "social field of vision" is in the order of magnitude between 25 m (recognition of emotions and facial expressions, limit of communication perception) and 100 m (limit the sensory perception of human movements). This field of vision corresponds to the Pattern Language of Christopher Alexander and his team. It is based on anthropological constants of the perception of complex spatial situations—divided into four environmental levels: the dwelling—in front of the house—in the street—in the quarter (cf. Alexander 1995, p. 221). Kevin Lynch, who listed important key points in his publication "The Image of the City" (cf. *ibid.*, P. 220), is also considered a pioneer of space-focused quarter planning. His categories are physical readability (cf. Lynch 1968, p. 14), structure, memorability and orientation [cf. border lines, focal points and areas] (cf. *ibid.*, p. 60).

8.4.3 *Range of Quarters Due to Variable Order of Magnitude*

In order to be able to tailor the practice of urban crime prevention in community work, urban planning and social management of housing companies precisely to a quarter situation, a step model is required that meets the different dimensions of the settlement context. As far as the size of a quarter is concerned, a wide range can be stated. Neitzel puts it: A large estate with 30,000 inhabitants can form a quarter just as much as a single-family house settlement with fewer than 500 inhabitants (Neitzel 2013, p. 182). George Galster conceptualized—with reference to Gerald Suttles—a multi-level model of the quarter (cf. Galster 2019, p. 38):

- (1) Small-scale, first mentioned is the level of the "apartment block" where parents can allow their children to play without supervision.
- (2) The next higher level is referred to as the "Defended Neighborhood," whereby the emotional bond of the residents leads to a contrast and to a demarcation from neighboring quarters.

- (3) The third level is called the “Community of Limited Liability,” which means an order of magnitude in which the bond is expressed to a lesser extent and individuals only participate selectively in quarter life.
- (4) According to Galster, the largest quarter format of the “Expanded Community of Limited Liability” represents an administratively defined urban sector.

The context of this multi-level system is described by using three dimensions: the “congruence” of the residents’ perspectives with administrative definitions, the “generality” of the spatial correspondence of the bundles of physical, social and other attributes and finally the “correspondence” of the quarter concept among neighboring residents (cf. *ibid.*, p. 39).

In the following, three levels of magnitude are considered, which are useful for subdividing quarters:

- (1) the “neighborhood quarter” (i.e., small quarter) with around 150 to less than 500 inhabitants in multi-family houses or 50–200 inhabitants in single-family houses,
- (2) the “residential quarter” as the sum of several small quarters with around 500 to less than 1000 residents and
- (3) the “mixed urban quarter” with around 1000–5000 residents.

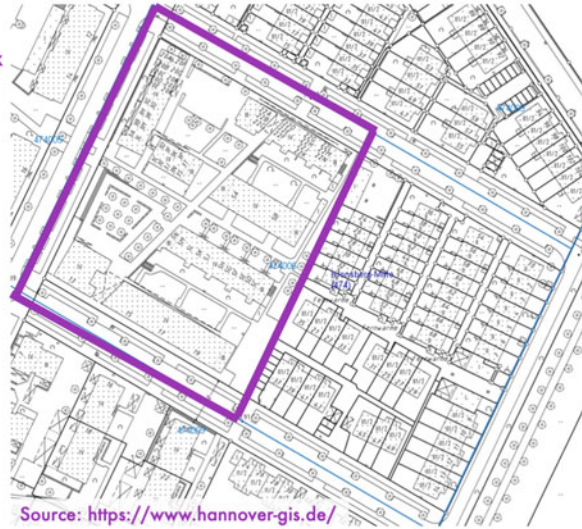
The three levels will be exemplified by quarters in the settlement “Kronsberg” in Hanover, which was created for the occasion of the world exhibition EXPO 2000 in the 1990s.

8.4.4 Neighborhood Quarter or Small Quarter

In the historical context, the apartment block is understood as the smallest urban unit: In medieval Stralsund, these building areas separated by streets were numbered consecutively as “quarters.” This size is classified here as a “neighborhood quarter” or “small quarter” that promotes community. A good example can be found in Hanover Kronsberg with the residential complex “Habitat—International Housing” (see Fig. 8.1). In the geographic information system (GIS) of Hanover, the neighborhood quarter represents an apartment block (source: <https://www.hannover-gis.de/GIS/index.action> [accessed August 28, 2022]). In the documentation “National Urban Development Policy” of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, the Habitat project is described as a quarter with 93 differently sized residential units (source: https://www.nationale-stadtentwicklungspolitik.de/NSP/SharedDocs/Projekte/WSProjekte_DE/Hannover_Kronsberg_Habitat_InternationalesWohnen.html [accessed August 28, 2022]). The five 3½-story structures are grouped around a small, tree-lined open space and two courtyards with tenants’ gardens. In addition, a community house with various rooms for common needs and a service office of the housing company is integrated. Around 250 people live in this narrow radius.

Neighbourhood Quarter / Small Quarter

Example: Housing complex
„Habitat - International
Housing“, in Hanover
Kronsberg



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Fig. 8.1 The small neighborhood quarter

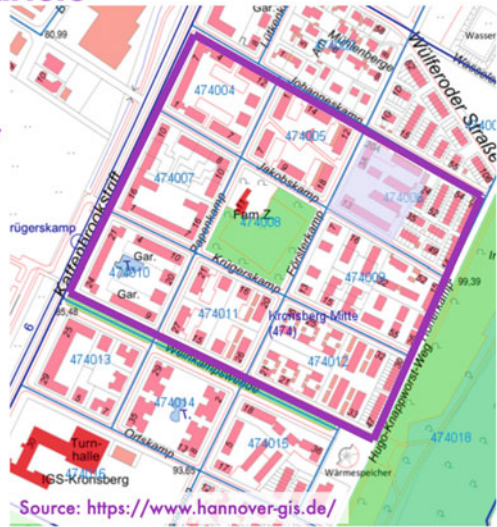
8.4.5 Residential Quarter

On the next level, several neighborhoods can be bundled into one larger area. In Hanover Kronsberg, for example, some units could be grouped into a larger, purely residential quarter, with a green city square as a junction in the center (see Fig. 8.2). The Habitat quarter could be connected to the residential area with some other apartment blocks, which are grouped around a green area in the middle (source: <https://www.hannover-gis.de/GIS/index.action> [Accessed August 28, 2022]). In this radius, the residents no longer perceive the living together as a community. Alternatively, using the physical delimitation method of social area analysis, the 15 blocks with residential functions of the statistical district “Kronsberg Mitte” could be combined into one residential quarter (see Fig. 8.3). The fact that in both cases the green area is the focus corresponds to the basic assumptions of Jane Jacobs. She writes: Functioning parks are never a boundary or an interruption in the complex fabric of the urban functions surrounding them. On the contrary, they help to bring together the various functions of their environment by providing a pleasant meeting place (cf. Jacobs 1963, p. 72). City squares and small parks often function as the center of a residential quarter (cf. *ibid.*, P. 74).

In the “Pattern Language,” Christopher Alexander and his team formulate that people need “an identifiable spatial unit” to which they feel to belong (cf. Alexander 1995, p. 85). This condition is met by the size of the neighborhood quarter just

Residential Area Bundling of Small Quarters

Example: residential quarter Krügers- and Jakobskamp including the Habitat quarter in Hanover Kronsberg

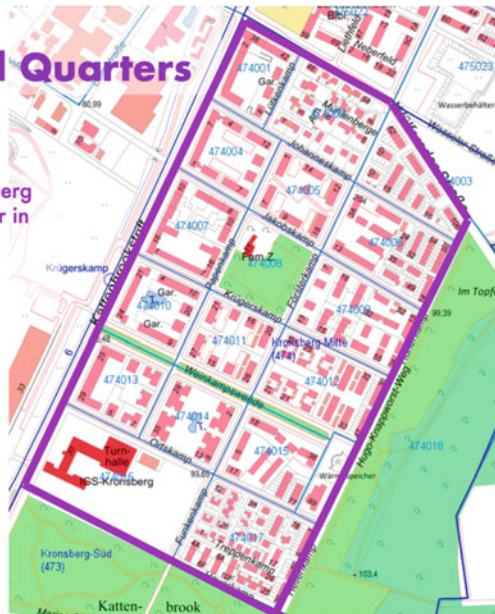


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Fig. 8.2 The residential area as bundling of small quarters—example 1

Residential Area Bundling of Small Quarters

Example: residential quarter Kronsberg Middle including the Habitat quarter in Hanover Kronsberg



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Fig. 8.3 The residential area as bundling of small quarters—example 2

outlined and the bundling of such small quarters into one residential quarter. The layout of the residential quarter has a relatively small number of inhabitants [from 500—max. 1500 inhabitants], is relatively small in terms of area [2–3 blocks around the own residential area with a maximum diameter of 300 m] and should not be cut through by a separating main road (see *ibid.*, p. 85).

The planning of the Kronsberg quarter was also based on the idea of bundling several apartment blocks into one residential area. The city planners defined the “Quarter Middle” in the 1990s as follows: The quarter consists of two areas that are separated from each other by an avenue of slopes. A specially founded private property company was responsible for the development of the residential zones around the quarter park. In an appraisal process, the architects developed the idea of linking the apartment blocks with a green center that creates a connection between the city railway and the landscape. The buildings were mainly given plaster facades with white or in some areas with light yellow and blue tones. Another characteristic of this residential area, known as the “Kronspark,” is the planting of the residential streets with ash trees and the park surrounded by a grove of trees (cf. *Landeshauptstadt Hannover 2000*, p. 97).

In a similar way, the northern part of the settlement was defined as “Quarter North” (see Fig. 8.4): To the north of Wülferoder Street, building plots with different types of construction and varied inner courtyards are grouped around the central park. The development is characterized by buildings with clinker and plaster facades in various combinations. The quarter park with a central pine grove and the residential streets planted with robinia determine the character of the area. Part of the Quarter North is the supply center, in which the most important social, cultural and church facilities as well as shopping facilities are located. The buildings are arranged around a central square that was designed by the participation of the Kronsberg residents (*ibid.*, P. 55).

These descriptions from the year 2000 illustrate that as early as the 1990s, the new type of uniform urban quarter conception in municipal housing developments began. The basic elements consist of apartment blocks as community-promoting small quarters and the uniformity of a design statute for buildings and open space.

8.4.6 *Mixed Urban Quarter*

On the third level, residential quarters are bundled into the pattern of the “urban quarter,” which belongs to an official administrative unit. In the urban quarter Kronsberg, for example, almost all residential areas with the supply infrastructure in the center and with the companies and workplaces on the edge could be combined into one large, mixed-use area. The statistical areas “Kronsberg North” and “Kronsberg Middle” could be interpreted as a mixed urban quarter in connection with further apartment blocks, in which the retail facilities and services are located (cf. Figure 8.5). For one or the other, there may be a lack of clarity about the concept of the district. In the example of Hanover, the mixed urban quarter Kronsberg belongs

Quarter North in Hanover Kronsberg



Source: Landeshauptstadt Hannover (Hrsg.) (2000). Modell Kronsberg. Eigenverlag, S. 54-55



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Fig. 8.4 Quarter north in Hanover Kronsberg

to the larger district of Bemerode. (Source: <https://www.hannover-gis.de/GIS/index.action> [accessed August 28, 2022]).

8.4.7 *Historical Typology of the Quarter and the Structure of the Settlement*

In addition to the size of a quarter, the reference to the settlement structure also plays a role. Schnur and Drilling have presented a suitable typology of quarters that puts structural settlement patterns in a historical context (cf. Schnur and Drilling 2011, p. 15). A distinction is made between the following types:

- typical Wilhelminian style quarter (with rental houses, including factory settlements from the late nineteenth century),
- quarter with the character of a garden city or other reform approaches of housing (from the 1910s to the 1930s),
- post-war quarters (from the 1950s, often in row structure),
- large housing projects of the modern age (based on the principle of “urbanity through density” in the 1960s and 1970s),
- post-modern apartment complex (since the 1980s) and

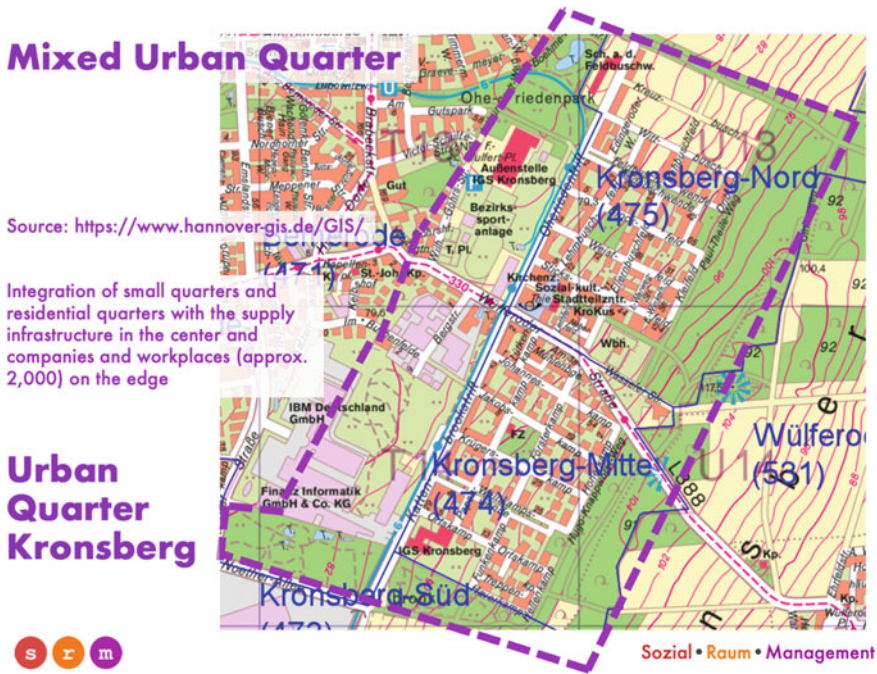


Fig. 8.5 The mixed urban quarter in Hanover Kronsberg

- single-family house quarter and village quarter (independent of time with different building types and heterogeneous mixture of locations).

The following is to be added as a new type:

- uniform urban development concept for the quarter (since the 1990s; cf. Bensch 2020).

However, it should be noted that, from a typological perspective, the quarters must not be perceived as isolated islands. Jane Jacobs has emphasized that neighborhoods are not “self-sufficient, introverted units”—the city is being destroyed “by its division into a number of small towns” (cf. *ibid.*, p. 80). She sees a problem with island-like quarters that are too small and equally helpless to face problems that come from outside because they lack connections, access and, last but not least, the potential for power and influence (cf. *ibid.*, p. 86).

A weakness of the typology of Schnur and Drilling is that the process-like growth of a quarter is not taken into account. As already mentioned in Chap. 2, Hans Paul Bahrtd had demanded in this context that new quarters should be carefully developed over several construction periods (cf. Bahrtd 1973, p. 138). And this also coincides with the reality of most of the quarters, because built structures from several temporal epochs exist side by side as part of the consolidation and redensification. Instead of focusing on the epochs of its origin, a quarter can alternatively be characterized with

the following typological features in order to meet possible mixed forms (cf. Bäumler n.d.; Bielefeld 2016; Schenk 2018):

- Typology of the building structures: row development (street-side rowing of parcels), block development (group of parcels enclosed by streets on all sides), courtyard development (with internal access from the courtyard side), linear structure (linear structure facing the street at the front), group structure (cluster arrangement of buildings according to the inner side logic), passage (covered shopping street) and solitary (buildings of different scales and sizes without connection to other buildings).
- Building typology: residential building (detached single-family house, semi-detached house, row house, apartment building); buildings for production facilities, crafts and industry; buildings for agricultural facilities; hall and warehouse buildings; office building; commercial, retail and wholesale buildings; hotels and buildings for the catering industry; buildings with functions of general use; and buildings for special functions.
- Typology of open spaces: private (garden and courtyard areas), public traffic areas (driving and pedestrian traffic), public space for staying (paved areas, parks, green spaces), cultural landscape (forest, agriculture) and nature (protected areas, biotopes).
- Special accents: tower, church tower, market hall and special buildings (e.g., historical).

8.5 Safety and Security in the Quarter

The “Safety Partnership in Urban Development” in Lower Saxony (SIPA) is an interdisciplinary network of experts in the field of urban crime prevention. It is made up of representatives from associations, organizations and institutions who, in the broadest sense, can influence planning and construction in Lower Saxony. By signing the “Agreement on more Urban Safety and Crime Prevention in the Planning and Renewal of Residential Areas,” they have committed themselves to support the strengthening of safety and security in the fields of architecture, urban development, open space planning, housing industry, representation of tenant interests and the police. The partnership wants to improve the quality of life of the citizens in the long term. So far, the SIPA has developed criteria and key questions for the consideration of safety-relevant requirements and issues in urban planning on the scale of the residential building in the narrow sense and of the public spaces in the living environment. These instruments are intended to enable local actors to assess the single residential building and ensembles of houses in municipalities for their safety according to the criteria of urban crime prevention (cf. Schubert 2005)—and, if necessary, to derive solution prospects for diagnosed safety problems.

In 2008 and 2009, for example, the “Lower Saxony Quality Label for Safe Living” was conceived and worked out in interdisciplinary workshops. Housing companies, housing associations and owner associations were defined as the central target groups

for the certification mark. After the workshops in the development phase, a differentiated checklist with criteria was available that has been used as an audit instrument for the assessment of residential complexes since the implementation in 2010 (see <http://www.sicherheit-staedtebau.de/>). Subsequently, in 2012 and 2013, the SIPA developed the criteria catalog “Safe Spaces,” which aims to convey how the core task of urban safety precautions in public spaces can be examined and designed.

Since 2021, the SIPA has been dealing with the topic of the “Livable (Safe) Quarter” as a further level of measurement. The project “Development of Criteria and a Guideline for Advice, Planning and Evaluation of Quarters under Aspects of Urban Crime Prevention” was tendered in an award procedure. The office “Sozial • Raum • Management” (i.e., Social • Area • Management) was commissioned to take responsibility for the participatory process based on the process of developing existing SIPA products, in which the list of criteria and the “Livable (Safe) Quarter” guideline are drawn up. As with the existing handouts, criteria are again to be collected and combined to form a guideline that can be used to check what characterizes livable and safe quarters that strengthen the sense of safety of their residents. This process is accompanied by an interdisciplinary working group of multidisciplinary experts and representatives from civil society so that a heterogeneous mix of perspectives from municipal urban planning, housing, community-oriented social work, police stations and committed citizens can be taken into account by developing the criteria. If the perception of safety and the management of security in the quarter are to be considered in more depth, it is necessary to follow both the process of development and the type of result in the tradition of the previous development of instruments (cf. Schubert 2015). The search for what characterizes livable and safe quarters that strengthen the residents’ sense of safety can therefore be based on the two existing guidelines. They are based on a concept that structures the content according to three dimensions of protection:

- the urban-architectural design and the technical equipment,
- the management of the facilities and
- the assumption of responsibility by users.

The three dimensions can also serve as a framework for orientation when focusing on feeling safe in the quarter. Adapted to the new task, they are as follows (see Fig. 8.6):

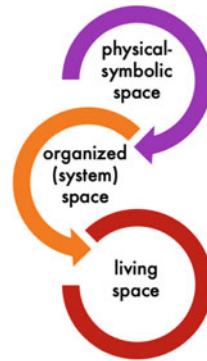
- (1) Protection through architectural and urban development of the quarter—the focus here is on how a quarter must be physically and symbolically—in the sense of an absolute understanding of the area—so that the residents can feel comfortable and safe there.
- (2) Protection by the management in the quarter—the focus here is on the question of how security in the quarter—in the understanding of an organized system—is managed by owners, service providers, local institutions, etc., in such a way that the residents can engage in everyday routines and feel safe.
- (3) Finally, the focus falls—in the dimension of protection through social cohesion in the quarter—on structures in the sense of the relational understanding of

Dimensions of Feeling Safe in the Quarter

Protection through architectural and urban design of the quarter

Protection through the management in the quarter

Protection through social cohesion in the quarter



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Fig. 8.6 Dimensions of feeling safe in the quarter

space, how the residents themselves informally contribute to the making of safety.

Figure 8.6 shows that in the three-dimensional approach, the absolute spatial understanding is combined with the relational one. By this approach, internal organizational patterns and living environments are taken into account with reference to a physically delimited and urbanized area.

8.5.1 Urban Crime Prevention Through Architectural and Urban Development of the Quarter

The dimension “protection through the physical design of the quarter” is considered to be the “heart” of urban crime prevention. The central perspectives and fields of action are as follows:

- orientation, spatial arrangement and design clarity in the quarter,
- transparency, lines of sight and routing in the quarter,
- control of entrances and parking options in public spaces,
- technical equipment and lighting concept in the quarter and
- infrastructural connection of the quarter.

Christopher Alexander and his team have made clear what these perspectives of the architectural and urban development of the quarter mean in the “Pattern

Language” (1977, German 1995). In pattern no. 14, for example, an identifiable quarter is required with the justification: People need an identifiable spatial unit to which they belong (*ibid.*, p. 85). According to pattern number 15, a “quarter boundary” is also necessary, because a quarter cannot maintain its identifiable character, if the border is too weak (*cf. ibid.*, p. 91). The most important feature of this border is the “restricted access” from outside, which can be achieved, for example, by minimizing the streets and closing them. The pattern no. 53 “Main gates” means: Every part of a city—whether large or small, which is to be identified as a quarter in any way—is strengthened, better distinguishable, marked and tangible when the access routes at the border are marked by gates (*cf. ibid.*, p. 295). Alexander et al. criticize: If the point at which the path crosses the border is invisible, then the border is basically not there (*cf. ibid.*, p. 295). But it does not have to be a gate in the literal sense—markings at the entry points can also be an avenue, a bridge, a gate entrance through a building or a passage between closely spaced houses (*cf. ibid.*, p. 295).

Jane Jacobs also called for urban planning to provide aesthetic support for the functional order of a quarter. So that the quarter does not remain anonymous as a place, and the urban design must indicate the inner order to the outside and make it recognizable—for example by optical interruptions in the streets (such as the formation of corners, spaces and so-called pockets) and by creating points of view (see Jacobs 1963, p. 194). Accents are orientation aids (*cf. ibid.*, p. 197)—structural accents of order are intended to visually emphasize and indicate that a certain place is functionally important. Jane Jacobs also points out problems with border zones when massively occurring one-sided uses form the periphery of a quarter (*cf. ibid.*, p. 146). Such borders with intensive one-sided use—such as railway lines or large commercial areas—tend to create empty spaces in their surroundings (*cf. ibid.*, p. 147). That is why she refers to Kevin Lynch’s study “The Image of the City,” according to which an edge must be more than just an all-dominating border (*cf. Lynch 1968*, p. 78). Then, it is a boundary that is constructed in connection with the quarters on both sides. It forms a seam that holds two areas together (*cf. Jacobs 1963*, p. 151). The design of the natural and open spaces as boundaries can thus support the formation of the quarter in a special way.

Another central point concerns the mix of uses: It has been emphasized since the 1960s that a quarter should serve more than one primary function (*cf. ibid.*, p. 95). The uses should complement each other on a small scale. This omnipresent principle is the need for interdependent, finely sown, diverse uses that constantly support each other, both economically and socially, Jane Jacobs emphasizes (*cf. ibid.*, p. 17). This applies both to the distribution of workplaces in the neighborhood so that they can be easily reached from every apartment, as well as the distribution of supply facilities such as shops and service offers (*cf. Alexander et al. 1995*, p. 59).

According to the Pattern Language, community facilities are to be bundled into “activity nodes” in the quarter according to pattern no. 30: In order for people to gather in a community, facilities must be grouped tightly around small public spaces that can serve as nodes. The paths must be organized in such a way that all pedestrian movements lead through these nodes, Christopher Alexander and his team write (*cf. ibid.*, p. 175). The pattern is explained as follows: In the node, the paths of the

quarter should merge, the connected spaces should be kept small (15 × 20 m], so that the activity remains concentrated—the facilities grouped into a node should be connected to one another by cooperative relationships (ibid., p. 175). The location should be selected in the quarter so that no apartment is more than a few hundred meters away from a node.

In the process of developing verifiable criteria on the topic of “safety and security in the quarter,” it must be specified whether the above-mentioned aspects are fundamental for quarters that are worth living in and strengthen their residents’ feeling of safety.

Meisel lists the following aspects of the quarter as a physical structure, which—if they are relevant for the perception of safety measures—are to be operationalized as test criteria (cf. Meisel 2013, p. 45): urban structure, public spaces, green and recreational areas, traffic development, access and waste disposal, public and semi-public infrastructure, medical, cultural, sport-oriented and leisure-oriented infrastructure, ownership structure, user structure, building typologies, state of preservation, changeability, identity and symbolic meaning. In addition, aspects should be taken into account that characterize a quarter also as a cultural space (cf. ibid., p. 46): monuments and monument buildings, facilities of particular importance, symbolic signs, cultural institutions and cultural objects, artistic design, special natural spaces, stories and myths, rituals as actions (e.g., shooting festival, carnival, etc.) and local intrinsic logic. And thirdly, the economic structure of a quarter should be taken into account. Meisel suggests considering the location criteria, the classification in the local housing market including the development of demand as well as the rent and price level (cf. ibid., p. 45). This also includes the local economy, its local customer and target groups and the earnings prospects.

8.5.2 Urban Crime Prevention by the Management in the Quarter

The management in the quarter concerns the coordination of professional and voluntary actors who, from different (multidisciplinary) perspectives, contribute to the everyday quality of the quarter—and thus also to safety—as part of a mutual coordination of measures. On the professional side, the focus is on processes of cooperation between:

- housing companies, cooperatives and other private building and apartment owners,
- business enterprises, traders—e.g., retailers and service providers,
- citizens’ initiatives,
- welfare agencies,
- youth welfare institutions,
- facilities for the elderly,
- educational institutions,
- local volunteer agency,

- local police,
- supply and disposal companies, e.g., waste management, street cleaning,
- public (administrative) bodies such as economic development, urban planning office, youth, social and housing office,
- local prevention council,
- religious institutions and
- other civil society actors such as associations.

As part of this cooperation, procedures are negotiated—such as the removal of “wild” waste if bulky waste is in front of a house or an area or place is heavily contaminated, or repairs if there is damage to the furniture in front of houses, in public green areas or playgrounds. Further results of the cooperation can be agreements—e.g., with the local police in order to consolidate the security situation in the quarter, or with the local urban planning department or an architecture office in order to implement security-promoting structural standards in the quarter. But it is also about the commitment of the political mandate holders in the relevant urban area and of the departments of the local government for the quarter.

At the level of local government, it makes sense to combine different business circles for coordinated, concerted action to pursue a common strategy to strengthen a quarter. In addition to socio-cultural strategies of community work to set up communication structures and activate residents, programmatic activities from participating organizations or professions are integrated. The integrated approach aims to ensure that all parties involved work together so that, with their networked decisions and stipulations, they can contribute to the fact that the residents can feel safe in the quarter. Infrastructure that is operated by the municipality or a housing association may also be available in the quarter. It acts as a contact point for residents: Initiatives and activities are organized from there. In the ideal case, for example, a full-time worker is available in renovation quarter (e.g., in a management office), and in other quarters, there is a contact point for the residents to organize themselves.

In general, the management in the neighborhood can refer to different social measures for the resident population in general and for target groups in particular. The association “LAG Soziale Brennpunkte Niedersachsen e. V.” lists numerous examples on its Web site (see <https://www.gwa-nds.de/3-was-wird-gefoerdert> [accessed on August 28, 2022]); this can include the following:

- the establishment or further development of a contact point on site with care, networking, advisory and mediation functions,
- the activation and support of self-organization and participation, the promotion of self-help and participation,
- promoting communication in the neighborhood—e.g., via a tenant newspaper and suitable meeting formats, neighborhood walks and the like,
- the design of forms of citizen participation in order to give residents the opportunity to participate in planning,
- the establishment and expansion of suitable cooperation structures with charities, churches, sports clubs, other civil society actors and the community,

- the coordination of offers from church institutions, institutions for youth and elderly care, educational institutions and other institutions for public needs as well as between clubs, associations and initiatives—right up to local art and history associations,
- strengthening the integration of the various population and interest groups in the neighborhood and residential area,
- a local point of contact with needs-based advice on various issues as well as mediation of services and offers,
- the establishment of a complaint management system and a procedure for mediating conflicts,
- the creation and establishment of meeting spaces,
- the preparation and implementation of measures to improve the quality of living, the living environment and public space, including crime prevention measures,
- measures to improve the image of the residential area and for public relations and
- the pooling of human and material resources for the tasks in the neighborhood or the availability of a budget for measures that can be freely designed.

In this context, the question of how to manage digital offers in order to strengthen the quarter also arises. Reckwitz emphasized that the social media platforms are associated with the risk of “machine singularization”—and thus further fragmentation of society (cf. Reckwitz 2017, p. 72). In the opposite perspective, however, the provision of digital media—for example by a housing company or public service facilities—can also strengthen the quarter context.

8.5.3 Urban Crime Prevention Through Social Cohesion in the Quarter

The internal cohesion in a quarter refers to the supportive relationships and interactions both within the residents and between the users of the local opportunities, through which a feeling of connectedness and, furthermore, feeling safe are generated and maintained. According to Alexander et al. (cf. 1995, p. 45), the coexistence of a “wide variety of population groups and subcultures”—that is, their heterogeneity—can be seen as an important structural feature. The quarter should promote this diversity through mutual support and values that are shared (cf. *ibid.*, p. 46). This social cohesion in the quarter forms the basis for whether the residents feel comfortable and safe there.

According to Jane Jacobs, trust in the quarter is built up through many “sidewalk contacts.” She writes (cf. Jacobs 1963, p. 46): When you’ve seen the same stranger on Hudson Street three or four times in the course of time, you start greeting. It is almost like making a public acquaintance. Mutual trust—as a prerequisite for feeling safe in the quarter—arises from casual contacts on the sidewalk, at the bakery or in front of the day-care center. Jane Jacobs adds verbatim (cf. *ibid.*, p. 46): Most of these contacts are trivial, but the sum of all contacts is by no means trivial. The sum

of such casual public contacts is a fabric of public mutual respect and mutual trust and means possible support in times of personal or neighborly distress. The social cohesion of the residents extends from mutual greetings, through public contacts to the mutual exchange of help and represents, as social capital, an important protective mechanism in the quarter. The importance of shops and other public places along the sidewalk is also evident. A shop, a kiosk and other public places create the safety in the quarter: The shopkeepers and small local entrepreneurs take on the role of “predestined street watchers” and thus act as “guarantors of peace and order” (cf. *ibid.*, p. 33). And this cohesion forms “a network of gatekeepers, supervisors, [...], a kind of employee neighborhood,” which ensures that the quarter is provided with eyes on the street (cf. *ibid.*, p. 36). Viewed in this way, public safety in the quarter is not primarily maintained by the police, but rather “carried and enforced by a complicated, almost unconscious fabric of voluntary control and basic agreements among the people themselves” (*ibid.*, p. 29). Three main characteristics are decisive: “Firstly, there must be a clear demarcation between the public space and the private space. Second, eyes must be on the street, eyes belonging to what we may call the natural owners of the street. [...] And thirdly, a sidewalk must have users fairly continuously, both to increase the number of observing eyes on the street and to encourage enough people in the houses to look at the street” (*ibid.*, p. 32).

Digital platforms also play a role in this dimension: While the focus is on the offer from the management perspective, the question of practical use arises here. Based on the author’s own experience, WhatsApp groups and Signal groups can be cited: There are neighboring circles that coordinate the control of the box tree moth or the application of nematodes against the black weevil in the garden with the help of a platform. Another example is digital appointments for walks with the dog, but also warnings are given if dog bait has been found in the adjacent forest. Finally, the app from the digital platform “Nebenan.de” (next door), which is most widespread in Germany, is also used to find out what is going on in the quarter and who has what concerns. The residents of a neighborhood offer items on the platform such as those at the flea market, but also information, assistance and cultural skills. During the Covid-19 pandemic, for example, shopping offers for elderly or sick people were posted very often. This promotes social cohesion in the quarter (see Heinze, Kurtenbach and Üblacker 2019, p. 26).

However, the German platform Nebenan.de is mainly used in quarters in which the proportion of disadvantaged population groups is relatively low—in this respect, the socio-spatial division and digital segregation overlap (cf. Kurtenbach 2019, p. 115). Against this background, it can make sense to check whether there are efforts in the quarter to support the residents through a digital platform and thereby convey a feeling of safety. Social cohesion and territorial control of the local network are strengthened both through everyday encounters and interactions in public and semi-public spaces in the neighborhood and through digital platforms—citizen activation has an important function in strengthening local social capital (cf. Schubert 2018, p. 22; cf. Schnur 2013, p. 17).

Meisel suggests taking a closer look at the design of participation, cooperation and integration—indicators for this could be the number of active networks, the establishment of participatory forms of regimes, the appropriate involvement of tenants' associations, the involvement of inhabitants of the quarter in the city council or in the local district council, in a tenants' council, in the youth council, in the senior citizens' council, in the foreigners' integration council, in the disability council, in a prevention council, the articulation of citizens' interests in open citizens' committees and political interest groups as well as special quarter initiatives (cf. Meisel 2013, p. 45). Forms of self-organization of the residents and forms of communal operation of paths, open spaces (common land), energy systems, meeting points or communal facilities also play a key role. It is also of interest whether the voluntary commitment of residents and community forms in the quarter are promoted actively.

8.6 Outlook

In the further process of the “Safety Partnership in Urban Development” in Lower Saxony (SIPA), the interdisciplinary working group of experts and representatives of civil society will select suitable measurable or observable criteria in the outlined dimensions and combine them into guidelines. In the first step, the guideline is used to consider the situation of an exemplary quarter in a comprehensive and fact-based manner. After analyzing this information and the planning documents, a qualitative assessment can be made to determine whether the quarter enhances the sense of safety of its residents. A suitable setting must be developed for this second step—such as a quarter inspection, cycle routes through the quarter and an in-depth technical discussion with stakeholders of the quarter. The walks and bike tours are suitable for assessing the qualitative fulfillment of key criteria of the architectural and urban development of the district. The professional survey of key persons in the quarter is necessary to check whether the criteria of cooperation and professional security management are being applied in the context of the urban crime prevention approach and measures for social participation are being implemented that enable people to act independently and promote social cohesion.

It must be emphasized that the analytical view must also be continuously directed to the neighboring quarters in order to be able to take into account a possible displacement of uncertainty factors (cf. Lukas and Coomann 2021).

8.7 Conclusions

The preceding arguments made it clear that the urban quarter represents the central spatial level of action in the city. The concept of the neighborhood, which Jane Jacobs used in her classic “Death and Life of Great American Cities,” is identical to the concept of the quarter. It is the area that surrounds the individual apartment and

forms a physical hood around the socially connected population. This concept of the quarter is based on the one hand on the absolute understanding of space, in which physical boundaries are possible and material spatial structures are recognized as a framework. On the other hand, the relational understanding of space plays a role. It connects to the internal social processes in a quarter and takes into account the production of space through usage patterns and the social cohesion of the residents. For this new basic urban unit, an integrated and public welfare-oriented approach is necessary, which specifically includes urban crime prevention.

In practice, community work, urban planning and the housing industry must design the district development in a cooperative manner, taking into account crime prevention criteria. This makes it possible to strengthen disadvantaged residential areas that face particular challenges due to high levels of immigration. With the integrated approach, a quarter can gain a quality that promotes integration and self-help among the residents. Against this background, urban crime prevention is required to develop criteria that can be used to check what characterizes livable quarters that strengthen the feeling of safety. They relate to three dimensions: The first dimension is about protection through architectural and urban design. The planning professions have to deal with the physical and symbolic dimensions of a quarter so that the residents feel safe there. The following perspectives must be taken into account: orientation, spatial arrangement and assignment, design clarity, transparency, visual axes and routing, control of access, storage options in public space, the lighting concept and the infrastructural connection.

The second dimension draws attention to the protection provided by the management in the quarter. The focus is on the coordination of professional and voluntary actors who contribute to the everyday quality of the quarter and thus also to security by mutually coordinating measures. It is about the interaction of the many from the housing industry, from commercial enterprises and traders, from public administration, from welfare, from supply and disposal companies, from the police, from civil society organizations and last but not least from the residents. The third dimension is about protection through social cohesion in the neighborhood, in which the residents themselves informally contribute to safety. An important prerequisite is shared basic values and a feeling of solidarity.

A good starting point is the concept of livable and walkable quarters, which can be seen as a further development of the CPTED approach (cf. Atlas 2013, p. 407). The underlying principle is: “building communities, not just houses” (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 402–406). That means: There is a mixture of building and apartment types as well as socio-cultural centers, shopping opportunities and other uses within walking distance. There is a social mix among the residents, which enables great diversity. And the scale of pedestrian and bicycle traffic is dominant both on the streets and in the quarter as a whole.

The following principles can be derived for the development of the quarter (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 406–420): The quarter has a recognizable center and clear edges. The entrances into the quarter are marked with a suitable design. Most of the apartments are only a few minutes’ walk from the center of the quarter. The buildings in the center of the quarter face the street. The arrangement of the buildings along the paths

is based on the “eyes on the street” concept. There are shops and offices in the core and on the outskirts of the quarter. The area is lively at all times of the day thanks to the diversity of mixed use. There are a variety of apartment types in the quarter. Most children can walk to primary school from their home. Public and semi-public areas are clearly marked by the landscaping. There are “safe paths” along certain routes or certain paths, on which pedestrians and cyclists in particular are guided. The appearance of the quarter helps users develop a sense of locality and territorial responsibility. The social bond extends beyond the quarter, as there are social and physical relationships in neighboring quarters and other parts of the city, meaning that the quarter does not exist in isolation from the surrounding urban areas. The residents organize themselves in order to shape their interests together—and these forms of self-organization are promoted by local organizations and institutions.

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Part III
Multi-disciplinary in Research and Practice

Chapter 9

Multidimensionality in Geospatial Urban Crime Prevention Modelling and Decision Support: The Case of Porto, Portugal



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Abstract Striving for safe and secure cities continues to be a top priority in planning and strategic agendas, as feelings of insecurity and urban vulnerabilities often increase regardless of the fluctuations in crime statistics. More and more, it is recognized that creating safe environments is a task for multiple stakeholders and that the multidimensional characteristics of places are important predictors of the spatial distribution of crime and insecurity. However, only a few models conceptualize “the place” as a cumulative aggregation of micro-geographical patterns and territorial specificities, when correlating with the space–time variation of crime occurrences. Using the city of Porto, in Portugal, as a case study, this research aims to contribute to this growing field within the Geography of Crime/Criminology of Places literature, by developing a local-level multidimensional decision-support model, combining official crime statistics with morphological, functional, socio-economic and perceptual variables. Considering data at block level, with the support of Geographical Information Systems and statistical and data mining tools, including Multiple Correspondence Analysis, profiles are created that display the internal dynamics of the city and help establish which spatial determinants may contribute to explain the registered crime pattern. Such space-based know-how can support holistic and innovative public planning solutions for prevention, relevant for cohesion and integration.

Keywords Geography of crime · Crime mapping and modelling · Insecurity · Multiple correspondence analysis · Crime prevention · Spatial analysis · Porto

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9.1 Introduction: Cities, Crime and the Place-Based Multidisciplinary Approach

As Bauman (2003) once pointed out, cities were originally erected in order to provide safety for the inhabitants of a given area. However, over the centuries, major urban conurbations became stigmatized as unsafe and insecure. Even though the total amount of crimes committed has overall decreased in the new millennium (Eurostat 2021; Farrell et al. 2014), cities are far from being considered safe. First because some specific types of crimes have often increased, such as those against the elderly or woman (APAV 2019; Eurostat 2021). And second, contrary to crime statistics, because feelings of insecurity, associated to other urban vulnerabilities, have been maintained, and sometimes augmented, in a decade of major social and economic upheavals as the financial and migrant crises, or the COVID-19 pandemic (Barabás 2018; PSPS 2021; Vieno et al. 2013).

Worldwide, continental and national agendas are keenly focussed on improving quality of life and well-being in urban spaces. Alongside housing, education or health, among others, urban safety is an emerging political topic, appearing as a major pillar, for example, in both of the OCDE Well-being indicator (OECD 2020) and the European Index of Social Progress (EC 2017). UN's Sustainable Development Goal 11 also clearly states that a major aim is to "make cities and human settlements inclusive and safe". This means, first and foremost, that the sense of safety (or insecurity) in cities should not be considered in isolation. Indeed, there is a multifaceted nature to the concept of urban and human security, and an awareness to the relevant role of multiple stakeholders, that had long been overlooked (PSPS 2021).

Precisely, over the past decades, strategies for increasing urban safety have shifted towards a paradigm of prevention, proximity and public participation, which embraces a wider—and indeed multifaceted—perspective of the crime and insecurity phenomena (Loveday 2018; Saraiva et al. 2016; Weisburd et al. 2010). This has also created greater awareness on the importance of the characteristics of the space itself, in its various dimensions (geographical, morphological, contextual), in the comprehension of the appearance of crime opportunities and feelings of insecurity. Views based on the offender and on the "why" have expanded to include the "how" but also, more importantly, the "where" and the "when" (Weisburd et al. 2012).

Such a perspective is not new. One of the eldest historical documents on crime prevention, The Statute of Winchester, initially published in 1285 in England, directed the trimming of bushes in a radius of 200 feet around major roads, thus recognizing how the arrangement of spatial elements could potentiate crime. Nineteenth-century authors such as Quetelet, Guerry, Mayhew or Glyde (see reviews in Andresen 2014; Weisburd et al. 2016; Wortley and Townsley 2016) revealed the spatial heterogeneity of crime, both in terms of quantity and in terms of typologies. Later, authors of the Chicago School such as Park and Burgess (1925), Shaw et al. (1929) or Shaw and MacKay (1942) associated juvenile delinquency less to gender or ethnicity and more to spatial patterns related to housing, poverty or proximity to urban centres.

It was, however, in the 1970s that the association between crime, insecurity and place became more prominent with several theories that collectively became known as the field of environmental criminology. These include Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (Jeffery 1971; Newman 1972); Routine Activities Theory (Cohen and Felson 1979); Rational Choice Theory/Situational Prevention (Clarke 1980) and Crime Pattern Theory (Brantingham and Brantingham 1984). These theories did not aim to replace conventional criminology, rather give further insights on the often neglected spatial and temporal dimensions of crime. They could be summarized into three main principles (Andresen 2014; Weisburd et al. 2016; Wortley and Townsley 2016). First, that the criminal behaviour is influenced by the nature of the environment/contexts it occurs in. Second, that the distribution of crime is, consequently, not random, as it is a consequence of elements that vary in time and space. And third, that by acting in and changing such (micro-scale) environments, crime can be prevented and reduced.

This means that environmental criminology is by definition multidisciplinary, depending on the articulation of professional such as criminologists, police officers, sociologists, psychologists, but also urban planners, architects, designers or geographers. Consequently, it also means that “the place”—the principal common denominator of human interactions—assumes paramount importance. “Place Matters” (Weisburd et al. 2016), as it is considered a fundamental aspect for the “criminology for the twenty-first century”. Indeed, modern studies on the Geography of Crime have been directly connected with environmental criminology and social disorganization theories (Batella 2010; Batella and Diniz 2010; Melo et al. 2017). Importantly, since Harries (1975), they have included debates on how geographers, planners and other spatial analysts could potentially make very valuable contributions and help decision and policy making in the judicial and policing systems. Almost 40 years later, LeBeau and Leitner (2011; pg. 161) were writing: “Geography is making an important and lasting imprint on dealing with crime”.

A definite turning point has been the proliferation of geospatial technologies and geographical information systems (GIS) in the last two decades (Chainey and Ratcliffe 2013; Leitner 2013). Techniques of hotspot/place-based policing (Andresen and Weisburd 2018; Braga et al. 2012; Harries 2006; Weisburd and Telep 2014), forensics GIS (Elmes et al. 2014) or intelligence-led policing (Braga and Schnell 2013; Coldren et al. 2013) allowed a major leap forward in crime georeferencing, modelling and prediction, along with an unprecedented capacity for data management and spatial analysis. As such, authors argued the increasing role of applied geography in crime prevention partnerships and in the success of preventive strategies (National Research Council 2004; Wilson and Smith 2008). They also argued the need for multidisciplinary partnerships, as those between research centres (such as Universities) and Police organizations, as the former could provide the latter with advanced skills in spatial modelling and analysis supportive of decision making (di Bella et al. 2015; Meijer 2016). This is in line with the sharing and shifting of responsibilities promoted by new models of policing (Freilich and Newman 2017).

