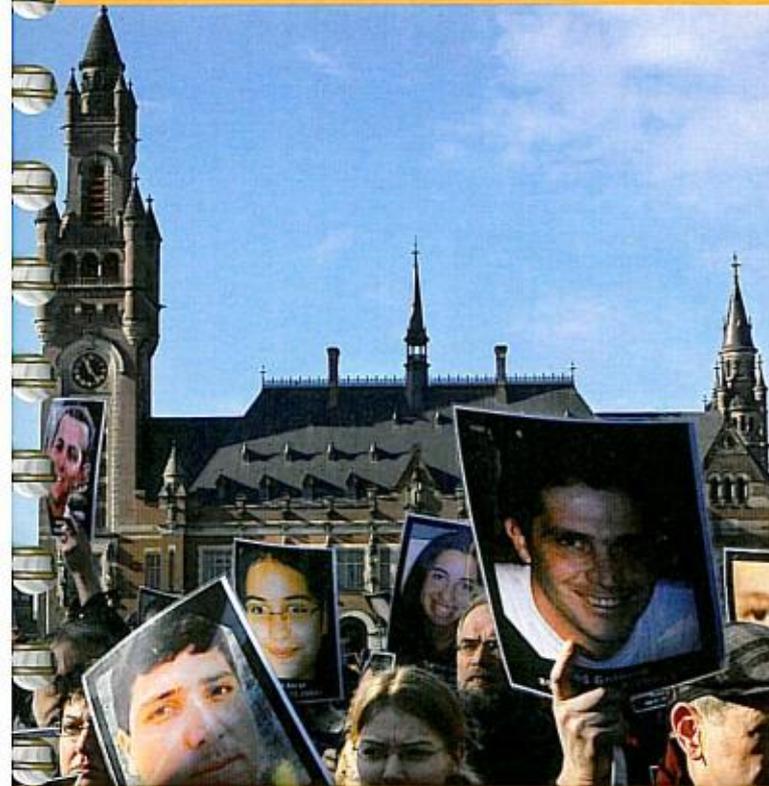


# Making cities safer: how different approaches and instruments succeed in cities around the globe

International conference to mark World Habitat Day 2007, The Hague, the Netherlands, 1 - 2 October 2007



VROM



Gemeente Den Haag

Ministerie van  
Buitenlandse Zaken



UN-HABITAT

# Making Cities Safer

How Different Approaches and Instruments  
Succeed In Cities Around the Globe

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Claudio Acioly, Saskia Ruijsink, Marijk Huysman, Ellen Geurts

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## 1. Introduction

In order to reflect on the state of human settlements and the basic right to adequate shelter for all, the United Nations has designated the first Monday in October every year as World Habitat Day. The city of The Hague, The Netherlands, is the host and spearheads the 2007 global celebration of this important day.

As part of the preparations for the 2007 World Habitat Day the Netherlands Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment – VROM, commissioned the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies – IHS to undertake a review of cities' experiences in dealing with the main theme of the World Habitat Day.

This year the central theme is "A Safe City is a Just City".

This report is part of the contribution of the Ministry of VROM to the conference. It intends to make a snapshot of the problem and reflect on the question of urban safety and how cities cope with urban crime and violence. Fear, insecurity and rising crime and violence of different nature represent a serious threat to sustainable urban development. The magnitude of the problem calls for concrete measures but also for deepening our understanding about the roots of the problems and the different ways city governments are tackling this pressing issue.

According to UN HABITAT, during the last 5 years 60% of all urban residents in the world have been victims of crime and between 1990 and 2000, there has been an increase in violent crime reported per 100,000 inhabitants from 6 to 8.8. In order to cope with this phenomenon local governments have initiated a number of programmes, some of them depicted herein this report. The reader will notice that these programmes have much in common. They are usually initiated with a diagnostic undertaken by governments and/or non-government stakeholders to grasp a sense of the problem, its size, causes, location and types of violence and crime offences. They commonly involve partnerships between different actors and show an integrated, multi-sector and multi-institutional manner to tackling the problems.

The study has no ambition to report on the various approaches and methods to address urban violence and urban insecurity. The scope of the report is modest and intends to give an introduction on four approaches translated in 4 different tools: physical planning, public service and infrastructure provision, private sector mobilisation and social inclusion.

The report was prepared by a team consisting of Saskia Ruijsink, Ellen Geurts, Marijk Huysman and Claudio Acioly, all associated with the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies-IHS.