Consequently, research has moved towards place-based approaches (Saville 2009), where the understanding of each context is crucial (Eck et al. 2005; Sampson

2012). Research has consistently shown how characteristics of places are important predictors of the spatial distribution of crime and insecurity (Faria et al. 2018; Kikuchi 2010). Indeed, interventions that have not taken into account territorial specificities are “quite often bound to fail” (Lasierra 2018). Following Rosenbaum (1988), community crime prevention is regarded as a holistic concept, where integrated situational strategies support changes in social and urban conditions, that are deemed to be much more effective than global, reactive or individual approaches (Weisburd and Telep 2014).

The Law of Crime Concentration (Weisburd 2015), derived from research on the Criminology of Place (Sherman et al. 1989), and supported by recent research at sub-national scales (Saraiva et al. 2021), stipulates how crime hotspots are concentrated and stable over time. The same appears to occur regarding fear of crime (Solymosi et al. 2015), and during the COVID-19 pandemic (Ashby 2020). Therefore, resources should focus on specific locations and contemplate local variability. But they should also be mindful that micro-geographical units are relevant social systems. Social and contextual elements are crucial for interpreting crime and insecurity patterns and proposing preventive strategies, as there is a strong correlation between the social meaning of “places” and attitudes towards them; i.e. between collective efficacy and insecurity (Batella 2010; Chataway et al. 2017; Harries 2006; Weisburd et al. 2020).

Authors also express another major critique. Models do not adopt a holistic vision in terms of spatiality and sociality (Kamalipour et al. 2014; Soebarto et al. 2015), i.e. they fail to have sufficient territorial understanding between crime occurrences and the multidimensional characteristics of places. Crime patterns have been shown to have statistical relationships to land-use, morphological, functional, socio-economic, demographic or personal variables (e.g. Kikuchi 2010; Matijosaitiene 2016; Silva and Li 2020; Sohn 2016; Summers and Johnson 2016) or combinations of these (e.g. di Bella et al., 2012; Foster et al. 2010; Hedayati Marzbali et al. 2012; Johnson et al. 2014). Yet only a few assume true place-based approach (Chataway et al. 2017; Faria et al. 2018; Melo et al. 2017; Weisburd et al. 2012), as there is a generalized lack of georeferenced data available at micro-scales, and geocoding and spatial analysis techniques are often uncommon in police research (Grönlund and Diniz 2016). Furthermore, few of these models also include variables related to the built environment (Silva and Li 2020), collective efficacy (Weisburd et al. 2021) or the more intangible role of cultural capital (Ilan 2012).

This being so, important data is deemed to be lost, both concerning the multivariate nature of crime prevention, and the important relationship between crime and place (Ekblom 2011; Herbert 2016; Saraiva et al. 2016). This affects knowledge and evidence-based decisions for effective and integrated responses. Thus, there is a need for a smarter aggregation of data (Hunt et al. 2011), leading to a combined approach (Lasierra 2018; PSPS 2021) which takes into account “the place”, and a more thorough conceptualisation of how it is described (Andresen and Weisburd 2018; Bannister et al. 2019; Chataway et al. 2017). Such empirical research should make use of advances in collecting and georeferencing crime datasets, as well as spatial analysis techniques, to produce multi-scale, multi-domain and temporal approaches that correlate spatial, social and functional aspects of territories. In doing

so, they would be able to provide appropriate tools and the know-how to support holistic and innovative public planning solutions for prevention and control of crime and insecurity (Faria et al. 2018; PSPS 2021).

9.2 Multidimensionality Convergence in Geospatial Crime Prevention Modelling

The construct exposed in the introductory section unequivocally leads research on place-based crime prevention modelling towards a multidimensionality convergence. There is a geographical juxtaposition of crime occurrences with environmental socio-economic, urban and individual elements (Cozens et al. 2019). Therefore, there should also be a juxtaposition, in spatial analysis, between the various interdisciplinary dimensions of research on crime patterns, prevention planning and design, insecurity reduction, land uses, activities, connectivity and cultural and social capital. Such convergence should, by the very nature of the dimensions under question, consider empirical data derived from both qualitative and quantitative research methods, in a mix-method approach. It also should, considering recent developments in the Geography of Crime, analyse micro-geographical levels through spatial-temporal approaches.

This logical step forward has increasingly been presented in the literature. A recent EU-funded project on perceptions of insecurity, MARGIN (Barabás 2018), although it did not have a space-based micro-geographical scope, recognized that four dimensions of research needed to co-exist, namely (i) an objective dimension related to crime statistics derived from official sources; a (ii) subjective dimensions related to emotional and cognitive factors; a (iii) a socio-geographic dimension concerning neighbourhood and individual characteristics and social capital; and (iv) a socio-economic dimension, related to quality of life, wealth and living conditions. Another EU-funded project, BeSecure-FeelSecure (2020–2022) systematized that successful strategies needed to correlate a governance system between entities, with collection and analysis of crime-related data, spatial measures and, ultimately, social interventions.

This conceptualization has been translated into the widening and growing complexity of the variables and spatial-statistical models used for correlating crime occurrences with contextual variables. Works of Foster et al. (2010), Weisburd et al. (2012, 2021, 2020) or Melo et al. (2017) have gathered significant statistical variables at the micro-level, as those representing socio-demographic and socio-economic status; and urbanization, housing, land-use and physical disorder. According to Foster et al. (2010), results imply that it is the cumulative effect of planning and land-use variables that influence safety, rather than isolated elements, something which fits into the environmental criminology framework. These authors have also recently introduced variables (collected through surveys) representing collective efficacy and social (dis)organization, such as whether neighbours share the same values, can be

trusted or help each other; the presence of youths, family disruption or ethnic heterogeneity. As Melo et al. (2017) writes, it is no longer a question that collective efficacy reduces levels of criminal activity; it is which determinants most contribute to it. Hence, more research is needed that merges both types of datasets at micro-scales (Weisburd et al. 2021).

Other elements, as fear of crime, are also gradually being included as variables, due to new mobile technologies and georeferencing techniques for data collection that allow a more seamless integration within spatial models (Chataway et al. 2017; Doran and Burgess 2011; Jakobi and Pődör 2020; Solymosi et al. 2015). Other authors as the aforementioned Foster et al. (2010) or Silva and Li (2020) have gone beyond the traditional conceptualization of the build environment (through elements as population density or land-use diversity) to include form and network indexes. Elements more associated to the cultural capital of urban spaces, or more intangible variables related to perceptions are, however, still absent.

9.3 Aim and Methods

Building on this theoretical and empirical stance, this research aims to contribute to this growing trend within the criminology of place literature, by emphasizing the role of multiple disciplines and dimensions for creating a combined, space-based modelling approach based on the physical, the urban and the socio-economic environment, that at a later stage can be compared with the perceptual environment. Using the city of Porto as a test bed, this paper presents the steps undertook to create a decision-support tool to identify factors that may influence criminal occurrences. This tool has an explicit component of spatial and statistical analysis produced with the support of Geographical Information Systems and includes both quantitative and qualitative datasets.

Figure 9.1 summarizes the multidimensional data used. The dependent variable, crime occurrences, consists of recorded crime events provided by the Public Safety Police (PSP), for the 10-year period between 2009–2018. The data sheet is derived from police reports which list the street the event has occurred in, as well as the date/hour, the type of crime, and the parish (an administrative division within the municipal limit). The database, comprising of around 148.500 individual entries, had to be extensively revised by the research team, as the same street was often listed under different names (e.g. “Avenida da Boavista”; “Avenida Boavista”; “Av. Boavista”; “Av^a Boavista”, “Avenida Boa Vista”), and other spelling mistakes existed. This standardization permits that the entry of new information in upcoming years can become systematized, thus improving the data management capacity of the Police Department.

This data was then georeferenced, using as a basis a municipal street database provided by the Municipality of Porto. As expressed by other authors, it is implicit that this data is limited to the crimes actually reported to the police and may not express the true reality of criminal events. The street segment was used as a measure

Crime data at street segment level (2009-2018)		
Urban Morphology Data	Socio-economic Data	Centrality Data
Building typologies	Age structure	Student and employment data
Building age	Family size	Number of beds in hotels and health facilities
Building height	Education data	Passengers at stations
Building use	Employment data	Users of different services, commerce, culture, leisure, health and social facilities
Connectivity	Home ownership types	
	Urban Mobility data	
Locations perceived as unsafe (Population survey)		

Fig. 9.1 Multidimensional data sources for the modelling approach

of analysis, following Weisburd et al (2012, 2021, 2020) and the demonstration by Rosser et al. (2017) that a network-based model substantially outperforms a grid-based alternative in terms of predictive accuracy. Kernel Density Estimation (KDE), an interpolation technique which computes estimates of density based on a finite data sample, was used to plot expected crime patterns. This follows previous research which considers it to be one of the most adequate interpolation methods for crime data, also because it anonymizes data and assists articulation with stakeholders and the public (Bunting et al. 2018; Chainey et al. 2008; Kalinic and Krisp 2018). Used cell size was 50 m, considering the smaller size of the city and consistent with previous studies (Hu et al. 2018; Kalinic and Krisp 2018), with default minimum bandwidth of 200 m to avoid a degrading of spatial prediction, as shown by Chainey (2013). The results were then aggregated at subsection level (the smallest administrative division in Portugal, more or less a city block), in order to compare with other dimensions of analysis. There are 1.946 statistical subsections within the municipality of Porto. To inform on changes over time and space, emerging hotspot analysis was used instead of regular hotspot analysis, following recent temporal studies on crime data (Bunting et al. 2018). This technique identifies trends in the clustering of values in space-time cubes, using Getis-Ord Gi statistic for each bin, thus classifying each location as new, consecutive, intensifying, persistent, diminishing, sporadic, oscillating and historical hot and cold spots. Space-time cubes of 1 year were considered for the 10-year data.

The characterization of the city was performed by creating profiles for different types of data, considering indicators from the 2011 Census by the National Statistics Institute (INE), available at the subsection level, as well as other municipal and national sources. Profiles of urban morphology were established using data from the Census and the Porto Municipality on buildings, which includes information on typology, use, age, height and indicators of urban connectivity. Three indicators were calculated; node density, pedestrian shed ratio and the average link length, following Vale et al. (2015). The socio-economic profile was created using a set of

indicators relating to demographic and age structure, family, employment, education data, homeownership regimes and data concerning the major modes of transportation used in daily travels. The city's urban centrality profile was created by considering land-use data, the location of major services, commerce and other facilities, as well as the major attracting poles of employment, education and tourism. The data was derived from the municipality and government sources as the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health, the National Registry of Tourism and the database Informa D&B (2017).

The thematic profiles were created using Multiple Correspondence Analysis, a factorial analysis which analyses and classifies relational patterns between categorical dependent variables, grouping them into geographical units according to their common characteristics (Abdi and Valentin 2007; Greenacre 2017; Yelland 2010). Then, the analysis is again run, merging the individual profiles with the crime pattern by types, in order to originate explanatory responses that may help interpret them.

Finally, spatial data of the location's inhabitants consider to be the most insecure was taken from a population survey carried out during 2020. This was an online survey on perceptions of insecurity and victimization, where 485 valid responses were obtained (for a full analysis refer to Amante and Saraiva 2021). Only this specific question was used in the present research, with responses georeferenced using ArcGIS software and crossed with the above-explained profiles.

9.4 Case Study: City of Porto, Portugal

9.4.1 *Crime Patterns (2009–2018)*

On one hand, Portugal is seen as one of the safest countries in the world, standing in third place in the most recent Global Peace Index (IEP 2020) and with declining overall criminality of over 25% in the last decade (SSI 2021). On the other, Portugal is one of the European countries where the population is most concerned about crime (Tulumello 2018) and in 2016 had 451 police officers per 100.000 inhabitants, the seventh highest value for EU countries, following Cyprus, Malta, Greece, Croatia, Latvia and Italy, and against an EU average of 318 (Eurostat 2016). This duality has been addressed, since the new law of Internal Security (Law n° 53/2008 of August 29), with a greater articulation between the central administration and local powers, and an increasing focus on integrated proximity responses. The recent revision of the National Program for Territorial Planning Policies (Law n° 99/2019 of September 5) urges for the creation of mechanisms to address territorial inequalities, through multi-level and multidisciplinary integration of actors, and quantitative and qualitative diagnosis which explore the geography of vulnerabilities thus informing the spatialization of public policies. This is the more relevant as spatial crime research with support of Geographical Information Systems is still scarcely done in Portugal (Neves 2020; Saraiva et al. 2021).

A recent diagnosis of criminality at national level (Saraiva et al. 2021) locates the city of Porto in the highest profile, corresponding to municipalities with the greatest levels of reported crime per thousand inhabitants, particularly in terms of crimes against people (notably physical integrity), crimes against society and miscellaneous crimes (as narcotics traffic). Porto is the second city of the country, after Lisbon, with 41, 42 Km² of area divided over seven parishes, and 237.591 inhabitants in the 2011 population Census (INE 2012).

According to official data (Fig. 9.2), in the last decade the total number of crimes registered in Porto has been somewhat decreasing (from 17 to 15 thousand per year), although the number per thousand inhabitants has kept around 70. Decreases in the early 2010s contrasted with a new peak in 2015, that may to a certain extent be justified by the inclusion of two new crime categories in the Portuguese Penal Code (“against Cultural Identity” and “against Pets”). The greatest number of crimes occurs in the “against Property/Heritage” category (around 10 thousand per year), particularly auto-thefts, pickpocketing, robbery of buildings and swindles. Crimes “against Persons” are about 3 thousand a year, including against physical integrity, domestic violence, threat or coercion. Crimes “against Society” represent 2 thousand occurrences a year (as forgery, drunk driving or gun trafficking). The other crime categories correspond, comparatively, to residual values.

Figure 9.3 represents the reported crime kernel density estimation (50 m cell size), considering the entire ten-year period under analysis. It is clear that Weisburd’s Law of Crime Concentration is confirmed, with the highest concentration of crimes occurring in Porto’s downtown, particularly around the major square where the city hall is located (Aliados Avenue), the major pedestrian street (Santa Catarina Street) and the surrounding night-time district. However, other major concentrations are seen, as up north around the University Campus and the Hospital; and in other

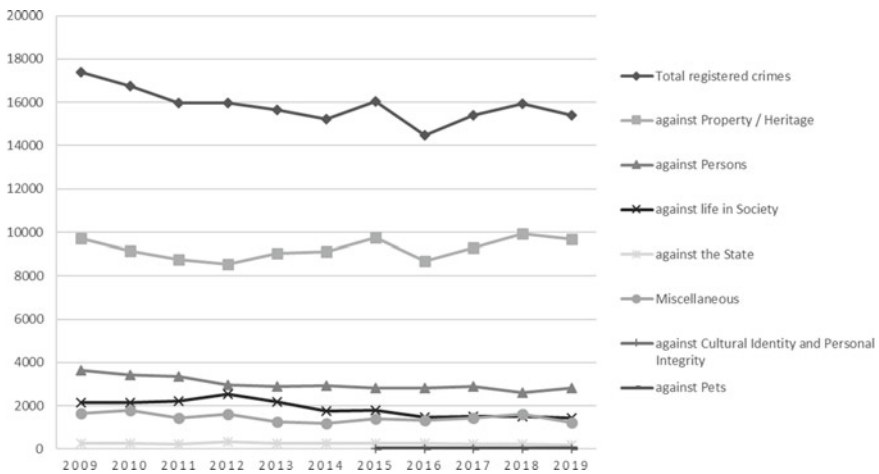


Fig. 9.2 Total registered crimes in Porto, and by crime categories, between 2009 and 2019. Source own; Original data source Direção-Geral da Política de Justiça)

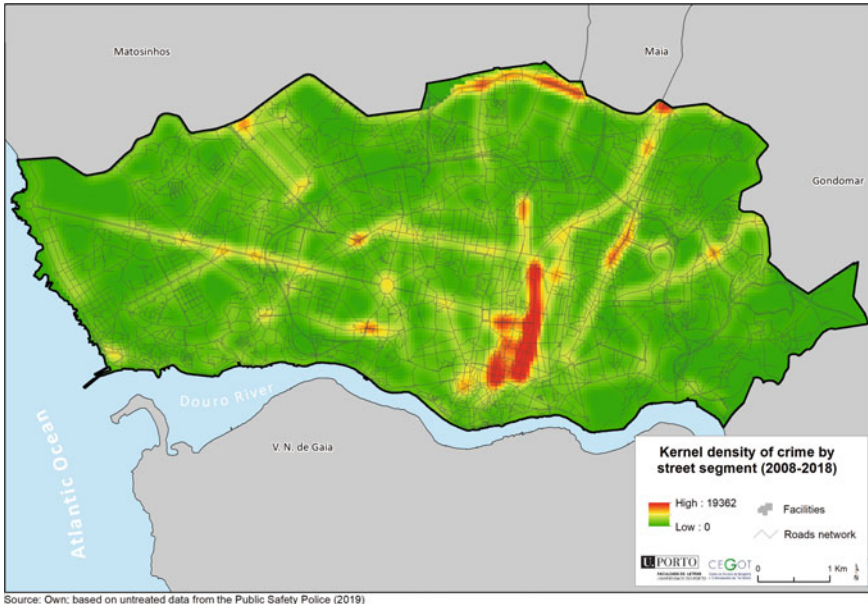


Fig. 9.3 Kernel density estimation, considering a 50 m cell size and crime at street segment, for all reported crimes between 2009 and 2018 in Porto (Source own; based on untreated data from the public safety police)

larger avenues or streets, as Campo Alegre Street or Boavista Avenue (west of the city centre), Fernão Magalhães Street or Costa Cabral Street (northeast of the city centre).

Emerging hotspot analysis, considering 1-year space–time cubes, allows an understanding of how overall crime patterns have spatially changed in the city. As it can be seen in Fig. 9.4, the downtown area is where the yearly crime data for the study period is not only largest, but more consistent. The area from the popular riverfront of Ribeira up to downtown constitutes the greatest consecutive hotspot of the city, and the downtown itself, around the main metro station in Trindade Square, is a persistent hotspot location. One block to the south, the square where the City Hall is located, as well as other locations immediately to the east have been signalled as an intensifying hotspot (meaning that the intensity of clustering of high counts in each year is increasing). The consecutive and sporadic hotspot area also moves westward towards the Boavista neighbourhood, where, further west, a pertinent new hotspot location is detected in the middle of Boavista Avenue. Also relevant is the location to the North, in the Hospital and University Campus area, which is both a persistent and a sporadic hotspot.

Persistent Cold spots are mostly seen away from the city centre, in the eastern edge of the city, as well as to the west (parishes of Foz do Douro and Aldoar) even though here some cold spots are diminishing. New cold spots are seen in the Monte

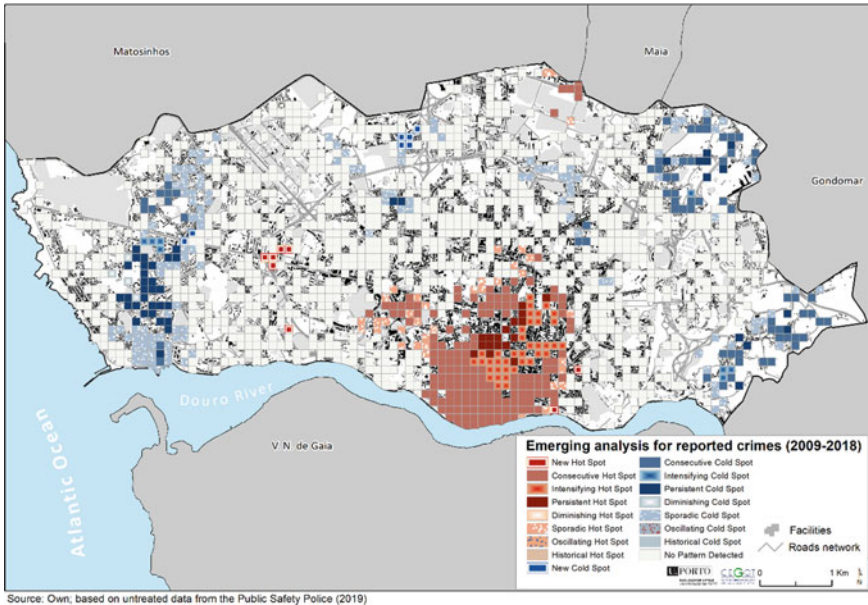
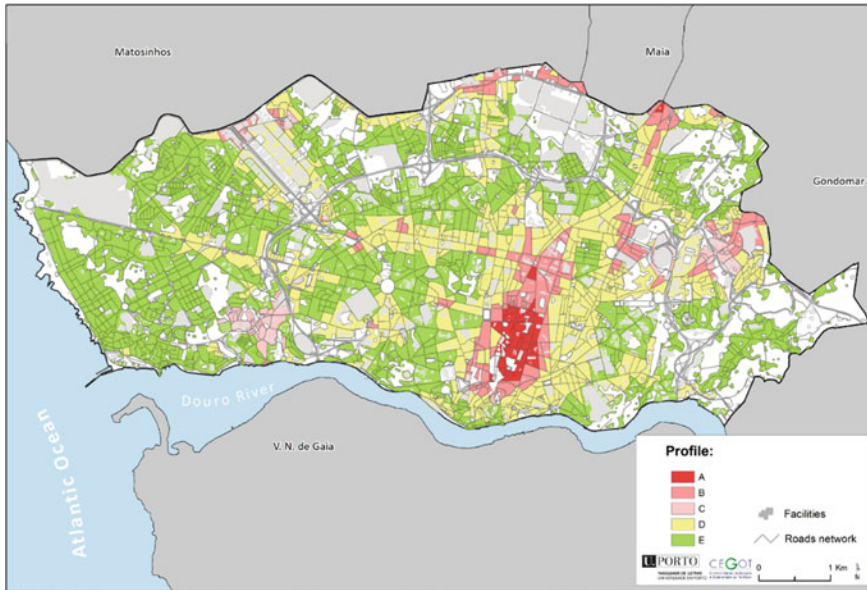


Fig. 9.4 Emerging hotspot analysis for all reported crimes between 2009 and 2018 in Porto (Source own; based on untreated data from the public safety police)

dos Burgos neighbourhood and sporadic cold spots around the Paranhos parish, north of the city centre.

Besides time, individual types of crime may also have different geographical distributions in the city. As per Fig. 9.2, crimes against Heritage/Property and Crimes against Persons account for 80% of the city’s reported crimes. The first largely follows a pattern similar to the overall trend, with less clear concentrations north and east of the city centre (generally corresponding to poorer areas of the city) and more clear concentrations on the west (richer areas of the city). The second, crimes against Persons, clusters in the downtown area, and along major avenues that stem from it. Noticeable concentrations are also seen in the University Campus/Hospital area, and in the Industrial area to the Northwest. Figure 9.5 displays the city’s geographical crime profiles at subsection level, obtained through the use of multiple correspondence analysis, considering the seven different patterns of each of the major categories in the Portuguese Penal Code, plus the total pattern displayed in Fig. 9.3.

The accompanying Table shows how each profile is characterized. The scale very-low to very-high represents the relative intensity of the density of crimes of a category in a given subsection in relation to the same category in other subsections. Profile A then represents subsections where the density of each type of crime, in relation to other subsections, is always high or very high. This is mostly in the downtown area of the city, as was to be expected. Profile B, in a ring around downtown and also in the previously identified concentrations of crime up north and northeast,



Source: INE (2011)

	A	B	C	D	E
against Property / Heritage	Very High	High	Medium	Medium	Very Low
against the State	Very High	High	Very High	Medium	Very Low
Miscellaneous	High	High	Very High	Medium	Very Low
against Persons	Very High	High	High	Medium	Very Low
against life in Society	High	Medium - High	Low	Low	Very Low
against Pets	Very High	Very High - High	Very High	High - Medium	Very Low
against Cultural Identity	Very High	High	Very Low	Low	Very Low
Total registered crimes	High	High - Medium	Medium	Low - Medium	Very Low

Fig. 9.5 Registered crime profiles, by statistical subsection, in Porto (2009–2018) (Source own; based on untreated data from the public safety police)

also displays high density of most categories of crimes, except in crimes against Society. Indeed, these are mostly concentrated in the city centre. Profile C appears in very specific locations, generally related to residential and social neighbourhoods. Here, most crimes are against Persons or State, with lower incidence of those against Property/Heritage, Society and Cultural Identity. Profile D is generally in a second ring around major concentrations and along other important avenues of the city, with a medium to low density of crimes. Following again the Law of Crime Concentration, it can be seen that over 54% of the city’s statistical subsections are under Profile E, with comparatively low density of registered crime across all categories.

9.4.2 Explanatory Profiles: Urban Morphology, Socio-economic, Centrality and Insecurity Patterns

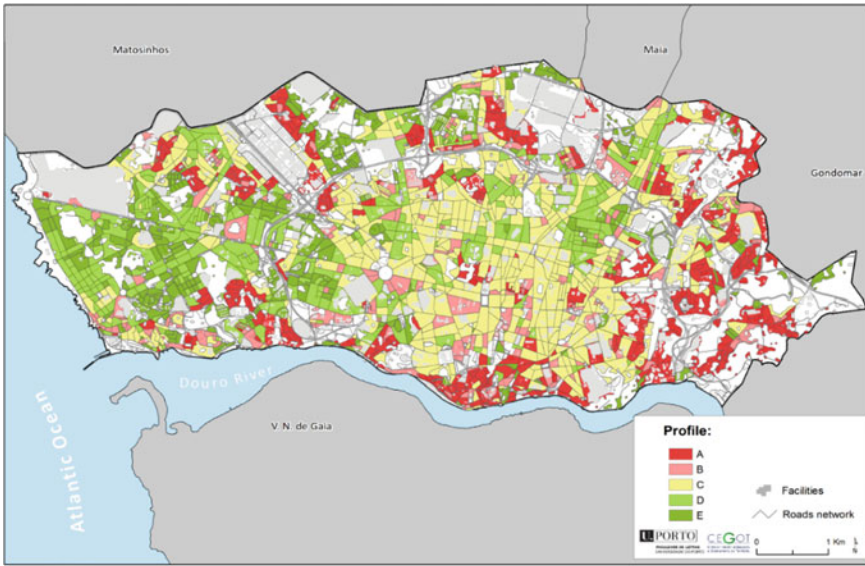
9.4.2.1 Socio-economic Profile

Figure 9.6 shows the city's socio-economic profile, through the combination of 17 indicators at statistical subsection using multiple correspondence analysis. Again, five profiles have been established. Profile A, which appears in the outer rim of the city, mostly to the south (the old city riverfront) and in the neighbourhoods to the east, has distinctive characteristics of inhabitants with low levels of education, unemployed, who do not own their own home and who live with relatively large families, and that travel mainly by public transport. Profile B, more sporadic and dispersed throughout the city, although often with close proximity to Profile A and in the downtown area, has many of the same characteristics of education and home ownership, but it is mainly dominated by older, retired population, who often live alone or just with another person, and have very poor mobility.

Profile C mostly dominates the central area of the city and is an intermediate profile, where the major distinction is a small family size. Otherwise, it is mostly evenly distributed, presenting a smaller tendency towards adults not unemployed, of medium- and low-level education, who mainly travel by public transport. Finally, Profiles D and E appear in close proximity in subsections to the north and especially to the west of the city, where they are most prevalent. They are mostly characterized by a younger population with higher education, either employed or students, who travel mainly by private transport and own their home. The differences are mainly in family size (those in Profile E correspond to larger families), age (Profile E has also more adults) and education (Profile D has more medium level education).

9.4.2.2 Urban Morphology Profile

Figure 9.7 displays the five profiles obtained through the combination of 20 indicator of Urban Morphology. There is a clear concentration of Profile A in the downtown area of the city. This corresponds to construction in height, alternating the oldest with the newest constructions in the city, symbolizing the renaissance Porto's downtown has witnessed in the past decade. For this has contributed non-residential uses related to retail and night-time economy and the large quantity of local accommodations (short-term rentals). Node density, i.e. the number of street intersections, is high, denoting a dense grid. Profile B is mostly present in the westward expansion of the city centre to the more modern hub of Boavista, also appearing to the North. This is characterized of 3–4-storey high buildings, mostly built during the twentieth century, where non-residential also dominate proportionally to residential activities, although various islands are found. An island is a specific type of neighbourhood characteristic of traditional Porto areas, originally created to house factory workers, comprised of



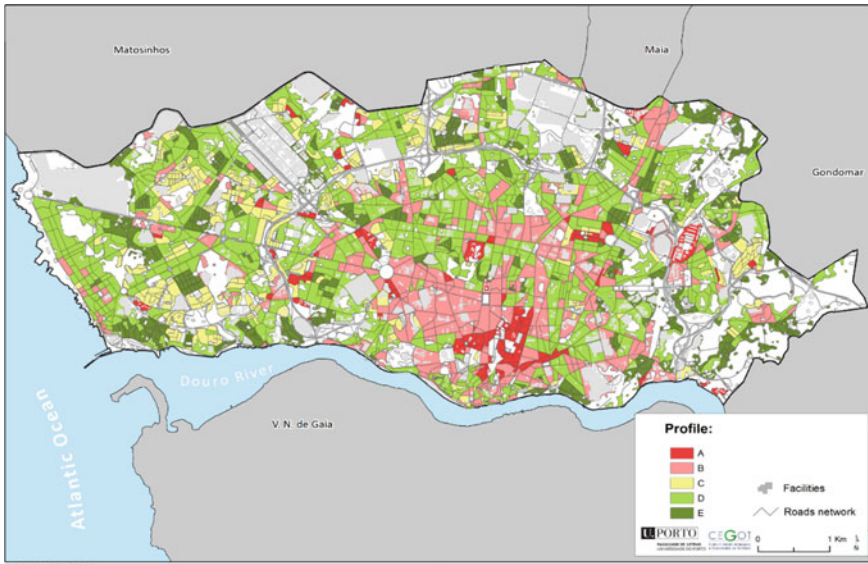
Source: INE (2011)

		A	B	C	D	E
Age structure	Young Population	Medium	Low	Low - Medium	High - Medium	Very High - High
	Adult Population	Medium	Low	Medium	Medium	High
	Older Population	Low	High	Low - Medium	Low	Very Low
Educational Stage	Low level education	Very High - High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low
	Medium level education	Low - Very Low	Low	Medium	High	
	High level education	Very Low	Very Low	Low - Medium	High	Very High - High
Employment	Employed	Low	Low - Very Low	Medium	High - Medium	High
	Unemployed	High - Medium	Very Low	Low - Medium	Low	Very Low
	Students	Low	Low - Very Low	Medium	High	Very High - High
Travel mode	Retired	Medium	High - Very High	Medium	Low	Very Low
	Mainly by car	Very Low - Low	Very Low	Low - Medium	High - Medium	Very High - High
	Mainly by public transport	High	Low	Medium	Low	Very Low
Family size	1/2 persons	Low	High	High	Medium	Very Low
	3/4 persons	Medium	Very Low	Low	Medium	Very High - High
	5 or more persons	Medium	Very Low	Low	Medium	High
Home ownership	Owner	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Very High
	Tenant	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low

Fig. 9.6 Socio-economic profiles, by statistical subsection, in Porto (Source own; Original data source INE, Census 2011)

a row of very small houses inside the backlots of the properties that face the street. In these locations, average link length is high, denoting longer streets.

Profile C is more sporadic, appearing in subsections at the outer rim of the city mostly characterized by construction in height, larger buildings of the last 50 years catered to residential use, including various social neighbourhoods. Profiles D and E are once again closer together spatially, predominantly to the west and north of the city centre. Both Profiles are characterized by low height, exclusively residential buildings. But whereas in Profile D this is mostly semi-detached or in row houses, of various ages in wider streets; in Profile E, these include also the single-family home neighbourhoods, with high ped-shed, prominently of mid-twentieth century, and which also include social housing.



		A	B	C	D	E
Building typologies	Detached	Very Low		Very Low	Low	Very High
	Semi-detached	Very Low	Very Low	Very Low	Medium	Very High
	In a row	Very Low	Low	Very Low	Medium - High	Very High
Building Age	<1919	Very High	Medium	Very Low	Medium - Low	Very Low
	1919-1945		Low	Very Low	Medium	Very High
	1946-1970	Very Low	Low - Medium	Very High	Low - Medium	Very High
	1971-1990	Very Low	Medium - Low	Very High	Low	Very Low
Building Height	1991-2011	Very High	Low	Very High	Low - Medium	Very Low
	1/2 floors	Very Low	Low	Very Low	High - Medium	Very High
	3/4 floors	High	High - Medium	Very High	Low	Very Low
Building use	5 or more floors	Very High	Medium - Low	Very High	Low	Very Low
	Exclusively residential	Very Low	Low - Medium	Very High	High	Very High
	Mostly non residential	Very High	High - Medium	Very Low	Low	Very Low
	Local Accommodation	Very High	High - Medium	Very Low	Low	Very Low
Social typology	Social neighborhood	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
	Islands*		Yes	Yes	No	No
Connectivity	Node Density	High	Low	Medium	Low	Very low / Very high
	Pedestrian Shed Ratio	Low	Low		Medium	High - Very High
	Average link length		High - Medium		High	Low

* an island is a specific type of neighbourhood characteristic of traditional Porto areas (originally created to house factory workers), comprised of a row of very small houses inside the backlots of the properties that face the street

Fig. 9.7 Urban morphology profiles, by statistical subsection, in Porto (Source own; Original data source INE, Census (2011); CMP (2018))

9.4.2.3 Centralities Profile

The centralities profile has been devised using the same methodology as the previous ones, with the creation of five individual Profiles (ranging from A to E), considering 14 indicators at subsection level, namely employment; the number of beds in hotels and local accommodations; users of social facilities; students of the various levels of education, as well as Erasmus; passengers at São Bento train station; visitors of culture and leisure facilities; visitors in the city’s main shopping centres; number of appointments in medical facilities and emergency rooms; number of beds in health

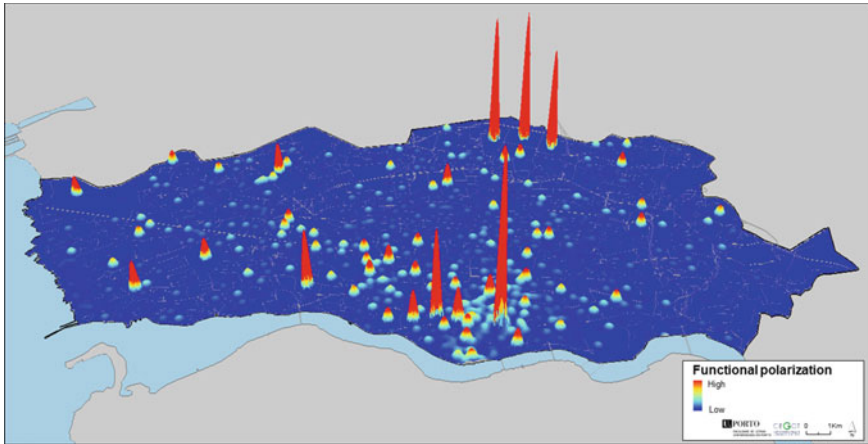


Fig. 9.8 Functional polarization (centralities), by statistical subsection, in Porto (*Source own; Original data source* Informa D&B (2017); Registo Nacional de Turismo (2017); GEP—Gabinete de Estratégia e Planeamento; MTSSS—Carta Social (2018), Ministério da Educação; DGEEC (2020); CP (2017); C.M.P (2016); Ministério da Saúde e Portal SNS (2020); FLUP-DG/CEGOT)

facilities; and number of medical specialties provided. Considering the wide and disparate number of indicators used, these have, for a clear perception of the functional polarities in the city, been translated into an overall schematic representation, as displayed in Fig. 9.8. Profile A corresponds to the greatest polarization, with evident concentration poles of economic activity, employment and education in the downtown area, up north in the University Campus and Hospital, and in the Boavista neighbourhood. The difference to the spikes of Profile B, covering most of the rest of the downtown and Boavista area, is evident, with the activity polarization diminishing as we move further away from the city centre to the residential areas to which the remaining profiles correspond. Occasional concentrations are mostly associated with industrial/commercial areas, business parks or other poles of the university.

9.4.2.4 Insecurity Hotspots

The 485 respondents of the population survey were asked to identify one or more areas that, in their perception, were the most unsafe in the city. This means that the answers, for the most part, identify areas in a general sense and do not specifically pinpoint precise locations as “street corners”. A total of 712 answers were obtained, meaning that in average each respondent identified 1.5 locations. Figure 9.9 plots these locations; the larger the circle, the greater number of times the location was referenced by the respondents.

Overall, the locations most signalled as unsafe correspond to social neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods of Cerco (eastern edge of the city), Aleixo and Pasteleira (southwest of the city) were the three most pinpointed locations by the respondents.

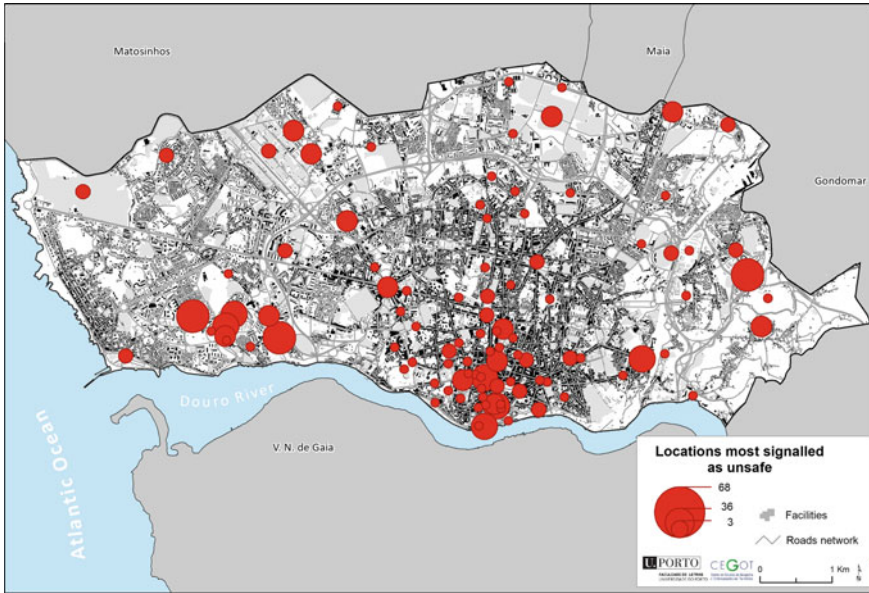


Fig. 9.9 Locations most signalled as unsafe in the city of Porto, according to a 2020 online survey (Source own)

Many other residential or social neighbourhoods (as Pinheiro Torres, Pasteleira Nova, Viso, Lagarteiro, Ramalde and Francos) are in the top 20 of the most answered locations, and the general response of “Social Neighbourhoods” was also frequently seen.

After social neighbourhoods, answers were mostly associated with a specific location, namely the downtown area, a pole of commerce, services, tourism and nightlife (including the Ribeira, Sé, Cordoaria, Aliados and Trindade locations). Other signalled locations were the Boavista roundabout, other poles of student concentration (particularly the University Campus in the North edge of the city), the parish of Lordelo (west of the city centre), and in and around transit stations (notably Campanhã, east of the city centre). Clearly, for the respondents, insecurity hotspots of the city are mainly concentrated in the southern part.

9.5 Overall Results

An additional run of a multiple correspondence analysis was performed, combining the four profiles in Figs. 9.5, 9.6, 9.7 and 9.8. The tool was run considering the Registered Crime Profile (Fig. 9.5) as the main entity, with the Socio-economic Profile (Fig. 9.6), the Urban Morphology Profile (Fig. 9.7) and the Centrality Profile (Fig. 9.8) as passive entities. Results are displayed in Fig. 9.10, which shows, for

each Registered Crime Profile, what are the dominant profiles that appear in each of the other segments of analysis. Of the 15 explanatory profiles, only Profile A of Centralities does not appear in the figure. These are such intense concentration in so few subsections that they are not able to form a pattern with the other indicators. Lastly, a crossing with the places signalled as most insecure in the city is also presented in the last line.

What Fig. 9.10 means is that, statistically speaking, specific crime patterns of the city correspond to specific characteristics of the urban environment. The greatest hotspot of crime in the city, Profile A, corresponds mostly to downtown subsections, and so with the identifiable characteristics of morphological profile A, in terms of a dense grid composed of relatively high buildings where retail, services, night-time economy and temporary accommodations thrive. Hence, this is one of the most polarizing points of the city, where the still remaining inhabitants are vulnerable, generally with low-level education, home renters and who travel by public transport

Registered Crime Profile (Figure 5)	A Very high crime rate	B High crime rate, except against Society	C High crime rate against Persons and State	D Medium/low crime rate	E Low crime rate
Socio-economic Profile (Figure 6)	A / B <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low level of education • Tenants • Low use of private transport • Unemployed or retired 	B / C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Medium/low level of education • Low use of private transport • Retired or employed • Small family size 	A <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low level of education • Tenants • Unemployed • Large households 	C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small family size • Miscellaneous ; Small tendency towards working adults, medium/ low level education; public transport use 	D / E <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher level of education • Home owners • Use private transport • Younger persons • Employed or students
Urban Morphology Profile (Figure 7)	A <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dense grid • Relatively high buildings • Non-residential activities (retail, services, tourism) 	B <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Longer streets • Built mid-20th Century • 3-4 floors high • High proportion of non-residential activities 	C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential and social neighborhoods • Built in the last 50 years • Higher number of floors 	B / D <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Longer avenues • Medium to low height buildings • Combines residential use and non-residential use 	E <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High ped-shed • Built mid-20th Century • Low-rise • Residential use • Single-family, semi-detached or row houses
Centrality Profile (Figure 8)	B / C Medium-high polarization	B High polarization	E Low polarization	C / D Medium-low polarization	E Low polarization
Insecurity Hotspots (Figure 9)	11% of responses in 8 locations	12% of responses in 16 locations	17% of responses in 5 locations	23% of responses in 33 locations	37% of responses in 39 locations

Fig. 9.10 Crossing of registered crime profiles with socio-economic, urban morphology, centrality and insecurity profiles

or have poor mobility patterns. They can also be either unemployed (living with large families) or retired (living alone or with another person). Although “the downtown” is signalled by many respondents as unsafe, overall only 11% of responses have signalled areas inside this Profile. There is a feeling of unsafety related to the nightlife but overall, being a widely used area both during the day and the night, might inspire a sense of security which does not match with crime statistics.

Crime Profile B, around downtown and to the north of the city, with high density of registered crimes (except against Society), has a strong affinity to profiles B of urban morphology and centrality. This means that these are areas of high polarization in the city; longer street from the mid-twentieth century, with buildings 3–4 floors high characterized by residential but also noticeably non-residential activities. Here, there is a slighter tendency towards adults not unemployed or retired persons, with medium- or low-level education, either living alone or belonging to small households, who travel by public transport or have poor mobility. Again, respondents signal many insecure areas within this profile, but overall they account for just 12% of the total answers.

Crime Profile C corresponds mostly to crimes against Persons or the State and occurs in low polarization areas (centrality Profile E) in the outer rim of the city, often corresponding to residential and social neighbourhoods (morphological Profile C), composed of larger, higher buildings built in the last 50 years. Here, the most prevalent socio-economic profile is A. People living in these areas are unemployed, tenants, have low education levels and belong to large households. This profile includes the most signalled insecure location in the city, the Aleixo social neighbourhood, but only four more locations (to the total amount of 17% of responses) fall into this category: two more residential neighbourhoods, a downtown location and around the major football stadium of the city.