Rotterdam, September 2007.

## **Safer Cities and Sustainable Urbanisation**

During the last decade, safety has started to receive greater attention as a significant urban phenomenon. Cities can only function as engines of economic growth, democratisation and social prosperity if their inhabitants feel safe to take part in economic, social, political and cultural life; if domestic and foreign investors perceive the city as secure and if tourists have no reason to fear for their life or their properties. Unfortunately, increasing levels and types of urban crime and violence are threatening the benefits of urbanization.

Lack of safety and the perception of feeling unsafe affect the overall development of a city and trigger deterioration in the general physical and social environment, contributing to the so-called “urban decay”. Crime, violence, and fear not only directly threaten life in society, but also hinder good governance and the sustainable development of cities. In fact, crime and violence are increasingly considered as indicators of sustainability. The more crime a city has, the less sustainable it is. People don't wish to live in an unsafe city or neighbourhood plagued by crime, and especially high levels of violent crime.

In addition, fear of crime is also an indicator of sustainability. This type of fear relates to how vulnerable a person feels, which can be based on real facts or merely a point of perceptions. It has been found that the more fearful citizens are, the less they are likely to be happy and content in their city. People who live in cities tend to hold higher levels of fear because cities and other urban areas tend to have higher crime rates than rural areas. Fear of crime is real and affects people's quality of life and the ability of cities to attract new residents, investors, companies and tourists.

Safety and security are closely related to the way a city is governed. The more focused and effective safety or crime prevention policy and strategies are to respond to insecurity, crime and emergencies; the more sustainable the city will be in the end. Ensuring safety and security in a city, requires good governance practices and a good framework of local partnership. It requires cooperation on all levels; inter-organisation, inter-sectorial and between governments, the private sector and civil society.

Through the selected cases presented in this study, various approaches, governance methods and practices to improve safety and security in urban settings are identified. The tools deriving from the analysis can be grouped under 4 main categories:

1. Physical/Spatial Planning
2. Public Service and Infrastructure Provision
3. Private Sector Mobilisation
4. Social Inclusion

### **1. Physical/Spatial Planning tools**

Housing and urban design affects the form and function of the built-up environment and therefore can influence urban safety in various ways. The degree to which housing and work environments create a comfortable setting to live in is a parameter of psycho-social health. Poorly designed buildings can contribute to poor health (sick building syndrome), physical isolation and depression. Moreover, the built environment can provide circumstances and spatial conditions encouraging and/or facilitating crime and violence. Urban configurations and labyrinth nature of certain urban areas, both in developed and developing countries can for instance become conducive for certain anti-social behaviour, making street crime easier and foster

fear. Hence, some spaces easily become urban deserts where citizens don't dare to go, and particular women avoid pass through, or try to reduce the effect of crime through measures of self-defence. Often these spaces become desolated and no-go areas.

Oscar Newman's study on public housing and crime in New York (1972) established an explicit relationship between design and crime in public housing. Through his defensible space theory, he promoted the design of public and semi-public space that is under public surveillance at all times. Residents should be enabled to observe and monitor their immediate neighbourhood, intercept those who do not belong there, and in this manner help to prevent crime. He associates physical planning and design with social control of the space.

A very specific phenomenon of defensible space is the so-called "gated community" or "fortified enclave". Often exclusively created for the urban elites who choose to withdraw from public space, this type of housing estates can be seen as attempts to mitigate fear through residential protection. In an article in the Washington Post (2002) Teresa Caldeira<sup>1</sup>, a noted Brazilian anthropologist, remarks:

"The elite has made a decision. Instead of looking to better Brazilian society in general, they are abandoning it and finding their own personal protection behind guarded walls. The rich are retrenching, restricting their lives in incredible ways and living their lives in increasingly paranoid fashion".

Another facet linking physical/spatial planning with safety is the design of urban space and urban artefacts that affect lifestyles and safety in neighbourhoods. These include mechanisms such as road widths, accessibility to public spaces, volume and scale of public and semi-public spaces, cul-de-sacs, adequate lighting, street furniture, controlled access to housing estates, creation of spaces no-one "owns" etc. that actually generate avoidance, fear and ultimately abandonment (Geason and Wilson, 1989).

With the argument that the notion of defensible space is too limited, Perlmutt (1982) stresses the role of management in the security of housing projects, involving the creation of space, through physical design and site layout, which can easily be managed by residents. Thus the scale, shape, volume and layout of residential environment can affect levels of social control in the use, management and maintenance of these spaces. This implies that physical and spatial planning can positively affect the notion of safety and cultural identity that stimulates use, care, control and personalisation of these spaces by residents.

In residential environments comprised of high-rise multi-family buildings, safety can be better governed through for instance the maintenance of buildings and engagement of residents and homeowners associations in decisions that have an impact on communal spaces and properties. This strengthens social interaction and "community" response to crime and vandalism that directly affect their individual and collective properties.

## **2. Public Services and Infrastructure Provision tools**

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<sup>1</sup> Teresa Caldeira is the author of the book "City of Walls: Crime, Segregation and Citizenship in Sao Paulo" [undated]

The provision of public services and infrastructure like public transport and passenger terminals is an important tool to increase the notion of urban safety and free movement of individuals in a city. But it is the operation, quality, functionality and maintenance of these services and facilities that actually make a difference. Individuals experience safety when they actually can have access to public services and infrastructure without being subject to harassment and crime. In particular public transport when in and around stations and on trains and buses individuals can move safely.

Not only the design of terminals and public transport stations but also adequate lighting, cleanliness, attractive spaces and image, and clean and well-maintained public transport such as trains and buses can contribute to both the perception and the reality of personal security. In the developed world, it is the enhanced security for cars in parking spaces situated adjacent to terminals that is likely to encourage commuters to 'park and ride'. The option for public transport becomes attractive and viable by the increased sense of safety and efficiency in service delivery. But also when there is no vandalism that affects public use and no theft of private cars from parking facilities at transport stations.

The more safe and efficient a particular service is the more likely that public use will increase and this has a direct impact on the performance of cities and the urban environment. It also means recognising that road transport plays an important role in society and in daily life, and ensuring the development of good safe public transport becomes a priority in the local development agenda.

Addressing personal security issues on trains, buses and at stations is primarily the responsibility of station owners/managers and rail passenger operators, the Police, and the public.

### **3. Private Sector Mobilisation tools**

Private sector participation in urban service provision is increasingly becoming part of urban management practices in various parts of the world. In the area of urban safety and in measures to tackle violence and crime this is not different. The private sector increasingly plays an important role in the mobilisation of resources, design and implementation of strategies and actions to curb violence and lack of safety. Particularly in areas where there is an active business district and different associations of entrepreneurs, businesses, firms, etc.

Violence and crime severely affect the prime concern of private sector agencies which is to survive in a commercial environment and to maximise profits. If it is the economic interest of local companies and shopkeepers to create a safer shopping environment, they have proven to do so. Some of the cities depicted in this study shows that public-private partnerships are efficient devices to tackle violence and crime.

Private sector stakeholders also have a clear interest in controlling and enhancing areas in which they have a common economic interest in which they to prefer to set and implement their own priorities.

A business improvement district (BID)<sup>2</sup> is a public-private-partnership in which property and business owners of a specific area opt for making a collective

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<sup>2</sup> BIDs have numerous pseudonyms, these include amongst others Business Improvement Area (BIA) and Business Revitalization Zone (BRZ).

contribution to the maintenance, development and promotion of their commercial district. BIDs typically provide services such as street and sidewalk maintenance, public safety officers, park and open space maintenance, marketing, capital improvements, and various development projects. The services provided by BIDs are a supplement to the services already provided by the local authority, municipality and/or government bodies. The first BIDs emerged in Canadian towns like Toronto and Ontario in the late 1960s and have subsequently emerged across the USA and into New Zealand, South Africa, Jamaica, England and many other countries worldwide.

Also on a smaller scale or as part of inner-city revitalisation programs, under which safety and good quality of public space play an important role, private sector involvement can be essential. Chambers of commerce, shopkeepers and business associations but also street vendor associations bring with them financial resources, a strong willingness for improvement and a clear-cut incentive for local authorities to actively collaborate otherwise “business is over” for everyone.

Critics argue that BIDs are controversial, since they take the districts as part of a trend toward the privatization of the public sector, thereby pushing out those who can't afford to live there any longer. Others see the BID's as an experimentation of combining public and private roles, and argue that with appropriate municipal oversight and limits, BIDs can make a significant contribution to the quality of urban public life (Briffault, 1999).