Crime Profile D, corresponding to medium and high density of crimes, is in areas of medium–low polarization, along longer avenues, mostly on a second ring around the centre. This is an area with medium to low height buildings, alternating residential use (semi-detached, row or islands), with non-residential use. There is a stronger affinity to Socio-economic Profile C, i.e. there is a variety of persons living in these areas, although small family size is transversal, with a small tendency towards adults not unemployed, of medium- and low-level education, who mainly travel by public transport. Conversely, over 30 different insecure locations have been signalled within this profile (to the total of 23% of responses), including the Cerco Neighbourhood, an extensive number of locations in the old riverfront downtown area (Ribeira), southeast of the city centre, the industrial area and various streets.

Finally, Profile E is characterized by low crime rates across all categories, and also a clear tendency towards the last profiles of the other groups of indicators. These are low polarizing areas, particularly of low-rise, older, residential buildings, including single-family, semi-detached or row houses, with high pedestrian shed. In these location live younger persons with more education, either working or studying, who travel mainly by private transport and own their home. However, this is the area, also due to its spatial dominance in the city, that possesses most locations respondents signalled as unsafe (39 locations and almost 40% of responses). Many residential

neighbourhoods that were signalled fit into this profile, as well as most locations west of the city centre and in the north of the city. Meaning that crime statistics do not necessarily fit into people's sense of safety.

9.6 Discussion and Conclusions: The Modelling Approach and Decision Support

Recent research calls for more holistic approaches to understand and foresee insecurity patterns, in order to embed planning for urban safety and quality of life into wider integrated urban development and sustainability strategies, such as regeneration, cohesion and inclusion policies (PSPS 2021). The profiles identified in this research confirm the postulates of Environmental Criminology and the Criminology of Place literature, in the sense that indeed there are variations in the typology of crime patterns at micro-geographical levels, and these levels also possess different social, morphological and land-use characteristics that need to be understood in order to properly propose preventive measures.

In Porto, crimes against Property/Heritage and against Persons are more common (together account for 80% of registries), but their patterns differ, even if overall there is a geographical tendency to concentrate in the same locations, which confirms The Law of Crime Concentration (Weisburd 2015). This is mainly the downtown area of the city (Crime Profile A). As well, the locations with the least crime rates are also transversally common to all crime categories (Crime Profiles D and E). The intermediate profiles B and C, also allocated to specific geographical locations, display particular crime rate tendencies, with the first showing that crimes against Society are mostly concentrated in the downtown area, and the second, strongly associated to certain residential and social neighbourhoods, display an over tendency for crimes against Person, the State and miscellaneous. Indeed, in terms of centrality, morphology and socio-economic profiles, these areas are also different. Following the most recent literature, the understanding of the spatial patterns of elements of attraction and polarization are “key” to interpret crime at street segments (Weisburd et al. 2021), registered crime mapping is “helpful” for crime control and prevention (LeBeau and Leitner 2011), and crime profiling through a combination of geospatial and statistical analysis is a “proactive method” (Bunting et al. 2018).

However, although this is the first time, as far as the authors are aware, that such crime cartography has been produced for the city of Porto, considerations need to be made. The crime dataset used, even though considering an extensive ten-year period which minimizes the risk of time-specific aberrant patterns (Melo et al. 2017), is first biased by the reporting of crime itself, and second only available at street level, because lower level information was not supplied by the police. On one hand, this denotes that the intelligence-led partnerships between police and universities still need to improve in terms of trust and in terms of understanding the potentialities

of working together. On the other, this means that the estimations made at subsection level, and the subsequent comparison with other indicators, can give important insights as to the organics of the city, and as to the locations and the spatial, morphological and socio-economic factors associated with crime patterns, but they are not suitable for the development of micro-specific measures of urban design such as those proposed by CPTED. This research method is able to identify neighbourhood and city blocks that need suitable intervention, but it is not able to immediately identify the “street corner” that can be the cause of insecurity. Following the discussion of Solymosi et al. (2015), conclusions drawn about the spatial distribution of crime patterns are necessarily affected by the level of geography used and how the spatial crime information has been supplied. Furthermore, as Bannister et al. (2019) notes, caution must be taken in inferring spatial co-existence of different profiles, as correlation does not necessarily imply dynamic causalities.

Even so, the multiple correspondence analysis has been assertive in associating profiles between indicators, showing that there are at least important clues that need to be followed. This is the more relevant as, as discussed by Bunting et al. (2018, pg. 35), increased economic disadvantage “might increase neighbourhood crime because it reduces the extent to which neighbours can engage intra- and extracommunity resources such as law enforcement, political entities and social organizations to intervene to reduce community crime and disorder”. In Porto, higher profiles of crime rates (A, B and C) are generally associated with locations with denser grids and longer streets with higher buildings which have both residential and non-residential activities. But they are also largely associated to vulnerable population, which is somewhat in line with social disorganization theories, where economic disadvantage and racial heterogeneity are used to explain higher rates.

There is, however, another important point to consider that leads in a different direction. The amount of locations perceived as insecure by a sample of citizens who live or work in the city seems to display an opposite pattern to the crime rate profiles; i.e. locations with lower crime rates possess large quantities of places that generate insecurity. To some extent, this is explained by the numbers themselves. Crime Profile E, with the lowest crime rates, occupies more than half of the city, so it can be a natural consequence that more locations are signalled therein. Nonetheless, this also points to the well-perceived notion that the sense of safety does not stem from statistics. It is something that each individual feels concerning their own personal—or media-influenced—perspective. These results show that social neighbourhood locations of the city, mainly perceived as insecure, do not possess significant crime rates as compared to other areas, as the downtown. The notion of collective efficacy, social networks and informal social control, which have been added to crime modelling research in recent years (Bunting et al. 2018, 2021; Weisburd et al. 2020) and should be added to the present research in the near future, can help explain these apparent discrepancies, not only within the neighbourhoods, but how outsiders view the neighbourhoods themselves.

All these challenges in approaching the urban realm through the application of geospatial technologies and the multidimensionality of crime modelling, need to be taken into account when translating what is overtly a spatial diagnosis into

concrete action plans and targeted policies (PSPS 2021). It is important to distinguish public spaces on their spatial but also contextual factors, so that the work is targeted towards modifying conditions, pinpointing the specific necessities of specific locations. Multidisciplinary work is important because various stages are needed from the diagnosis (which is in itself a multidisciplinary task, as this research has shown) to the implementation of solutions. The first is a mandatory first step towards the success of the second. For doing so, spatiality and sociality need to come hand in hand—the smart aggregation of data, as Hunt et al. (2011) put it—as the way inhabitants see their own neighbourhoods, the way others see them and the reality of the (reported) crime rates, often seem to contrast. Only by having a holistic, multidisciplinary and place-based view of the organics of cities and neighbourhoods can important decision-support tools be devised that lead towards inclusion, sustainability and safer cities.

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Chapter 10

Incivilities in Public Spaces and Insecurity. A Case Study in Bologna, Italy



Gian Guido Nobili

Abstract The main question for this study on urban aesthetic and fear of crime is how connections between incivilities in public spaces and the public authorities' engagement in problem solving affect conditions for urban security. The focus is on the city center of Bologna, an Italian metropolis, where the incidence of social and physical incivilities is almost high as the feeling of insecurity expressed by residents. The quantitative research carried on in this study is based on an innovative Geographical Information Systems used to assess and monitor the level of local disorder and incivilities. The information gathered were combined with the analysis of the perception of safety on 600 residents of the city's center interviewed by phone through the system Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) system. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first provides an overview of the conditions of urban decay and fear of crime in the city center of Bologna. In particular, it focuses on how social and spatial conditions play a fundamental role in the intensification of insecurity in some parts of the city center. It highlights the importance of incivilities—physical and social—as causal factors in understanding the complexity and range of fear of crime. The final section explores how interactions between identifying, collecting and analyzing significant data on incivilities offer suitable opportunities for local authorities to get involved at an early stage and to put adequate crime and incivilities prevention policies into action.

Keywords Incivilities · Fear of crime · Public space · Local authorities · Prevention

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10.1 Introduction

According to a famous thesis, first elaborated by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling in 1982 social and physical disorder in urban neighborhoods can, if unchecked, lead to serious crime. However, the relation between incivilities and crime remains weak, whether or not crime is measured by official statistics or victimization rates (Matthews 1992; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999; Harcourt 2001; Taylor 2001).

The lack of a strong correlation between crime and incivilities has led the researchers to turn to the potentially more fertile area of the impact of the diffusion of incivilities on the fear of crime (Maxfield 1987; Taylor 1999; Chiesi 2004; Hinkle 2015; Peršak and Di Ronco 2018).

Understanding physical and social disorder in public spaces is fundamental to understanding urban neighborhoods and the residents' fear of crime. Visual signs of urban decay communicate messages about the neighborhoods they affect. Over time, the feeling of insecurity brought about by signs of incivility may create serious and grave consequences to local communities. In fact, it may cause residents to withdraw from public spaces, limit community interaction or cooperation and discourage them from protecting themselves and their neighborhoods (Skogan 1990; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999). Urban decay may motivate residents to move out of their neighborhood, thereby increasing residential instability (Skogan and Maxfield 1981). Moreover, the extent of disorder reflects the degree of residents' effectiveness in improving their neighborhoods and may affect their willingness to sustain their activism (Millie 2008).

Urban decay is therefore connected with fear of crime. What the literature defines as "incivilities" in public spaces (Matthews 1992; Taylor 1999; Sampson and Raudenbush 2004; Lemieux 2005) may in fact be a more useful factor than crime for understanding certain troubling urban processes. That is because disorder can be easily observed, while crime, by contrast, tends to be largely underestimated. In this perspective, perceived signs of disorder have been associated with different aspects of fear of crime (Wyant 2008; Hinkle 2015).

In general, a single sign of incivility is rarely believed as being a serious and deplorable phenomenon, especially if compared to outright illegal and violent behavior. The decisive element is if these actions become frequent or common (Roché 2002). In other words, it is not the isolated phenomenon of urban disorder that disturbs residents, but the accumulation of uncivil acts in public spaces that is deplored. One of the elements that greatly unsettles and disturbs citizens is the impossibility of identifying the individual who creates unacceptable situations (and therefore, the fact that he/she cannot be punished), especially in those cases involving vandalism.

Commonly the terms "incivility" and "urban decay" signify those behaviors or phenomena that, though not falling under the category of actual crimes, create nonetheless, on behalf of the citizens, a safety issue.

In particular, the term "incivilities" is referred to a series of behaviors that are more or less deliberately hostile and aggressive toward the environment. Such acts, as we have already stated, usually are not subject to legal punishment. But if they become

constant over the course of time, they strongly contribute to an increase in feelings of urban insecurity and uneasiness, seeing that the majority of citizens perceives them as signs of institutional absence and as an offense to the commonly accepted rules governing behavior (Barbagli 1999; Milburn 2000; Roché 2002; Chiesi 2004; eCrime 2016; Peršak and Di Ronco 2018).

Numerous studies have in fact demonstrated that the fear of crime appears correlated more to a presence of these phenomena than to the actual experience of victimization (Hope and Hough 1988; Young 1999; Duprez and Mucchielli 2000; Zani 2003; Millie 2008; Innes 2014).

Phenomena relating to a physical dimension of the area in question (such as abandoned buildings, trash that is scattered on the ground, lack of proper street lighting, etc.) and those pertaining to social aspects (such as “extraneous presences”—prostitutes, drug addicts or illegal nomads) fall under this definition of “incivility and urban decay.”

The first dimension refers to actions of incivility carried out against public or private property. The second refers to the presence of certain categories that are potentially dangerous and bothersome or events that reveal conflictual relationships and therefore give rise to fear of crime and anxiety on the part of the residents. Such persons are believed to be extraneous to communal public space and dangerous in so far as their actions are unpredictable, and they are capable of even committing crimes.

Also included in the phenomena of “urban decay” are aspects of the street network (potholes, non-functioning sewers) or tied to the traffic (unauthorized parking, abandoned vehicles) that, along with the preceding, give an impression to the citizens that they have been abandoned by the public administration or, worse still, that the administration is uninformed or, at least, distracted with regard to these problems (Taylor et al. 1985). Physical decay can be either active and deliberate (such as damage to public telephone booths) or passive and unintentional (such as negligence in public parks or building).

While the thesis that disorder is an essential cause of predatory crime has not been definitively proved by evidence, its correlation with fear of crime was underlined in a recent survey promoted by the Municipality of Bologna using the Computer-Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) methodology.

The Municipality of Bologna was interested in comparing the methods used, with a view to systematizing them and to ensure comparability. The survey has investigated the most relevant indicators of urban decay, which were identified together with a wide number of local actors who were involved in the implementation survey. Disorder was measured both by direct observation and through the subjective perceptions of neighborhood residents.

Checklists of selected indicators were designed and recorded by an innovative Geographical Information Systems which were used to assess and monitor the level of local disorder and incivilities, and a group of selected observers were trained to record evidence of urban decay, such as the condition of buildings and street furniture, the presence of abandoned vehicles, graffiti, rubbish and syringes, within a predefined area.

This research questioned the direct and indirect impacts of measures of neighborhood incivilities on individuals' fear of crime. The fear of crime refers to the fear of being a victim of crime as opposed to the actual probability of being a victim of crime. The study distinguishes between fear (an emotion, a feeling of alarm caused by an awareness or expectation of danger) and some broader anxiety (concern about crime). Concern about crime includes public assessments of the size of the crime problem, by contrast, the cognitive side of fear of crime includes public perceptions of the likelihood of falling victim and public estimations of the seriousness of the consequences of crime (Lagrange and Zauberman 1991; Lagrange and Roché 1993; Gray et al. 2008).

The definition of comparable qualitative and quantitative parameters allowed the local administration to evaluate urban decay and to cross-reference data with those on citizens' fear of crime in the urban areas surveyed, exploring correlations between the two phenomena and between these and actual experiences of victimization.

10.2 Bologna's Historical Center and Its Conditions of Feeling of Insecurity

Bologna is mainly a service-economy city inserted in a social–economical framework that is characterized by a high quality of life and a low percentage of unemployment (3.3%).

A certain scarcity in the birth rate is transforming the city into an area inhabited, for the most part, by the elderly. The resident citizens of Bologna are currently about 394,000—a sharp drop from the 490,000 registered in 1971, the year in which Bologna reached its all-time high in population.

Bologna's center does not consist in a single neighborhood, but in order to avoid an excessive marginalization of the suburbs, it was divided among the four neighborhoods of Santo Stefano, San Vitale, Porto and Saragozza, which extend themselves both inside and outside of the ancient medieval city walls.

In the historical center, the residents are about 50,000 and an estimated 15,000 non-residents are believed to also live here. These are mostly university students and workers.

The youngest age group and those with the highest level of education presently reside in the center. The variety in the social composition and the numerous nationalities present make the center one of the areas of the city where the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic presence is most consistent.

Despite a decrease in employees in economic activities, the city's center still maintains a strong economical–functional role, and everyday, approximately 70,000 individuals come here to work.

Bologna's center maintains a rather wide range of activities: public and financial management/directing, agencies, small businesses and artisan work, secondary-school education, culture, tourism and services for industries. Moreover, starting

especially from the 1980s what is emerging is a new service sector with a very high entrepreneur density and an elevated intellectual/innovative profile, which is prevalently characterized by the fabrication of immaterial goods and with a reduced request of private mobility.

The role of Bologna's historical center in the "city system" is, therefore, that of a qualified institutional, cultural, commercial and service center, integrated in a neighborhood that has historically been considered residential.

The weight of mobility is by now excessive and involves the entire urban area. The historical center, which has a network of streets designed back in the Middle Ages, is not at all suited to the intensity of present-day traffic. And, it is this intensity which is the major cause of both air and noise pollution. In addition to automobiles, there is the increasing use of mopeds, with negative effects not only on the environment, but also with regard to the safety on the streets, caused by improper and illegal driving habits even in areas set aside for pedestrians and under the porticoes of the city center.¹ Even the quota of commercial traffic in the historical center is quite high and represents almost one-fourth of the overall traffic. It is estimated that about 800 vehicles, including vans, trucks, etc., enter the historical center various times over the course of a single day to carry out almost 5000 deliveries.

The growing commuter mobility, which mainly takes place for work or study, but also for the acquisition of consumer goods, has created an expansion of the urban systems and of the secondary municipalities outside Bologna, which are experiencing an increase in population. In this way, "city-users" have grown in number, who come and go from the city in search of services and consumer products with the consequence including the fact that those who make use of the city are persons who are not responsible for looking after it.

With regard to urban security in the historical center of Bologna, it is essential to distinguish between the problems that arise from criminal activities (which are also present) and those that instead derive from social marginalization or the growth of a diffused micro-conflict (often of a personal kind) connected to the difficult relationship that exists among the various "populations" (business owners, residents, students, the homeless, young alternatives) who live in, use and frequent the city center.

The attention and problems in particular for the historical center are focused on phenomena that we may consider as being characterized by a pronounced social marginalization (living on the streets, begging and alcoholism), but also by the use and, above all, sale of drugs and by "irregular" situations, like unauthorized street vending.

¹ Bologna is the city with the greatest number of porticoes in the world. There are 55 km of porticoes (38 km in the historical center alone). This is an area that is paved and is located between the street and the buildings and which, in the past, was the privileged site for artisan shops (which took refuge from bad weather and mud) and for the sale of artisan goods. Starting from the thirteenth century, the porticoes became the architectural framework of the ancient city center, but they are also present in many modern-day additions.

From a study regarding safety conducted in 2018 (Centro Demoscopico Metropolitano), it could already be noted how the information pertaining to disturbance factors demonstrated a noteworthy variability between the city center and the suburbs. In 2018 “filth” was indicated as a problem by 1 out of 4 persons interviewed—residents in the city center—and by a rather limited percentage among those individuals residing in the suburbs (6%). Also, the presence of drug addicts was much more pronounced in the city center, while it was practically absent in the suburbs (18% and 2%, respectively).

The comments that follow regard the study done on the state and level of safety in Bologna’s historical center for the year 2019. The analysis of the perception of safety refers to a survey conducted, in September 2019, on 600 residents of the city’s center who were asked to answer a questionnaire consisting of approximately 40 questions.²

The following are the themes studied by means of the questionnaire³:

1. Problems that residents fear the most and social alarm;
2. Experience of victimization;
3. Self-defense behaviors and practices;
4. Causes of urban disorder in area of residence.

The first theme examined aims at estimating to what degree urban security is perceived as a social preoccupation. By means of the questions proposed during the interviews, what was attempted was to shed light on the residents’ concern about crime—or rather, the feeling of insecurity that may manifest itself independently of the perception of a concrete and real possibility of becoming a victim of some crime (Lagrange and Roché 1993; Hale 1996; Gray et al. 2008).

² This study was conducted by Metropolitan Research Institute and was carried out by means of telephone interviews based on the Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) system. The persons interviewed reflect the entire population of the historical center and were selected on the basis of four variables: age, gender, level of education and area of residence (University area and rest of the city center). Thanks to this survey, what was attempted was not only to outline a preliminary and comprehensive representation of the perception of social alarm on the part of the city center residents, but also to articulate this according to social categories and area of residence.

³ These themes were not inserted and presented in the questionnaire in the order listed above. Rather, what was followed was a criterion based on functionality in communicating with the participants and the search for truthful and sincere opinions so as to avoid having certain themes and answers potentially influence subsequent responses. The persons who participated in the interviews were randomly chosen according to age and gender. The telephone numbers of the participants were randomly selected from the public telephone book. Three hundred interviews were conducted for each area, for quotas of gender and age that are proportional to the actual quotas of the residents that resulted in the 2018 census. The data relating to the entire city center are given by the average of the data from both areas, which was placed in relation to the actual demographic increase (in the rest of the city center there are 33,076 residents, while in the University-via Indipendenza area, there are 15,425 residents. The overall data took into account this demographic unbalance by weighing by $0.318 = 15,425 / (15,425 + 33,076)$ the University-via Indipendenza data and by $0.682 = 33,076 / (15,425 + 33,076)$ the data from the rest of the city center).

Street crime is indicated as the greatest preoccupation of the residents: 32.3% of those interviewed placed this among the top three problems that cause the most apprehension. The other four problems that follow are (in order): pollution (20.7%), the threat of war (20.1%), unemployment (16.2%) and international terrorism (11.7%).

If we then consider the individuals who indicate street crime as one of the three main problems and we take this data and break it down according to age group, we note that the adult category (35–54 years old) and the elderly category (55 and over) seem to manifest a greater feeling of insecurity. The percentages are 35.9% and 37%, respectively. Street crime is listed in second place for the youth category (18–34 years old) at 20.9%. Instead, 24.8% of these young persons is more concerned about pollution.

With regard to gender, the women seem slightly more concerned about crime (33.5% of the total women interviewed) than the men (31% of the total men interviewed). If we examine the level of education (considered as an indirect indicator of the social-economic status), the individuals who possess a lower level of education—or rather, those persons who are less socially and economically advantaged (40.1% vs. 27.3% of participants who have a university degree)—seem more alarmed (Table 10.1).

The widespread feeling of insecurity of those who reside in Bologna's University area is confirmed with reference to the analysis of the responses to the question pertaining to the differences, regarding the problem of crime, between their area of residence and the other areas of the city.

In the entire historical center, 33.6% of the residents sustains that in their respective area the problem of crime is less serious than in other areas of the city. Of this opinion are especially the men (37.8%) and the younger participants (38.8%). 22.9% are not of this opinion, while the relative majority (40.4%) considers the problem of crime in their respective area as being just as serious as in the other areas of the city.

However, it is in the University area that the balance is broken: only 22.7% believes that there is less danger in this area than in the others. The majority of these residents interviewed (37.9%) considers this area as being more dangerous than the other areas of the city. In this case, the difference in gender appears faint, while the adult category (44.8%) and those with a higher level of education (45.1%) seem more worried with the level of crime in their area of residence (Table 10.2).

A group of questions included in the questionnaire were aimed at estimating (in the limits of what was possible for a relatively small number of interviews) the "rate of victimization"—or rather, the percentage of residents who declared that they had been victims of some crime in the twelve months prior to the interview.

The quota of participants who had been victims of some kind of crime is 18.3%. It is worth repeating that this information must be interpreted with extreme caution seeing the number, fortunately limited, of those residents who experienced victimization.

The majority of crimes consists (in both areas) of theft (11.5%). Next, with a big difference in percentage, follow car damage or other forms of auto vandalism (2.8%).

Women (15.1%) are more frequently victims of theft (7.1% for men). Men (3.7%) tend to be victims of car vandalism (2% for women). The age group that is the most

Table 10.1 Generally speaking, what are the three main problems that currently worry you? (three responses possible)

	Area of residence			Gender		Age			Level of education		
	Total	Univ. area	Rest center	M	F	18/34	35/54	55 >	High	Med.	Low
	Street crime	32.3	26.7	35.0	31.0	33.5	20.9	35.9	37.0	27.3	33.2
Organized crime	4.1	4.3	4.0	5.8	2.7	4.7	4.2	3.7	4.9	4.1	2.5
Threat of war	20.1	20.3	20.0	19.3	20.8	21.0	21.4	18.3	19.7	20.2	20.2
Inequality between rich country and underdeveloped country	11.0	12.3	10.3	11.5	10.5	17.5	13.2	4.5	16.1	10.4	1.3
Disease/bad health	9.3	11.3	8.3	5.7	12.3	7.9	5.7	13.4	7.1	8.0	17.3
Unemployment	16.2	17.3	15.7	18.6	14.1	22.1	19.9	8.9	20.1	16.2	8.4
Housing	1.4	1.7	1.3	1.9	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.6	0.7	3.2
Cost of living	9.3	12.7	7.7	10.8	8.0	3.7	11.1	11.4	6.1	9.5	15.3
Pollution	20.7	16.3	22.7	19.4	21.7	24.8	22.9	15.8	28.0	18.4	11.2
Traffic	7.5	5.0	8.7	9.0	6.3	5.1	10.4	6.6	5.8	8.9	7.2
Drugs (drug pushing and drug addiction)	6.3	4.7	7.0	3.6	8.5	11.3	4.5	4.4	4.6	7.7	5.8
Family problem	2.7	1.3	3.3	1.0	4.2	4.2	2.6	1.7	1.9	3.1	3.3
Immigration	5.7	6.3	5.3	6.6	4.9	4.2	5.7	6.6	6.2	5.4	5.1
Other	16.1	23.3	12.7	17.6	14.8	16.7	17.6	14.2	21.8	13.9	10.2
Inland Terrorism	2.2	2.7	2.0	1.9	2.4	2.5	2.3	1.9	1.9	2.6	1.9
International Terrorism	11.7	9.0	13.0	12.6	11.0	13.4	13.9	8.6	12.8	12.6	7.1
Indifference. cynicism	6.7	8.3	6.0	6.4	7.0	9.7	5.7	5.6	7.6	6.9	4.6
Deterioration of moral values	9.3	9.3	9.3	9.7	9.0	15.1	5.5	8.8	9.9	10.5	5.2
I don't know	4.8	3.7	5.3	5.6	4.1	4.7	3.9	5.7	1.9	6.5	6.4
No response	0.7	1.3	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.4	1.3	0.3	1.2	0.5	

Table 10.2 Compared to the other areas in your city, the problem of crime in the area in which you reside in your opinion is

	Area of residence			Gender		Age			Level of education		
	Total	Univ. area	Rest center	M	F	18/34	35/54	55 >	High	Med.	Low
More serious	22.9	37.7	16.0	20.4	25.0	22.6	26.9	19.5	24.6	22.6	20.4
Equally serious	40.4	36.3	42.3	38.1	42.4	38.6	41.0	41.2	36.9	42.0	43.9
Less serious	33.6	22.7	38.7	37.8	30.0	38.8	30.5	32.8	34.7	33.0	31.9
I do not know	3.1	3.3	3.0	3.7	2.6		1.6	6.5	3.8	2.4	3.8
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

at risk seems to be the adults (25.2% declares victimization over the last year) as well as those who possess a higher level of education, while the elderly and those with a lower level of education seem to be less at risk. The possible explanation of this trend can be given by the fact that young people and adults have an active lifestyle that exposes them more to risks, while the less active and more cautious lifestyles of the elderly reduces the possibilities of victimization.

Among the thefts, those more frequently indicated include: purse-snatching and, even more, pick-pocketing. The majority of victims in these cases are women, especially elderly women. Domestic burglary also appears significant. In this case, the younger residents and those who have a higher level of education seem to be less at risk. Probably, the reason why those who have a higher level of education is less likely to be victims of domestic burglary is because they can afford to protect their homes more efficiently.

In approximately one-fourth of the cases (24.2%), the victims did not file any report with the police. We can presume, therefore, that a percentage of the crimes are minor or that it is difficult to identify those who are responsible, such as is the case with acts of vandalism and damage to homes or automobiles. It seems that the men, and especially persons with a higher level of education, are less willing to report crimes to the police (Table 10.3).

Fear of crime is also examined through a self-evaluation of how safe the residents feel in two situations when they are alone and in the dark: at home and in the street in their respective area of residence (Franklin et al. 2008; Wyant 2008; Hinkle 2015).

Only 44% of the residents declares being “*very or relatively safe walking alone in their area of residence in the dark.*” Once again, there is a sharp contrast in the responses between the men and the women: the men declare themselves as being “*very or relatively safe*” when they walk alone in the dark in their respective area of residence (64%). And, the women who feel this way are only 26.9%. The “on the road” fear of crime increases in a linear fashion with the elderly and with persons who possess a lower level of education (Table 10.4).

Table 10.3 In the last year, have you fallen victim to one of these acts? (six responses possible)

	Area of residence			Gender		Age			Level of education		
	Total	Univ. Area	Rest of center	M	F	18/34	35/54	55 >	High	Med.	Low
Aggressions or violence (i.e., violent crime)	1.6	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.5	1.3	2.6	0.9	2.2	1.7	
Fraud	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.7	1.0	1.3	1.9	0.9	1.5	1.7	
Acts of vandalism or damage to your home	1.1	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.0		1.3	1.7	1.8	1.0	
Acts of vandalism or damage to your car	2.8	2.3	3.0	3.7	2.0	3.4	4.5	0.9	4.1	2.6	0.6
Theft	11.5	11.0	11.7	7.1	15.1	11.1	15.2	8.4	12.7	10.4	11.7
Other kind of crime	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.2	0.2		0.3	1.4	1.2		1.3
None of these	81.7	83.3	81.0	83.9	79.9	83.4	74.8	86.8	77.3	83.1	87.0

The quota of persons—about 9 out of 10—who feel “*very or relatively safe*” in their own home, even if they are alone and it is dark out is distributed in a substantially uniform fashion according to age groups, gender, level of education and area of residence. The women, elderly people and those with a lower level of education nonetheless tend to have lower percentages: In these cases, the participants who express being absolutely unafraid drop over 10%.

The residents of Bologna’s historical center were asked to provide their own opinion regarding the effectiveness of a few measures in order to prevent petty crime and incivilities in public spaces.

Among the suggestions considered as being “*very or relatively effective in fighting petty crime and incivilities,*” in the first place, we have increasing the presence of police in the entire area (83.7%), particularly felt by the elderly (91.2%) and those with a lower level of education (87.3%).

In second place, there are the social prevention projects (82.9%). In this case, those who are over 55 and with a lower level of education are more perplexed about the beneficial effects of these social projects, which are suggested more by the adults and by those with a higher level of education.

An increase in street lighting (80.1%) is favored by approximately 3 out of 4 persons interviewed, and especially by the women (83.1%) and by the younger participants (84.2%).

The majority of those interviewed (55.8%) agrees on the effectiveness of video surveillance, especially the women (61%), the elderly (65.4%) and those who possess a lower level of education (65.4%).

Keeping shops open after regular closing hours is considered a good initiative, but only residual. Almost half of those interviewed (48.9%) believes that this is a “*very or relatively effective*” plan of action, especially on the part of the men (54.1%), the younger participants (62.8%) and those with a higher level of education (57.2%).

Instead, the number of persons favorable to the use of private surveillance guards in order to fight crime appears much lower (32.1%): those who disagree with this measure are especially the men (68.1%) and those with a higher level of education (72%).

If the participants are forced to choose only two of the measures proposed, then the increase of police in the area decidedly rises. Such a measure is in fact favored by 62.8% of the participants, followed by the increase in street lighting (33.3%) and by the social prevention projects (28.2%).

The question pertaining to things that create disturbance in the area of residence⁴ permitted us to better define the origin of urban insecurity experienced by the residents of the center.

The most critical opinions are expressed by persons with a higher level of education. Only 13.9% are completely satisfied with their respective area of residence.

The most often cited problems are tied to the presence of drug addicts (20.3%) and drug trafficking (19.1%)—problems that are greatly felt by the residents.

⁴ A question that allows for multiple responses.

Episodes that are expressly criminal, such as bag-snatchings (8.9%) or robbery (2.9%), seem to lower the quality of life, but also included is the physical and social decay of the surroundings.

The first group of decay includes, in particular, environmental pollution (13.7%), noise pollution (9.2%), traffic (7.1%), filth (5.8%). And, the second group regards a few phenomena linked to the use of drugs, as well as prostitution (2.6%) and acts of vandalism (1%).

All this makes us presume that the emphatic fear of crime on behalf of the residents in the city center of Bologna is not motivated only by direct acts of crime, but rather it is the expression of a cumulative effect caused by a numerous quantity of unpleasant acts (more or less illegal) instigated by the chaos of a big city (Table 10.5).

In order to characterize in a more concrete manner the reasons for uneasiness, the residents were asked to respond to a group of questions relating to the frequency with which they witness specific phenomena of urban decay.

53.1% witnesses, at least sometimes, filth and trash scattered in the streets near to where they live. The women (56.2%), the younger residents (56.6%), with the exception of the University area, and those who possess a higher level of education (60%) seem more sensitive to this form of urban decay.

Similar considerations can be repeated with respect to the frequency with which those interviewed see trash and filth on the ground around public trash bins near their respective homes.

Even with regard to damaged bus shelters in the area of residence, 73.8% of the participants does not see any, and only 16.7% sees a few. It is in the University area that this phenomenon seems to be slightly higher.

With regard to syringes left on the ground near homes, 53.3% of those interviewed claims to never or almost never see them. In this case, nonetheless, if we break down this information according to area, we can note that in the University area the opposite holds true, and 60% of these residents say they frequently see syringes, and in particular adults (74.3%) and those with a higher level of education (69.1%).

The majority of those interviewed (57.1%) does not mention any other type of vandalism in the area of residence. Nonetheless, what is confirmed is that young people and, in particular, those with a higher level of education are more critical with regard to their respective surroundings (Table 10.6).

Among the other types of vandalism that were indicated, the majority of those interviewed, over 80%, sees graffiti on the walls and on property. Next, there is car vandalism (11%) and trash bin vandalism (9.9%); this time expressed especially by the women and by adults (Table 10.7).

With regard to the presence of neighbors who cause disturbance, the majority of those interviewed (80%) gives a negative opinion. Opinions are much more variable with regard to groups of individuals in the streets who disturb near the respective homes of those interviewed. 55.9% of the participants, however, does not complain about this phenomenon. Even in this case, the severest opinion is expressed by those who possess university degrees and by women (Tables 10.8 and 10.9).

Among the more important factors that cause disturbance are noisy gatherings of persons in front of or near nightclubs, pubs, etc. This is uniformly expressed in both

Table 10.5 Three main problems that create disturbance in the area of residence (three responses possible)

	Area of residence			Gender		Age				Level of education		
	Total	Univ. area	Rest center	M	F	18/34	35/54	55 >	High	Med.	Low	
Physical aggressions	2.7	4.3	2.0	1.7	3.6	2.5	1.6	3.9	3.4	2.6	1.9	
Sexual offenses	0.2	0.7			0.4	0.4	0.3		0.3	0.2		
Presence of drug addicts	20.3	26.7	17.3	17.2	23.0	17.4	23.9	19.1	20.8	20.6	18.0	
Presence of newcomers	13.8	16.3	12.7	10.1	17.0	12.4	14.9	13.9	12.1	16.6	9.4	
Drug trafficking	19.1	29.3	14.3	15.0	22.6	21.1	22.8	14.4	22.9	17.4	15.4	
Drug use	5.5	6.0	5.3	4.1	6.8	3.4	5.3	7.2	6.1	4.5	7.2	
Prostitution	2.6	0.3	3.7	2.0	3.1	3.8	2.6	1.8	1.9	3.1	2.6	
Acts of vandalism	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.8		1.3	1.4	0.6	1.5	0.6	
Bag-snatching	8.9	8.7	9.0	7.3	10.3	7.2	7.7	11.1	9.0	8.6	9.6	
Robbery	2.9	2.7	3.0	3.9	2.0	4.7	3.9	0.8	3.1	3.6	0.6	
Theft from motor vehicles	0.2		0.3	0.5				0.6		0.5		
Domestic burglary	1.7	1.0	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.3	2.3	1.4	2.2	1.7	0.6	
Theft of bicycle	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.4		1.3		0.9	0.3	1.0	0.6	
Theft of motor vehicles	0.1	0.3			0.2	0.4				0.2		
Theft in general	2.5	2.0	2.7	1.0	3.7	3.0	1.6	2.9	1.2	2.4	5.2	
Environmental pollution	13.7	7.3	16.7	18.0	10.0	16.0	14.0	11.8	21.1	11.7	3.9	
Traffic	7.1	2.3	9.3	9.4	5.2	6.3	10.5	4.6	7.9	7.5	4.6	
Difficulty in parking	5.0	5.7	4.7	5.5	4.5	5.8	5.1	4.3	7.8	3.0	4.5	
Environmental decay	5.4	7.0	4.7	3.6	7.0	2.9	5.4	7.1	7.8	3.5	5.6	
Building deterioration/abandonment	1.9	3.0	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.6	2.2	1.7	3.1	0.9	1.9	

(continued)

Table 10.5 (continued)

	Area of residence			Gender		Age			Level of education		
	Total	Univ. area	Rest center	M	F	18/34	35/54	55 >	High	Med.	Low
	Harassing noise	9.2	2.3	12.3	8.1	10.0	10.6	10.5	7.0	11.3	7.8
Filth	5.8	6.7	5.3	7.0	4.7	5.4	5.8	6.0	9.6	4.2	1.9
Other	5.7	12.3	2.7	6.8	4.8	5.2	4.1	7.6	6.7	4.3	7.0
Nothing in particular	23.3	21.7	24.0	26.3	20.7	25.3	20.5	24.3	13.9	26.3	34.9
I do not know	1.0	1.7	0.7	1.0	1.0	0.4	0.3	2.0	1.8	0.2	1.3

Table 10.6 In the streets near to where you reside, are there other signs of vandalism?

	Area of residence			Gender		Age			Level of education		
	Total	Univ. area	Rest center	M	F	18/34	35/54	55 >	High	Med.	Low
None	57.1	56.7	57.3	58.8	55.7	55.7	58.5	56.9	50.7	60.2	62.7
Yes	39.8	39.3	40.0	39.5	40.0	43.1	38.6	38.6	48.1	37.1	29.0
I do not know	2.5	3.0	2.3	1.0	3.9	1.3	2.2	3.7	0.3	2.4	7.7
No response	0.5	1.0	0.3	0.7	0.4		0.7	0.8	0.9	0.2	0.6
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

city areas and in particular by the men (38.6%) and adults (33.9%). 16.6% of those interviewed complains about the presence of newcomers, who are often perceived as persons that are potentially dangerous and difficult to assimilate, in so far as their presence in the city center mainly regards drug trafficking. This intolerance toward newcomers is even more evident in the University area: in fact, 22.4% of the residents in this area shares this opinion. Especially for women (30.6%), young persons (28.9%) and those with a lower level of education (30%), newcomers are undoubtedly the primary category of persons who cause disturbances in the University area.

In the University area the problem of noisy persons is still high (27.6% of those interviewed), but it appears less serious when compared to the intolerance of other phenomena: drug trafficking and the presence of a specific category of persons—the so-called *punkabestia* or crusties, a sort of modern neo-nomadic group. The “punkabestia” are described, only in the University area, as taking second place by 25.4% of the residents, but take first place for those with a higher degree of education and those who are over fifty.

In the rest of the city center, the problem of noise pollution seems predominant and, along with the usual disturbance caused by persons outside evening hangout spots, there is also the presence of teens on scooters. Such a phenomenon is indicated by 21.8% of those interviewed and, to a greater extent—and not without surprise—by the younger residents (36.7%).

In conclusion, we can certainly affirm that in Bologna’s historical center, and notably in the University area, there is a phenomenon of stress created by a variety of factors that includes physical and social urban decay in addition to real criminal acts.

The process that we have described above seems to contribute in increasing insecurity in public areas of the city’s center. The perception of the center as a dangerous and chaotic place is in fact further strengthened when the frequent incidence of incivilities in public spaces is added to actual crimes and thefts, or disturbances caused by those on the fringes of society (begging, alcoholism, etc.).

This is therefore a confirmation that the factors of urban disorder contribute in a significant way to the creation of social alarm phenomena.

Table 10.7 Which one?

	Area of residence			Gender		Age			Level of education		
	Total	Univ. area	Rest center	M	F	18/34	35/54	55 >	High	Med.	Low
Graffiti on the walls and on property	82.0	77.4	84.0	81.1	82.7	88.4	74.6	83.6	77.7	85.1	84.5
Trash bins vandalism	9.9	11.3	9.2	5.5	13.6	4.8	14.4	9.7	9.1	11.7	6.7
Car vandalism	11.0	14.8	9.2	12.8	9.4	9.8	11.8	11.2	9.8	12.2	10.9
Dung	2.2	5.2	0.8	1.3	3.0	0.9	3.3	2.1	3.9	0.6	2.1
Motorcycle or bicycle vandalism	2.5	4.3	1.7	1.2	3.7	0.9	2.5	3.7	2.6	2.5	2.1
Human excrement	1.4	4.3		1.8	1.0	0.9	3.2		3.2		
Other vandalism against property	2.5	4.3	1.7	1.2	3.7	4.8	2.5	0.7	2.0	3.8	
Other	1.7	3.5	0.8	1.8	1.5	2.9	0.8	1.4	2.0	0.6	2.1

Table 10.9 If yes, which one?

	Area of residence			Gender		Age			Level of education		
	Total	Univ. area	Rest center	M	F	18/34	35/54	55 >	High	Med.	Low
	Drunker	12.3	12.7	12.1	5.4	17.4	9.1	16.7	10.3	14.5	10.5
Noisy gatherings of person in front of or near pubs, etc.	31.2	27.6	33.1	38.6	25.7	29.6	33.9	29.8	27.6	34.2	31.1
Noise produced by nightclub	15.5	12.7	16.9	20.2	12.0	9.1	19.4	16.1	17.1	11.7	22.6
Newcomers	16.6	22.4	13.7	10.9	20.9	14.9	20.3	14.2	19.7	15.0	13.4
Presence of teens on scooter	16.2	5.2	21.8	14.8	17.3	25.0	5.9	20.2	9.3	20.9	20.9
Beggars	4.4	6.7	3.2	2.4	5.9	5.2	2.8	5.4	0.6	8.7	1.6
Homeless	5.4	8.2	4.0	4.9	5.8	5.0	7.9	3.4	7.8	4.6	1.6
Drug addict	15.2	24.6	10.5	12.5	17.3	10.9	21.4	12.2	19.6	12.0	13.6
Drug dealer	13.7	21.6	9.7	13.8	13.6	6.8	18.6	13.5	22.4	9.0	4.9
Prostitutes	1.3	0.7	1.6		2.3		1.5	2.1	2.7		1.6
Punkabestia (i.e. neonomads)	12.3	25.4	5.6	15.5	9.8	12.0	7.0	17.5	13.4	11.5	11.8
Unauthorized vendors	1.0	1.5	0.8	0.6	1.4	2.1	0.7	0.7	0.6	1.8	
Other	7.0	11.2	4.8	8.4	5.9	7.1	6.4	7.4	7.8	6.9	5.2
I do not know	2.4	0.7	3.2	1.3	3.3	5.2	2.9		2.7	3.0	

10.3 The Direct Assessment of Urban Decay in the City Center of Bologna

To measure disorder, trained observers are employed by the local municipality. The over 102 km of streets that make up the road network of Bologna’s historical center were covered, on foot, by surveyors equipped with palm PCs equipped with GIS ArcPad software and an ad hoc application in order to quickly identify the zone and take a census of the problems in the months of September, October and November 2019—during both the day and at night.⁵

The phase of assessment was organized as follows:

- The city center was divided into four zones. A digitalized map of each zone was present in every palm PC.⁶
- Work sessions, during the day, were established at—maximum—3 h each. Work hours were: 10 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.; 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.;
- Night work sessions were carried out in pairs or in larger groups during the following hours: 11:30 p.m. to 2:30 a.m.;
- Twenty-three days were needed in order to carry out the assessment, and 8 surveyors were used;
- In order to assess the avenues that surround the walls of the city’s historical center (the distances are greater here and the streets are longer), the surveyors were provided with transport (a car of the Municipal Government).

Three aspects to be assessed are basically identified as:

1. **physical aspects** (collective trash bins, walls, buildings, telephone booths, etc.)
2. **social aspects** (conflictual presence/relationships)
3. **aspects concerning street conditions** (roads, traffic signals/road signs, parking, pollution, etc.).

Types of Information to Assess

Physical aspects	Parks/gardens	Abandonment/negligence
		Disrespect
	Buildings	Abandoned
		Occupied
		Unauthorized
	Walls	“Unplastered”/much worn
		With graffiti and/or writings
	Trash bins	Damaged
		Damaged recycle bins

(continued)

⁵ The surveyors always worked in pairs for security reasons and to guarantee greater accuracy in gathering the data. The activity of assessment was preceded by a training session on the use of the palm PCs and criteria in determining and selecting phenomena of urban decay.

⁶ At the end of each work session, the information gathered was downloaded onto a personal PC. The data were then examined and elaborated by using ArcView software.

(continued)

	Telephone booths	Damaged
		Out of order
	Bus stops	Damaged
		Poorly lit
	Trash	Loose
		In bags
		In the way
	Lighting	Lacking
		Malfunctioning
		Excessive
	Material abandoned by drugs addicts	Used syringes
		Distilled water vials

Social aspects	Presence of	Drug addicts
		Drug dealers
		Prostitutes
		Drunkards
		Homeless
		Beggars
		Unauthorized vendors
		Illegal nomads
		Street players/swindlers
		Other
	Conflictual relationships	Youth/autochthons
		Immigrants/autochthons
		Among autochthons
		Other

Aspects regarding viability and traffic	Streets	Sewers/drainage
		Potholes
	Traffic signals/road signs	Damaged
		Obsolete/misleading
	Parking	Wherever one feels like it
		Unauthorized parking
	Pollution	Air
		Noise

(continued)

(continued)

	Abandoned vehicles	Automobiles
		Mopeds/motorcycles
		Bicycles
	Road works	Unfinished
		Poorly indicated

According to others study conducted on this field (Maxfield 1987; Livingston 1992; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999; Millie 2008; Peršak and Di Ronco 2018), not all kinds of incivilities present in public spaces are perceived and suffered by citizens in the same way. Some of them contribute more consistently than others to social alarm. Every social group establishes standards for public space use and standards for the maintaining and preserving of the area (Chiesi 2004). Acts of incivilities are represented by transgressions of agreed-upon norms and rules with regard to the use of public areas. If the resident believes that the basic rules of social cohabitation and reciprocal respect are no longer maintained, he/she questions everything, including the level of urban security in that particular area (Chart 10.1).

International and national research on urban disorder, underline that, taking into account territories and countries' differences, graffiti are particularly perceived by residents as a bothering and disordering element of urban environment (White 2003; Kramer 2010).

If it is certainly more understandable, considering the data directly observed, the intense bother expressed by the residents interviewed in the city center and referred

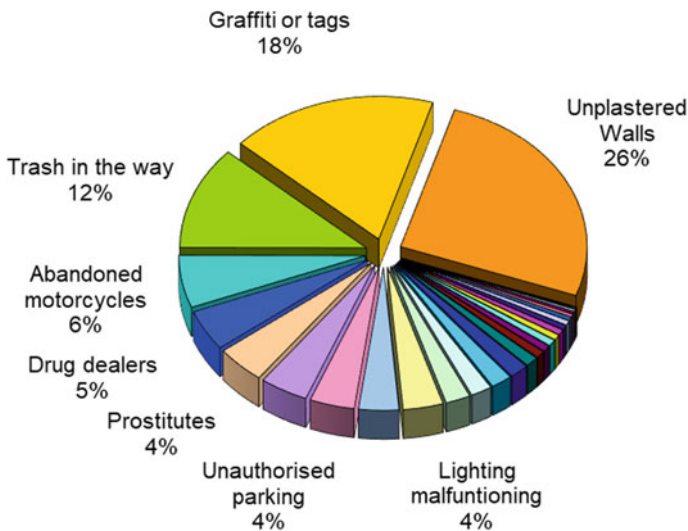


Chart 10.1 Incivilities observed in the city center of Bologna. Percentage values of the total recorded phenomena (N = 997). *Note* Only incivilities recorded in a percentage equal to or greater than 4% are shown in the chart

to the presence of graffiti and writings on the public walls, it does not seem to disturb them, if not to a minimal extent, the state of degradation of the facades of buildings, although this is the element recorded most frequently.

The explanation of this seeming contradiction is presumably to be found in the fact that only the first typology of incivilities evokes a lack of control of the neighborhood and the threatening presence of a counter-power that acts undisturbed on it. In this perspective, if someone can ruin the walls of that area without being caught, the neighborhood is probably out of control.

It seems to be immediately clear that the perception of the presence of phenomena pertaining to filth and the presence of potentially dangerous persons is greatly amplified with respect to what was recorded by means of direct observation.

In particular, confirming prior studies regarding this matter conducted in Italy (Barbagli 1999; Nardi 2003; eCrime 2016), the bother and feelings of insecurity are greatly connected to the presence of persons that sell and use drugs, while nothing or almost nothing seems to be the relationship with the presence of prostitutes looking for potential clients.

Unlike what happens in other countries, the residents of the city center of Bologna do not complain for damaged streetlamps or telephone booths, but seem rather concerned by the presence of trash and potentially dangerous presences: a concern that seems even amplified if compared to what was recorded through direct observations.

To conclude, therefore, the data that emerged from this first research in Bologna corroborate the incivilities thesis and the conclusions of the first empirical researches conducted on the subject in Italy: the fear of those who live or work in an urban space grows with the intensification of signs of social and physical decay and in particular due to a more accentuated violation of standard commonly accepted in the use of public spaces (Fig. 10.1).

10.4 Conclusions

The results of the local studies carried out confirm that the fear of crime expressed by citizens does not depend only on actual crimes, but also on other repeated and frequent actions and events in the area of residence. These may appear to be of little importance, but they are perceived as a symptom of moral and social decay. Acts of incivility and urban decay, which were the object of this study, represent violations of widely accepted norms, but this does not mean that these rules cannot change over time. The concept of disorder, in addition to being in constant transformation, seems to also depend on and change according to the specific social context (Sartori 2003; Millie 2008; Peršak and Di Ronco 2018).

What seems important to underline, consistently with previous research in the fields, seems to be the fact that elements of physical disorder to the surroundings are related to forms of social disorder. And the social disorder multiplies signs of

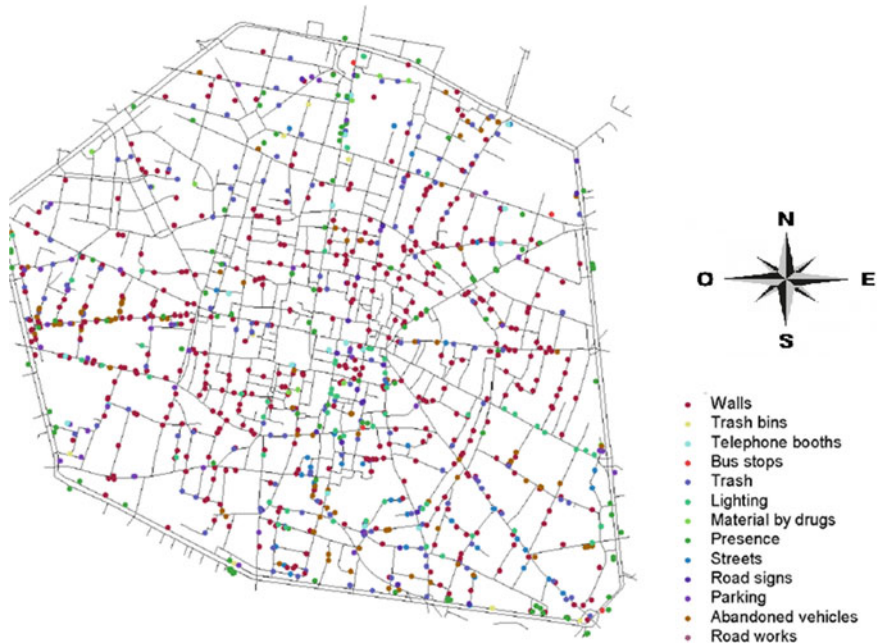


Fig. 10.1 Mapping of incivilities directly observed in the city center of Bologna in September 2019 (N = 336)

incivility. In this way, vicious situation that increases the fear of crime on the part of citizens is unleashed.

Residents see in acts of incivility a disorder continuum that ranges from minor transgressions to the most serious crimes imaginable (Taylor 1999). Not surprisingly, findings showed that vandalism is an important factor motivating fear of crime in the community, as underlined in previous research conducted at local level (Ceccato and Wilhelmsson 2012). And yet, if we consider what individuals in Bologna indicate as the top factors that cause uneasiness in their respective neighborhoods there is decay of public areas (excessive traffic, filth, graffiti). With respect to this, complaints about abandoned buildings, non-functioning streetlights or damaged telephone booths seem to be less important.

The data analyzed in the study inform us therefore that not all urban disorder phenomena are perceived by citizens in the same way. A few of these contribute in a more noticeable way in creating states of social unrest and uneasiness. The explanation for these differences must be sought in the fact that only a few signs of urban decay and disorder represent a true lack of control on the part of local police forces and the threatening presence of a sub-power that acts without being punished or even identified.

Therefore, we may conclude that the demand for safety may be incorporated into a specific and targeted line of action that takes into serious consideration the effects

caused by urban decay and incivilities. Such a conclusion opens up an extremely interesting management perspective, especially for local institutions: in fact, these institutions are entrusted with the task of safeguarding urban surroundings. And, the local authorities are the institutions that citizens today turn to for answers to the problem of urban safety, which in the past was the responsibility of the sole central government. Naturally, the new responsibilities assigned to local administrations necessitate a more complex and sophisticated ability in analyzing and assessing the territory. But it is really the understanding and awareness of problems in a given neighborhood that allows authorities to get involved before these problems take root and to put into action crime and urban decay prevention policies.

Therefore, what seems important is that in the strategies aimed at preventing physical and social incivilities, local administrations play a proactive, essential role. In other words, if local institutions and other key local actors have the possibility of intercepting in due time signs of urban decay, they also have the chance to create lines of action that are aimed not only at containing these manifestations, but also at diffusing messages that are contrary to these phenomena.

We can therefore suggest that actions intended to prevent urban decay would be accompanied by strategies aimed at fostering a sense of belonging and participation in community and at mediating conflicts and favoring reciprocal tolerance and respect (Millie 2009).

The spaces of a city may be filled with signs that give the feeling of safety and maintenance of the area by means of actions aimed at safeguarding the area, involving the community and establishing collaboration between the various police forces and the citizens. Local authorities have the possibility to operate not only with regard to controlling and correcting the signs of incivility and urban decay, but also offering alternative resources to disrespectful behavior (Chiesi 2004; Hodgkinson and Tilley 2007).

In this sense, it is precisely the local governments that have the necessary tools to influence and improve the area, the activities, the services and the overall use of public spaces. They can also favor the organization of the inhabitants, their rapport with authorities and how they identify with the area so as to put into practice those mechanisms that sixty years ago the American anthropologist Jane Jacobs described as decisive in the process of informal territory social control and regulation.

The most efficient method in gathering data on urban decay may allow for an improvement in the activities of local authorities with regard to the management of urban disorder and increase, as a result, citizen safety. Moreover, the mapping of urban decay phenomena, even through a possible integration with digital maps, allows for improved and accelerated procedures within local institutions.

Therefore, the vast and detailed understanding of the problems of incivility and urban disorder in a given neighborhood could allow local governments to promote lines of action aimed at preventing these phenomena before they take root in the area.

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Chapter 11

The Role of the Perception of Fear in the Disintegration of Neighborhoods and the Appearance of Crime



Melissa Valdez López

Abstract The presence of the perception of fear in Latin American neighborhoods is a symptom of the economic inequality and insecurity experienced on a daily basis. This problem causes a series of social problems ranging from incivilities, deterioration of urban space, to the disintegration of communities. This article contrasts two contiguous communities in a commune in Santiago, Chile, where we can analyze how urban interventions, municipal programs and CPTED tools applied affect the emergence or lack of community ties and therefore have an effect on the perception of insecurity in the area. The urban elements present in the neighborhood are also analyzed, in order to consider their state at the time of the research; in this way and through the experiences and perceptions of the inhabitants, we can correlate the integration of communities and feelings of insecurity.

Keywords Perception of fear · CPTED · Social disintegration

11.1 Introduction

Based on the situations in the Latin American region, where the palpable and disproportionate inequality of its inhabitants has resulted in a series of symptoms where cities are the scenario, the problem of insecurity stands out above all others, being still, and for some decades now, the priority for the inhabitants who demand actions for its mitigation. These demands stand out over other critical issues such as health and education, sensitive issues for the region.

Situations of inequality and job uncertainty in Latin America have led to problems that have made the region the most violent in the world. The perception of fear in cities is one of the results of these problems and can be even more harmful than the crime itself.

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The perception of fear can be a sign of a developed urban space that at the same time makes social exclusion, economic and cultural disintegration notorious (Borja 2000). The phenomenon becomes a disarticulator of the society that inhabits a territory, depriving them of the activities and freedoms they should have in a city.

As a disarticulator, the perception of fear in the physical environment contributes significantly to the lack of social cohesion, affects the economic activities of a territory and can become an antecedent for the emergence of crime in certain areas, as it is capable of provoking the abandonment of public spaces, allowing the emergence of undesired behaviors, incivilities and finally crime. Recognizing the existing sense of fear shared by most of the inhabitants of a city or community means that it is possible to understand the transformation of the environment in which they carry out their regular activities: It is no longer neutral, and the phenomenon of insecurity and fear become part of this environment.

Under the current paradox in which public spaces have become a focus for the sensation of fear and an area where, primarily, youth exclusion takes place, the importance of their recovery and the empowerment of the inhabitants plays a very important role.

When speaking of the perception of fear in the physical environment, one must consider those elements that coexist in it and generate nervousness about crime. It is the symbols and attributes of the built space that allow the problem of the perception of fear to arise in a given area (Ferraro 1995).

Perception, is a subjective concept (Cruz 2012) and directly linked to specific situations, personal experiences, and constructions of the individual or collective imaginaries, must be evaluated contextually in each case of research; however, it is possible to generate standards that allow us to locate the perception of fear physically at neighborhood scale and thus identify those spatial attributes that generate it and establish guidelines to reverse them.

With the theoretical review made in this article, a more specific analysis is made of the practical research works carried out in 2018 (Valdez López and Gurovich Weisman 2019), which, having been applied on a neighborhood scale and in a community manner, the information gathered left opportunity for new analyses, which would answer the role of community cohesion in the disintegration or integration of a neighborhood, as well as the identification of the configuration variables and urban elements that allow the appearance of fear in the territory and in the same way. Taking into account these aspects, it is possible then to reverse the effects of the perception of fear in neighborhoods, especially if we focus on the vulnerable ones, in order to have positive results, such as the mitigation of criminal events.

The crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) methodology plays a very important role in this article, since perception is a subjective issue and can be formed collectively, it is relevant to take information from the community, so the collection of information, interviews and surveys conducted were done in a communitarian way, with the support of the Community Centers of the neighborhood of the case study.

CPTED gave us the guideline for the formulation of the analysis methodology, which consists of primary information and the implementation of CPTED tools such as community mapping that will serve to detect areas of interest for the report.

The following pages will show the importance of incorporating a factor such as the perception of fear into the principles of urban planning and public safety, to avoid these phenomena and their consequences in the territory, in social disintegration and what this represents for the way of life of a community. If possible, the incorporation of these issues gives us the guideline for the search for quality urban indicators, which can include within what we already know as the quality of life of the neighborhoods, the search for spaces conducive to the social interaction of its inhabitants without the phenomenon of fear arises.

11.2 Theoretical Basis

11.2.1 *Perception of Fear: Definitions and Affections in the Socio-Territorial Aspect*

Starting with perception, which as we know is a subjective phenomenon caused by different variables, we can understand its development in a better way, thanks to the Gestalt theory, which considers that the process of looking at the world is the result of the relationship between the properties imposed by the object and the nature of the observing subject, based on the capture of significant structures. Such structures are considered as total, that is, the human mind captures the structural organization of the object, scene or external stimulus as a whole (Briceño Avila and Gil Scheuren 2004).

Following these authors, the idea that perception should be a starting point for the analysis of various aspects of the city since it is this that fundamentally feeds the features that define the city (which can be visual, auditory, sonorous) is one of the most important criteria on which to base this analysis.

When we take the concept to the territory, we can link the meaningful structures mentioned in the theory to the messages contained in the physical space. These non-verbal messages, as territorial marks, which are traces of behavior, inform people belonging to a place or outsiders, which are the accepted behaviors. In this way, the environment sends a message that is a reflection of the general context in which the inhabitants of the area live day by day.

In the case of the perception of fear, then the “object, scene or external stimulus” mentioned by Briceño Ávila and Gil Scheuren (2004) must be of a violent or at least aggressive nature, where the individual develops feelings of worry, discomfort and a sense of total loss of control. In the Latin American scenario, especially if we focus on vulnerable areas, these feelings are linked to the uncertainties that are the most important problem of that region have. As an example, the threat of being assaulted with a firearm not only lies in the danger that this action alone indicates, but

aligns, so the inability to access quality medical services in case of being wounded or the concern generated by knowing that they could stop supporting their family economically.

Supporting this idea, Marín Cuevas (2016) argues that the perception that an individual has of losing control over the decisions he/she has to make on a daily basis has a direct impact on the perception of fear of situations such as crime, job or financial expectations, or anxiety appears as a result of this loss of control.

The relationship that exists between the fear of a society and reality is often very close, especially in vulnerable territories; the mixture of fears and reality helps to formulate the perception of fear experienced by the inhabitants of a community or city; however, it should be taken into account that the perception is made under experiences, which are subject to the view from the experience of each individual, so that in many cases, the perception may be distanced from reality; however, perception can lead to believe that the crime situation is intolerable and irreversible and as it is so logically changes the way of life and comes to appear different pathologies and dysfunctionalities in behaviors.

This fear is then translated into the physical, appearing the symbols of fear: urban and design elements that aim to make the individual or community feel safer. These symbols can vary depending on the location and the social class of the community observed. For example, in low socioeconomic areas, people tend to try to defend themselves as much as possible; in these cases, there are notable padlocked fences, barbed wire protections, ironwork on windows, high fences on houses, some with broken bottles attached to them.

Moreover, in these areas, especially when the works of appropriation of the space have not been implemented, and the owners of the public space are the groups with deviant behaviors, we can observe in the public space other types of signs that have to do with vandalism: graffiti, damaged furniture and urban elements, lack of maintenance, among others.

While in the upper class, the symbols of fear, although having the same objective, are less rudimentary and closer to the new security technologies. In these cases, although it is possible to identify symbols of fear such as high fences, these will have electrified fences; instead of padlocks, the fences have private security personnel that watch over the houses and in some points, going unnoticed, security cameras can be seen.

This is not the only thing, in this scenario, the symbols of fear were not only translated to the territory, but transformed the way communities were designed, giving way to the maximum expression of the architecture of fear, which is the gated community or urbanization, which, given the crime scenarios in the region, has become the new residential development par excellence (Díaz and Honorato 2011).

It is also necessary to mention that in these cases, it is especially visible the profit with personal security that has marked the context in which Latin American cities have developed, since this is capable of modeling and fragmenting spaces; it also models societies and social contexts, such as inequality and that it is easy to recognize at present as phenomena specific to our region (Valdez López and Gurovich Weisman 2019).

However, these closed areas are not synonymous with communities or, in any case, healthy communities. This type of control of public space brings with it, in turn, greater isolation, becoming homogeneous places that self-manage their greater or lesser collective wealth and defend it from others. Where race tends to mix with class antagonisms, gated communities will have a marked racist component (Díaz and Honorato 2011). In this way, these communities protect themselves from the street, considering it as a space that has no control and finally abandoning public space, leaving it free to be appropriated by groups of deviant behavior.

There are socio-cultural elements that can construct symbols that are associated with danger; when mixed with existing problems in the territory of delinquency, crime and/or violence, evidently and almost inevitably, the phenomenon of the perception of fear is compounded, since these elements would have to do with the meanings that each criminal group gives it, depending on the country and region in which it is located. These symbols will be used automatically in situations, in which the individual recognizes them and any sign involved in these symbols represents warning messages and therefore fear (Villalba Olivella 2017).

Trying to regain the control that fear generate purely instinctive process, which is why the reaction to these feelings is generally defensive actions, which is why it is translated to the territory in the manner analyzed above. The efforts then, to mitigate fear, is to transform it, according to Bauman (2007), the alternative so far used is to convert it into risk; in this way, we can calculate the levels of damage, prevent and control them, characteristics that fear does not have.

Taking into account all of the above, it is not strange to encounter phenomena such as the perception of fear in cities, which, across countries and different contexts, may have different definitions. When we talk about perception, we have to take into account its subjectivity and the fact that it can be formulated individually or collectively, which is how the perception of fear can be manifested from violent situations occurring in the context of daily activities carried out in a city or community, which can lead to the stigmatization of communities, individuals or places.

The perception of fear should not be confused with the perception of insecurity, which has to do with the fear of crime in the abstract; nor should it be confused with the fear of crime, which refers to the fear of citizens of being personally victims of crime (Álvarez Díaz de León 2013); the perception of fear also combines the feeling of vulnerability that one or several individuals can develop in the face of risks in their immediate environment.

The lack of protection from them is strongly related to a lack of appropriation of the territory, which is not only linked to behaviors within the given space, but also to a cognitive, symbolic and affective dimension, as well as a lack of identity and belonging to groups.

The effects of the presence of the phenomenon of the perception of fear within societies and their behavior are multiple, and depending on the area of study, new ones will be formulated. It is fair to say that, within these, there are negative effects in the economic-labor area, given the potential danger of leaving home to go to work or having a business that could be a focus of violence at any time; it also affects investments both within the country in certain sectors, but also internationally. It is

also important to mention the effects of the perception of fear in the communities. Here, the main way in which the phenomenon manifests itself is through the inability to establish effective ties with peers (neighbors and inhabitants of the area), which in turn increases distrust and therefore the perception of fear.

Whatever the area from which we see the perception of fear, the effects on social relations are palpable and do not help to improve the scenarios of violence in the region or in the country. So far, a society that has lost control over the way of life and its interactions in the public space has become paranoid, where the norm is to accept and normalize the exposure of violence, whose causes are unknown or are covered by the media or the state itself. It is then where social diseases appear, the perception of fear (justified or not) becomes agoraphobia, xenophobia and a series of symptoms that are increasingly common in contemporary Latin American society.

11.2.2 Urban Configuration and Design: Its Role in the Incidence of Fear and Crime

If we look at the cities in Latin America, they share similarities in terms of their development process, which was a product of the colonization of the native cultures of the region. This is why in most cities, we can observe accelerated growth that began in colonial times and continues in the contemporary city, now with other characteristics and causes that have to do with globalization. These and many other situations have created cities that lack coherent urban spaces and have irregular urban configurations that do not promote quality of life. The healthy growth and development of cities should be focused on an adequate organization of the productive, economic and social activities that constitute a functional society, but should also perpetuate the organization of physical form; in this context, Spreirengen (1971) mentions that the task of urban design is to create the necessary living conditions to accommodate the different activities of human beings, in terms of the physical organization, that is, the perceived organization of the city, taking into account the permanent change that these represent.

The urban configuration, that is, the built space, reflects the economic organization, the social organization, the political structures, the objectives of the dominant social groups. “You just have to know how to read, because, indeed, the landscape can be read as a text” (Capel 2001).

The design of the environment in a city is composed of images that come from an infinity of elements, situations and expressions that enclose the diversity of this space. It is with this that humans begin to create their perceptions. All the information provided by the environment constitutes the material with which the individual creates images and sensations; in this way, he reads the environment and begins to decipher messages within the symbols contained in the city. So, if symbols can communicate, it is necessary for the good development of the inhabitants, that these messages encourage behaviors accepted by the society in question.

This is where the importance of this urbanized space being of quality and capable of providing the basic needs required by society comes in.

For this to be possible, the integration of urban dwellers is necessary. The grouping of human beings is an evolutionary necessity that allowed the species to survive; therefore, this action is sought naturally. In sociology, social cohesion refers more to belonging than to social integration mechanisms. Hopenhayn (2007) explains that “the axis is subjective-universal, that is, it relies on subjectivity but assumes, precisely, that there is something in this subjectivity in which everyone agrees -an effective collective imaginary for life in common-. In this sense, too, cohesion has a direct relationship with the intensity of social interaction within a given group, and with a common orientation regarding the future of the society to which one belongs.” So, if on the one hand social cohesion includes concepts such as belonging and social interaction in a group, as well as the intensity in which this occurs, we can see it as society’s offer to include individuals in the dynamics of progress and well-being (Hopenhayn 2007). In this sense, and taking it to the Latin American reality, not only do the inhabitants of the region fulfill a basic need to be part of a community, but it also refers to an intention to improve their quality of life.

In this regard, Salas, in his 1996 text *Arquitectura contemporánea*, argues that: “... areas with a higher degree of perceptual cohesion produce images that generate sensations of emotional security and intensification of the human experience. The less cohesive environments provoke confusion, insecurity, and lack of identification of the inhabitant with his city” (Salas 1996).

Thus, when we speak from the territorial point of view and taking into account that it is the city that helps to develop the individual and collective perception of a space; in the current context of the Latin American region, the cities have been a broad scenario where the perception of fear has developed and spread, thanks to their characteristics lacking appropriate and quality spaces for the healthy development of their inhabitants. In support of this idea, authors Bru and Vicente point out that it is precisely the urban territory that forces coexistence and therefore the definition of policies for the integration of different citizens, without forgetting that these differences or inequalities are the origins of insecurity and fear; however, interaction among citizens is the only way to truly mitigate this phenomenon (Bru and Vicente 2004).

Continuing with the analysis of what Salas postulates, it is necessary to emphasize that for this perception of fear not to spread, the built environment and its quality play a very important role. This means that the idea that Salas puts forward in “Contemporary Architecture” of 1996, about the perceptual cohesion generated by the architectural form in the urban, proposes to synthesize the concepts of identity, legibility, unity, meaning and structure of the urban environment.

Lynch’s city affirms or suggests that this cohesion is closely associated with urban environmental quality. Likewise, the same author points out that a quality built environment produces images that generate sensations of emotional security and intensification of the human experience, while less favorable scenarios provoke confusion, insecurity and lack of identification of the inhabitant with his city (Salas 1996).

Taking it to a closer scale, we can intuit that the importance of the quality of residential public spaces lies in the ideas previously exposed, since it is the place where the individual relates with greater intensity, especially if we see it from the gender perspective, since, as Aragón (2015) argues, “the study on public space in neighborhoods conducted in Santiago de Chile, shows how the neighborhood is the female reference of the city: men have more capacity to move in the city while women stay to a greater extent in the neighborhood. The use of neighborhood public space is highly conditioned by the feeling of insecurity that women perceive in many cases in it.” It is at the neighborhood scale where the perception of fear and insecurity is strongly developed since it is the direct scenario where the new generations develop; this is why the quality of neighborhood public spaces has been widely investigated and has been directly related to the development of its inhabitants.

De la Puente (1988) points to the need to give more relevance to public spaces; in order to satisfy needs that may not be found inside the home, the author also talks about how the environment affects the human being: “...the social environment of urban habitat affects its residents in different ways and can mean both an environment of friendship and security as well as social pressure and insecurity” (De La Puente 1988).

All these aspects lead us to define that public spaces that do not satisfy the needs of appropriation, identity, legibility of their users in an adequate way, in conjunction with a community lacking affective ties with its neighbors does not support community cohesion and therefore, leaves the public space inhospitable, ready to be approached by groups of deviant behaviors.

Groups are generally been made to fulfill the need for identity and belonging, which as mentioned above is a human need.

Supporting this idea and based on the ideas of Taylor (1987), undesired behaviors can appear in cities, due to the characteristics of the physical environment; in this context, land use defines which areas are private or semi-private and which are public or open to the community. These land uses to define where gaps of undesired behavior will occur and therefore where areas of opportunity for undesired behavior can be established. This happens for several reasons: First, public spaces are less central to residents and therefore of less importance to them; second, public spaces by definition attract outsiders and strangers thus producing a mix of users; third, public spaces may lack natural gatekeepers (Taylor 1987).

Certainly, the design of spaces has a great influence on the appearance of these undesired behaviors, but it is also the space that can defend you from this, and it is this dichotomy that gives us a range of possibilities of intervention of the space to improve it, which although it can be physical, with the theoretical analysis that was done in this work, it is logical to incorporate a look social, where the community is the protagonist and acts as a cohesive element of the community. This is not a new concept, Jane Jacobs postulated it already in 1960, where although her works were not dedicated to social cohesion, they were strongly linked to the idea of social interaction as a way to feel safe in a place. “A busy street is likely to be a safe street. An uncrowded street is likely to be an unsafe street” (Jacobs 1962). In this way, Jacobs makes it clear that the quality of the built environment per se is not enough to

prevent criminal behavior within an area, but that there must be social activities that encourage interaction among them, generating social networks and, in turn, fostering the appropriation of the territory they inhabit.

In this way, the author Echazarra (2014) also tries to explain why an effectively cohesive community does not experience as much perception of fear as those that are not. According to the author, there are three reasons: Firstly, they are more successful in controlling deviant behaviors, secondly, an organized community is more effective in maintaining common spaces, and thirdly, the sense of community, which creates a sense of belonging to a social group and reduces the perception of danger (Echazarra 2014).

As an example of good design practices, we can take into account the research conducted by Angélica J. Aragón in 2015, in Santiago de Chile: “Urbanism as a trigger of violence,” where she studied the public space in the neighborhoods of this city and that had a field study, she was able to establish characteristics and effects on the use of public spaces by the inhabitants and that had to do with the good use and socially accepted behaviors. This study identified that the placement of elements with recreational activities in public spaces, and their good condition attracts a greater diversity of users. It also identified that quality public spaces encourage their use for long periods of time, thanks to lighting elements. Finally, he observed that the elements that constitute edges present intensive circulation, both in the perimeter of the public space, as well as in the center, which speaks of space under constant surveillance (Aragón 2015).

Finally, and by way of conclusion, urban design and configuration, although it plays an important role in the perception of fear, is also a tool that allows us to generate intervention plans that help form a community and prevent criminal activities. All the concepts analyzed so far agree on the importance of urban spaces for the development of their inhabitants, and the environment is recognized as a tool for community cohesion.

11.2.3 Environment and Behavior: The Paradox of Public Space in Latin America

Although at this point of the article we have mentioned the aspect of desired or undesired behaviors in public space and how it incites them, it is necessary at this point to clarify that in reality, both the public space can generate these behaviors through the perception of the individual, and the individual and his behaviors can affect the public space and deteriorate it. This relationship of opposing ways is given for the different social contexts of the space in which they develop, that is, it is not possible to identify the causes of deterioration of public space or unwanted behaviors, without studying in-depth the concerns, needs, shortcomings and in general all the relationships that the community or individual generate in space.

In order to better understand the behavior-space relationship, it is necessary to delve into environmental psychology, since it is interested in the theoretical and empirical analysis of the relationships between human behavior and its physical, built, natural and social environment (Roth 2000). It is through this how we could explain the behavior in the public space, based on authors who have studied the subject since its conformation. In this sense, and continuing with the idea raised at the beginning of this chapter, Willems (1973) proposes in his studies that behavior is a property of the system rather than an attribute of the individual, which means that this author suggests that it is the built environment that shapes people's behavior. On the other hand, Prochansky asserted that man is simply a component about his other components "man does not exist except in his relations with other components" (Proshansky et al. 1978).

Perloff (1973) speaks of the influence that the quality of the environment in which people live, work and play has on their quality of life. "The environment can be satisfying and attractive and enable individual development or it can be noxious, irritating and stultifying" (Perloff 1973). Likewise, the neglect of this criterion can show within the territory traits of dissociation, being found in behaviors due to the deterioration of the identity produced by the neglect of the individual's environment and precarious living conditions (Entel 2007).

With the knowledge of these ideas, we can then state that the how society relates to its environment has led to the realization that the way in which society has evolved has shaped to some extent the contemporary human being. This evolution has to do to a great extent with the appearance of cities, which due to their complexity and the agglomeration of services and activities has led to the radical modification of the way societies live and generated a diversity of ways of life within them that strongly contrasts with those of rural areas.

Knowing that environmental psychology is a branch that develops multidisciplinary and that its development has gone hand in hand with concepts that were established from urbanism and architecture, it is important to mention that this relationship unfortunately is one that has not yet fully coalesced and that if so, the design of spaces would be enriched.

We can also intuit that this lack of connection between these disciplines (environmental psychology, architecture and urbanism) would explain why within Latin American cities, above all, spaces continue to be built that help the appearance of undesired behaviors, perception of fear and problematic activities and in fact potentiate them. As exhibited by Méndez Rodríguez and collaborators (2013), "a closer relationship between environmental psychology, architecture and urbanism, are necessary especially for the search of quality urban indicators that achieve to improve life within cities." Coinciding with this, Corraliza and Aragonés point out that environmental psychology tries to raise the need to evaluate urban spaces, taking into account the degree to which these may or may not satisfy individual and social needs within a community.

Although no indicators have been presented that combine these disciplines, there are quality indicators used by UNICEF in its "Child Friendly Cities" program, and

for this purpose, the authors Corraliza and Aragones establish criteria to ensure the quality of the indicators.

The quality of urban spaces is strongly related to the elements and criteria proposed by Jacobs (1962) and De La Puente (1988), which were previously analyzed. In this way, the authors suggest the following criteria: in the first place, the need to control contact and social interaction, which refers to the importance of taking into account population density in the design of urban spaces and, like Jacobs, emphasizes the importance of remodeling and renovation. In addition to Jacobs' voice, they also state the criterion of the need for varied social activities, and relying also on different psychological research, they mention that the success of a public space does not depend only on its design, but also on the activities to use those public spaces, remembering that these are scenarios for social life.

The second criterion is the need for security and responsibility in maintenance, which alludes to the need for community cohesion since it is necessary for the society that inhabits the space to take responsibility and not depend solely on the authorities. As Newman mentions "A disengaged and apathetic citizenry often merely criticizes the police for failing to perform a task that, in truth, should be performed by itself." (Newman 1972). While the state has a responsibility for public spaces, the proper appropriation of space by its direct inhabitants is a relationship that can ensure its maintenance, sustainability and therefore its constant use. The appropriation of space consists of the possibility of moving, stopping, owning, acting, resenting, admiring, dreaming, learning, creating according to desires, aspirations and projects. It corresponds to a set of psychosocial processes that are situated in a subject-object relationship, between the subject (individual or group) that appropriates the space and objects arranged around it in everyday life (Aguilar 1990).

There is also the criterion of the need for esthetic satisfaction in design and planning, since these create urban landscapes that have a great importance for the performance and identity of the residents of a territory.

The importance of quality of urban spaces is essential to help the good development of individuals. Despite this, and the studies carried out by the aforementioned authors who agree with this theory, currently, the context of the quality of spaces is generally tied to the expectations of groups with high economic levels within a city; it is not strange, but paradoxical that, for example, in most of the cities of the Latin American region, green areas are concentrated in communes with more resources; and it is paradoxical, since, if we understand the foundations of the aforementioned authors in their theories of environment development, and the criteria set forth by Corraliza and Aragones, then the places with the greatest need for well-designed, quality environments, with elements that help prevent crime, are those with the highest levels of crime and which tend to be poor sectors.

In this way, we raise this paradoxism, which the author Jordi Borja also mentions in his articles, where he raises this current paradoxism in which public spaces have become, contrary to its main objective, in foci for the feeling of insecurity for the citizen and an area where youth exclusion takes place, so again we find the importance of the quality of public spaces (Borja 2000).

This paradox is spatially notorious in Latin American cities, where it is these areas that, in the neighborhoods that have access to this type of public space, become focal points for crime or activities related to drug trafficking. There are several factors that can lead to these conditions and that we can mention thanks to those already written in this theoretical basis, the lack of community cohesion that has allowed the emergence of agoraphobia in the neighborhoods, the lack of attention of the state in the maintenance of these spaces, in addition to the problems of exclusion, inequality and lack of opportunities, snatches a community of the basic right of security and recreation.

11.2.4 CPTED and Perception of Fear

As mentioned briefly above, it is important to explain the CPTED® methodology as it represents the basis for the methodology applied in the study conducted in 2018 and will be discussed below. “CPTED is a set of practical crime prevention implementation strategies that seek to reduce opportunities to commit crimes of opportunity, as well as to reduce community fear by increasing community cohesion” (Rau Vargas 2005). It is these three objectives that make the methodology of interest, but especially its community component. Since the perception of fear is a subjective phenomenon and can be formed collectively, CPTED is aligned with the purpose of the study.

But before going into the methodology, it is necessary to mention the theoretical models from which CPTED was developed.

- a. Jane Jacobs’ theory of eyes on the street (Jacobs 1962), which argues that security in urban space is associated with the level of contact and trust that communities can establish with each other. In this way, Jacobs created the term “eyes on the street” to indicate the need for individuals in public space to provide natural surveillance by the inhabitants themselves and generate a perception of security.
- b. Oscar Newman’s Defensible Space (Newman 1972) puts Jacobs’ ideas into practice from the perspective of what he called defensible space. In this case, and due to its purely territorial, almost segregated approach, the result of this theory was not crime reduction, but was the precursor of gated communities and, as mentioned above, the emergence of the architecture of fear.
- c. Another theory that should be mentioned is that of the spatial syntax laboratory of the Bartlett University of London. Bill Hillier, author of spatial syntax (Hillier 1996), argues that urban safety is closely linked to a city’s system of movement flows. In this way, he links theoretical elements, such as natural surveillance, not only of the resident neighbors of a space, but with the virtual community that cohabits the space.
- d. Finally, the Situational Crime Theory (Jeffery 1978). This line of thought supports the CPTED strategy, where the appropriate environmental design of a given territory can reduce both crimes of opportunity and the perception of fear by

increasing social cohesion. To achieve this, it is essential to prioritize the experience of the inhabitant as an expert of his or her own perception of environmental security.

The origin of the CPTED methodology arises mainly under the influence of architecture and urban development, examining how these variables facilitate or hinder the exercise of informal social control over a given space (Rau Vargas 2016).

CPTED is based on five principles that are universal, but adapted locally:

- a. **Natural surveillance:** ability to see and be seen and to feel confidence in the urban space because of its physical characteristics and the people who inhabit it. The high visibility of a place increases the possibility of control over it by its users and, therefore, decreases the possibility of illegal acts occurring there.
- b. **Territorial reinforcement:** it is the bond of affection that the inhabitant establishes with his environment and therefore takes care of it. Placing marks in the territory, symbols that say that it is being watched over by a community.
- c. **Natural Access Control:** the territorial appropriation of accesses by the civil community in a spontaneous manner through their use or marking. Natural access control seeks to promote, through design strategies, social or natural control over access to a given space.
- d. **Public Space Maintenance:** the design of environmental management plans to ensure the sustainability of the strategy. This in turn reinforces the inhabitants' sense of belonging to their environment and contributes to generating adequate use and care for it.
- e. **Community Participation:** the incorporation of the community in the diagnosis, design, implementation and evaluation of the CPTED strategy. In this way, access is gained to the wisdom of the native expert, and it is possible to generate adequate responses to the community's problems.

In terms of tools, this methodology uses several that are applied depending on the case and the type of interventions required in the territory to be analyzed. The most representative ones are mentioned next:

- **Exploratory Safety Walk (MES):** Exploratory safety walks allow the community to determine the places where they feel unsafe (streets, parks, public transportation systems, commercial premises, schools, among others) (Rau Vargas 2003),
- **Drawing Workshop (TD):** These dynamics consist of asking people from the community (preferably children), considered as expert inhabitants of a neighborhood, to "dream their space" to intervene. For this purpose, they are offered crayons and blank cardboard so that they can draw their ideas. Once the drawings are finished, they are exhibited in assembly and discussed, explaining the intention of each author. Depending on the case, various projective aspects of the image are analyzed, ranging from the quantity and differentiation of elements, the color, the intensity of the line and the messages that have been written. The drawings can be made by settlers of different ages, with the contribution of children being considered especially valuable (Program for Citizen Coexistence 2015).

- **Community Mapping (MP):** It is a tool that asks a group of neighbors about their perception of insecurity in the neighborhood and the problems that are experienced in it. It is represented as ellipses, and each interviewee defines his ellipse and the mark on a map. Take advantage of the territorial knowledge of the native expert and have a georeferenced database, which allows us to obtain data such as places of risk, critical crime areas, neighborhood problems and perception of fear.

Given that the objective of this work is to study the perception of fear and localize it in the territory, it was important to mention these tools and highlight the role played by community participation in them; without this element, the analysis of the phenomenon would not be possible.

11.3 Methodology

“Author’s Notes”:

- *The information gathered and the analysis of this article are framed in the scenario before the pandemic. Therefore, further research should be conducted to learn how this situation is affecting the perception of fear in the case study.*

The objective of this study is to establish, through primary and secondary information, how the phenomenon of the perception of fear affects community cohesion, how this phenomenon affects the appearance of crime and finally, how it translates to urban space.

This will be done through secondary information obtained by the Territorial Information Section of the Criminal Analysis Department of the Carabineros, which through the Territorial Information Analysis System (SAIT), a platform that georeferences criminal acts as well as educational establishments, green areas, commerce, neighborhood centers, among others. The SAIT compiles information and generates hotspots of the areas with the highest incidence of crime.

In addition, the information provided in the Report of the Observatory of Drug Trafficking in Chile, which provides a current portrait of the criminal phenomenon of drug trafficking in Chile, will be used. This report uses the resources and experiences of the drug unit and the contributions of other institutions in this area.

Finally, a cadastee of the CPTED interventions carried out in the area from 2016 to 2018 was obtained, which was the term of data collection. To establish relationships between these interventions and the behaviors and perceptions of the inhabitant, this information was obtained thanks to the transparency portal of the Municipality of Puente Alto, Chile.

As for the primary information, we will rely on the semi-structured group interviews that were conducted in 2018, with people from the communities of the case study. The methodology chosen in this part corresponds to the need for the narrative to emerge naturally and for the neighbors’ appreciations to stand out collectively, since personal experiences can give a more complete vision of the daily life that is

lived. Having given them freedom and having them in an environment of trust, the information obtained tells us about their environment with the neighbors and the coexistence among them.

Finally, these two sources of information will be analyzed, areas of importance in the territory will be established, and the occurrence of these phenomena will be analyzed, reaching the objectives previously mentioned.

11.3.1 Case Study: Pedro Aguirre Cerda Neighborhood (PAC), in the Puente Alto District, Chile

Puente Alto is the largest commune within the territory of the Metropolitan Region of Santiago de Chile. It derives from a settlement called Las Arañas, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was located at the entrance to the Maipo River mountain range, after the opening of an important mountain pass, the installation of mining operations, the laying of a cable bridge to Pirque and the construction of the Eyzaguirre Canal (today the San Carlos Canal).

At the beginning, the population of this commune was dedicated to services and industries that were located in the territory. This commune has a great trajectory in traditions and social events that were part of the activities of the neighbors of the place. However, at the end of the 70s, some political and social events provoked the forced migration of people from the center of Santiago to Puente Alto. This new reality brought with it patterns that were linked to the impact of the new social vulnerability unleashed by the rejection of the new residents qualified as foreign and improper (Image 11.1).

This article will be based on the Pedro Aguirre Cerda neighborhood, located in the southwest of the Puente Alto commune. It is located on the west side of the Puente Alto commune, comprising the quadrant between the streets Abate Molina, El Cabildo, San Pedro Street and Concha y Toro Avenue. Images 11.2 and 11.3 show the neighborhood location reference.

Several crime and delinquency problems have been identified in this area. According to Carabineros data, the most frequent crimes are robbery with violence, robbery with intimidation, burglary and injuries. There is also an important presence of drug micro-trafficking, drug possession and consumption, which, in addition to provoking violent situations, generates a general feeling of insecurity throughout the neighborhood.

One of the important factors that promotes the feeling of insecurity among the inhabitants of the PAC is the strong presence of drug gangs and consumers that gather in the streets; these criminal gangs that act with absolute impunity look for new members within the neighborhood and frighten the neighbors by appropriating spaces for their criminal activities.