Private sector safety efforts are not necessarily restricted to particular locations but can also occur at the city level. In Nairobi for instance “The Safer Space and Streets Campaign” is spearheaded by the private sector, meant for upgrading the city's public spaces that have been abandoned or neglected over time. The campaign aims to enable, co-ordinate and propel the efforts and resources of a range of strategic urban actors as part of the implementation of a citywide safety strategy. Private sector initiatives that target improvement of public spaces in Nairobi such as market development, lighting, and upgrading of recreation facilities are linked up through the campaign (Urban Safety, 2006).

#### **4. Social Inclusion tools**

Social inclusion can be interpreted in several ways such as inclusion in decision making, adequate responding to the needs of people and inclusion of drop-outs. The tools that can be used are the organisation of community consultation, carrying out participative needs assessment research and developing and implementing social and educational programmes for addicts, homeless or unemployed people.

The inclusion of residents in decision making gives the residents a voice, it makes them visible. In order to include residents in decision making the residents should trust institutions. The case of Lagos shows that trust is not present in all communities.

Every city has vulnerable groups that are often excluded from urban life. Social exclusion can lead to criminal behaviour. The local government can develop programmes to reverse the process of social exclusion. This increases the quality of life of drop-outs and it enhances safety. Such programmes focusing on social

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inclusion have social and economic but also physical dimensions. Examples are education programmes, programmes to increase job opportunities, and housing or infrastructure programmes that aim at the inclusion of neighbourhoods with a high concentration of population who are socially excluded into the city. For example, the acclaimed “Social Inclusion Programme of the Municipality of Santo André”, Brazil, is actually a citywide slum upgrading programme that integrates various areas from education to income generation, housing and infrastructure improvement to access to credit and new skills. It therefore mobilises different sectors and municipal agencies in one single programme.

Some authors argue that the degree to which communities are able to influence, plan and transform their living environment determines not only feelings of identity and belonging but also of safety. Mobilising individual residents and communities for safety entails paying attention to attitudes and norms embedded in the culture which vary between cities and neighbourhoods. At times campaigns on better security within homes or the promotion of clean streets and graffiti-free walls result in awareness and active participation of residents. In certain instances, public meetings and hearings on safety issues organised by government staff and police trigger a multitude of responses. Whereas in other occasions, community workers support residents in establishing a detailed vision and a corresponding plan of how to transform their community from places of fear and crime into a setting of stability, safety and opportunity. The formula for all such activities is investment in communities with the aim to generate a sense of community identity focused on a collective space and project (Vanderschueren, 1996).

Another feature of social inclusion in the field of safety is the so-called community based policing approach whereby the police works in partnership with a community such as in the neighbourhoods of Kibera and Isiolo in Kenya<sup>3</sup>. The community thereby participates in its own policing; and the two parties work together, mobilising resources to solve problems affecting public safety over the longer term rather than the police, alone, reacting short term to incidents as they occur. A good assessment of the needs of local people by the government and its implementing partners assures that plans truly address the desires of the people they are working for. The Un-Habitat Safer Cities Programme strongly promotes the importance of community consultation in developing ownership of solutions to insecurity.

## Overview of Selected Case Studies

Table 1 gives an overview of the selected case studies; specific projects, approaches and programmes that have been applied to make cities across the world, safer cities. The case studies are examples of programmes and approaches that use elements of the above described tools. The cases are categorised among these four tools, but, the cases often contain elements of several tools. In the selected approaches applied in the cities, generally one tool is dominant. The dominant tool or the tool with the most striking effect, or most interesting application is emphasised most strongly in each case study.

**Table 1: Overview of Cases**

Instrument	Cases		
<b>Physical Planning</b>	Gated Communities in	Project Haverleij,	Dealing with spatial

<sup>3</sup> This particular project is implemented with the support of Saferworld, an independent non-governmental organisation that works to prevent armed violence and create safer communities in which people can lead peaceful and rewarding lives. For more information refer to: <http://www.saferworld.org.uk>

<b>Tool</b>	Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo	housing in a protected environment Den Bosch, the Netherlands	segregation Ambon, Indonesia
<b>Public Service and Infrastructure Provision Tool</b>	The Community Safety Partnership in Glasgow, UK	Transportation Security in the île-de-France Paris, France	Improving Birkenhead Bus station Birkenhead, UK
<b>Private Sector Mobilisation Tool</b>	A Business Improvement District in Philadelphia's City Centre. Philadelphia, USA	Better Buildings Programme Johannesburg, South Africa	Pact of the South Rotterdam, the Netherlands
<b>Social Inclusion Tool</b>	The Warszawa Municipality Improvement Program Warsaw, Poland	Social Inclusion and safety projects initiated by the NGO 'CLEEN' Lagos, Nigeria	Building the Tercer Milenio park and integrated development in Bogotá, Colombia

## 2. Analytical Framework to Assess Case Studies

Safety is central when assessing the quality of life in cities. Different cities and municipal governments are engaged in providing a safe urban environment for its citizens in various ways and through a wide range of programmes and approaches.