Image 11.1 Activities of the residents of Puente Alto. In the upper left: Parade of Carabineros 1960; top right: nurses parade 1976; lower left: Union Clavero 1962 Sports Club; lower right: National Theater 1960. *Source* Puente Alto twentieth century: Photographic Retrospective

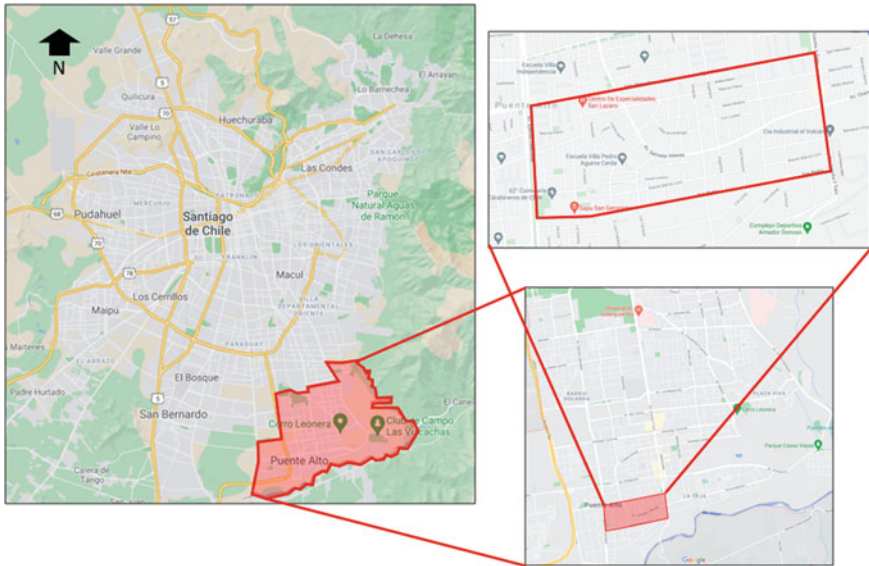


Image 11.2 Location of neighborhood Pedro Aguirre Cerda. *Source* Own elaboration from images taken from google maps

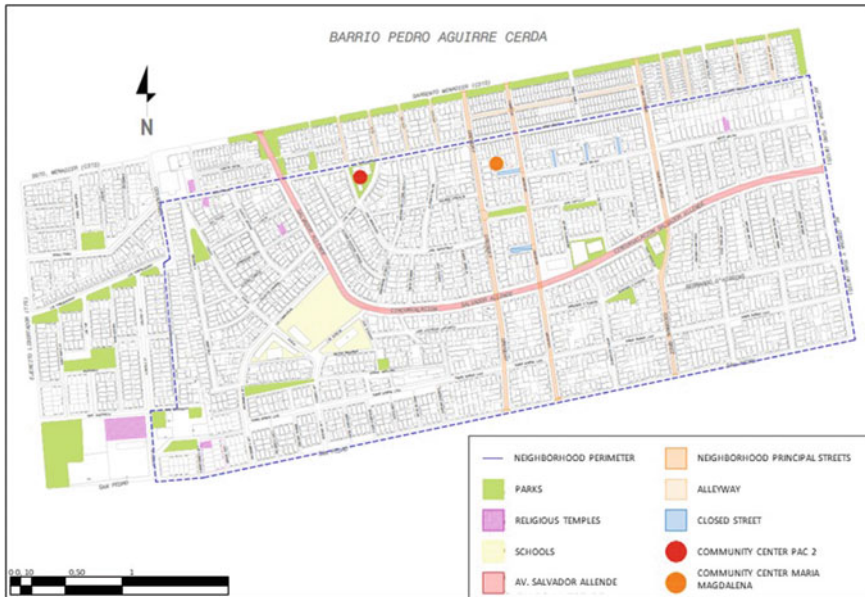


Image 11.3 Plan of the PAC, which shows the delimitation of the neighborhood, its structure and urban elements of interest. *Source* Author’s own elaboration from the Municipal Regulatory Plan of Puente Alto

11.3.2 Secondary Information

In order to visualize the crimes occurring in the PAC, information was obtained from the SAIT, which is a georeferenced information system of Carabineros de Chile. In this way, it manages to show in the territory, through hotspots, the Crimes of Major Social Connotation (D.M.C.S.), which according to this institution are those corresponding to the groups that are most affected, called “Violent Crimes” (Robbery with Violence, Robbery with Intimidation, Robbery by Surprise, Injuries, Homicide and Rape) and “Crimes against Property” (Theft of Motor Vehicle, Theft of Vehicle Accessories, Robbery in an Inhabited Place, Robbery in a Non-Inhabited Place, Other Robberies with Force and Theft).

The information obtained from the Observatory of Drug Trafficking in Chile and the points located in the territory of the occurrence of crimes related to drug trafficking will also be used.

Image 11.4 shows the map with the information of the 2018 D.M.C.S. hotspots in the study area, as well as information from the Drug Trafficking Observatory.

The mapping of urban intervention projects carried out by the Chilean Undersecretariat of Crime Prevention in this area is also presented and shows this information on Image 11.5. Projects that may be affecting the phenomenon of Perception of Fear, as well as the occurrence of delinquency and crime. The information was extracted

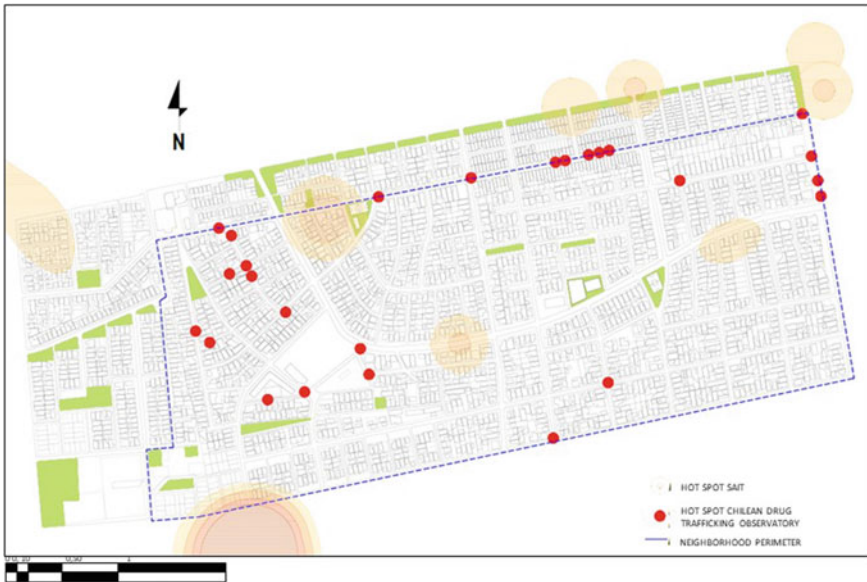


Image 11.4 Map of the neighborhood that shows the SIAT Hotspots and the points of criminal occurrence in terms of drug trafficking from the Chilean Drug Trafficking Observatory. *Source* Author’s own elaboration based on information provided by the SAIT and the Drug Trafficking Observatory

from the transparency page of the municipality of Puente Alto and is projects carried out by the Undersecretariat of Crime Prevention from 2016 to 2018.

11.3.3 *Primary Information*

For the primary information, we first present the semi-structured interview that was conducted in groups in two of the neighborhood councils located in the neighborhood: Pedro Aguirre Cerda 2 and María Magdalena.

This activity was carried out because it is important to have an account of the way of life of the community and how it moves within its territory, so the questions try to focus on the way of life, the coexistence with their neighbors and the concerns they have to develop in their neighborhood.

In the explanation of the instrument, we have avoided talking about “fear, apprehension or feelings of insecurity” in the hope that they would come up naturally in the story, but instead, we ask about the concerns they experience living in the neighborhood.

Being a semi-structured interview, there were variations in the questions and in the way the conversation was conducted, but the format shown below was followed.



Image 11.5 Map of the PAC neighborhood with recent urban interventions. *Source* Author’s own elaboration from the information obtained in the transparency page of the municipality of Puente Alto

11.3.3.1 Semi-structured Interview

- a. How long have you lived in the area?
- b. How is coexistence in the neighborhood?
- c. Do they live quietly in the neighborhood?
- d. What is your biggest concern?
- e. What places in the neighborhood do they avoid?
- f. Have you implemented security measures such as bars, alarms?
- g. Are the neighbors organized in any way?
- h. Do you think the situation has improved with the interventions that the municipality has made?
- i. Do you think that the people who commit crimes are external or belong to the neighborhood?
- j. What do you think of the lighting that exists in the neighborhood?
- k. What do you think of the parks that are in the neighborhood?
- l. What do you think of the visual field of the neighborhood?

To analyze the data, a comparative list is made of the most significant variables for this article: elements of neighborhood cohesion, behavior, municipal interventions, security measures.

With this type of ordering, an attempt was made to establish the differences in the scenarios that exist in the neighborhood, which made the differences between

these two communities notorious despite the fact that they are streets away from each other. The neighbors' responses to each of these variables are shown below.

- Variable: Elements of neighborhood cohesion: existing.

PAC 2: There were no comments.

MARÍA MAGDALENA:

- Yes, we get along super well.
- It is that perhaps also, we are the closest relatives sometimes of the neighbors, many times the neighbor needs help, something. He has touched me, I have to go to help him from a neighbor.
- You know that I also find that when a conflictive neighbor arrives and since we are calmer, he gradually integrates into the community and is no longer with that aggressiveness because sometimes there are neighbors.
- You talk about the everyday things that happen to us, too. Well, one has so many things to tell because she is alone, suddenly what happened (with the workshops at the headquarters).
- It is also useful for us to leave the house, also because we spend the whole day at home, nothing more and this workshop, we have been with each other for about ten years, we are always the same and it helps us to share.
- We have learned like this, to know our neighbors, because they brought free courses and we know four houses that are asking, hey, how are you? And so around us, but no further, then we began to get to know each other, higher up, lower down, there were also meetings that took us out for a walk and all that. That helped us to unite and get to know our neighbors.

- Variable: Elements of neighborhood cohesion: existing.

PAC 2:

- One day I set the alarm and nobody came out.
- They are at home and they are not united.
- It is less united than before the people.
- Wherever I live too, it seems that the population is new but we are going to turn 30 this year, but first everything was, "hello neighbor, hello neighbor", everyone greeted each other, now there are very few who say hello.
- And he should have notified the municipality, finally that they put it in another house, but there we were left with nothing, meaning that the effort made by the municipality is useless.

MARÍA MAGDALENA: there were no comments.

- Variable: Behavior that has been negatively modified.

PAC 2:

- You can't wear earrings because those things happen.

- Now you have to go without a wallet, without jewelry, without anything.
- I was going through there but now I don't dare, it's terrible there. One day I was passing by here and I heard the shooting.

In this case there was no positive modified behavior.

MARÍA MAGDALENA: No comments in either of the variables.

- Variable: Municipal interventions that were made.

PAC 2:

- Culture is lacking.
- But they only last a while.
- It also has no light.
- Had in a while.
- But I have no light, no camera.
- Imagine that here they did this beautiful thing on the court for the children to entertain themselves, they put little seats on it, but it is impossible, so in the end they put double bars on it and the seats stayed inside the bars.
- There is not much in some parts no more (lighting).
- It lights up a little outside, but it's not enough.
- It is what they called a safe point, well, I think that is what it was called, it seems to me and that they did nothing else.

MARÍA MAGDALENA:

- If they have put (lighting).
- Yes, the light is very good (lighting).
- Yes, for my ticket they put (lighting).

- Variable: Security measures.

PAC 2:

- Now you have to be with the door all day, you leave the door with a key, you enter the door with a key.
- I had that thing and they rob us anyway (alarm).
- The alarm they gave us (Count on).
- He went to put a fence on the inside door, so it is a safer one.
- Grate, you have to buy a gun.
- Sure, now it has to be all lattice
- Before a candle lit more than the lights they had put before, now they put on my block.
- If that has improved (luminary).
- Yes enough (for the interventions).

MARÍA MAGDALENA:

- They are trying to have more access to these alarms that they gave us to be able to catch these people so that they do not come again because then one sounds an alarm and then the other neighbors are warned.
 - We have here, but it is as an enclosure here that all this is more private, but the streets that are like this, that have entrance on both sides and that they put in the middle, is a danger for people (bars).
 - The bars, nothing more, all lattice.
 - In mine, always the gate with a key, nothing more, but that the windows have protections, none. They have even always been used, they don't even close, it's the most fun, they close here and that's it, I don't close anything.
 - Those are the community alarms, but we don't have them.
 - That happens here (speaking of community alarms), that was placed on all of us because before they closed the streets, they put a fence on it and it was much more dangerous than if it were open (they removed the fence from his passage).
 - In my house, it is never locked, sometimes the door is open and I have never had it locked, on the other hand, all the neighbors have a key.
 - I am also the same, I do not leave my door locked.
 - Everyone goes out at my house and I go out. One day, the lock broke, I left it open, I go to the bread and leave it open, because the lock sometimes worked and sometimes it didn't.
 - Before I used to see them at night that they were standing in a corner, I saw them from the morning when one went out at a certain time that they were sitting all the time, but now they are not, it has not been seen, something happened that they no longer meet so much.
 - At least in this time it has not been seen as much as it had seen last year, more movement, this year not so much.
- Variable: Fears or worries.

PAC 2:

- I believe that if they are from other parts.
- They are scrambled, they are from everywhere.
- If they come from abroad, from other towns.
- Everywhere there are, those who live here steal there and those from there steal here and so on.
- No, I think they are from this same neighborhood (criminals).
- More or less (perception of safety in the neighborhood)
- Sue is our main concern (they rob their houses).

MARÍA MAGDALENA:

- Suddenly the square, a small group with drugs get together, as in any square.
- On the other hand, because they are not known, at least from beyond my village, they are not.

- The other is to go to the side of a garden that there is, there were many people, at night there were many and, in the same day, which is practically close to a school, what gardens, what schools that go every day the kids inside.
- I go out where there is bingo I go, on Saturdays, that is, this Saturday I was like until 1:00 in the morning, but they are going to leave me and they come to look for me, of course at that time it is difficult to find locomotion and all that.
- I have not seen anything strange, no assault, no.
- I go out, because I, for example, like basketball and when they play games that start at 9:00 and end at 11:00 at night, I go and I go out, of course, I take the bus at the square and no, not at that time either.
- And in the old days, when I first got there, anyway, we entered around 1 or 2 in the morning that we worked on events with my sister, and I went in alone at 1 or 2 in the morning that they left me here outside of Izaguirre, nothing, never saw anything, nothing ever happened.
- (He wonders about places they avoid) No, at least, already one, the time comes for everyone to come home from work, one does not go out practically, one closes himself in his house and does not go out; In the morning, in the early hour, that one gets up early to fix the things that go to work, his people and the children to school, but, that one goes out like that to do some paperwork or purchase.
- From Monday to Friday I hardly find myself at home, but I go out there in the square to buy, to look for my fabrics that I sew, or I start painting, I go out to buy paint, but all in the day, already in the square of Puente Alto nothing happens.

11.3.3.2 Community Mapping

As part of the primary information collected with neighbors in 2018, it is also shown a community mapping was conducted in the neighborhood sections: Pedro Aguirre Cerda 2 and María Magdalena, following the CPTED methodology for this tool and which was explained previously.

The neighbors were presented with a map where they could identify areas that they avoided for fear of crime and identify the reason for their decision. Image 11.6 shows the map that concentrates people responses.

From this information, we can begin the analysis of the data and thus determine where in the neighborhood the perception of fear is located, how this affects community cohesion, its relationship with crime and how it translates to public space.

11.4 Analysis

11.4.1 Mapping Analysis

For the analysis and formulation of conclusions, the plan with all the elements obtained as a whole is presented.



Image 11.6 Community mapping, which shows the areas that the neighbors indicated, they avoid. *Source* Author's own elaboration base on information compiled through community participation tools

Image 11.7 shows the elements of the primary and secondary data, with which we can make a reading of what is happening in the territory. According to this first stage of analysis, we can make some observations.

There is a very marked relationship with the zones and their incidence of delinquency. It can be seen how the western part of the neighborhood is agglomerated with strong problems related to drug use and drug sales. In comparison with the east side, where, for the most part, these are problems of lack of lighting, which, although important for the perception of fear in the neighborhood, is a non-violent situation.

In addition to this last observation, it is notorious that drug trafficking cases, both primary and secondary data, are concentrated in the west of the neighborhood, where the neighborhood configuration loses its order and a disorderly pattern begins. At this point, we can infer that this is due to the fact that these areas are more likely to allow the offender to escape or to have areas where he can hide, or even the so-called trap places.

The plan highlights the almost exact relationship between the points identified as problematic by the secondary information and the information provided by the neighbors to the study, especially concerning drug trafficking, which tells us about an understanding of what is happening in the territory.

Although the eastern area of the neighborhood also has problems of crime and drug trafficking, neighbors do not identify it and limit themselves to identifying areas with a lack of lighting and only one area where drugs are sold. At this point, we can infer that this is due to the fact that the perception of fear in this area is much lower than in the west.

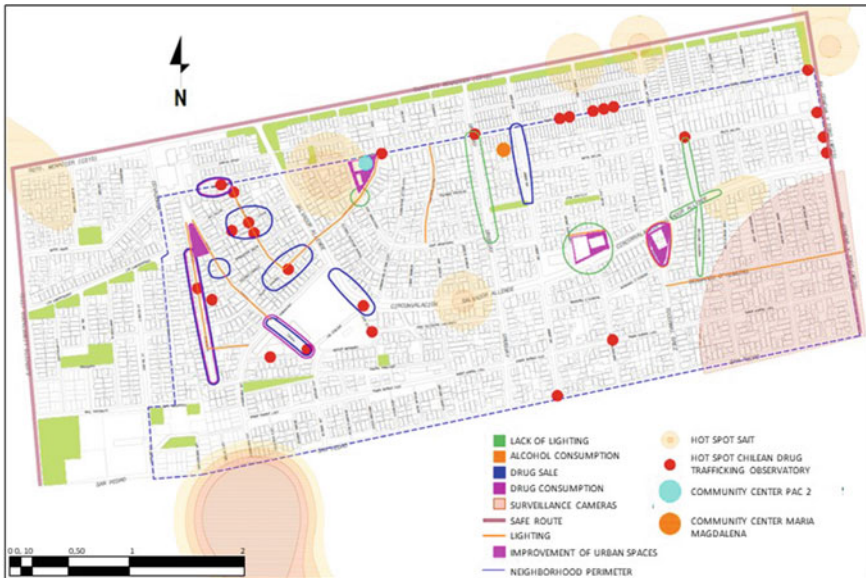


Image 11.7 Map with all the variables of interest. *Source* Author’s own elaboration from different sources of information

It is notorious in this agglomeration of problems identified in the west zone and its relationship with the interventions carried out by the municipality of Puente Alto, since they are located precisely where these criminal acts are occurring. This may speak of a negative reaction of the neighbors to the interventions by the municipality or of interventions that do not correspond to the needs of the area.

11.4.2 Interview Analysis

If we go back to look at the responses obtained in the interviews, we can clearly see the differences between sites. Evidently the community that corresponds to María Magdalena and which is located in the center of the neighborhood has a much lower perception of fear, this based on the category of “feelings of fear or concerns” where, although both communities said to have had these feelings, PAC 2 has more mentions of this phenomenon and risk situations are detailed. This coincides with what we see in the territory.

Continuing with the idea of the causes of fear perception, the difference between the two communities in terms of the security measures they implement is also notorious. In both communities, they use some security measures to feel better in the place where they live; in PAC 2, none of the interviewees mentioned that they did not use security measures.

Huge contrast, if you remember the comment that “*my house is never locked.*”

It is also necessary to mention the differences in terms of neighborhood cohesion, since once again, the María Magdalena community speaks with pride and positive emotions about their interactions with neighbors, as well as the help they give to neighbors and they receive. In the case of PAC 2, a clear rejection is seen, especially by neighbors they identify as new to the area and do not relate to them. In addition, this community expresses the desire to be relocated.

This is supported by the category of “behavior” where it is clear how the PAC 2 community has felt obliged to change some behaviors, including not going to places in the neighborhood and using valuable objects. This is not the case with Maria Magdalena.

Coming to the part of the interventions, Maria Magdalena was the only one that mentioned that urban interventions were made to improve parks and to install street lights; this community also said that they were good and sufficient. PAC 2, on the other hand, said that there were street lights, but they were vandalized or there was simply no lighting. This is striking, because if we remember the idea of mapping analysis, there are criminal occurrences in areas where urban interventions were made; this shows that it is possible that they are not sufficient or do not meet the territorial needs.

11.4.3 Photographic Analysis

To take a closer look at the attributes of the territory and its urban elements that are helping to generate a perception of fear in the Pedro Aguirre Cerda neighborhood. For this, we will focus on two zones, which call our attention and are shown in Image 11.8.

These two zones were chosen because they present different characteristics that are interesting for the study. Zone 1 shows the pattern of incidences of drug trafficking and crimes of social connotation aligned with the conflictive zones avoided by the residents of the neighborhood who were interviewed. Zone 2 is of interest because, despite having incidences of crime and drug trafficking, neighbors only indicated alcohol consumption and lack of lighting.

11.4.3.1 Zone 1

The photographs of the terrain of Zone 1 are presented in the following charts, with the aim of knowing the conditions in which the territory is located (Image 11.9).

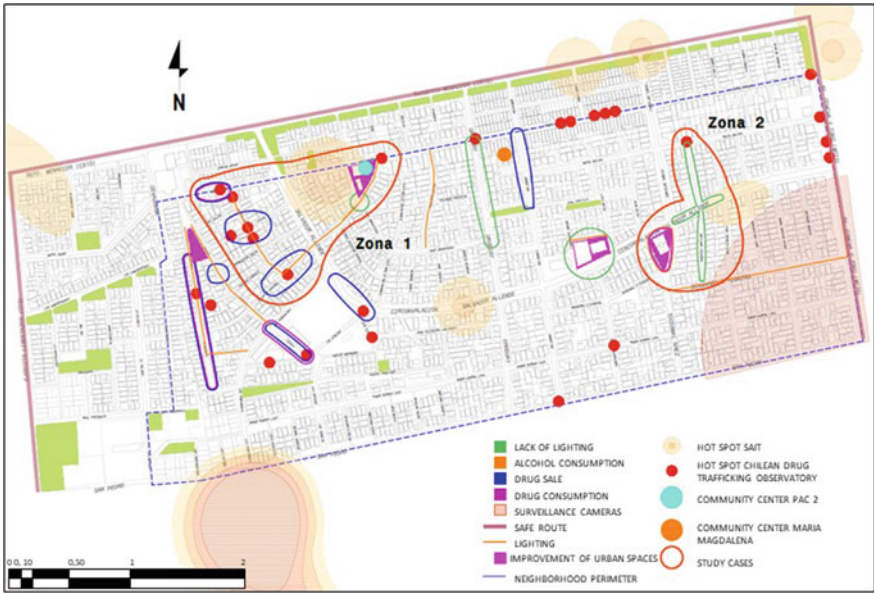


Image 11.8 Map with all the variables of interest and the study areas. *Source* Author's own elaboration from different sources of information

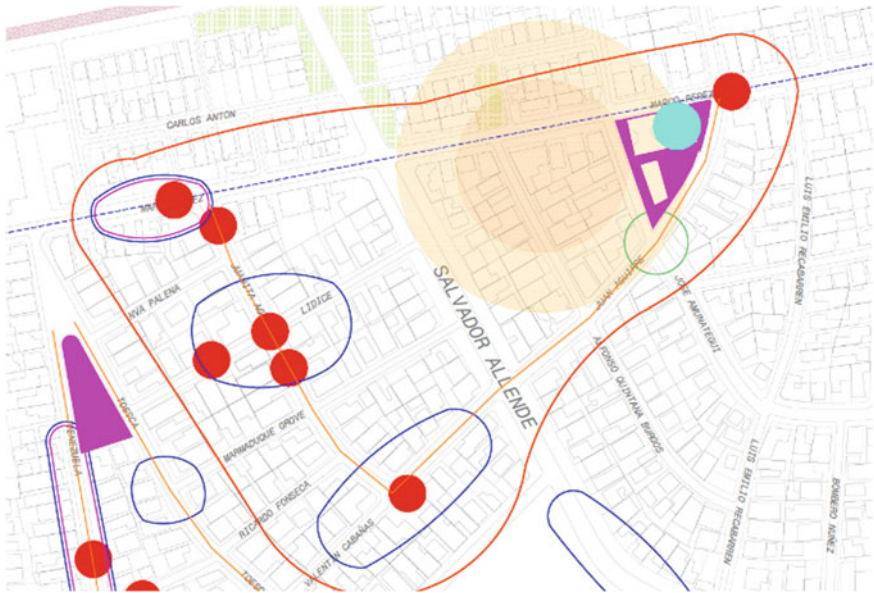


Image 11.9 Shows an approach to Zone 1. *Source* Author's own elaboration from different sources

Photographs	Observations
Image 11.10	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Juanita Aguirre Street.• The houses have little visual access to the street: small windows and gates that enclose the entrances.• The vegetation placed prevents the view to the outside from the windows of the houses.• The presence of the bars is notable.• Despite having lighting, it is not powerful enough to fully illuminate.• The number of people on the street drops dramatically at night.
Image 11.11	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Homes with little visual access to the street.• The existing vegetation is denser, preventing the view of the houses to the outside.• The presence of bars is notable, as well as high fences.• Despite having lighting, the type of vegetation does not allow it to be adequately illuminated, leaving “dark tunnels” in the sidewalks.
Image 11.12	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• It has enough lighting.• The existing vegetation creates darkness on the sidewalks, especially in front of the houses.• The vision of the houses toward the street is interrupted by the type of vegetation.• The paths are quite narrow.



Image 11.10 Photographs of Juanita Aguirre Street, at night and during the day. *Source* Author’s collection



Image 11.11 Photographs of Lídice street, at night and during the day. *Source* Author’s collection

11.4.3.2 Zone 2

The photographs of the terrain of Zone 2 are presented on the following charts, in order to understand the conditions of the territory (Image 11.13).

Image 11.14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has plenty of lighting at night. • The existing vegetation allows surveillance of the houses to the street and the park itself. • The park is well maintained. • There is a lot of activity at night.
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(continued)

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Image 11.15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It has enough lighting at night in the area, where the sports field is located and the furniture for exercising is dark. • The existing vegetation allows partial surveillance from the houses to the park. • The park is well maintained. • There is a lot of sporting activity during the early hours of the night. • The use of the park changes during the night-early morning when groups that consume alcohol are located in the place. • The urban form in which this park is laid out allows for trap sites that, as they are not well lit, cause vulnerable points for the appearance of crimes. • The internal area of the park is left without lighting.
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11.5 Conclusions

Finally, with the information from the different sources of information, we can draw conclusions.

We can conclude first of all that the cases of drug trafficking that are occurring in the western zone of the neighborhood may be happening for several reasons, among these, effectively the urban configuration attracts criminal groups to the area, since it is difficult to have natural surveillance in the streets; but also the lack of maintenance of this space is notorious, and it is seen in the photographic analysis of Zone 1, where you can see the trees not pruned, little space on the sidewalk. As stated in the transparency information of the Municipality of Puente Alto, there is lighting in the area, but the field visit shows that the lights are poorly placed and are not bright enough to make the space safe.

As for the interventions carried out by the Undersecretariat and the municipality, they have not had a great impact on the perception of the neighbors in the western area, which is also the area of the PAC 2 community. This is due to the lack of community cohesion that the interviews made clear, which in addition to not encouraging closer ties of coexistence, as established in the theoretical basis, also causes the perception of fear to grow and spread.

On the other hand, the María Magdalena community, which is located to the east of the neighborhood, presents a strong community cohesion and affective ties that translate to the territory, since the parks are in good condition and their lights are working, and the problems reported in the area are related to “lack of lighting,” which in comparison to the issues of concern of the PAC 2 community, are less critical. Thanks to this, the perception of fear is also very low in the area, and this is reflected in the responses of the group interviews.

It should be emphasized that it is the urban interventions carried out with the support of citizen participation tools, including the CPTED methodology in these two areas that have had an impact on the integration of the neighborhood communities, which makes us see the relevance of multidisciplinary for the improvement of security aspects. In this regard, it is worth noting the psychosocial work

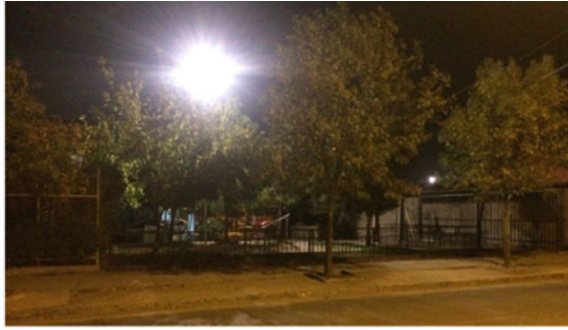


Image 11.12 Photographs of Calle Marcos Pérez street, at night and during the day. *Source* Author's collection



Image 11.13 Shows an approach to Zone 2. *Source* Author's own elaboration from different sources



Image 11.14 Photographs of Calle Circunvalación Presidente Allende and Argentina, at night and during the day. *Source* Author's collection

carried out especially in the area of the María Magdalena community, who received several workshops by psychologists, teachers and artists, whose activities strengthened community ties and helped in the appropriation of both public space and security interventions.

Finally, we see that in terms of the physical attributes that are conducive to prevent the perception of fear from appearing in a neighborhood, we can conclude that maintenance has a lot to do with it. Well-maintained vegetation, making the lighting fixtures, has a better illumination radius and prevents the furniture from being vandalized. But as mentioned above, this is not possible to achieve without working on community ties.

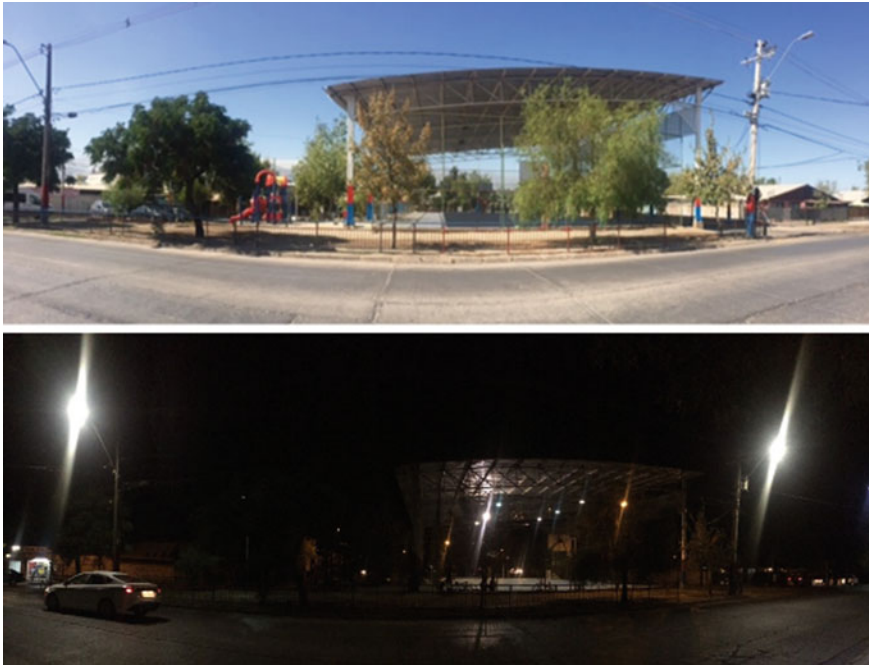


Image 11.15 Photographs of Calle Circunvalación Presidente Allende and Tocomal Grez, at night and during the day. *Source* Author's collection

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Chapter 12

CPTED Evolution from Latin America to the World



Macarena Rau Vargas

Abstract The following article describes the main milestones in the evolution of the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) methodology over the last 21 years in the Hispanic region and its impact in the global scale also. It begins by describing what the CPTED methodology is, which has more than 50 years since its creation, and defining its main theoretical framework, also emphasizing first-, second- and third-generation CPTED. Then, it continues with the description of measured success cases in the Hispanic region, as well as the description of CPTED instruments including the CPTED Cloud of Dreams, an instrument that is successful to mediate and analyze the perception of the urban insecurity in children. Finally, it ends with the description of the ICA Umbrella initiative that has a global scope within the framework of the launch of the new ISO CPTED 22341 standard.

Keywords CPTED · First, second and third-generation CPTED · CPTED diagnosis · ICA Umbrella Initiative · ISO CPTED 22341

12.1 Introduction

The following text describes the evolution of the CPTED methodology that was created more than 50 years ago, in three historical phases. The first considers its methodological transfer from the city of Toronto in Canada to Santiago de Chile from the year 2000 to 2004 with the support of the Canadian Embassy and the Fundación Paz Ciudadana in Chile, fitting with the beginnings of second-generation CPTED and the foundation of Corporación CPTED Region as the official ICA Chapter in the Hispanic region; the second with the expansion of the CPTED methodology from Chile to the Hispanic region from 2005 to 2018 with the support of international agencies such as the World Bank, IDB, USAID and CAF, among others, and that fits with the consolidation of second-generation CPTED; and finally, the ICA Global

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Umbrella initiative from 2019 to 2021, which fits in with the start of third-generation CPTED.

12.2 Theoretical Framework

In the next part of the document, concepts that are linked to Urban Safety and the CPTED methodology are defined.

(a) Citizen Security¹

From a broad perspective, security is related to the set of systems for the protection of life and property of citizens in the face of risks or threats caused by various factors, both psychosocial and associated with urban development. Conceptualized, security is linked to the social values of respect for life, physical integrity and property of others and their economic, political and social freedoms.

In order to achieve citizen security, the responsibility of both the State and its various agencies, as well as the general public, is required. In this sense, the active participation of citizens in overcoming the security problem, through their community organizations, is essential to increase the levels of prevention and satisfaction of the people.

The concept of citizen security has been commonly understood in two fundamental dimensions: first, as threats to people and property derived from criminal activity, particularly robberies with violence, theft and various forms of aggression and, second, as the dangers related to the occurrence of catastrophes and disasters resulting from earthquakes, floods, alluvium and ecological crises, among others.²

(b) Social Crime Prevention

Social prevention is based on non-criminal interventions on potential offenders, aimed at mitigating their criminal propensity, based on the classic theories of the etiology of crime, according to which criminal action is explained by the existence of various factors (family, school, friends, partner, job, drugs, alcohol, etc.). That is to say, it is intended to act on the structures of crime and the creation of bonds of social solidarity that, favoring the prevention of illicit behaviors, increase the quality of life of citizens, and its results could only occur in the medium and long term.

(c) Situational Crime Prevention

The thesis that a large amount of crime responds to an opportunity and that it is susceptible to change as opportunities vary grew in the 1970s. This view was supported

¹ UNDP. Regional Human Development Report 2013–2014 Citizen Security With A Human Face: diagnosis and proposals for Latin America Copyright © 2013 of the United Nations Development Program 1 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, United States.

² Jaramillo, Andrés. Social Perception of Crime and Citizen Security, 2002.

by investigations especially based on interviews with residential offenders (Brantingham and Brantingham 1975; Bennett and Wright 1984). These authors argued that risk avoidance plays an important part in the offender's decision-making process in the event of a possible criminal situation.

Situational prevention³ has become a fundamental axis in public policy and research since the early 1980s in various countries around the world. This coincided with a favorable political and academic situation in the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia, countries where it has expanded the most since that date.

In this sense and specifically, the development of a situational approach to crime prevention, with theoretical bases and empirical research, is strongly linked to the work of the Home Office Urban Planning Unit,⁴ United Kingdom, in the early eighties, and especially with the work of the criminologist Ronald Clarke.

In criminological terms, situational prevention represents a path toward:

- An emphasis on disturbances of the physical environment.
- The relevance of the informal social control process.
- The aggression rather than the aggressor as the first focus of attention, and situated in a spatial context.

(d) CPTED⁵(Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design)

One of the areas where the value of the theory of criminal opportunity has been demonstrated is that of planning, urban development and architectural design. In Canada, the United States and in more than 36 countries around the world, this approach is known as "Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design" (CPTED).

The concept of CPTED, coined in 1972 by C. Ray Jeffery, is based on the idea that crimes occur in certain spaces due to the location opportunities offered by the physical environment. This allows us to suggest that it is possible to alter the physical environment in a way that reduces the probability of such crimes occurring.

According to Jeffery⁶ (1972):

The urban environment can influence criminal behavior in particular and behavior in general in two ways: physically, by providing the physical environment to which individuals respond; socially, by providing the social relationships to which individuals respond. Characteristics The most negative physical characteristics of the urban environment are noise, pollution and overcrowding. The social characteristics are alignment, loneliness, anxiety and dehumanization (Jeffery 1972).

First-generation CPTED proposes four basic concepts: natural access control, natural surveillance, maintenance and territorial reinforcement. The first three are

³ Felson and Clarke, Marcus, Ronald. Situational Crime Prevention, Police Research Series, Paper 98, 1998.

⁴ Government Entity in charge of Crime and Crime Prevention in the United Kingdom.

⁵ Rau, Macarena. Second Generation CPTED For Developing Countries: A Sustainable Strategy for Reducing Crime and the Fear of Crime in Urban Settlements. 2012. World Bank.

⁶ Jeffery, C. Ray. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design. 290 pages, Published December 1st 1971 by Sage Publications, Inc.

basically instrumental and common to other theories, while the fourth is linked to the theory of territoriality, which is part of ecological science. Second-generation CPTED adds a fifth principle which is community participation.

d.1. Natural Access Control

Natural access control is a design strategy that aims to reduce the criminal opportunity and promotes the design of architectural elements as thresholds to create in potential assailants the perception that there is a risk in choosing that area because it has a specific user. The main physical recommendations considered are as follows: connect shortcuts with observable areas; prevent the placement of accesses in unobserved areas; design spaces that guide users, giving natural indication of exit or entry; and provide a limited number of access routes.

d.2. Natural Surveillance

Natural surveillance is a design strategy that seeks to increase visibility about a space, through an appropriate location, window design, lighting and landscape design. It seeks to increase the capacity of urban inhabitants to observe the activity that occurs in the environment, which provides the opportunity to modify inappropriate behaviors or report them to the police or property owner. When natural surveillance is used to its fullest potential, it increases the possibility of inhibiting crime by making the offender's behavior easily identifiable.

d.3. Maintenance

The concept of maintenance of urban spaces refers to the need to have management, cleaning and gardening plans for public spaces. According to the CPTED program, it is very important that the urban space is perceived by users as a well-kept space. In this sense, the concept of maintenance of urban space is associated with the theory known as "broken windows," which assumes that a deteriorated space locates more crimes of opportunity than another in a good state of maintenance.

d.4. Territorial Reinforcement

The concept of territorial reinforcement alludes to the sense of affection that the inhabitant establishes with his immediate surroundings and for which he cares. The design of spaces that seek to increase a sense of affection in its users uses many techniques. Deliberately placing safe activities in potentially unsafe areas can achieve this effect. In this way, not only the use but also the maintenance of the area is increased. Second-generation CPTED⁷ arises especially in the development that this methodology has had in developing countries and considers community participation as a fundamental variable in the environmental design of CPTED solutions.

d.5. Community participation

⁷ Second-generation CPTED (1996) crucially integrates the fifth principle, which is community participation; the term Native Expert appears that prioritizes the wisdom of the community that inhabits the territory under study over their perception of security.

Most of the CPTED projects that have been carried out in the Latin America Country (LAC) region consider the inhabitant of the urban space as “*Native Environmental Expert*” of their feeling of environmental security and therefore must be a key actor, in all components of a strategy including four phases: Diagnosis, Design, Execution and Evaluation. It is considered that this native possesses an innate wisdom about their environment with appropriate methodologies which can be made available to achieve effective local strategies in reducing crime and insecurity indicators, based on initial postulates from Paulo Freire.⁸

Since 2019, evidence has been gathered with publications in scientific journals about a new generation known as third-generation CPTED.⁹ In this generation, new principles would be added such as *sustainability*, *public health* that integrates mental health and *self-realization*.

(e) Citizen Participation in Citizen Security policies

Traditionally, public security has been understood as the set of conditions that allow people a normal development in their daily life, free from the possibility of being a victim of criminal acts, whose responsibility corresponds solely and exclusively to the control bodies. That is, to police forces, prosecution and criminal execution as the only holders of the monopoly of force and the criminal power of the State. In this perspective, citizens and their organizations are rather objecting of passive protection by state institutions. Likewise, state action focuses fundamentally on the consequences of crimes, once they have already occurred.

The concept of citizen security, however, proposed to the citizen as not only protected, but, as an active subject of its own security, promoting social control. Likewise, it recognizes that the problem of insecurity does not only come from the lack of repressive action by the State, but also originates fundamentally from the conditions of development of social life. Therefore, crime is seen as a social problem that cannot be addressed one-dimensionally. Concepts of “co-production” of security, as well as social and situational prevention, are slowly being incorporated, while increasing the emphasis on the rehabilitation of offenders and the alternative resolution of criminal conflicts, among other elements. Thus, it introduced the participation of different organizations such as research centers, NGOs and neighbor associations and not only the traditional ones of the State.

(f) Local public management in Citizen Security policies

Mayors and their municipal management are increasingly required by neighbors and communities exposed to certain factors of insecurity such as incivilities, damage and urban degradation in general.

Situations such as alcohol intake on public roads, drunkenness, scratches, consumption of illicit substances, damage to urban furniture, empty sites, abandoned buildings and illegal trade, among others, are the daily problems in the neighborhoods that affect the quality of life of its inhabitants and/or users.¹⁰

⁸ Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 1970. Brasil.

⁹ See the previous chapter in this book by Gregory Saville and Mateja Mihinjac.

¹⁰ Blanco, J. Vargas, G. Participation in citizen security policies. In focus. ISSN 0717.9987.

Depending on decentralization and autonomy of local governments in LAC, as well as relations between the state and the market; their political authority has more or less influence on local public security policies.

A. Theoretical Lines From Criminology

(g) Rational Decision Theory

At the center of situational crime prevention appears the theory known as rational decision. Rational decision theory¹¹ of crime connects with the neo-classical concept of criminology that emphasizes rationality and the voluntary thought process carried out by people who commit crimes.

On the other hand, this theory conceptualizes the decision-making process in which the choice, linked or not to criminal aspects, would be carried out on the basis of a weighting of the relative weight between the perceived risk and the effort to obtain the expected gain. In this case, the aggressor is seen as a decision-maker who carefully calculates the advantages and disadvantages associated with certain activities.

Rational decision theory offers an economic model for crime, analogous to a cost-benefit analysis model. Here, the focus is from the individual to the costs and benefits, as well as the way they express themselves in the context or situation in which the crime occurs.

Situational prevention endorses certain premises about aggressors and victims. The former is seen as decision-makers, who weigh the potential of a criminal action, its risk and its cost before committing a crime.

The model of the theory of rational decision is particularly questioned about crimes expressive or compulsive nature. Measures of a situational nature have been mostly aimed at crimes against property and which are seen as less important than violent crimes. The image of the decision-maker, who carefully calculates the advantages and disadvantages of certain activities, does not fit the impulsive profile, particularly those associated with young people.

(h) Theory of the Routine activities

Recently, the theory of routine activities has contributed to the construction of the theoretical framework of situational prevention. It tries to explain the probability of criminal opportunities from an explanation of what is called “predatory direct contact violations”.¹² The criminal acts are seen as physical events in that they relate to a specific position, with a time dimension and determined space.

The routine activity theory identifies three minimal elements for direct contact of predatory rape to occur: a willing aggressor, an attractive target and the absence of a guardian who could prevent the crime. For this theory, “the guardian” is more well thought of as a group of neighbors, friends or people close to the victim.

¹¹ Ministry of the Interior and Public Security. National Plan for Public Security and Prevention of Violence and Crime, Security for All. Santiago, May 2014.

¹² Crawford, Adam. “Crime Prevention and Community Safety, Politics, Policies & Practices.” Longman Criminology Series, 1998.

In this context, the city is seen as a stimulating environment for the occurrence of crimes where the aforementioned variables are combined, attractive victims, lack of vigilance and aggressors willing to commit a crime.

Then, the criminal triangle arises that would argue that for the occurrence of a crime of opportunity, a vulnerable victim, a motivated perpetrator and a favorable environment are required.

Marcus Felson¹³ has developed the notion of “guardian” that can inhibit the occurrence of crime by its mere presence.

(i) Displacement Effect

Given the context for situational prevention, based on the alteration of the opportunity for a crime to occur in a certain space with the intervention of physical and social variables, it has been considered as a possibility of response to the implementation of the strategy, which does not crime is inhibited, but rather moved to a more favorable context.

The review of the theoretical lines from criminology allows to contribute to the understanding of the interaction of the variables between a vulnerable environment (architectural and/or urban variables), a motivated author and an attractive victim for the aggressor.

B. Theoretical Lines From Urban Planning

There are various theoretical lines related to the problem of citizen security from the urban perspective. In this context, the thoughts of Jane Jacobs are reviewed¹⁴ and the Defensible Space Theory of Oscar Newman.¹⁵

(j) Life and Death of Great American Cities, Jane Jacobs (1962)

A great contribution to the study of the natural control of public space was made by Jane Jacobs with her book, “Death and Life of Great American Cities” (1962). This publication has been a strong influence, especially, on the theory and practice of urban design throughout the world, up to the present day.

In this book, Jacobs criticizes urban design made in the 1960s in the United States, especially those designs for residential areas. The author noted that some areas of Greenwich Village were host to diverse activities and were safe, while other areas, just a few housing blocks further away, were isolated and produced fear along with criminal opportunity. According to their analysis, the more active the neighborhoods, related to the mix of land uses, the more the opportunity was offered to residents to see what was happening in the environment.

Jacobs developed the concept of “eyes on the street” for the casual, but constant, vigilance that passing walkers and residents exercise from the windows of the buildings to the various activities carried out in the public space.

¹³ Felson, Marcus. “Linking criminal choices, routine activities, informal control, and criminal outcomes”, 1986 and “Those who discourage crime”, 1995.

¹⁴ Jacobs, Jane. “The Death and life of great American Cities.” Vintage Books, 1992.

¹⁵ Newman, Oscar. “Defensible Space Theory”. London, 1972.

Jacobs postulates that the streets are the main organs of a city and that an urban sidewalk in itself is nothing, that it is an abstraction, which acquires meaning in conjunction with the buildings and uses that are located on the edge. She understood that both the sidewalks and their users are active participants in the informal control of public space.

From the point of view of the sense of security in public space, Jacobs, in the context of the 1960s, raises three basic notions that must be applied in a balanced way for a sidewalk to be safe:

- There must be a clear demarcation between public and private spaces.
- There must be eyes on the street that look at what is happening and that belong to the
- Natural owners of public space.
- It must be used continuously.

For Jacobs, social contact is the basis of a civilized coexistence in community. According to the author:

A good community in the streets manages a wonderful balance between people's determination to have essential privacy and their simultaneous desires for different degrees of contact. This balance is given by small physical details sensibly handled, practiced and accepted so normally that they are given. for guaranteed. (Jacobs 1962).

Jacobs was the forerunner of one of the positions against the natural surveillance mechanism that translates into a permeable architectural solution. This position was and has been highly debated by different authors from various specialties. For example, Linden (1997) criticized Jacobs's observations and conclusions as simplistic and romantic. Rick Linden is Professor of Sociology at the University of Manitoba, Alberta, Canada. He wrote the book "Building a Safer Society: Crime Prevention in Residential Environments. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation," in which he alludes to Jacobs' observations. The author maintains that the natural surveillance mechanism is not enough to make environments safe, since the crime phenomenon is more complex.

Subsequent research showed that natural surveillance was only carried out by people from the same community known to each other, such as family and friends, while research conducted by Ramsay¹⁶ and by Roncek and Roncek & Bell¹⁷ showed that many places located in areas of high social interaction experienced high crime rates, despite the natural surveillance mechanism. The book "Death and Life of Great American Cities," however, was a strong influence, especially on the theory and practice of urban design throughout the world, to this day (Madanipour 1996).

(k) Defensible Space (1972)

¹⁶ Malcom, Ramsay (1982) is a researcher for the UK Home Office and has investigated the relationship between pedestrian lighting and crime.

¹⁷ Roncek, Denis and Bell, Paul. "Bars, Blocks and Crime, Environmental Systems." nineteen eighty-one.

In 1972, Oscar Newman took up the problem of natural surveillance from a new perspective and developed the concept of defensible space.¹⁸ Newman explains that territoriality and the distinction between public and private space are crucial to maintaining order in a residential area. According to the author, territoriality generates a sense of ownership that increases personal responsibility, vigilance and a protective feeling on the part of the resident that can prevent crime.

From an analysis of residential complexes in height, Newman postulates that there are three causes of the emergence of antisocial behaviors: the anonymity of its inhabitants, due to the large size of the complexes; the lack of surveillance, which used to occur naturally from inside buildings; and the lack of route's alternative labyrinth designs. Its postulates promote housing complexes with a typological graduation of spaces: public, semi-public, semi-private and private space.

An important observation of this typological graduation is that the frames designed by Newman seek to minimize pedestrian traffic. The idea is that potential aggressors know that someone is probably around the house on a regular basis and taking care of the space.

Another of the architectural proposals developed by Newman is that of gated communities. In their design, these communities literally closed their perimeter defining only one possible access. In this way, they sought to control who entered or left the community.

Newman's work has been widely criticized for promoting architectural determinism (Mayhew 2009; Harries 1980), for ignoring contextual and social phenomena (Le Beau and Corcoran 1990) and for methodological mismatches (Bynum and Purry, Saville and Sarkissian 1998). However, his theory of defensible space influenced and still does in many real estate developments.

The theoretical lines previously exposed, both from urban planning and criminology, were and are the basis of the practical CPTED interventions that served as a laboratory and that will be described below carried out both in Chile and in the rest of Hispanic America.

12.3 Chile Case Studies

12.3.1 *Caleuche Villa Laboratory*

Puente Alto is a commune with more than 800 thousand inhabitants and is located on the south-western periphery of the metropolitan region of the city of Santiago in Chile. In the criminal indicators of the year 2006, it was as one commune with high rates of victimization and fear. One interdisciplinary team of work was established inside of the municipality, with the strong leadership of the mayor, and it was called team of management CPTED. This team was joined by actors relevant to local security as the

¹⁸ Newman, Oscar. "Defensible Space Theory". London, 1972.

police, sports associations, representatives of boards of neighbors and firefighters, among others.

With georeferenced information of allegations of crimes, carried out by Carabineros of Chile, the main “hotspots” of crime in the territory were located. In this way, it was concluded that one high concentration of theft by surprise and shoplifting was localized in the downtown of Puente Alto, as well as also one high concentration of theft against the property was localized in the southwest area of the commune that corresponds spatially with the location of large areas of social housing where the Caleuche Villa is located (Photo 12.1).

The urban center of Puente Alto was rebuilt in a period of three years following CPTED parameters, positively impacting the perception of safety of its users, as well as the productivity of commerce. It also strengthened the figure of the mayor, who has been until the moment reelected for three periods each one of four years. In the area of the social housing district, known as the area of El Caleuche Villa, there were three types of interventions performed.

The first intervention (2003) consisted of the implementation of the CPTED methodology through the elaboration of a participatory diagnosis, then participatory designs and finally the recovery of public space, responding to the environmental preferences detected by the community.



Photo 12.1 Remodeled children's playground together with painted facades in the CPTED el Caleuche project

Subsequent to this, one survey of victimization and the feeling of fear was conducted. A representative sample of neighborhood from Villa Caleuche, Villa Altos of the Maipo and of Villa Volcano 1 and 2 was incorporated. All the villas are adjacent, and the sample of the survey was of 1200 people.

From the data of the survey and subsequent analysis, very interesting results were obtained in form of maps and databases of information. Mainly, it was discovered that in the dynamics of interaction of these four villas coexisted what it is called the limit of Community Appropriation. This space does not however count with high levels of visual fields, something that was used by criminals of opportunity; i.e., areas without monitoring were very positive for the commission of crimes of opportunity.

In the year 2006, the mayor of Puente Alto contacted again the consultancy company PBK Consulting (www.pbk.cl) to finalize the work on the Villa El Caleuche. Three years were spent in the intervention in the public space, and further studies aimed at monitoring what occurred in the Villa from the perspective of the security environment. As a point of departure, it had one limitation which was the limited existence of city budget for the execution of the project. It was planned to fully carry out all the stages of a CPTED project, which are: Diagnosis, Design, Implementation and Evaluation. It began by performing again one participatory diagnosis in the form of assemblies. In the diagnosis stage, the issue of the limit of the resources was raised immediately to not create false expectations. This project was baptized by the community as “beautifying Your Villa,” and based on the diagnosis, it was determined, along with the community, to paint the gray walls of the 3-story high social housing blocks with different colors and murals in specific cases. It was ensured that the budget city was enough to buy the paint.

From this first CPTED laboratory in Chile, many lessons were extracted that allowed to influence later the residential housing policy of the country known as “I love my neighborhood” promoted by the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism.

In addition, all the experience was systematized in the first Safe Urban Spaces Manual in Spanish.

This first Hispanic laboratory, together with other practical experiences in the application of CPTED, attracted the eyes of the CPTED scientific community at an international level, and this contributed to the organization of the first International Conference of the ICA (International CPTED Association) in Hispanic America in Chile, in the year 2005.

12.3.2 ICA Conference, 2005 in Chile

The ICA International Conference held in 2005 in Santiago de Chile was the pioneering milestone to anchor and expand the CPTED methodology in the Hispanic region. It had international delegates of the highest level in addition to all the International Directors of ICA, CPTED practitioners and political representatives of Chile and was the beginning to the creation of the first chapter of ICA in

Hispanic America, still in force, which is called Corporation CPTED Region (www.cpted-region.org), which has also been the pioneer chapter in signing the MOU with the International CPTED Association in the current ICA Umbrella Initiative.

12.3.3 First CPTED Cloud of Dreams

One of the most successful tools, especially in the knowledge of the perception of childhood insecurity, which was created after the Conference of ICA 2005, is the Cloud of Dreams CPTED, held for the first time in Chile in the year 2006 as part of a CPTED intervention in vulnerable schools in the country. This tool, initially created by Dr. Macarena Rau Vargas, who is the president of the International CPTED Association and the Architect Carlos Gutiérrez, who is the director for South America of the International CPTED Association, in the first instance, managed to gather 10,000 dreams of children and girls expressed in the format of drawings from various vulnerable schools in Chile.

From those initial CPTED interventions in the year 2006 to date in 2021, there has been a marked evolution of not only in the CPTED methodology, which has evolved from first and second generation to third generation, but also innovations have been made regarding the Cloud of Dreams which will be described in the third chronological phase.

12.4 Hispanic Expansion

12.4.1 CPTED in Brazil, 2006

The World Bank, as an international agency with a broad operation in Hispanic America, was interested in disseminating the CPTED methodology due to the prominent results that its application was having in Chile and contribution to the reduction of criminal opportunity, perception of insecurity and increased cohesion community. This agency contacted Dr. Macarena Rau to hold the first CPTED workshop in Recife, an area of Brazil that at this time had high rates of violence and crime.

The first CPTED workshop was sponsored by the World Bank and held in a context of local government officials in the city of Recife, in the northeast of Brazil.

In order to promote CPTED in Brazil, the strategy of training 3 female architects in the application of this methodology was designed. As a result of this training, the Safe Urban Spaces Manual of the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism was adapted to the Brazilian reality. This included a chapter dedicated to the favelas and a greater number of community consultation tools.

12.4.2 CPTED in México, 2012

After the successful experience of implementing CPTED in Brazil by the World Bank in conjunction with Dr. Macarena Rau, the experience in Mexico with SEDESOL was replicated in 2007. The methodology was very well received in that country, and since its arrival to date, there are multiple and innumerable CPTED projects in Mexico. Later, it was not only promoted by the World Bank but also by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), among other international agencies, and currently has established formal chapters of the ICA network.

In 2011, the Bank Interamerican of Development (BID) requested to PBK Consulting one counselor to integrate the component of situational prevention and of CPTED in two pilot projects to take place in Mexico. The first was in the city of Tapachula and the second in the city of San Luis de Potosí. PBK designed a proposal that considered the four component phases of a CPTED strategy. This project was conducted in coordination with the Program Habitat of SEDESOL and the government premises in each city.

The stage of diagnosis is subdivided into three stages: The first was the training of 53 officials of the Government Local and SEDESOL in both cities, in the CPTED methodology and situational prevention. The second was the direct observation from the experts in the field of one process of participative diagnosis with the communities of the three colonies selected. The third was the construction of a baseline for impact assessment. One of the products of this consultancy was the development of the first Manual for the Prevention of Violence and Didactic Crime for municipalities in Mexico, prepared by the PBK consultants' team together with Grupo Espacio Siete and which has a complete chapter on CPTED (Photo [12.2](#)).

12.4.3 CPTED in Honduras, 2017

The first CPTED workshop held with the World Bank in Honduras occurred in 2004. Honduras today continues to be one of the countries in the world with the highest rates of violence and homicide.

In the first CPTED workshop conducted by the National Police of Honduras, members of the gang who also participated in the workshop expressed the need for a space to play music and dance hip-hop with a very high-quality floor and a distinctive roof in Colonia Kennedy, in Tegucigalpa.

The Community Police represented their patrol routes and the need to change physical variables in terms of visibility in order to obtain greater contact with the community.

Since that first CPTED workshop in 2004 until today, countless CPTED projects have been carried out in the main cities of Honduras (Tegucigalpa, Tela, Choloma, San Pedro and Ceiba) with the support of international agencies such as USAID and KFW.



Photo 12.2 Second cloud of dreams in México 2012. Univerisas Iberoamericana. Ciudad de México

There is currently a formal ICA chapter in process led by Engineer Emma Suazo in the city of Tela, Honduras, which has been strengthened after the successful CPTED Conference held in Tela in 2017.

In 2008, the CPTED Region Corporation team, led by Dr. Macarena Rau Vargas, and made up of the architect Carlos Gutiérrez Vera and the urban planner Paulina Castillo Fajardo.

With the support of the International CPTED Association (ICA), the team developed the first digital platform for CPTED online training, a pioneer in the Hispanic region. From that date to the present, CPTED Region in conjunction with PBK Consulting has not stopped providing the CPTED online training service, currently having the only accredited course in Spanish online from ICA.¹⁹

¹⁹ ICA's course offerings in Spanish can be found at:

12.4.4 CPTED digital Cloud of Dreams 2020

Both from the perspective of the ISO CPTED 22341 standard and the various digital social media campaigns to promote CPTED, the constancy of community participation is repeated as the key to achieving an effective CPTED strategy.

The Cloud of Dreams methodology, after the initial experience in 2006, was perfected by an interdisciplinary team in Chile, which defined 7 analysis filters of the sample of drawings that can be made with children, adolescents and adults.

The steps of the methodology are as follows:

- A. The group of participants is convened either in a school or in a neighborhood meeting or similar space.
- B. They are offered a blank card and colored pencils.
- C. They are invited to dream their city, neighborhood or school, depending on where they are.
- D. The authors stay to connect emotionally with the cardboard and express their environmental perceptions.
- E. Once completed, all drawings are collected and sample analysis begins.
- F. 7 analysis filters are applied to the total sample: repetition of elements, differentiated element, presence of people, geometry of the drawing, messages, line intensity and color palette.
- G. Once the analysis filters have been performed, the Cloud of Dreams Report is carried out, which captures subjective and valuable information from the community that inhabits a given territory and that will benefit from the CPTED methodology.

The information obtained by applying the analysis filters is used to subsequently propose and shape an appropriate CPTED Intervention Master Plan.

Since the first Dream Cloud, made with 10,000 dreams in Chile in 2006, many Dream Clouds have been made in various countries. In 2012, the Cloud of Dreams was held in Mexico with 18,000 dreams, in 2017 in Honduras with 500 dreams and in 2019 in Cancun with 350 dreams to name a few initiatives.

Various public and private actors value this instrument because it is relatively easy to implement with highly relevant results for a CPTED environmental perception diagnosis.

Manual of the Cloud of the CPTED Dreams

In 2018, following a request from the UNICEF office in New York, the Cloud of Dreams methodology was systematized in the format of two manuals to be shared globally (Rau et al. 2018).

The CPTED Cloud of Dreams Manual seeks to systematize in a simple way the process for the development of the Cloud workshop and its subsequent analysis.

<https://pbk.cl/diplomados-cpted/>.

Currently, the register of courses accredited by ICA can be found in this information link: <https://cpted.net/Directory-CAP-Accredited-Courses>.

The manual begins by defining the activity that consists of a community diagnosis, through children's drawings. Its methodology is based on the relevance given to community actors, considering them the fundamental agents of change and expert space explorers.

The objective is to collect the dreams of boys and girls, through their drawings to know their perception of the environment.

The above, in order to create a space for reflection regarding the environmental needs of the children of our country serves as an important basis for designing portfolios of socio-environmental interventions that resonate with the environmental needs of children.

The manual clarifies considerations that are relevant for those who want to implement the methodology:

“The following manual is created to be administered by an adult, responsible person, who has the necessary knowledge to interact appropriately and favorably with children. Ideally teachers or professionals relevant to the area. On the other hand, the children who participate must be grouped according to their belonging to the same course within the educational establishment. (Example: 5th year elementary school children). In addition, there must be sufficient infrastructure so that children can draw comfortably”.

Digital Cloud of Dreams in 2021

The goal for 2021 was to assess whether the Dream Cloud diagnosis could be done digitally.

To date, three Cloud of Dreams initiatives have been carried out with digital format: the first with the Approved School in Limeira, Sao Paula, Brazil, the second with a team of professionals in Vienna that carried out a Digital Cloud on Facebook and the third was a Cloud of Dreams forum that was held digitally with the team from the Undersecretary of Prevention in Zacatecas, Mexico (Photo 12.3).

12.4.5 CPTED Impact Evaluation Modell²⁰

The Quebrada La Cruz Master Plan arises with the objective of carrying out a comprehensive project of road connectivity and public space in different stages. The mayor of Coyhaique contacted Dr. Macarena Rau and the PBK Consulting team to develop this CPTED master plan.

The CPTED project has raised the need to build the roads projected, in the New Urban Plan, for this sector, which would connect the street Tucapel Jimenez with the street Francisco Bilbao and the realization of seven definitive streets (today Circunvalación Escuela Agrícola).

²⁰ Macarena Rau V, Ivan Cartes, Francisco Gatica & Tim Pascoe. Impact Evaluation of Situational Prevention Strategies and CPTED (Crime Prevention through Environmental Design) in Vulnerable Neighborhoods in Latin America. Pages 437-454 | Published online: 21 May 2019



Photo 12.3 The dream cloud in Brazil, Escuela Aprobado, Limeira, Brazil, 2021

In addition, the feasibility of addressing the projected road network is considered to extend the street 21 as Mayo, connecting with the street Francisco Bilbao, along with Estero La Cruz.

It was raised from one inhabitant from the sector that the streets should be integrated in the framework of one projected park that should also consider to implement the CPTED methodology, allowing not only the accessibility and connectivity vehicles, but also improving the connectivity and safety for pedestrian, considering different facilities, surrounding public spaces and layout of streets.

CPTED is the way to contribute to the social cohesion and improve the urban image of the upper sector of Coyhaique, generating a layout that responds to the pre-existing urban fabric seeking to achieve a certain regularity and connection of roads that currently are not connected. The project of vehicular connection must, necessarily, be raised in together with the project of park, responding to one integral strategy of major design (Photos 12.4 and 12.5).



Photo 12.4 CPTED Master Plan in Quebrada La Cruz, Coyhaique, Patagonia Chilena

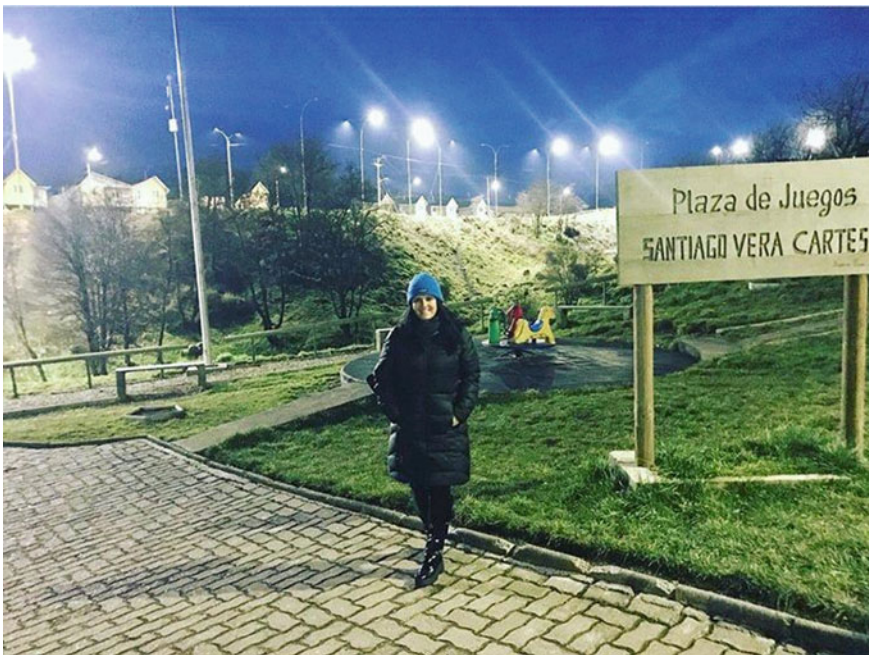
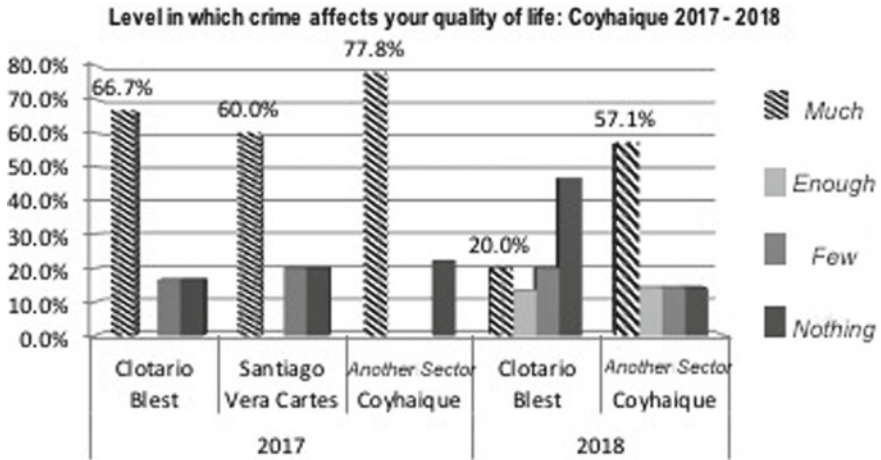


Photo 12.5 Dra. Macarena Rau, President of ICA in the project built in the first zone of the Quebrada La Cruz Master Plan

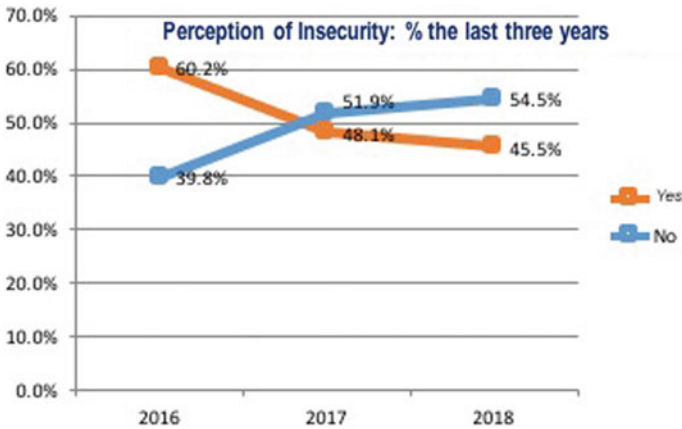
The CPTED laboratory in Quebrada La Cruz served to develop the first CPTED Impact Assessment methodology called **ESU** (Encuesta de Seguridad Urbana) to measure the performance of interventions.²¹

²¹ The main results of the laboratory impact measurement were later published in various international journals such as Journal of Applied Security Research, 13: 4, 437-454, DOI: 10.1080 / 19361610.2018.1498254.

Significant reductions were achieved in specific crimes as well as in the perception of fear of the communities associated with the intervened projects compared to the communities used as a control group (Graphs 12.1 and 12.2).



Graph 12.1 This graph shows the reduction of level in which crime affects your quality of life



Graph 12.2 Perception of insecurity the last three years: Quebrada La Cruz, Coyhaique

12.5 ICA Global Umbrella Initiative

Dr. Macarena Rau Vargas became president of the International CPTED Association (ICA) in 2017, and together with its new management directory, ICA began the process of redefining its Strategic Plan globally.

ICA already promulgated its ICA Umbrella initiative since 2020 and extended its operations to more than 36 countries.

Along with this expansion, the development of various laboratory-type projects continued to advance the knowledge and development of new CPTED instruments, such as the CPTED Impact Assessment model in Quebrada la Cruz, city of Coyhaique in Chilean Patagonia.

12.5.1 ISO CPTED 22341²²

The month of January 2021 burst onto the International CPTED scene with a tremendous change in the history of CPTED. This milestone was the worldwide publication of the first ISO CPTED 22341 standard after a long period of joint work led worldwide by Dr. Parker and the collaboration from the ICA of the leader of the standardization committee, Dr. Paul Van Soomeren and Dr. Tim Pascoe, leader of the ICA Strategic Planning committee.

This first ISO CPTED 22341 standard in Spanish does not certify, but it does define the regulatory, conceptual and process context of the CPTED methodology. It is transversal to other very important ISO standards such as ISO 9000 for quality management, ISO 31000 for risk management and ISO 28000 for quality management systems in the supply chain.

The appearance of this ISO standard on the International CPTED scene excellently complemented the ICA Umbrella initiative that was launched in 2020.

In the year 2017, the International CPTED Association (ICA) initiated an interesting and innovative process of renewing its operations worldwide. Because of this process, supported by one internal planning, the ICA Strategic/Business Plan developed by the Council of the ICA was promulgated, in which three main pillars defined work until 2025 and were approved in April 2020.

These strategic ICA pillars are as follows:

- (1) Umbrella Initiative
- (2) Professional Practice
- (3) Learning Portal.

²² Rau, Macarena. ICA Expansion Process: Towards a Synergic & Organic Safe Global Network. THE INTERNATIONAL CPTED ASSOCIATION (ICA) THE ICA NEWSLETTER October -December 2021 ,Volume 18.

This strategy is opening up many opportunities for the expansion of the community of the ICA, and the new ISO standard: 22341 is an important element in the new and vibrant new global scenario for the community ICA and CPTED.

12.5.2 ICA's vision for the Future

As part of the ICA Vision, in the Strategic Plan until 2025, this has been identified as the year in which ICA will be the international center for CPTED training, knowledge, application and professionals in the world:

Position both the CPTED methodology and ICA as world leaders in crime prevention through environmental design and become an umbrella for other organizations that seek to do prevention work at the local level, improving quality of life and awareness in environmental communities of the world to implement CPTED.

To be recognized globally as a professional and credible organization while promoting safety through CPTED, ICA will take a leadership role in facilitating the development of CPTED methodologies for different global and situational contexts, and in promoting innovative CPTED solutions. This will be accomplished by expanding our reach around the world, increasing the membership and number of CPTED certified professionals, providing resources and support to researchers and practitioners, and connecting with other organizations interested in security through the use of CPTED principles and strategies.

In addition, ICA is intended to be a leader in the development and evolution of the CPTED model through proven practice, including documented project work, practical case studies, and field projects to promote and share best practices and new research in the website of the ICA, newsletter, other social networks and the conference ICA. The objective is that **by 2025, ICA will be the recognized international center for training, knowledge, application and professionals of CPTED.**

ISO CPTED will help to achieve the vision of ICA, as it establishes a common basis worldwide in regard to CPTED terminology, first- and second-generation CPTED, and considering also some key processes for risk assessment, policy intervention and community participation for the implementation of the CPTED methodology.

12.5.3 ICA Umbrella Initiative and ISO CPTED: 22341

The Umbrella Initiative ICA is a very organic and flexible structure that seeks to articulate the different CPTED practitioners in the whole world, under the large umbrella of ICA. The way in which these professionals and groups can articulate with ICA is through a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) or a Letter of Affiliation. A more detailed explanation can be found at the following link <https://cpted.net/Umbrella-Initiative>.

Many CPTED groups in different regions of the world have signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the ICA. These memoranda represent up to now CPTED links from Chile, Mexico, India and Sweden among others, and different

requests by more members to the ICA Umbrella Initiative are coming from different countries around the world.

Interest in CPTED is growing worldwide, and the ISO CPTED standard supports the increase in this interest as it explains the concepts, the Risk Assessment Process and a CPTED Project Cycle with a participatory approach to the CPTED method, among other relevant topics.

In this sense, the need for certified training is key and it is very important to note that the ISO CPTED 22341 standard lays the foundations of what is CPTED in an introductory way. However, this does not guarantee that the person reading ISO CPTED necessarily has sufficient knowledge and experience to apply CPTED principles properly.

Therefore, a need for accredited courses by ICA is now even more relevant. The ICA accredited training (www.cpted.net) will help explain, more broadly, what CPTED is and how it fits into the global community, in different regions of the world.

ICA, in its second pillar of Professional Practice, offers two world-renowned programs; the first is the ICCP program for people, which consists of an accreditation of competencies, and the second is the CAP to accredit the quality of CPTED courses.

The third pillar is associated with the Learning Portal, which offered during 2021 an online course in English for ICA basic methodology with CPTED, and since 2020 also offers many webinars on the theme of CPTED.

12.6 Conclusions

Urban Safety as a discipline that contributes to the prevention and reduction of crime has established itself in the world to date with various interventions in many countries of the global network of the International CPTED Association (ICA).

1. In these interventions, a common denominator that appears is the role of the municipality in all phases of the CPTED project and strategy. The municipal teams that lead these strategies in most cases have influenced the success or failure of these strategies. Hence, the relevance of supporting these teams with the transfer of knowledge and updated CPTED prevention tools in regional contexts so that they can count on continuous improvement over time, and measurement of the results of the interventions.
2. Another fundamental aspect to consider is the maintenance of CPTED interventions over time given the political cycles of alternation in the municipalities of the region. For this, it is essential to consider interventions and strategies in the short, medium and long term.

Over the years, several learnings have been drawn from CPTED Cloud of Dreams initiatives both in the past in face-to-face format and today in the context of the COVID pandemic in digital format.

3. The first learning refers to the value of giving prominence to the “voice of children” in conducting CPTED socio-environmental diagnoses to obtain higher

levels of Urban Safety. With this, not only is valuable, subjective and truthful information obtained from the children's communities and their links, but also the boy and girl in Latin America are de-stigmatized and they are relieved as an environmental expert figure like other members of the community in the design of violence and crime prevention strategies.

4. A second great learning has to do with the relevance of involving community members in the diagnosis of the Cloud, thus achieving higher levels of sustainability of the CPTED strategy to be implemented and levels of self-realization. This learning is directly connected with third-generation CPTED, which would be showing that already in 2006, the Cloud of Dreams initiative was ahead of the time of the formal emergence of the third generation of CPTED.
5. Examples of various digital Clouds made in 2021 in Chile, Austria and Brazil allowed us to observe that it is possible to innovate technologically in using this tool to reach more and different regions of the world and to know perception of highly valuable environment of the communities and especially of boys and girls for the design and implementation of CPTED strategies.
6. In the context of the COVID pandemic, the Cloud of Dreams initiative has proven to be very important to diagnose the state of mental health of the communities where it is applied, which finally closes the circle of CPTED applied in the physical, social and psycho-emotional dimensions of the communities.

Lastly, globally and in the timeline of CPTED it is very interesting to relate the evolution of the diagnostic tool CPTED Cloud of Dreams with the same evolution of CPTED methodology of the first, second and third generation. Third-generation CPTED crosses the physical and social frontier and enters the psycho-emotional dimension of the inhabitants of a territory and in this sense is directly linked to the most basic and transcendent needs of the human being, as stated in Maslow's pyramid.

In the exercise of the Cloud of Dreams of CPTED, either in face-to-face or virtual format, direct access is achieved to the most subtle and unconscious information of the human being, which in turn is directly connected with the survival instinct. Thus, in various Clouds it has been observed emotional information that considers the broad spectrum of both pleasurable emotions as dis-pleasurable.

In various Cloud workshops held in vulnerable communities over the years, it was observed that many times children who were subjected to environmental stressors such as violent environments had the ability to dream blocked and most of the time they gave back a blank card. On the other hand, it was also observed that different expressions appeared in front of the same instruction of "Dream your neighborhood" and that many times they drew scenes of violence, crime and even murder. The information of traumatic experiences in repeated opportunities is stored at the subconscious level in boys and girls, and then, they block that information in order to continue functioning with their lives. However, this information is still present and the Cloud of Dreams workshop allows access to this reserve of information in a minimally invasive way and can use it to be transmuted into an environmental intervention. At various times, the information in dreams may seem a bit cryptic; a

pair of eyes that look from a Cloud and that when interviewing the author of the card take shape since his brother had been killed at the hands of the gang and the author was in a process of mourning. In these cases, it is very important to combine the Cloud workshop with in-depth interviews in order to correctly contextualize the information obtained from the analysis of the drawings.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that third-generation CPTED opens up a huge world of possibilities for environmental sustainability and mental health of communities, among other dimensions, and that the impact that interventions with this last generation have on the community will remain to be seen in the near future, in the urban security of the cities of Hispanic America.

The role that the International CPTED Association (ICA) has and will have in this changing world and with various social and environmental crises will be increasingly more relevant worldwide.

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Chapter 13

Make the World Yours! Arts-Based Research in Action in the Cerco do Porto Neighbourhood



Paula Guerra, Sofia Sousa, and Ricardo Lopes

Abstract In this chapter, we present a theoretical and analytical tour of the concept of Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) young people in the European context to broaden the adaptation of this concept to the Portuguese reality. We also propose a theoretical reflection on arts-based research and new perspectives for intervention in relation to the concept of the social inclusion of NEETs. We present and discuss in depth the empirical results obtained through the implementation of ‘The Neighbourhood is Ours!’, a workshop developed in the Cerco neighbourhood of Porto from May to July 2021. The focus of the chapter is an action research strategy oriented towards prevention–action—that is, demonstrating how the NEET young people who participated in the workshop initiatives used music and graffiti as a form of resistance against the diverse adversities they faced by being young, NEET and living in a social neighbourhood considered both problematic and deeply stigmatized. Starting from this premise, we wanted to discover whether these arts initiatives represented a future path for reducing insecurity and criminality.

Keywords Young NEETs · Arts-based research · Action research · Cerco do Porto neighbourhood · Artistic–cultural resistance

13.1 Introduction

Many studies argue that social exclusion persists not because of location or individuals (Guerra 2002; Sousa 2018), but because of society, in the structural sense

Excerpt from OUPA lyrics, from *Grupo OUPA!* (2015).

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that it relates this phenomenon of exclusion to others, such as market exchanges, the redistribution of wealth and reciprocity. The ways in which individuals relate and interact with these dimensions determines the extent to which the population fringe remains integrated with society. The conceptual focus of this chapter is the link between the concept of Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) young people and potential research and social interventions based in the arts field. The first section centres on a theoretical incursion about NEET young people, considering their potentials, the barriers they face and their links with public policies in the European context. In the second section, we will focus on the specific case of NEET young people in Portugal, establishing a bridge with the third section, which will examine the potentialities for, and the consequences and applicability of both arts-based research (ABR) and participatory action research (PAR). In the fourth section, we will present our empirical object: a contextualization of the targeted territory intervention will be carried out, with a particular focus on ‘The Neighbourhood is Ours!’ workshop. We will also address the sociographic profiles of the young workshop participants. In the final section, we will discuss the products obtained from the workshop and present some ideas about the future potential of the logic of these interventions in stigmatized contexts such as social neighbourhoods, particularly with young NEETs.¹

These two analytical foci—the NEET and the ABR—have been recurrent topics in studies referring to youth transitions (Pais and Ferreira 2010). Transitions from youth to adulthood have become more complex, and young people’s identities and lifestyles have been fragmented, while their futures have become increasingly uncertain (Pais 2020). Based on this logic, Viera et al. (2021) suggest that this conceptualization around the NEET label also comes from the European unpredictability, which stems from a macro-context in which there have been few periods of solid prosperity; it is guided by uncertainty and economic and political–financial crises, and thus by crises seen from a social perspective. Returning to the initial premise of this section, it is important to point out that NEETs are the product of a construction of contemporary European societies that is emphasized by the media in a largely pejorative sense.

From our perspective, the NEETs are the product of various and multiple failures of capitalist and political contemporary systems. These young people, who are not studying, working or training, have been forgotten by social regulatory institutions, so they have heavy stigmatizing and segregating labels attached to them. These

¹ The chapter complied fully with the guidelines included in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000/C364/01), especially with regard to Article 8 ‘Protection of personal data’, including any information, private or professional, concerning an identified or identifiable natural person (Article 2(a) of EU Directive 95/46/EC). The project will also comply with the guidelines contained in the General Data Protection Regulation No. 2016/679. The collection, processing, management and exploitation of data will similarly be based on the guidelines provided by the Codes of Ethics of the University of Porto, the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto, the Portuguese Sociological Association, the International Sociological Association and the Oral History Association and International Council on Archives. In addition, the Code of Ethics of the International Sociological Association and the Statement of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association will also be acknowledged.

young NEETs are thereby the fruit of the triple threat of exclusion, yet in our understanding—and using what Machado Pais (2020) tells us about the potentialities of youth—they have the capacity to shake and change social structures: they just need to be heard by someone. This was the view on which we based our arts intervention with young NEETs in the Cerco neighbourhood of Porto in Portugal in 2021.

13.2 Young NEET in the European Context

Returning to the idea that NEETs are a product of various failures of contemporary society, Viera et al. (2021) affirm that few investigations have extended beyond the critique of the construction of the concept itself. The authors argue that it is necessary to explore the juvenile experiences and experiential realities that give rise to this conceptualization, even though these vary according to the geographical context, and thus, a single formula cannot be applied. According to Eurostat (2021), a large proportion of young NEETs in Europe are female² and aged between 20 and 34 years. In the Portuguese case, we can verify that the highest percentage of young NEETs are in rural areas of the country (Simões et al. 2020). At the same time, through our participation in a webinar about young NEETs,³ we realized that NEETs exist even in the higher social classes, and among those with economic power—this phenomenon is not only related to lower income groups. McPherson (2021) notes that in the United Kingdom and Scotland governments have devoted themselves to establishing programmes to promote young people's involvement in education, employment and training. This has also happened in Portugal, with the creation of programmes such as the NEET Maker or the *Garantia Jovem* [Youth Warranty] (Reis and Nofre 2018), for example. However, although these initiatives have contributed to alleviating the situation, a continuing problem remains, not least because a vast majority of these programmes are only devoted to the kinds of training, traditional education and employment that do not fit the profile, aspirations or tastes of all young people.

Several studies have been carried out to understand the involvement of young people in the field of education, training and employment, with the last of these being of particular importance due to the role technologies have played in the labour market (Yates and Payne 2006); hence, the focus on issues such as social and economic exclusion has been a constant. This problem of youth unemployment is not new, even though the COVID-19 pandemic has made it more acute. Let us examine how this topic has already been addressed in English political agendas since the late 1980s. The acronym NEET emerged for the first time in the United Kingdom in the late

² For more statistical data about this, please see: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Statistics_on_young_people_neither_in_employment_nor_in_education_or_training.

³ In the framework of the COST Action CA18213 entitled 'Rural NEET Youth Network: Modeling the risks underlying rural NEETs' social exclusion'.

1980s as an alternative to categorize young people aged between 16 and 18 years. Such categorization arose as part of a policy change in which benefit schemes were altered, leaving young people without financial support and encouraging them to be part of youth training programmes. As a result of this change, statistics now show that youth unemployment ceased to exist. However, in 1994, a study on these young people was funded in the United Kingdom and eventually published, demonstrating that political change had not in fact been effective. In 1999, the NEET concept was formally introduced onto the political agenda, with the publication of a government report entitled *Bridging the Gap* (Wrigley 2019).

The United Kingdom pioneered early studies of the living conditions of these young NEETs, and this concept quickly extended to other geographic contexts, such as China, Japan and the United States. However, it did not reach the European political agenda until 2010, taking the lead role in the *Youth on the Move initiative*. Indeed, McPherson (2021) emphasizes that the NEET terminology has been widely criticized, along with academic productions and works related to it. On the one hand, researchers working in these areas tend to have a poor understanding of these young people's situation as rooted in class, and in racialized and intergenerational dependency assumptions—that is, they argue that perspectives anchored in a moral discourse on social class and ethnicity as a means of explaining the structural problems of unemployment are reductive and categorize the notion of youth as homogeneous and as a product of an individual pathology (Levitas 2005). McPherson (2021) further argues that in some countries such as Scotland, this NEET terminology has not been well accepted and is advocated by several political actors as a concept that labels unemployed young people by emphasizing individual responsibility, and not on the fact that society should provide these young people with greater choices and opportunities. Moreover, the concept of young NEETs has been criticized for having problems of definition in its genesis. Thus, several critics argue that this concept intends to label and categorize a vast group of young people who are by nature diverse and heterogeneous, and thus unable to be categorized so simplistically (Nudzor 2010). McPherson (2021) systematically explains this heterogeneity, stating that the NEET concept is applied to a wide range of individuals, from unemployed young people who are not seeking employment, to unemployed young people who are actively seeking employment, to young people who are unemployed due to health problems and to young people who are unemployed and who are in a situation of social exclusion (Finlay et al. 2010).

Focusing on the European case, we should note that the proportion of young NEETs has reached a staggering level (Assmann and Broschinski 2021). This is largely due to the economic crisis of 2008, and was further aggravated by the financial crisis of 2013—something even more evident in Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain (known as the PIGS), some of the countries most affected by these crises. Due to these successive economic and social crises, the risk of young people suffering long-term disadvantages is enormous and can be very difficult to overcome (Scarpetta et al. 2010). However, as already mentioned, the NEET concept is not just synonymous with unemployment; indeed, the majority of young NEETs in Europe are described as inactive young people who are not actively seeking employment

or training, enhancing the perception that, in relation to the United Kingdom and Scotland, these young people are further away from the labour market, as they face barriers and obstacles that distance them from an active search for work (Caroleo et al. 2020). Moreover, a 2016 OECD report describes most of these young people as not even being registered in employment and information centres, making it even more difficult to account for them and, of course, to promote intervention initiatives. Assmann and Broschinski (2021) argue that it is of utmost importance to recognize that NEETs are a heterogeneous group, and that in future the existing NEET subgroups should be identified so appropriate policies and lines of action can be created—something that has only been done recently, 11 years after the emergence of the NEET concept on the European political agenda.

13.3 Young NEETs in the Portuguese Context

When portraying the theme of the NEET in the Portuguese context, Ferreira et al. (2017) introduced a change in the concept, intended to meet the reality lived in that geographical context. They abandon the NEET concept and replace it with the NEEF concept, which means young people who are neither in the labour market nor in the formal education system. Specifically in the Portuguese context, it should be emphasized that this change comes mainly from the increasingly late entry into adulthood by young people—that is, due to the prolongation of the juvenile condition, which in turn results from a delayed entry into the labour market.

According to Eurostat (2016), within the countries that comprise the European Union, Portugal is below average in terms of the number of young NEEFs (14.2%) aged between 15 and 29 years. At the same time, the rate of young NEEFs in Portugal is more pronounced in women. Considering the statistical data from Eurostat and those presented by Ferreira et al. (2017), and relating them to the economic and financial crises, we found that the proportion of young Portuguese NEEFs in inactivity is lower than the European average. This might be a good thing if, between 2008 and 2013, the percentage of young Portuguese NEEFs who are unemployed was not substantially higher than that of young European NEEFs who are unemployed. Another relevant fact (Guerra 2002; Sousa 2018) is that in 2016, about 10.6% of young Portuguese NEEFs said they would like to work, higher than the European average of 9.5% (Ferreira et al. 2017: 5). Clearly, this is not an individual problem, but rather a failure of Portuguese society in the sense that it does not provide opportunities for young people to boost their entry into the labour market. Another consideration is that in most European countries there is a difference between young NEEFs according to their level of education, in the sense that a young person with higher education has a lower probability of becoming a NEEF compared with a young person with secondary education. However, in Portugal this percentage distance has been decreasing, increasing the percentages of young NEEFs who have higher education but still cannot enter the labour market. Moreover, these asymmetries are even

more evident when we focus on the rural areas of the interior of the country, or on the Algarve and the Islands.

These characteristics make Portugal a paradigmatic case because, if in other European countries such as Spain NEEs or NEEFs are associated with young people with a migration background, those with low levels of education or those who are in precarious situations of living (Salvà-Mut et al. 2018), in Portugal there seems to be a paradox: along with these situations, as others exist that are the opposite. According to Frias et al. (2020), these economic conditions require academics and political agents to rethink the trajectories of young people because their identity is now defined as being in a kind of limbo, where they are already too old to fit into adolescence but are also unable to access the responsibilities and benefits of adulthood. In this sense, the concept of youth is ubiquitous. In our view, encompassing more than one age group, it represents a vacuum that is caused by society and by a set of social structures that are, in essence, incapable of responding to the needs of these young people.

The high youth unemployment rate in Portugal has led to the emergence of a series of political initiatives aimed at combating this phenomenon. One was an increase in financial support targeted at the business fabric, with the aim of creating and fostering job positions. In Portugal, as already mentioned, a National Plan for the Implementation of a Youth Guarantee was created, an initiative that—unlike in other European countries—extended to young people aged up to 29. Despite this specificity, Portugal also differs from its European counterparts in the sense that, with the implementation of this young guarantee, the government sought to design an intervention strategy aimed at collaboration between various entities in the field of unemployment, education and training (Viera et al. 2018). However, gradually it was determined that this young guarantee faced difficulties in achieving its objectives because a large proportion of the young NEEFs are not in the database of the institutions concerned, which makes it extremely difficult to recruit and capture them. In tandem, Viera et al. (2018) found that another failures of this initiative is how local partners articulate themselves, and most of the institutions called upon to compose the plan have little activity. Furthermore, there is an incompatibility between the measures proposed and the offers available, and no effort has been made to reconcile the needs of young people with the offers that are promoted.

Vieira et al. (2018: 79) argue that in Portugal there is a significant proportion of young NEEF students aged over 20 who are educated. This again appears to be an obstacle to the practicability of policies and actions drawn up by plans such as the Youth Guarantee, especially as they are aimed at young people who are outside the system, in situations of social exclusion and with low levels of education, or those who have poor living conditions. In fact, even these initiatives aimed at young people who are in fragile conditions cannot offer an efficient and effective response (Vieira et al. 2018: 81).

So far, we have presented a dark and somewhat discouraging scenario regarding Portuguese NEEFs, but in our view, this characterization is necessary because it provides the basis for the research discussed in this chapter. Along with emphasizing the points on which Portuguese society and institutions have failed, especially from

the point of view of providing effective solutions and initiatives for minimizing or overcoming this condition, it is also worth mentioning the ways in which young people use (or may use) art as a mean of resistance and combat against their NEEF condition. Indeed, when everything else fails, the arts seem to be one of the most effective ways out, since they often provide answers and alternatives to the uncertainties and weaknesses of these young people. At other times, they meet their needs and tastes, allowing freedom—something that most institutional initiatives are unable to do.

13.4 Arts-Based Research

Social inclusion has been a major topic in sociological terms. However, none of the debates or studies has managed to provide an effective answer regarding the materiality of inclusion—that is, its implementation and practice. This may happen because cycles of social exclusion are in constant (re)production. As Felder (2018) argues, we consider that the exercise of distinguishing between various types of inclusion is rather superficial. For the preparation of this chapter, we considered inclusion as referring as not only to the connection of an individual with a particular physical space, but also with a set of interpersonal relationships that take place in that space (Norwich 2008).

In relation to the specific case of arts-based research and its link to social inclusion and NEETs, we found it pertinent to understand the structure and value of inclusion for individuals (Felder 2018). What does the structure of inclusion mean? Going back to the etymological origin of the concept of inclusion, we can see that it refers to the social—that is, to inclusion in a society or in a particular social context, which can have negative or positive connotations. Inclusion may refer to various experiential contexts, although not all of them have the same structure. Therefore, it is crucial to differentiate between social inclusion carried out by the interpersonal sphere versus social inclusion carried out by the social sphere. In this sense, the sociologist seeks to understand how these two poles intersect. Indeed, this has been one of the main achievements of sociology as a science (Hollis 1977): to account for some of the main forms of social inclusion and exclusion.

Focusing on arts-based research, its greatest advantage is the fact that it promotes the intersection between interpersonal and social levels of inclusion. Let us take as an example the workshop we analyse in this chapter. The research and intervention based on the arts fostered the integration of young people and artistic mentors in interpersonal terms (creation of friendships, contact networks, sharing of tastes and attitudes) and made possible the crossing with others outside these interpersonal relations, such as researchers or the university. Another example is the fact that the Quinta do Mocho neighbourhood in Lisbon has been transformed into an open-air art gallery by its graffiti. In our perspective, this is also a way of crossing interpersonal inclusion and social inclusion, even if there are several and complex levels

of inclusion or integration within this process. Alongside these, points emerge the differentiation between intention and social action.

In this sense, when individuals possess and pursue the same goal, we have a social action—and here artistic practices, alluding to the previous metaphor, are the trains that allow individuals to reach their destination. From Greenwood (2019), we see that the concept of arts-based research is an umbrella concept that covers a variety of methodological and epistemological approaches. Art has been used as a tool for information-gathering (Gauntlett 2007) and analysis (Gallagher 2014), which enriches the data obtained using qualitative methodologies. Alongside this, it is also an important tool in the presentation and discussion of data (Conrad 2012). Belliveau (2015), among other authors, argues that arts-based research serves to study art, but also the process of artistic creation, placing the latter under the consideration of a textual interpretation that has associated issues such as purposes, processes and meanings.

This field of arts-based research is multifaceted and still undefinable. From our point of view, understanding or defining arts-based research does not start from a theoretical conceptualization or definition, but rather from a systematic applicability, by trial and error of various artistic practices and from the fostering of collaborative relationships between various target audiences, from young to old. Obviously, it is necessary to have some understanding of the consequences, applicability and dynamics and analytical processes. However, we argue that the pursuit of arts-based research is malleable and plastic, in the sense that the very use of the term ‘art’ or ‘arts’ indicates the presence of specificities and conventions.

According to Greenwood (2019), arts-based research is central to our ability to capture lived experiences, as these are guided by multi-sensorially and complex understandings and entanglements between times, spaces, ideologies and relationships. Perhaps the application of a traditional research technique, such as interviews, is only concerned with the verbal field, as well as being confined to a temporal liminality (Riessman 2008). Authors such as Denzin and Lincoln (2011) describe qualitative research as a multi-interpretative practice. In contrast, Springgay et al. (2005) argue that arts-based research is a new branch of qualitative research, but it has a distinctive methodological basis that aims to conceptualize a particular social encounter through a visual experience. In this sense, Eisner states that, ‘There are multiple ways in which the world can be known: Artists, writers, and dancers, as well as scientists, have important things to talk about the world’.

Finally, it is important to briefly note that our motivation to carry out arts-based research relates to this issue of explicit objectives—one of the main characteristics of this type of investigation. Thus, our main objective was to obtain—through arts-based research—discourses, narratives and experiences from young people, which would not be available to us through the application of interviews or surveys. In parallel, we aimed to use arts-based research as a means of promoting a scientific understanding of the relationship between structure and the value of inclusion for individuals through the arts (Felder 2018).



Fig. 13.1 Territorial delimitation of Cerco neighbourhood. *Source* Barbosa et al. (2020: 449)

13.5 ‘The Neighbourhood is Ours!’ Workshop⁴

Bairro do Cerco has a strong symbolism within the city of Porto. It is a fragmented and fragmentary territory (Wacquant 2001), but it seems to be overlaid by an uncertain mystique that makes it an attractive for the pursuit of initiatives of an artistic nature—both formal and informal. The neighbourhood is in the parish of Campanhã (see Fig. 13.1), which has a high number of social and housing problems in Porto. Cerco is seen as a relational and social space characterized by a set of numerous possibilities for analysis (Sousa 2018), besides being marked by the presence of several social problems that challenge sociological research, such as the consumption and sale of psychoactive substances, prostitution, juvenile delinquency, long-term unemployment, precarious housing and poverty, among others.

Guerra (2002) found that the Cerco neighbourhood was once crucial to addressing the housing shortages in Porto, since it was built to house the most disadvantaged elements of the population. This being its distinctive mark, the neighbourhood became a place of social reconstruction since housing presupposes the presence of individuals. We thus see present forms of relationship, appropriations and enjoyment of the space in question. This neighbourhood reflects the urbanistic standards of the 1950s and 1960s (Guerra 2002), based on the foundations of the Athens Charter, namely the principles of rationality, sensitivity and technology. Thus, this

⁴ This chapter was developed within the framework of the research activities that the authors carried out in the project ‘CANVAS—Towards Safer and Attractive Cities: Crime and Violence Prevention through Smart Planning and Artistic Resistance’ (Ref. POCI-01-0145-FEDER-030748)—financed by the Foundation for Science and Technology.

space/place is materialized in the existence of poorly defined or nonexistent public spaces, but also in a poor state of conservation that began to be addressed and intervened in by the Porto City Council only recently, in early 2021. However, despite these constraints, the Cerco neighbourhood has always been marked by a pulsating creative force—something especially evident among the younger sections of the population.

The OUPA! initiative,⁵ which emerged under the *Cultura em Expansão* [Culture in Expansion] programme—a social intervention project run through the arts and promoted by Porto City Council—was born at a time when cultural policies were extremely valued and used to disseminate local culture and promote social inclusion. The *Cultura em Expansão* [Culture in Expansion] programme was created in 2013 to place and promote cultural offerings throughout the city of Porto, both the centre and peripheries. Later in 2015, the OUPA! project was included in the programme and aimed to reconcile working with youth populations—that is, NEET young people—and to bring them closer to the arts. However, as the president of the group OUPA! Cerco confessed to us in several informal conversations, no one expected that the young people of Cerco were already close to the arts, and they just needed an opportunity to make them known and express themselves. *Cultura em Expansão* and OUPA! provided that opportunity and hip-hop was the trigger.

The programme lasted for a year in the Cerco neighbourhood and included the participation of various national artists, such as Capicua and André Tentugal. Joca, Drunk Nigga, Ruubi, Kest, Raune Fenix, Ricardinho, Lendária Treze and Black Mama also took part in the initiative. These young people ended up producing an album, *Cidade Líquida* [Liquid City] (2016), performed at the Rivoli Theatre and even represented Portugal at a youth intervention festival for the arts in Slovakia. In addition, they also welcomed the country's president with a performance in the neighbourhood in 2016—something that had never happened before. Due to the success of the programme in the Cerco neighbourhood, the Porto City Council decided to extend it to other social neighbourhoods of the city, such as Ramalde and Lordelo do Ouro, but with the end of the artistic residencies, OUPA! Ramalde and OUPA! Lordelo were extinguished. OUPA! Cerco was the only one that remained active, in the form of an Association—the Associação E.C.O Cerco Estúdio Comunitário [Association E.C.O Cerco Community Studio]. Since 2017, the authors of this chapter have established a close relationship with the members of the association OUPA! Cerco, especially with its president, closely monitoring the difficulties they have experienced to keep the community studio active, but also their achievements.

The proposed workshop initiatives followed a logic of prevention-in-action and followed the format of artistic residencies. Initially, the initiatives were proposed to start in February 2021; however, due to the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent confinements, they only started in May that year. In the preparation of the timing of

⁵ The OUPA! group emerged in the framework of the Culture in Expansion programme and is composed of a number of young NEET artists. Currently, the group is a reference in the scope of artistic-community interventions in Campanhã and Porto. More information available at: <https://www.facebook.com/oupacerco>.

the initiatives, we adopted a kind of horizontality in the planning, in the sense that the themes, as well as the invited trainers, were chosen together, with no impositions on the part of the research team. For the elaboration of this chapter, we decided to focus only on the presentation of two initiatives: the cypher initiative and graffiti. However, we considered it important to note some points about the young people who participated in the workshop initiatives.

Initially, we intended to work only with young NEETs from the Cerco neighbourhood. However, as we were planning the activities, we came across a question: if our objective was to promote initiatives that aimed to reduce feelings of exclusion, and if we wanted to counter the stereotypes created about the Cerco neighbourhood as an unsafe place, why not open the initiatives to other young people who did not live in the neighbourhood? So that is what we did. For the reader to understand our logic of action, it is necessary to specify the role that one of our guest trainers played during the initiative. We are talking about Daniel Figueiredo, better known as \$tag One, a rapper from the Cabanas social neighbourhood, located in Rio Tinto, who already had a close relationship with the members of the OUPA! Cerco. Early on, while thinking about the initiative of building a cypher, we decided that we did not want to invite well-known hip-hop artists, such as Mundo Segundo or Maze, because of their lack of proximity to young people. In fact, in the first meetings with the president of the association, he told us that most young people did not know these artists because they had a huge influence on the generations of young people in the 1990s.

\$tag One began to consolidate his position as a rapper in the underground scene with his participation in the KnockOut League.⁶ The themes portrayed in his songs often allude to the life in the social neighbourhoods of the city of Porto. \$tag has higher education in cinema, having also produced a short film, *Lutopia*, in 2016, which portrays violence and the consumption and sale of psychoactive substances in social neighbourhoods. \$tag One also works full time at the Campanhã Youth Centre with institutionalized young people. He therefore played a key role in attracting young people to the workshop initiatives.

In both initiatives—music and graffiti—we had the participation of about 15 young people, aged between 14 and 22 years. In addition to young people of Portuguese nationality, young people from Sudan, Morocco, Colombia, Brazil and Angola participated, creating a multicultural dynamic that, if we had limited ourselves to young people living in the Cerco neighbourhood, would have been virtually impossible to achieve.

Focusing on the musical initiative, namely the construction of a cypher, we should mention that it was accompanied by some storytelling sessions, with the participation of several local guest artists, Tostaz, NTS and Buster. In parallel, we also had the participation of a music producer, responsible for the elaboration of a beat for the cypher and the subsequent mastering of the music. The initiative took place over one month, with sessions on Fridays and Saturdays; in all of them, the researchers took

⁶ A hip-hop battle that takes place in the city, in spaces such as Hard Club. Previously, it would happen in the streets of Porto, and the event was entitled 'Poesia Violenta' [Violent Poetry], in which several of the OUPA! Cerco members participated.

on the role of insider researchers, and participated actively in the creative processes and in the making of small photographic and video records.

The first point broached was that of creative writing, a determining element in the elaboration of a rhyme or a song. In a brainstorming process, together with the researchers and the trainers, the young people decided that the theme of the cypher would be the neighbourhood, starting with a set of words that, in their view, described and represented life in a social neighbourhood (see Fig. 13.2).

Some of the words that came up most frequently were: respect, understanding, family, union and culture. In Fig. 13.3, we can see that each youth has a notebook. It was in the notebooks that the first contours of the cypher began to emerge, since every week the youths brought their notebooks with their ideas and proposals for their contributions to the cypher, which implied continuous work during the week. On the first day, the refrain of the cypher was created by one of the young people:

O bairro é nosso E a street também O respeito é importante E a união a gente tem	The neighbourhood is ours And so is the street Respect is important And union we have it
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This first day of the initiative was fundamental for us to establish a connection with the young people, but it was also essential to get a glimpse, through their rhymes, of their experiences and feelings, because the young people felt the need to start recording in a logic of improvisation, showing contents and lyrics on which they had worked individually. In the remaining sessions, each young person worked with issues such as metrics, flow and diction—essential elements in rap—and gradually each young person went to the cabin to record their verse. Returning to our



Fig. 13.2 First day of the ‘Cypher Construction’ initiative, in Cerco neighbourhood, Porto, on 21 May 2021. *Source* CANVAS



Fig. 13.3 ‘O Bairro é Nosso!’ [The Neighbourhood is Ours!] and the Cypher Workshop. Young people involved in the choice of the cypher beat. *Source* CANVAS

initial comments, these methodologies of prevention-in-action and the application of arts-based research allowed us to obtain information about the experiences of these young people that could not have been obtained through an interview. In our view, such information is crucial to understanding their condition as NEETs, but also to understanding other phenomena such as social exclusion and resistance. Artistic practices are a vehicle of expression—that is, a means for young people to express their thoughts, visions and concerns. We aimed to enable young people to communicate their messages without fear through the application of creative methodologies. The use of songwriting covers a range of scenarios, practices and techniques, with writing helping participants to express what is important to them at challenging times in their lives. Scientifically, the lyrical analysis of the songs is fundamental. Let us start with the analysis of the improvisation of one of the young people who participated in the initiative, on the first day. Despite being only 18 years old, we can see in his improvisation a feeling of criticism and protest against the violence that is associated with living in a social neighbourhood, as he sings the following verses:

Eles estão com tosse	They're coughing
Essa é a nossa voz	This is our voice
Hoje o bairro é nosso	Today the neighbourhood is ours
That's my line please don't cross	That's my line please don't cross
Hoje eu estou atento e focado no movimento	Today I'm aware and focused on the movement
O meu tráfico é de palavras	My traffic is of words
A minha bala é o conhecimento	My bullet is knowledge

The cultural importance of music with youth populations has long been recognized in terms of the performance and production of music itself, as well as with identities. Given this resonance, music-based interventions have been particularly effective for the mental health and well-being of young people. Looking at the above song excerpts, we see that lyric writing allows for the exploration of thoughts and emotions that might otherwise be repressed.

The verses written by these young people—their words—offer us knowledge and perspectives that tend to be dismissed in many cases. Moreover, the words of these young people—which we transcribe and analyse here—also offer us other views of young people. Being institutionalized young people and coming from social neighbourhoods, they are victims of a dual process of stigmatization. However, although it is often not recognized, these young people are aware of the stigma imposed on them, emerging with new forms of citizenship and ways of conquering a space within the urban and in society. Youth participation is a complex story to tell. However, it is agreed that the involvement and participation of young people in societies have been changing and expanding. Other authors also state that non-traditional and creative forms of participation are gaining emphasis. To some extent, these views were verified by us when young people from Morocco and Sudan recorded their verses.

This questioning spirit is not new. It is something that was worked on and fostered by OUPA! during its participation in *Cultura em Expansão* [Culture in Expansion]. In fact, throughout the initiatives, these discourses were transmitted to the young people by the members of OUPA! as artistic mentors. At the same time, they also tried to demonstrate that the arts, in the context of social intervention in social neighbourhoods, should not be restricted to hip-hop, which is why OUPA included *fado* and popular Portuguese music in several songs. The excerpt below typifies the critical spirit we have spoken of, for besides combining sounds of gypsy music, it addresses the stigma, the labels and the prejudices associated with and enunciated against young people living in social neighbourhoods.

Desperta a tua consciência	Awaken your conscience
Podes ser o rotulado	You can be the labelled one
Vive numa só essência	Live in one essence
Respeita para seres respeitado	Respect to be respected
Não importa se é drogado, bandido ou advogado	It doesn't matter if you're a drug addict, a
(...)	bandit or a lawyer
Aqui são todos iguais, sem diferenças parentais	(...)
Processos judiciais ou problemas conjugais	Here everyone is equal, without parental
(...)	differences
Seja negro, gordo ou bi	Lawsuits or marital problems
Fake, dread ou wanna be	(...)
(OUPA Cerco, Rótulos e Preconceitos, 2016)	Be black, fat or bi
	Fake, dread or wanna be
	(OUPA Cerco, Rótulos e Preconceitos [Labels
	and Prejudices], 2016)

The workshop initiative we carried out can be seen as Participatory Action Research (PAR), in the sense that they are framed in a logic of co-creation or collaborative knowledge construction, bringing together researchers and local actors to acquire a deep and systematic understanding of experiential realities, in order to transform them. During the preparation time for the initiatives, and even while they were being held, we realized that such a collaboration can be extremely difficult, especially when dealing with a population that tends to be seen as ‘the other’, dominated, violent, delinquent and marginal. The labels stated by OUPA in the excerpt above are also evidence of the obstacles that are placed in the research process itself. The main challenge of our work was to generate the conditions that would enable the collaborative process to happen, and in this sense art—namely music and graffiti—provided our main weapon.

We experienced numerous difficulties attracting young people, as already mentioned. However, later this difficulty was overcome by establishing partnerships with other institutions in the area. However, other issues arose, including language—that is, the forms of communication used by the investigators and the young people. The difficulties of understanding on both sides were evident, requiring constant adaptation to break down these barriers. Over time, young people gave nicknames to the researchers, and at the end of the workshop initiatives, a presentation session was held at the faculty to put young people in contact with the researchers’ life-worlds. In fact, for the young people who attended this presentation session—apart from meeting and being heard by university teachers, students and researchers—it was the first time they had ever been in a faculty. In none of the initiatives was there an imposition of themes, artistic choices or repression concerning the content the young people wanted to transmit. We tried to understand them and act within a didactic and elucidative logic. During those four hours, there were no wrong ways of doing things—only fields of possibilities. Although we wanted to transmit a message—that the arts can reduce barriers and stigmas—we also wanted to learn.

We consider it crucial to explain what the researchers’ main points were, and we will do so using an example. As we are also social actors, when a young person did

not manage to record their verse, we were overwhelmed with the fear that the other young people would behave or ridicule us, but we were surprised. Our colleagues were the first to encourage us and say that everything was fine. The lesson we learned was that these young people are the epitome of unity and, as the old saying goes, unity is strength. These young people will be the strength of society. Progressively, the researchers also freed themselves from their fears and their disquiet, and when we least expected it, we were all together in harmony, listening to the music made a moment ago, surrounded by an atmosphere of sharing (see Fig. 13.3).

Bearing in mind the logic of intervention and planning adopted for the execution of these workshop initiatives, it is important to mention that graffiti was suggested by the participants of the initiative because, in their understanding, this artistic practice is still very much stigmatized. Again, in this workshop, we are fortunate to have had the participation of an artistic mentor. On the first day, a brainstorming process was carried out with the young people, in which they were asked to identify the main elements they would like to see present in the graffiti that was subsequently painted on the walls of the OUPA! This activity was crucial for us to understand the relationship young people had with the city and its social actors.

We want to believe that with the realization of this activity, we subverted the role of graffiti, in the sense that if it was previously seen as a transgressive practice, in that context and for that specific activity it became as a space of order and social integration. Besides having built a network of sociability through drawing and painting graffiti, we also looked at the social and the urban: personalities such as Paulo Cunha e Silva,⁷ along with the old housing blocks of Cerco neighbourhood, Estádio do Dragão,⁸ Campo 24 de Agosto⁹ and the Rivoli Theatre¹⁰ (see Fig. 13.4) were the central elements that now occupy the walls of the Association, to bring Cerco to the centre, but also to bring the centre to Cerco.

As mentioned, the involvement of young people in the activities is fundamental, so they learned specific techniques such as the stencil. Furthermore, not only the researchers but also those responsible for the OUPA! Association and Group wanted these young people to be eternalized. In this sense, together with our artistic mentor,

⁷ A Portuguese physician, art critic, art curator and town councillor of the Oporto city. He was responsible for the areas of Thought, Science, Literature and Transversal Projects in the scope of Porto 2001 European Capital of Culture. He was also a resident columnist for *Diário de Notícias* and resident commentator for the television programme *Choque Ideológico* [Ideological Shock] on RTPN, director of the Institute of the Arts of the Ministry of Culture and cultural counsellor of the Portuguese Embassy in Rome. Moreover, he was the scientific coordinator of Contemporary Studies at the Serralves Foundation, a place where he promoted various activities around the themes of contemporary culture. He was and still is a reference point within the policies for culture in the city of Porto.

⁸ Stadium of the city's football club, a distinctive identity element for young people in the Cerco neighborhood.

⁹ A reference point in the city of Porto, due to its connection to the metro and bus stations. It was from here that the young people of the OUPA! Cerco project started their journey to represent Portugal at the Error festival, in Slovakia.

¹⁰ It belongs to the Porto City Council; it was here that they presented the album *Cidade Líquida* [Liquid City] as part of the project Culture in Expansion.



Fig. 13.4 Images of the graffiti made in the OUPA association. *Source* CANVAS

the young people, the researchers and OUPA! created and developed a tag, which was later painted on the walls of the space (see Fig. 13.5). We intended to demonstrate that all social actors, institutions and entities are fundamental for the initiatives to be effective. At the same time, by eternalizing the names of all those involved on a wall, we showed that these workshop initiatives were not ephemeral, but that this is an ongoing project that will last over time and—perhaps the most important point—that it was not only these young people who were the motive or ‘focus’ of the intervention (if we can call it that), but also the researchers.

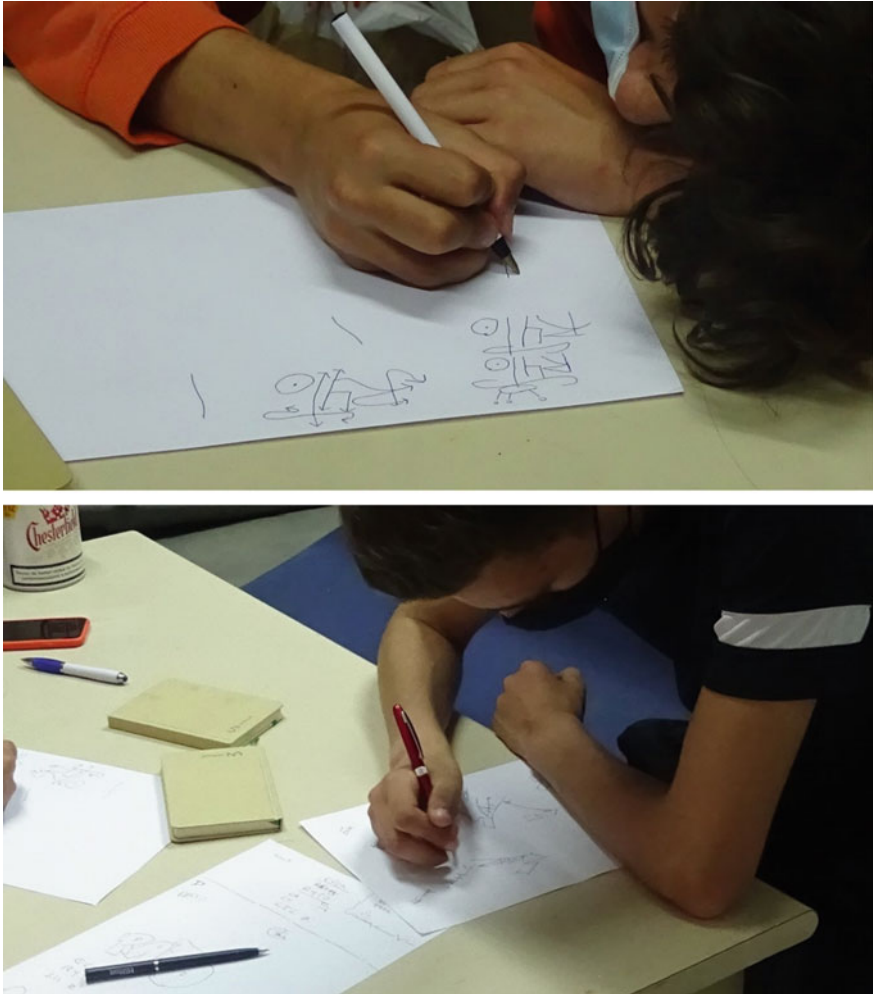


Fig. 13.5 Young people who participated in the workshop developing their tag. *Source* CANVAS

13.6 Conquer the Neighbourhood to Conquer the World

Young NEETs are worthy of attention, both from the political system and from the academic, artistic and cultural field. In fact, our intention in this chapter is to assess whether this phenomenon is still relevant, since it has been the target and object of profound shortcomings of public policies in the country. Although some initiatives have been implemented, such as the Youth Guarantee, this problem has not yet been tackled in a systematic way. Moreover, as various other problems and social, economic and cultural constraints emerge without the previous ones being duly rethought and acted upon, this condition of young NEETs is prolonged over time, resulting in a significant impact on the lives of young people and young adults. This issue is even more evident when we consider that in Portugal the intervention initiatives aimed at young NEETs have been extended to the age of 29, something that has not happened in most European countries.

We have reiterated that NEETs are the result of the various and multiple failures of contemporary capitalist and political systems. These young people who are not studying, working or in training have been forgotten by social regulatory institutions, and heavy stigmatizing and segregating labels have been attached to them. However, through the analysis of the content of, and empirical data obtained through, ‘The Neighborhood is Ours!’ workshop, it became possible to observe that these young people are not alienated or lost. Instead, they found in the arts—namely in music, dance, photography and graffiti, among others—a capacity to resist these social–political impositions. As Guerra (2021) tells us, they found in the arts a way to resist and to exist.

Finally, we need to examine the learning of the researchers who organized and participated in the different moments of the workshop. In addition to proving that arts-based research is an effective methodological outlet for the collection and analysis of information—becoming a complementary and essential tool comparable with traditional techniques and methodologies (qualitative and quantitative)—we realized that these young people have the capacity to change the world (Pais 2020). If, at the beginning, we started these workshop initiatives fearing the attitudes, behaviour and even the low participation of these young people, they came to demonstrate, in a very obvious way, that the urban space is also theirs—that they are the main game when we talk about a fight for the urban space, for equality and for change. It is important to highlight that we intend to hold a second round of these workshops, in Bairro do Cerco, in 2022, and this time, we intend to introduce other artistic practices, such as painting, plastic arts and dance. To conclude, we paraphrase the sentence of Paulo Cunha e Silva that was chosen by these young people to be immortalized on the walls of the OUPA! Association: THE FUTURE IS NOW!

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Chapter 14

‘A Revolution Without Death’. Hip-Hop as a Weapon Against Violence



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Abstract Casa Kolacho is an art and culture centre located in Comuna 13 in Medellín, Colombia, that opened its doors in December of 2013. Since then, it has become an international benchmark for ‘artivism’ conveyed through hip-hop culture, with high-impact initiatives such as the Graffitour, which—until the pandemic arrived—promoted community tourism and circular economy as an alternative way of life in this marginal neighbourhood, victim of violence of all kinds. The name ‘Casa Kolacho’ is a tribute to a rapper killed in 2009 in the war between drug ‘combos’ after the Pablo Escobar era. This conflict dates back to 2002, when President Uribe’s Operation Orion, carried out by paramilitaries and law enforcement, triggered an escalation in state violence justified with the targeting of guerrilla groups and resulting in hundreds of civilian deaths and disappearances. In response to these repressive policies, as well as to criminal gang violence, the new generation of Comuna 13’s rappers joined together using music and art as weapons against (political, structural, daily and symbolic) violence in the neighbourhood. This text focuses on the testimony of Jeihhco, one of the promoters of Casa Kolacho, whose life story—personal, collective and social—can be read as a metaphor for the changes in Comuna 13, centred on a leitmotif that gives this essay its title: hip-hop as a strategy for a ‘revolution without death’, and as an effective form of violence reduction and prevention.

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14.1 The Pre-text: Hip-Hop as a Weapon Against Violence

Since its origins in New York half a century ago, hip-hop has emerged as a powerful tool for the expression and resolution of different forms of violence in marginal territories, whose perpetrators and victims are often young people from migrant or subaltern urban backgrounds (Flores 1986; Feixa and Guerra 2017). These territories are also marked by political violence arising from state structures or inter-ethnic conflicts; structural violence arising from the unequal distribution of economic and social capital; daily interpersonal violence experienced in marginalised neighbourhoods; and symbolic violence that pierces bodies, gender relations and imaginaries (Bourgeois 2001; Ferrándiz and Feixa 2007; Valenzuela 2015).

Casa Kolacho is an art and culture centre located in Comuna¹ 13 in Medellín, Colombia, that opened its doors in 2013. Since then, it has become an international benchmark for ‘artivism’ (activism through art) and for hip-hop culture, with high-impact initiatives such as the Graffitour (neighbourhood tourist tours showcasing its graffiti art; see below), which, until the pandemic arrived, promoted community tourism and a form of circular economy as an alternative way of life in this marginal context, victim of violence of all kinds. The house’s name is a tribute to a rapper killed in 2009 in the war between drug gangs, following Pablo Escobar’s era. The conflict dates to 2002, when President Uribe’s Operation *Orion*, carried out by paramilitaries and law enforcement, escalated state violence, justified with the targeting of guerrilla enclaves, resulting in hundreds of civilian deaths (Aricapa 2017; Montoya 2021). In response to these repressive policies, as well as to criminal gang violence (the so-called *bacrim*s), Comuna 13’s new generations of rappers joined together using music and art as weapons against (political, structural, daily, symbolic) violence in the neighbourhood. This text focuses on the testimony of Jeihhco, one of the promoters of Casa Kolacho, whose life story—personal, collective, and social—can be read as a metaphor for the changes in Comuna 13, centred on a leitmotif that gives this essay its title: hip-hop as a strategy for a ‘revolution without death’ and as an effective form of violence reduction and prevention.

Its story begins in 2000, when a group of young people decided to use art—namely hip-hop—as a way of responding to the violence that was taking place at that time in Comuna 13. To become Casa Kolacho, they went through many processes of creation, reflection, resistance, and in 2013, they were born as a corporation that works with hip-hop, understanding it in four elements: DJ, rap, graffiti and break dance. During those 13 years, they created various initiatives such as the *Kolacho School*, which—from a philosophical and praxis point of view—has advocated a transformation through art, as a school, as a training space that contributes to the construction of life projects and to generate new opportunities for its participants.

¹ *Comunas* are popular neighbourhoods normally located on the slopes of the hills of Medellín. Each *comuna* correspond to an administrative unit and is known with a number.

Likewise, in 2011, the Graffitour was created, which, although at the beginning it was a workshop tour designed to show the history, memory and daily experience of the territory of Comuna 13, it eventually became a fundamental strategy even for self-management as a group. Today, Graffitour manages to be a journey through the memory of the commune 13, of graffiti and of the entire history of hip-hop that transcends local, national and international borders. To Casa Kolacho, the proposals and actions that were already being experienced and built as groups since the creation of the *Hip-Hop Elite* were then added as well as other processes of search, resistance, creation and organisation.

Today, Casa Kolacho is a school, a Graffitour, an art gallery, a café or just a place to have a coffee or a beer, a shop selling clothes, books, souvenirs, a meeting place for hip-hop battles, concerts, agreements with other institutions that look for them to share their experiences and knowledge, and this allows them other possibilities of projection and management of resources for sustainability. It's also a training school for the creation of lyrics and graffiti, a gallery of artistic expressions, concerts, cock-fights and the management of new opportunities for many young men and women from Comuna 13 and other districts and neighbourhoods of the city of Medellín.

14.2 The Context: Medellín's Comuna 13

Medellín is the second largest Colombian city, the capital of the Antioquia Department and 'paisas' territory (a stereotype for the Creoles who colonised these lands and endowed them with a significant economic dynamism as opposed to Bogotá's centralism). 2.5 million people inhabit the municipality, while the wider metropolitan area houses around 4 million people. In the last three decades, Medellín has been synonymous with drug trafficking and hitmen violence, embodied in the figurehead of Pablo Escobar who, after sowing terror, and following his death in 1993, has starred in novels, television series and been held responsible for certain necrophiliac businesses. The city has also been a refuge for guerrillas and people displaced by the armed conflict that has ravaged the country since the mid-twentieth century. Young people, especially the inhabitants of the people's communes that dot the city's hillsides, have been both victims and perpetrators of these circumstances: victims of criminal, military, paramilitary and guerrilla violence, but also victimisers, perpetrators of contract killings, petty drug trafficking, extortion and other forms of criminality (Muñoz 2015; Barbero 2017; Perea 2007; Perea and Feixa 2020; Márquez 2021).

In the 1990s, the former youth *parches* (informal street groups) were transformed into delinquent 'combos' (criminal gangs or *bacrim*s), as the book *No nacimos pa semilla* [We weren't born to be seeds] by future mayor Alonso Salazar, and based on the life stories of young gang members, made starkly clear. This, along with the establishment of guerrilla groups and massacres ordered by political, military, and paramilitary leaders, made the city one of the most violent in the world. For

several years in the 1990s, it held the highest homicide rate in the world.² This violence is the result of the changes the city has undergone, which combined a profound economic crisis, the disruptive effect of drug trafficking, an agent for the destruction of the city's social fabric, the widely known selective quick enrichment of some, and the elite's efforts to maintain its privileges at all costs. Thus, exclusion and violence have a socio-spatial expression within the city, and, together with the power vacuum caused by the precarious presence of the State and its institutions, set up a scenario of conflict, induced and exploited by multiple armed groups. The city became a breeding ground for rising school dropout rates due to poverty and unemployment, which then led to the formation of various groups of young people on the streets and street corners. Some were just *parches*, *combos* or *pandillas*³ who limited their criminal activities to their neighbourhoods and surrounding areas; however, the explosive growth of drug trafficking led many of these groups to be co-opted and put to work for drug lords as professional hitmen, violent enforcers and drug traffickers. They were mostly composed of underage school dropouts, living in informal settlements built by families who had been displaced by the violence in Antioquia's other municipalities. The adult structures that instrumentalise children and other young people have not disappeared; rather, they have been restructured, mutated and strengthened. Medellín—despite its leadership and high investment in curbing violence, conflicts, and illegally armed agents, in a bid to stop being one of the most violent cities in the world—has not yet achieved the expected results. Social and economic inequality is growing, and the COVID-19 pandemic has only deepened the city's social chasms (Márquez 2021).

Through the last 15 years, Medellín has experienced one of the most revolutionary urban transformation experiences of the Global South, driven by political change in the municipality along with key interventions by NGOs and community organisations. One of the most emblematic examples of this is Comuna 13. Initially inhabited by peasants displaced by war in rural areas of Colombia, mainly in Antioquia, and located on the hills to the west of Medellín, it is one of the 16 communes into which the city has been politically and administratively divided since the middle of the last century. According to DANE⁴ projections, 40,758 people live there. The settlement

² In 1990, it had an unintentional homicide rate of 232.41 per 100,000 inhabitants. In 2015, this rate had dropped to 20.13. See annex: Departments and municipalities of Colombia by intentional homicide rate (2020).

³ *Parches* [patches], *combos* [cliques] and *bandas* [gangs] are forms of informal youth aggregation in public space. The *parche* is a meeting place for groups of young people revolving around tastes, adventures, and experiences at a concert, bar, or park, sometimes related to the group, sometimes to the activity. The *cliques* are a group of friends, a socialising space for young people who do not have a specific activity; *gangs* is used to refer to forms of young people organisations in which they strengthen their own social space, define their territory, and experience things related to drug consumption and delinquency. In the 90s, these were co-opted mostly by criminal combos (*bacrim*s) for drug trafficking (Perea 2007; Márquez 2021).

⁴ DANE consulted on: <https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=b67306664502461182aa5a2fa71d588a&embed>.

is a collection of 19 neighbourhoods,⁵ making it the result of a mixture of migratory processes, of social and economic neglect, and, mainly, of the forced displacement caused by the decades-long war. Poverty, access problems, lack of infrastructure, poor mobility, continuous robberies, drug dealing and consumption, and street and domestic violence, continuously attracted different armed actors such as militias, guerrillas and paramilitary forces, each with attractive offers of order and security for residents. Armed forces effectively replaced the State in its absence, something which had a very steep cost in lives, tranquillity, mobility and development for the community as they implemented authoritarian and violent rules, instrumental in enforcing the twin projects of controlling the territory and subjugating its communities.

The Historical Memory Group in its report on Comuna 13 states that 'they have used the area as a refuge for criminal activities; as a platform for the control of other territories; as a source of resource supply; and, finally, as a strategic corridor to other urban belts, or even as a connection, beyond the city, to maritime routes' (Sánchez 2011, p. 15). Likewise, 'the peripheral character of this zone for society and the State contrasts with its centrality for the armed actors' (Sánchez 2011, p. 14). For decades, the inhabitants have experienced various forms of violence as a constant. First, the popular militias expelled the common criminals. Then, the militias were confronted and evicted by the guerrillas, and these guerrillas were fought and driven out of the area by the paramilitary forces. Currently, combos or gangs whose members have a diversity of profiles (paramilitary, reinserted, criminals, gangsters) reign.

We must not limit our analysis to reports that only mention this one side of Comuna 13's reality. Its rural origins do reflect very conservative beliefs and practices, but also demonstrate solidarity, capacity to resist, sense of community when economic adversity, violence or conflict arise. Today, with almost 200 community youth, sports, and environmental organisations, Comuna 13 generates important social and political dynamics that demand authorities to uphold their rights while, at the same time, trying to re-build, re-create and re-signify their territory through various interventions in infrastructure, as well as cultural actions that promote coexistence amongst the community. It took all the horrors of the war, the military response to it and the State's control so that, at the start of the twenty-first century, the State made its presence felt in local infrastructure, mobility, cultural and educational initiatives (through the Participatory Budget), as well as in response to the demands that women, afro-descendants, young people and people from different neighbourhoods, were fighting for through slogans, rap lyrics, performances, theatre, festivals and bazaars. Although armed forces and conflicts are still present, same as in all the areas and communes of Medellín, just like many news headlines and songs say, in Comuna 13 art has confronted the curse: its walls are a gallery of graffiti that tell its story and the dreams of its people, giving life to the Graffitour, and a commitment to transformation, to a revolution without death.

⁵ According to Municipal Agreement 346 of 2000, Comuna 13 (San Javier) is made up of 19 neighbourhoods: El Pesebre, Blanquizal, Santa Rosa de Lima, Los Alcázares, Metropolitano, La Pradera, Juan XXIII La Quebra, San Javier N°1, San Javier N°2, Veinte de Julio, Belencito, Betania, El Corazón, Las Independencias, Nuevos Conquistadores, El Salado, Eduardo Santos, Antonio Nariño, and El Socorro.

As Jeihhco recounts further on—when he talks about the context of Comuna 13—it can be affirmed that since the 1990s and in the 2000s, there has been a strong presence in the city and in Comuna 13 of various important civil society organisations (NGOs), such as the *Corporación Región*, *ACJ* [Asociación Cristiana de Jóvenes], *Sal y Luz*, *Penca de Sábila* and other local community organisations. Besides them, *Penca de Sábila* and local community organisations provided accompaniment at different times and with diverse training, while promoting proposals on key issues that contributed to the recognition, management capacity and autonomy of many youth and community expressions in the political, artistic, cultural and environmental spheres, and this allowed the city to enter a new century. For this reason, in the 2000s, we speak of a city whose communes and neighbourhoods, and specifically in Comuna 13, represent a boiling point of important youth and social organisational processes.

For this reason, when we talk about Comuna 13, we have to talk also about other expressions such as *Son Batá* which, since 2005, has brought together different Afro-Colombian creators from Comuna 13—San Javier, dedicated to music, dance, theatre, handicrafts, audiovisual production, rescuing of ancestry practices of the Afro-Colombian population. Through youth expressions—from the urban environment—they give life to *Agroarte*; a collective and organisational local project that promote forms of resistance, regarding the problems unleashed by the waste dump and the selective violence in the Comuna 13, and also generate actions of memory and resistance in the city through training, production—agricultural and musical—communication and symbolic resistance. All of these processes entail a methodology of dreaming by doing, the philosophy of resistance and change, and the pedagogy of everyday life, creating practices of community empowerment and critical participation (Photos 14.1 and 14.2).

14.3 The Text: Jeihhco's Story

In July and August 2021, we held a series of online in-depth interviews with Jeihhco, one of the driving forces behind Casa Kolacho.⁶ A rapper, cultural animator, music producer, manager, activist, and artist, Jeihhco was born in Medellín in 1984 and grew up in Comuna 13 during the harshest period of violence in Medellín. The first author of this text had met him at a congress on Coexistence in Madrid, 2018; the second author has collaborated with him over the years in community work experiences with young people. The idea of chronicling Jeihhco's life path in a triangular timeline (personal, communal, and social) came up as part of his research in the TRANSGANG project.⁷ The first interview focused on his personal history, recounting his family background and the murders and acts of violence he witnessed

⁶ See Hierro (2016) and the webpage of Casa Kolacho: <https://xiomyquinte.wixsite.com/casakolacho>.

⁷ See Feixa et al. (2019), and the webpage of the TRANSGANG project: www.upf.edu/web/transgang.

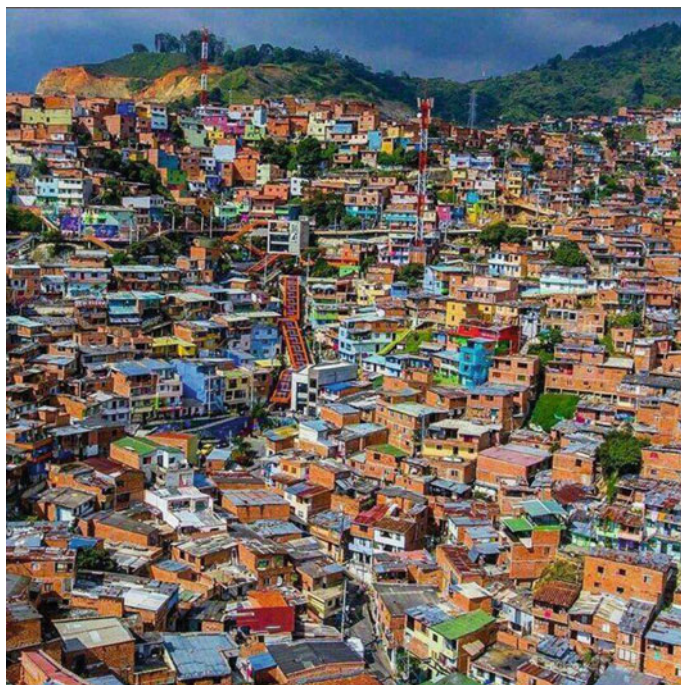


Photo 14.1 The Comuna 13 in Medellín. *Source* Casa Kolacho

during his childhood and adolescence, which motivated his decision to become a rapper and fight against violence through hip-hop. Here, we present the second interview, focusing on the history of Casa Kolacho, year after year, from its background in the violent conflict that culminated in Operation Orion in 2002,⁸ the beginning of the hip-hop movement in Comuna 13 through Operation Hip-Hop Elite, the murder of two emblematic rappers (Duque and Kolacho), the birth of Casa Kolacho in 2013 and its subsequent evolution, ending with a reflection on the current moment and the effects of the pandemic. Through Jeihhco's story, we can read the history and social structure of the communes of Medellín, and the efforts of the young people who live there to confront political, structural, and symbolic violence.

⁸ Military operation carried out on 16 and 17 October 2002, in Comuna 13, under the declaration of a state of emergency aimed at putting an end to the presence of guerrilla groups such as the FARC, the ELN and the CAP. According to the Corporación Jurídica Libertad, it resulted in 80 civilians injured, 17 homicides committed by security forces, 71 people killed by paramilitary forces, 12 people tortured, 92 forced disappearances and 370 arbitrary detentions (Aricapa 2017; Montoya 2021; Operación Orión 2021).



Photo 14.2 The Comuna 13 in Medellín. *Source* Casa Kolacho

14.3.1 Jeihhco is the Union of Three

I am Jeihhco, a rap artist, known in the family world as Jeison Alexander Castaño Hernández. Jeihhco is the union of three names put together: ‘Jei’ comes from Jeison, which is the first name given to me by my mother, which also represents my legal identity. Then, there are two ‘h’, they are very important, they come from hip-hop, which is the centre of what I am, what I do. Hip-hop has allowed me to be in Madrid where I met with Carles, and allowed me to meet Fulvia years ago at the School of Youth Animation, and also allowed me to participate in many spaces, and to be today in this project that I love, which is Casa Kolacho. There is a hip-hop master called KRS-One, who is from the United States, and he says: ‘I don’t do hip-hop, I am hip-hop’. That difference for me is important because it’s also what I am, the difference between doing and being, because anyone can do hip-hop, anyone can learn a few dance steps, anyone can learn to paint graffiti and anyone can rap. All this happens, and then, we understand that doing it is not the only important thing; living it, understanding it, researching about it, promoting it, studying it, sharing it is also a fundamental part of it. From that connection I understand the two ‘h’ in my name. And, finally, to close that name, there is the ‘co’, which at first was something very local: I am from the centre-west of the city of Medellín, the first collective I was part of had a full name: *Élite Hip-hop Centro Occidental*, a network of artists

from Comuna 13; so, Co was Centro Occidente [Centre West]. Later, I said: it's not Centro Occidente, it's Colombia. In that network, I was so deeply involved in the Co, as we used to call it, that a friend once said: 'Jeison is not called Jeison but Jeico, because he has the Co very deep inside him'. I didn't like the name, I didn't like the nickname, but look, I didn't like it so much that eventually it stuck.

14.3.2 2002: Operation Hip-Hop Elite

In 2002, when I was 17 years old, we created this network, it was an ACJ-YMCA⁹ initiative, an NGO that is almost all over the world, it is a global movement whose basic principle is love thy neighbour, which is the greatest legacy that Jesus left to the world, although it is an ecumenical organisation. It had an initiative called Youth Organisation and Participation, led by José Fernando Arellano, who already knew about the hip-hop movement in Comuna 7, where he lived, and with other comrades, we began to come up with the idea of bringing together rappers from Comuna 13 in Medellín. From that energy, this flow of conversations began. And one day, at the beginning of 2002, the first call for connection was made. In the Comuna, there had already been a lot of rap since the 90s, there was already a lot of space for art, for creation, but there was no collective feeling, there was no meeting point, and there was no work to promote collaboration, even something as simple as getting to know each other and exchanging experiences about rap or just about music. Through that, an initiative was born with posters on newsprint and marker paper saying: 'We invite the rappers of Comuna 13 to address such and such, this coming Saturday, at 2 PM'. In total, we had 25 groups, more than 60 artists. We didn't know each other, and we came from very close neighbourhoods, but the war itself meant that we didn't know who the other was, what they were doing. The territorial control that Medellín has experienced throughout its history did not allow us to cross borders, and did not allow us to get to know each other. One song even said that: 'Crossing borders like a shooting star'. This was one of *La Elite*'s first songs. From that energy, we could connect, exchange, express ourselves. The first event was at the *Las Independencias* school, in El Salado. What we did that day was just a patch, each group sang one or two songs, introduced themselves, who they were, they talked about their music, where they lived, and what kind of rap they liked. It was a very fun thing, without a lot of protocols or formalities. The process, although it did not have a name, became more established. However, later on, it got a negative connotation in the RAE,¹⁰ mainly because of the word 'elite', although for us it meant a special group of people with specific talents within a society; they are neither superior nor inferior. That's how we felt and still feel, although we also have to recognise that within rap there is something called the *egoplipo*: the ego that is inside artists and that pushes us to say yes, we are the best rappers, we are people who know how to do it very well. After

⁹ Asociación Cristiana de Jóvenes—Young Men Christian Association.

¹⁰ RAE: Real Academia Española de la Lengua (Spanish Royal Academy of Language).

that exchange, we understood that we didn't know hip-hop, we just liked to rap but we had no idea about its social and political approach, its roots, and we didn't know the history of hip-hop in Medellín nor the history of hip-hop outside Medellín. So, we had the first forum on the history of hip-hop, and from there, we started to connect, to add, to integrate little things and a very strong connection arose between us; we began to understand that hip-hop was more than just rapping, dancing, painting, we understood that it had all those elements that were not just rap.

We were in the midst of this search when the events of 21 May 2002, the Military Operation, took place,¹¹ an unprecedented, disastrous operation in many respects, which led to several children being killed. But amidst all that trauma and violence, there was also a non-violent action by the community, by the Comuna 13, who took to the streets with white rags saying 'no more violence' and 'no more war'. After that, the confrontation stopped, only from time to time did we hear a sporadic gunshot. When that operation happened, the community made a lot of noise with pots, lids, whistles, they took out white flags, they took out Colombian flags and that made us say: if we are united, if there are enough of us, we can make more noise than the bullets; a noise that is not violent, a noise that does not kill anyone, a noise that marks a revolution that does not have to kill others. That idea of collective started to sink into their heads, into many of us. Four months later, there were also other confrontations, and we did our own operation, an operation that was called *Operation Hip-hop Elite*. That was the name, and it had a slogan that said 'In 13, violence does not defeat us', an expression we still use today which is a battle cry from 13 to the world, and to ourselves especially. We held this first hip-hop festival in Comuna on September 21 of 2002, where 21 artists performed on a small football field. A very self-made project with stages on one side, refreshments on the other, very underground. But there was so much joy in being able to have a good stage, good sound, and also to have a manifesto that we built collectively, and that was later presented, and that in addition to reading it, we gave it to the government at the time, to mayor Luis Pérez. Our manifesto proposed that the interventions made in our territory should be made through love, peace, culture, improvement of living conditions in the territory, improving opportunities, alternatives, health, improving employment and, above all, education. Obviously, we were talking about the cultural and artistic intervention that had to be done. We were learning all these terms. They were super new things for us, and we didn't fully understand them, but we did understand that it was our path and that it was the path of hip-hop, especially because hip-hop was what gave us the weapons, the strength, the bravery. And above all, we were supported by the history of hip-hop, its demand for rights, its fight for the impoverished, disadvantaged, excluded and forgotten communities. From that connection, we said: we are going to make our strength, our revolution from hip-hop. Unfortunately, we were not listened to.

¹¹ Military operation in Comuna 13 carried out by the security forces and paramilitary agents, resulting in 9 people killed (including 3 minors) and 37 wounded. (<http://museodememoria.gov.co/programacion/operacion-mariscal/>).

14.3.3 2002: Operation Orion

Twenty-three days after the festival, on October 16, 2002, Operation Orion took place. An unprecedented operation in the history of Colombia, in the urban territory of any city. It was a disastrous operation in terms of what it left behind. It was a successful military action because we managed to get rid of the guerrillas that had had control of our territory since the 1980s but, to achieve it, many people were murdered, many people disappeared, more than 600 people went to prison, arrested without warrant and arbitrarily. There are said to be 313 people missing in the commune, more than 70 dead. All this added up to an attack [*Jeiuhco's expression is harsh and sad*]. It is still unbelievable and all too horrible when you remember it. I was 17 years old at the time, and I saw two Black Hawk helicopter gunships firing indiscriminately into a neighbourhood made up of small, precariously constructed houses, with bullets raining down from a 50-calibre machine gun, and each bullet measures 15/20 cm. They were fired from the air without caring who they'd hit. There were more than a thousand men from the security forces, including groups from the army, the police and the SIGIN, which is the force of the prosecutor's office and the DAS,¹² and, alongside them, were 800 men from the *Bloque Metro* and the *Bloque Cacique Nutibara*.¹³ On August 7, 2002, the current ex-president Álvaro Uribe Vélez became national government head. That made a difference in the ongoing operations in Comuna 13, and that is why Operation Orion became an example for his security policy. For example, in Brazil, they bought that methodology—if you can call it that—to use it on the favelas, and many of the commanders of the Colombian military forces were there to provide intervention advice based on Operation Orion. In that sense, the massacre also became a product to be exported that being the value the government attributes to its military achievement.

It has been many years. In October, it will be 19 years since Operation Orion. At that time, we were very afraid, very angry, very impotent. The effort was collective, of trying to say, 'no more war', we want culture, we want different interventions, we want a hip-hop operation, we want an art operation, an intelligent operation, we want to see the world as a whole, we want to see the world as a place of peace. Then, some very hard months came. Between October 2002 and January 2003, more people began to disappear. They turned into a cemetery, the place that today we call the *Escombrera* [heaps], which is what's left of the constructions and collapsed buildings in Medellín. All of that is taken to a place in Comuna 13; when I was a

¹² SIGIN: *Seccional de Investigación Judicial, Criminalística y Criminológica*; DAS: *Departamento de Administración de Seguridad*. It was a state agency responsible for intelligence and counterintelligence in Colombia; in its place, the national government created the *Agencia Nacional de Inteligencia*, a civilian entity attached to the Presidency of the Republic.

¹³ The *Bloque* [Bloc] *Metro* and the *Bloque* [Bloc] *Cacique Nutibara* were Colombian paramilitary fronts operating mainly in the department of Antioquia, linked to the *Autodefensas Campesinas de Colombia AUCC* (Peasant Self-Defence Forces of Colombia). The *Bloque Metro* (BM) commanded by Carlos Castaño operated from 1997 to 2004. The *Cacique Nutibara Bloc* (BCN), emerged in 2009 under the command of 'Dn. Berna' extradited to the USA in May 2018 (Sánchez 2011). https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bloque_Metro_de_las_AUC.

kid it was a lagoon, we used to go there to swim, play and pick fruit, and today it's a mountain [of rubble]. There are a lot of missing people there from Comuna 13. There is also a very high geological risk because it has disturbed earth, it is a mountain made by man over water, and water has a memory and it has already happened in two places in Medellín, in Comuna 9 and in Gabriela. It would also be logistically very difficult today to recover those bodies, which is what the victims are asking for; others, more daring and perhaps with a stronger heart, are asking for this place to be turned into a holy site.

14.3.4 2003: A year of Mourning

2003 was like a stand-by, of lethargy, a year of mourning, of pain, of a lot of fear, a lot of terror. But it was also a year of understanding what was going on, of reading, of observing, of breathing. They built a gigantic police base on the outskirts of the El Corazón neighbourhood, they built several CAI [Immediate Attention Commands], some very powerful infrastructure works, with a lot of cement, with a lot of security, because they are spaces for public forces to be able to barricade themselves in the event of war. They have gigantic walls. This in a neighbourhood of small, precariously constructed houses; they look much stronger and more monstrous. All this happened very quickly and that also surprised us a lot because we had lived for many years without health centres or schools, which took 5–10 years to arrive, and the police bases were built in record time. For many years, we have been asking for adequate public spaces, sporting spaces, and this never had a foot on the accelerator, while the arrival of the security forces, of thousands of men, came very quickly. All that happened in 2003, and there was this need to connect with and receive other people who came, not from the government, but from some NGOs, human rights defenders, people like the IPC, the Medellín Youth Network, the Region Corporation, the YMCA-ACJ, which was already on the ground but began to work much harder. So we, as *La Élite*, had a very powerful internal work, we did almost nothing outwardly. In that year a song was written called 'Amargos recuerdos' (Bitter Memories), and it is the anthem of Comuna 13 in memory of that war, in memory of what happened in 2002. It is this neuralgic point of being able to better understand what happened from our rap point of view. I think it's the first song we made with a social sense, with a sense of neighbourhood memory, of denouncement as well. About that situation of finding the expression, the rhyme to unburden our fears. The chorus of that song says, and it is a very powerful phrase, 'nobody knows what will happen until it happens and no matter how much time passes you can't forget', that is the song's refrain, which speaks of and narrates the stories of that time. We held a concert called 'Fiesta a la vida' [Celebration of Life], with a corporation called Sal y Luz. It was very shy, afraid to say things; we were very afraid that something would happen. That same year, we had many political formations. We learned a lot with the Medellín Youth Network about anti-militarism, about active non-violence, we've

learned about direct action, we've learned about the whole issue of youth participation, about political participation with *Corporación Región*, we've learned a lot of things with our friends from the YMCA in terms of management, in terms of project development. We've submitted a project to the government at the time, to a sub-secretariat that was called 'Metro Juventud' with a Youth Club programme. They gave us two initiatives of 1 million pesos, and we managed to buy a recording studio. That is very important for the story of my life, because I was chosen within *La Élite* to manage that recording studio. For many years, I was also a music producer, not only a manager and rapper, but I also dedicated myself to music production and I learned a lot and also taught a lot from that position.

14.3.5 2004: Gangs Start to Emerge

In 2004, many things happened in Medellín. We were more internally consolidated than ever, we had a very strong political, social and philosophical background. We had also understood many things about what was happening in our neighbourhoods from external perspectives, which undoubtedly had other energies. We had understood that we lived in a very persecuted territory, above all in terms of territorial control, because our area is where everything—smuggling, drugs, weapons—comes and goes by land, through Urabá, along the coast and our Antioquia. So having control over this entire route is important for paramilitary groups, guerrillas, the State, merchants, businessmen and entrepreneurs. In other words, everyone wants to have access and for it to be controlled by their friends; and that is what happened mainly in this area of Comuna 13. In 2004, with the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez, one of the most powerful circuses, with all due respect to circuses (hehehe), that has ever been staged in Colombia took place, which was the demobilisation of the paramilitary groups. The AUC as they are called, their full name is *Autodefensas Unidas Campesinas* [United Self-defenced Farmers], are supposedly dismantled in a peace process, negotiations start, some commanders go to prison, other soldiers are given money, the rank and file soldiers are paid monthly for a while, let's say they legalise their businesses. The same thing is happening in our neighbourhood. They began to show their faces, they were no longer clandestine, they created cooperatives, they created companies, and they were given many things to work with. Among them, I remember some people who were paramilitaries, and they were given a recording studio because they wanted to make music, something that never happened with us, but it was a positive thing because they stopped doing all their clandestine, illegal work or not all of it but a large part because now they were people who wanted to join civilian life through the businesses that the government was giving them, probably laundering assets on many sides. But we saw that in the neighbourhood, there was no longer so much fear, the military and the police began to have more control. Gangs began to emerge, which never existed in Comuna 13, what we know as *combos* or *pandillas*, the *bacrim* or criminal gangs. The paramilitaries let the territory loose, and some of the youngsters began having territorial control of their little corner, their little block

and their neighbourhood. And then, wars started between the groups that had already consolidated. That's why, in 2009 or 2010, there was a very large wave of violence in Comuna 13, but it was already about having control of the territories, about small cells, niches, small groups that made noise and caused a lot of damage, because they had weapons and a lot of madness on top of it; a lot of drugs, a lot of thirst to control, to be someone. All of that added up.

In 2004, a second situation occurred: a different government came into local power, and this administration was committed to the citizenry. Sergio Fajardo came in at the head with 50 leaders who came together to create this movement with the support of social, community, cultural and development organisations; people who had worked in the community all their lives and in those years began to work in the mayor's office. Later, this turned out to be negative, but at first, it was very powerful to see people like Jorge Blandón, who was our master in cultural management, become part of the Secretariat of Citizen Culture. Medellín began to transform things to become a place where the Secretary of Culture had twice the budget of the Colombian Ministry of Culture. This shows that things are changing. The issue of education is beginning to change enormously, and a very important programme was created for many of us that was called, well it is still called, but I see it as dead, 'Local planning and participatory budgeting', where 6% of the city's budget was divided in an equitable manner. This was also very important, because where there were more needs, many more resources arrived; but all the communes received resources and all the townships had a Consultative Council, which were decided by community organisations that sent their delegates and popular elections that took place in the neighbourhoods. In the first instance, it was useful for us to see the needs that existed in all the neighbourhoods of the commune. With this participatory budget, we decided each year what to do with the 3 million euros that came to Comuna 13. That was very important because it is certainly a responsibility to decide how much we invest for culture, how much for infrastructure, how much for sport and how much for education. In other words, we were like tiny mayors. And that taught us to listen, to defend initiatives, to discuss, to present them better; in other words, it was a very important laboratory. It was very strange for a Secretary of Culture to call you on your mobile phone to ask you something, to invite you to a meeting, especially a rapper, who at that time was very much frowned upon. Here, I would also like to point out that one of the objectives of *La Élite* was to change the image that society has of the rap artist, of the graffiti artist. That was a struggle, which I think we achieved today, but we also understood that it was very important to change what we were doing in the streets; because there was also a time for self-criticism: what are you consuming, what are you rapping, how are you communicating, how are you behaving at home, what is the violence you are replicating; a lot of things that made that today; for example, a graffiti or rap artist is seen not only as an artist, which is what we like most, but also as an educator, peace manager, a community leader. There are a lot of adjectives, and at that time, it was impossible to think that they would be attached to our adjectives in the streets. There are those who are art entrepreneurs; this man is the one who coordinates; the most beautiful thing is when we meet kids in the street and they say to their mum, 'look, that's my teacher', that's very powerful.

Then in 2004, with all that was happening in Medellín, we began to have much more confidence, much more of a political position. We got together and said: we are going to do our festival again, to say again that we don't want war, that we don't want to be massacred again. We began to think about this proposal, which was initially called *Operación Élite Hip-Hop* [Operation Hip-Hop Elite], which summarised our revolution through education, through culture. A transformation that said, yes, we want a change as the government said, the paramilitaries themselves wanted to rebuild some things in the country and that's why they made a pact in a place called Ralito. And, there are many things on which we also agreed. And then, the guerrillas talk to us about revolution for 60 years, and we say, of course, we agree; there are some changes to be made. Since Marquetalia¹⁴ they have been fighting for certain things: but why kidnap, why kill, why disappear, why recruit, why massacre, why a rubbish dump, why disappear; why? Yes to revolution, yes to change, yes to a new pact for Colombia. But then this revolution that we want should be without deaths, so that we reach a place of enjoyment, a different place, a place of progress, of success, of development. With that in mind, we've re-created the festival because it was already created. I call it 'Revolution without death', as a commitment to life, as a philosophy of life, as a revolution for change; without death as a way, without death as a form, without death as a methodology. We put on that first festival in 2004 and a whole boom of very cool forces began. We are telling the world: make a revolution without death, we are going to take the revolution without death to praxis; praxis is the hip-hop school, whose philosophy is transformation through art, through education, through opportunities, through the life project, through seeing the world, through seeing the alternatives. We created our first school, which we call *La Camada*, a bit wild these rappers learning in this concrete jungle; our first group of rappers who want to learn and who want to go out and devour the world, but with a philosophy of active non-violence, of revolution without dead people. It's worth saying that the results were extremely successful: today we have Ciro, Chavo, Dayro Cábala, who are leading artists from Comuna 13 who come from that first process. Then other groups that were not part of the founding of *La Élite* began to join, younger people; it began to be a generational replacement; it was more of an intergenerational connection. We, the older ones, started to work alongside the younger ones, and we started to do a lot of things there.

14.3.6 2007: From Street Corner to Street Corner

In 2007, I decided to retire from music production and focus on other things, more on management and executive production, resources, making things happen, if someone

¹⁴ Marquetalia is a village in the south of the department of Tolima. It was a region of liberal guerrillas who did not surrender their weapons after the bipartisan violence of the 1950s and took refuge in the rugged mountainous area of the Cordillera Central, seeking to escape harassment by the authorities. It was there that the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the FARC, were born.

has a project to do photography, graphic design, video, and I also started a process of searching, I launched myself as a solo artist. At that moment, the groups that had been working with me were a bit orphaned. I gave advice on where to go to produce, so that it wouldn't be too expensive but would also be very good, and C15, Kolacho's group, began to produce a new album, which was later called 'De esquina a esquina' [From street corner to street corner]. Because of the friendship I had with Kolacho, he would show me everything they were doing, what they were producing. One day, he came up with a beat that was different from all rap beats. Normally, rap is a four-quarter time beat, and this beat was a three-quarter time beat. I liked it a lot, I started to improvise a bit on it, and it was a lot of fun and Kolacho told me: 'Let's do a song together'. We had never done it before and we did it at such a level that that song was the one that later gave the album its name, it was called 'De esquina a esquina'. It's a bit like what you do from street corner to street corner, running around the neighbourhood, walking around it. And, it is also a form of resistance to that adult-centric expression that says 'don't do it on the street corner where something is going on'; normally they are telling young people not to inhabit public space because there are bad things going on there. Children are usually raped at home. But all that discussion was also a call to say: on my street corner, let me live, exist, resist, insist and persist. In conversations and in some texts I had read, I said: the street corner is the homeland of childhood, so that's where we also build identities. And that's the reason for that song, 'De esquina a esquina', from street corner to street corner, from place to place, from border to border, breaking street corners, inhabiting them, filling them with life, also removing all the negative connotations and stigma. That's what the song is for and it's also a very happy song, which we do with Jairito, who today is one of the founders of Casa Kolacho, and with Juda; we created this patch. And that's when the C15 album came out and started to be presented at many festivals. As an individual, I also did my own songs as a soloist and they invited me to their concerts to sing that song, and it became a kind of hit in the community, it became a big hit.

14.3.7 2009: Kolacho's Murder (That Day Changed All Our Lives)

In 2009, the unexpected happens: Kolacho is murdered. In the midst of a struggle for territorial control between local gangs, on Monday, August 24, after visiting his aunt on her birthday, he was entering his home at 11 AM when a motorcycle passed by and shot him; a single shot to the head ended his life. That day changed all our lives. Kolacho was 21, a very young man full of the drive to learn, to do so many things, to rap. Among what he taught us, and what personally stuck with me the most, was transparency: what you do must always be clear. That day, we all died a little, too. There was a standstill, there was pain, there was [*silence, eyes lowering*] a little disappointment, there was also a lot of fear. We wanted to honour him, a farewell

concert. We held it 15 days later, on September 12. We rehearsed the songs as best we could with what little energy we had left. One of them was 'De esquina a esquina', since Kolacho was the manager of C15, C15's leader. During rehearsals, we agreed amongst ourselves that we also write a song for him, a tribute, and that's literally what it's called: 'Homenaje' [Homage]. It's a song of remembrance, I love [it] deeply, it's so beautiful that we've remade it 3 times. The first time we did a heavy rap version, then we did it in an also very beautiful acoustic format, recently we did a salsa rap version. Afterwards, in the middle of rehearsals and other concerts, we were invited to go sing in memory of the victims. During one of our internal conversations, Jairito, who is one of the group's leaders, told me: 'I'm very afraid of C15 dying because Kolacho was the pillar of the group, and I want to ask you to be a permanent part of C15 because we don't want C15 to be buried with Kolacho, instead we want it to go on in his memory, doing what he dreamed of'. That day I felt as if Jairo wasn't the one talking to me, but Kolacho himself. And from that day on, that was in late 2009, I'm a part of C15 and it's still my current band. I think this is the band I've been in the longest, since we used to go from band to band; we've been working together for almost 12 years. This year, each of the members is working on their individual projects, that's C15's current state. But that is where I draw a line, because I also felt myself part of a place, I felt part of a group, I felt at ease especially because these broke... they're no longer broke but, at that time, they were broke, very different from the rappers I grew up with in terms of discipline, in terms of humility, in terms of other things...

14.3.8 2012: Duque's Murder (They're Killing the Rappers)

Duque was killed in 2012. I was no longer part of the *Élite*, but it affected us a lot. That year, aside from killing Duque, the neighbourhood's armed group threatened Son Batá, La *Élite*, C15. And, they made us leave the neighbourhood for over a month. It was because of a fight with one of the guys from the gang, something personal, a brief fight. The very angry drugged up kid went and shot and murdered Duque. We held a massive memorial for him. When we're together we're a very large *combo*, very rugged with beards, tattoos, a large afro community with Son Batá. And they were a band of kids in dirty diapers, 13, 14-year-old boys who had a gun, who had drugs and who, at the end of the day, had more fear than anything else. When they saw our massive gathering in Salado's church, Duque's neighbourhood, we made a mandala with candles, with flowers, we held a peace, love and energy ritual, there were over 400 people there, that really scared them and their reaction was that they didn't want to see us in the neighbourhood. That was their death sentence because so many people love us. Amazingly, even bad people respect what we do, and they knew that killing Duque was a mistake. This was all over the media, John Jaime of Son Batá and I were the face of it, saying: we were threatened, we're 60 artists who don't know what to do because we can't go back to our neighbourhoods, we fear for our lives and those of our families... Many people lightly reported on the situation,

especially newspaper journalists, after Duque's murder. Because they weren't the only ones to die: between Duque and Kolacho there were Chelo, Yiel, el Gordo, several people; many young people died. In Comuna 13, in 2010, around 300 young people were murdered. Sometimes I feel like hip-hop saved many of us from falling, precisely because we were visible; because football players, taxi drivers, butchers, young people who worked in many different things did fall. So that very light look into the situation, mostly by journalists and other outside people said: they're killing the rappers. Additionally, I have to say it, I never did feel like that was true. If you added things up, and you did it carelessly, then yes, you would say: they killed Duque, they killed Kolacho, they killed Yiel. Yes, they all had being rappers in common, but if we look at each of their stories specifically... I'm not ever trying to justify a murder, only the understanding of why they happened; they could be connected in a more general way by social exclusion, but there is no persecution of hip-hop. Even today, being able to look back more intelligently and calmly, not hot-headed and in pain, I can say that, if we hadn't been artists, many of us would for certain have been killed much easily. At the time, we were threatened, being artists protected us, it even, unfortunately, protected us from the neighbourhood's bad people... the leaders called us saying: don't worry, we're sorry about Duque, it was a huge mistake, we're sorry about the threats. Because when it reached the public, there were 60 journalists in the press conference, a whole legion of artists leaving the place... it was unprecedented and it was also a harsh mediatic blow for the government, who immediately deployed troops and security forces. They started doing raids, they started making arrests, and the bad people's life became hell, the guys from the combos, because even combos that had nothing to do with the conflict playing out in Salado—they were from a different neighbourhood, from a distant area—their life also turned into hell because there already was a media focus on Comuna 13. They understood it; they knew it was their mistake, of one of their members, backed up by the same government. Because the kid who murdered Duque and who threatened us was underage and, as we immediately understood, had a warrant out for his arrest that was to be enforced, that he'd go to a juvenile detention centre, that those have lower security and they get out very fast, that's why I say that the police and at least the corrupt ones had something to do with it, I'm sure they informed people that they'd be arresting him, and what they did was murder him before he could be arrested. The arrest was meant to be on a Monday, and they killed him on Sunday night. There's a very soap opera, very sicaresque story: [the kid] was killed by his best friend, he trusted him and called him except the friend already had orders from above and that's where the kid died, his name was Jhorman. The day after his murder his mother was going around the neighbourhood gathering money for the burial because they didn't have any funerary services... And I remember it very well, Jhon Jairo of Son Batá and I gave money to bury the kid who had killed our friend and threatened us. At the end of the day, that's also who we are. It was very hard getting to know this kid's life... they told us lots of stories, that he'd go to school barefoot because he'd never had any means, that he'd pick mangos from trees, cut them and sell them to help out at home and to eat, he's a kid that was also a victim of the shitty system that makes broke people see no alternative other than joining an armed group. I will never justify what he did but

I can understand that his life was shit thanks to a system, even thanks to many of us who don't do anything to change things... Those were very difficult years because everything was piling up: Kolacho and Duque's absence, the fear of even more things happening, bullets in the streets, shootings, murders. But we were able to return to the neighbourhood in peace, even more peacefully than before because now we had a sort of bodyguard, we had free rein to go wherever we wanted, nobody could touch us, nobody could tell us anything. And that wasn't good, it was never good to me, but it did give us the freedom to do more workshops, more stuff. There's a friend of ours, a teacher, my second mother, called Lucía González, who always said: 'The more visible we are as processes and as individuals the more protected we are in many ways'. She invites us to be part of the city's networks because that protects us; being a part of something makes us visible because there are people who care about us.

14.3.9 2013: From Side to Side

In 2013, we began to reconfigure this whole C15 process, to strengthen its artistic side, improving and showcasing stuff, allying with some people from Madrid, a cultural entity called Fabricantes de Ideas [Idea Makers]. And they create a festival called Fábrica de Rimas [Rhyme Factory] and they invite us take part in it along with a Spanish rapper called Raiden and two Moroccan groups: one called H Kayne and the other called Disidrox. Also, we started this intercontinental project between Europe, Africa, and America. The idea was to be able to hold several showcases. Due to passport issues, we couldn't travel to the Pirineos Sur festival—the International Festival of Cultures—so we held an online concert, but then it happened that, in December 2013, we travelled to Madrid. We held a beautiful and very cold concert because it was December, but we were very happy to be there. And then, in Morocco, we went to Rabat, we went to Casablanca first, where Disidrox are from, to see Casablanca and record a song based on the street corner to street corner philosophy I mentioned, except this one's called 'De lado a lado' [From side to side]. We were talking about the neighbourhood's street corner in 2007 and, in 2013, we were already talking about street corners in Morocco, in Madrid, and it was very beautiful to see this sort of globalisation of our music. Because, yes, we knew that hip-hop was all over the world, it was amazing for us to see groups with 20-year careers who had shows with very significant technical and sound quality.

14.3.10 2013: Casa Kolacho I

Before that trip we already wanted a place and so we gathered some money, did some savings, crowdsourced, received a donation from American rapper Big Jones. She held a concert in Colombia, and, in every concert she holds in countries of the,

let's say, third world or underdeveloped countries, she gives 10% of her earnings to an organisation working with children and young people in the arts. And we were selected to receive 10% of those earnings. And that took years to arrive because of taxes but being able to receive it was momentous. With that energy, we said: let's go home. On December 1, 2013, we got the keys to the first Casa Kolacho. It was a smaller house than the one we are in today, simpler, humbler, but since we'd never had our own house to us it was gigantic, it was where the studio was gonna go, the shop, the workshops... Many years ago, to answer the problem of having somewhere for hip-hop to meet, we always dreamt of having a recording studio. Between 2010 and 2011, we created Graffitour, which isn't a small thing because, to this day, it's one of the most important projects we've created. It was one of the main sources of financing for our project during the last 10 years, especially when it comes to self-management, because it's allowed us to remain financially independent, it's injected a significant amount of capital, but it also made us visible to the world. We have also delivered work and economic opportunities through tourism to a large amount of Comuna 13 people; over 60 families live off tourism today. This year marks 10 years of Graffitour, we'll celebrate with lots of things, among them we'll put out a book that systematises this process so the world can know about how things happened and to make memories around it. So [in 2013] we added everything up. We dreamt of having a place for so long because, of the houses we were in, we said yes, very cool, but, for example, they wouldn't let us graffiti the walls in ACJ and they had an office schedule starting at 8 in the morning and closing at 5:30 PM and we couldn't do anything at night to record, on Sundays, all that. That's where the decision to have our own house specifically for hip-hop was born, for the sake of independence and doing whatever we wanted. Creating that house was a dream we'd already talked about with Kolacho. When we were house hunting, we said: what are going to call it? We hadn't even talked about the house... The term house was very important to me because it means ownership, a place where you live, where your family is; the term has a tonne of connotations that seemed to me to be important to maintain because, after all, we who were building that place were family. From that energy we joined a music label we were friendly with, we gathered a small collective of 7 people in total. And, in our search, we'd already determined that this place wasn't just going to be a creation centre, but that it would also be a place in memory of our comrades who aren't here anymore and, from that homage, have the strength to move forward. And we said: our house will be called Casa Kolacho. In 2009, when they murdered Kolacho, the school had already taken Kolacho's name; therefore, we already had one of the most important things in our house, a place to hold our workshops in, to hold our creative, learning, and educational meetings in was the Kolacho school, we even thought about eventually just calling the house Kolacho School, which would be a school to learn and teach hip-hop. But we soon said no, let it be called Casa Kolacho and the school will be one of its parts. At the end of the day, Casa Kolacho is the sum total of La Élite, the School, and Graffitour; all those projects condensed into one. Obviously, behind every project were the people, artists, leaders, very powerful women, creators, who, today, are here with us; some have passed, some have left, some have stayed, new people have arrived. Since 2013, we started off strong. A little

administratively disorganised; we had no idea how to manage a cultural corporation, the taxes, the DIAN, registering the RUT, the Chamber of Commerce, a tonne of things that were disastrous in that first attempt. But we were growing, above all we grew a lot because we made our own alternative economy, we set a shop up, began to offer artistic services, making graffiti, holding concerts, managing, Graffitour became a very powerful band-aid... All that added up, connected, more comrades arrived and kept us going. Today, we are 25 artists in Casa Kolacho.

14.3.11 2018: Casa Kolacho II

Something really cool happens in 2018: we start working with a friend and, from our old headquarters, we launch our friend's clothing line. And we hold a small barbecue, and his mum arrives... he didn't live in the Comuna any longer. And Chacha, that's what we affectionately call her, starts looking at the house and really likes its energy, its people, the art, and she starts thinking out loud and says: 'Hey, Casa Kolacho would fit right in at my house'. And I hear her and say: 'But where's your house?' 'How is it that you don't know where Daniel grew up?' 'No, I don't know it'. She told me: 'It's a very large house in San Javier Park right in front of the Metro station, it's being rented but I want to renovate it and I'd really like for Casa Kolacho to stay there'. Meaning, she gave it to us, like a present. Obviously, we pay rent, and we've moved to this new place in June 2019. It's a really generous place that is everything we dreamt of and more. Because, first of all, it brought us amplitude, not just amplitude in the physical space sense but also it has allowed us to dream bigger, we have a place to hold events, we have a recording studio, we have a café, we have a large patio, we have a natural habitat and a very beautiful ecosystem all around us. All that has been part of a transformation of the space but also of Casa Kolacho, and that transformation is visible even at the administrative level.

[*He shares the Casa Kolacho virtual tour*]. I want to show you: this is our house, a really awesome place, there's a little park outside, on this left side that blue spot is our concert hall, it's a place for events... we kept the classic façade, it's a house from the 50s, and, on the inside, we filled it with graffiti, it's like grandma's house and our grandchildren will take it up. Inside is our shop, in this space we share the fetishes of graffiti aesthetics and we're able to have some savings because we sell shirts. On this side we have an art gallery, the café is also this way, here's my office, that's 7 rooms, 4 bathrooms... On this approaching wall is our library. This way is the memory room, it's Kolacho and Duque, our comrades are painted so we remember them, and this is where we gather. This way is our recording studio, it's the studio where we produce music. And there's our concert hall, the stage, it's a very generous space, this is the Graffitour. I wanted to show you this house because it made a difference in what we are and what we're doing today. It's a much larger place but also the organisation... today we're a cultural corporation, it's called CK, a non-profit Corporación Kultural. We're legally registered, we pay taxes, unfortunately a lot of them, but, well, we'll get there. We have a collective total of 21 artists working in several fields, and they

keep changing and reconfiguring themselves. This space made us think about issues like the environment that we'd never thought about before, but we think are necessary due to the characteristics of where we are now. There's a space called diversity and memory that's very powerful because in our collective there's a lesbian rapper, a trans guy rapper, there's the afro community... There are more women than before, because their participation was minimal, there was only a photographer comrade in our roster, but today there are more female comrades leading the school, the administrative and economic processes. We're trying to improve a lot every day, to learn more, that's what's worth working for.

14.3.12 2021: The Act of Knowing What We've Been Through

I believe the pandemic taught us many things. It dealt us a very severe blow because when we were comfortable, financially and workwise, there was a serenity, tourism was going super well, the concerts, the events. That all stopped all at once, everything ground to a halt. It was a blow, a slap as they say. It also forced us to wake up a bit. After all, slaps can also wake you up. In terms of how we wanted to maintain the ease we had, we don't want to abandon that comfort zone, but we do want to do more things, we do want to improve the theme of our school, the methodologies, to systematise what we've already done, have an academic output, do research, share with other territories. We have an experience and a baggage personally but also collectively, from all these years of the school, of events, of the company, of education, of non-violence, the strength of the revolution without death. And we want to share all that with other places. Therefore, today we're creating further ways to communicate, to get there, to deliver, to share. Because we really believe in what we've done but we believe we can do better, especially when it comes to education through art. Art as an end but also as a mean, to be able to experience art in issues having to do with leadership, with life projects, with life skills, with a profession, with alternatives, with envisioning the world. And we want to focus our work on humanising the education we've been delivering, especially around the issues of diversity and memory. A school that talks about diversity, that talks about memory, that talks about human rights, that talks about participation. A hip-hop that is more engaged with its territory, a hip-hop that is technically very good, that provides its listeners with a better quality of life, those who live it, who understand it, those who see it, who enjoy it, but especially—and that's what I'm focused on today—the people who make it, who create it. So, my focus these days, personally and with Casa Kolacho, is to be able to make some broke 13 guy or girl's dream come true; do everything I can to make it into a reality. Especially in artistic terms, whether it's a tour or recording an album, but that through it we can have a conversation about what's human, vital, about love, about happiness, about existence, about things beyond the material. Because I'm an advocate for quality of life and I believe every comrade

needs it, because, like a Chilean rapper friend of mine says, 'well, let's keep on rising because we come from the bottom', that's clear to us, we're also the ones called to change history. We know it's hard, we know not everyone can do it, especially not with so much bankruptcy, with so many closed doors, with so much exclusion, but we also know that trying is what's most important. After all, that's what hip-hop is to us: a feasibility, an opportunity, and the alternative that came to us in the hard days, in moments when nothing else was left. Hip-hop literally came to save our lives, to give a voice to many kids who'd never been heard, who never went anywhere, who never glimpsed the possibility of being included in this meeting, of going to Morocco, of having gone to more than 20 countries, a tonne of cities I can't even remember anymore...

That act of knowing what we've been through, what I've been through and also what our comrades have been through, it's very powerful, beyond the travelling, the recognition and everything, above all it's what follows, it's remembering but to move forward. My vital moment is to make things move on. Today I consider myself a bridge, a net, a possibility even to myself, first of all, since I have that very clear, my dreams are written down. But especially a lot of comrades who want to do a lot of things that sound very difficult to them and, fortunately, experience tells me they're very easy to materialise, especially with really talented people always coming in, so talented that if you had their sort of talent you'd already be painting walls in China and Japan. And being able to do that, to make things happen, would be 10 out of 10, and we are already working on it. So, one of Casa Kolacho's new projects is the talent agency, an agency that represents and supports, with what little of what much those who already part of it know, we have more experience and there are a lot of outside people who will help us and are around, interested in helping us. So beautiful and so powerful, this time in my life that I'm in now is very serene, a little old as well. The ability to help is something that makes me very happy because when someone makes it... For example, last Friday, Sandro, we call him Aliens 13, his artistic name, he's a trans guy who is in the process of transitioning from a girl into a guy and he's a really good rapper, he's just put out a video called 'Libres' [Free]. And being able to make that possible, releasing his first song, his first music video, that's very fulfilling. I think he was very happy, but I was happier than he was [*happy laughs*] (Photos 14.3 and 14.4).

14.4 The Inter-Textuality: Casa Kolacho as a Metaphor

Jeihco's testimony on the making of Casa Kolacho highlights how the combination of different dynamics can bolster resistance and transformation through the hip-hop movement, preventing violence. Which dynamics could these be? On the one hand, brave initiatives by associations and NGOs with a presence in the community and experience in other territories. In this case, these initiatives enabled a gathering of artists/rappers who were then able to start a common project of network recognition

Photo 14.3 Casa Kolacho and the Graffitour. *Source* <https://www.facebook.com/GraffitourCasaKolacho>



Photo 14.4 Casa Kolacho and the Graffitour. *Source* <https://www.facebook.com/GraffitourCasaKolacho>

and creation ('join forces'). The community-organised protests and civil mobilisations throughout history helped create a fertile breeding ground for community-based projects and resistance ('violence no more'). On the other hand, the new group's initiatives were key, those that were able to connect and engage the whole

community (Memory and Tribute Festivals, etc.). It is important to note the value of collective learning—artistic, political, administrative, philosophical—by everyone involved, in the community and through networks, always supported by NGOs and associations present locally. In addition, local 'progressive' government projects bolstered this project by encouraging local political participation ('we were like tiny mayors'), community decision-making, and reinforcing cultural and educational projects. Last but not least, the group's transnational connections with geographically distant entities brought valuable new experiences and references, broadening the project's network towards a greater interconnectivity with other places' movements and struggles ('our music's globalisation').

Casa Kolacho's story, as told by Jehhhco, can be read as a metaphor for the last two decades' worth of transformations in Medellín. Reading between the lines—searching for what the text implicitly suggests—it can be analysed as a suggestive example of intergenerational, intercommunity, intercultural and interdisciplinary mediation work to fight the effects of political, structural, everyday and symbolic violence. Intergenerational due to involving several generations of Comuna 13 activists and rappers, enabling the vertical—between veterans and newbies—and horizontal—between contemporaries—communication of knowledge and experience; intercommunity because it involves clashing but similarly troubled neighbourhoods, tearing down the invisible barriers historically dividing them; intercultural because it joins young people with different origins, physical features, gender identities and subcultural tendencies in favour of working towards peace; interdisciplinary because it becomes a place of learning know-hows and different but complementary academic, institutional, civil and street skills.

The juncture of the pandemic and the youth protests of the last year caused by a hostile and violent government have meant, on one hand, a heavy blow for Colombian youth. They have had to relocate and rethink their ways of organising and showing resistance. But there have also been new opportunities. The pandemic, on one hand, has opened the door to the exploration of new connections in other places and contexts (leaving the local and their comfort zones). The youth protests, on the other hand, have been an opportunity to very vehemently showcase youth unity and all-caps resistance to the government and the system. The protests can be seen as a conduit to highlight the severe problems affecting Colombian youth, but also to provide solutions and alternatives to historically State-executed violence; as well as to reinforce the call to social change through art, love, peace, and a 'revolution without death'.

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