Government intervention ranges from strengthening police surveillance to more integrated social, economic and physical development strategies, including but not limited to participatory and multi-stakeholders approaches. Different tools and instruments have been designed and implemented with different levels of success and results.

A rapid assessment made prior to start with the report revealed that the subject of violence, insecurity and crime and subsequent measures, policies, programmes and actions to carve urban safety is substantially vast. The approaches, tools and measures fall under different sectors. The different experiences reviewed show that success is not only conditional to law enforcement and reforms in criminal justice systems but also in the way the urban landscape is planned, designed and managed with a multitude of physical planning tools coupled with social and economic tools and civil society participation so that cities can perform their role in local, regional and national development. A critical and methodological step was needed in order to downsize the number of cases and respond to the questions on the types of physical instruments posed by the VROM Ministry when commissioning IHS to undertake this study.

In order to look at how different cities and organisations design and implement their urban safety programmes and crime prevention measures in different countries and diverse contexts aiming at safer cities, one must set an analytical framework to guide analysis, description and conclusions.

This report established the **SAFER** approach to analyse different cities and programmes. SAFER stands for:

- **S**ituation Auditing
- **A**nalysis of Key Issues
- **F**actors of Success
- **E**valuation
- **R**eflections on the Tools and Instruments



## **Situation Auditing**

A situation auditing intends to give the reader a brief overview of the city, its development context and some facts and data about the urban development process. This part of the case study report is rather descriptive so that the reader immediately grasps the situation in which safety issues emerge. It also helps in placing policy and programmes within a broader city context helping the reader to place himself/herself within the local urban development setting. It does not focus on the case but on the “environment” under which the case study takes place. It is a prime city or secondary urban centre, a large or small city? What makes this city specific? Is there any on-going safety programme linked with a citywide urban development plan?



## **Analysis of Key Issues**

This part of the case study report focuses on the analysis of issues and themes that receive attention by local and/or central government policy documents, reports and which have been identified locally in the city under review. It discloses issues affecting liveability and safety in urban and residential environments in the city where the case study is reported. Not all issues are described but only those that affect urban development, and are considered critical for the city development and vital for improving safety and urban liveability.



## **Factors of Success**

This part of the case study report focuses on the specific elements that helped policies, programmes and approaches to do well in coping with and/or improving the conditions in the cities and/or neighbourhoods where they are implemented. It also looks at what contributed to its success. If there is any particular element of planning, management, civil society participation, law enforcement or any kind of variable that made a difference, it is reported here under this heading. The type of tool becomes more visible under this heading. This cluster of the case study report helps the reader to understand whether the programme met its targets and objectives, and under which condition it was achieved. This is important if we are looking for success criteria.



## Evaluation

What have we learned from this experience being reported? Are there any formal or informal evaluation or any form of assessment from which we can draw conclusions on how the experience under analysis was conceived, designed, implemented and managed? Under this heading, the case study report helps the reader to develop a critical view based on an existing evaluation involving one or more stakeholder associated to the case or drawn from different reports and impressions articulated by one of these actors. This cluster reports on various analysis, critical reviews, press releases, opinion surveys and available information that helps one get a sense of the local evaluations.



## Reflections on the tool and instruments

Under this heading, the case study report is more reflective and critical. It illustrates the results of the analysis made by the IHS team. This chapter draws from desktop studies, analysis of existing project reports, but also from the institute's direct or indirect involvement with the cases reported herein. In designing and preparing a lecture in the on-going training and educational programmes of IHS, literature surveys, comparative analysis and own experiences play a role in reflecting on the validity and effectiveness of the tool.

### 3. Tools to make cities safer, applied in cities around the world



Figure 1: Neighbourhood Planning after Fireworks Explosion in Enschede, Netherlands, Project Office for Roombeek, 2006

### 3.1 Physical Planning Tool

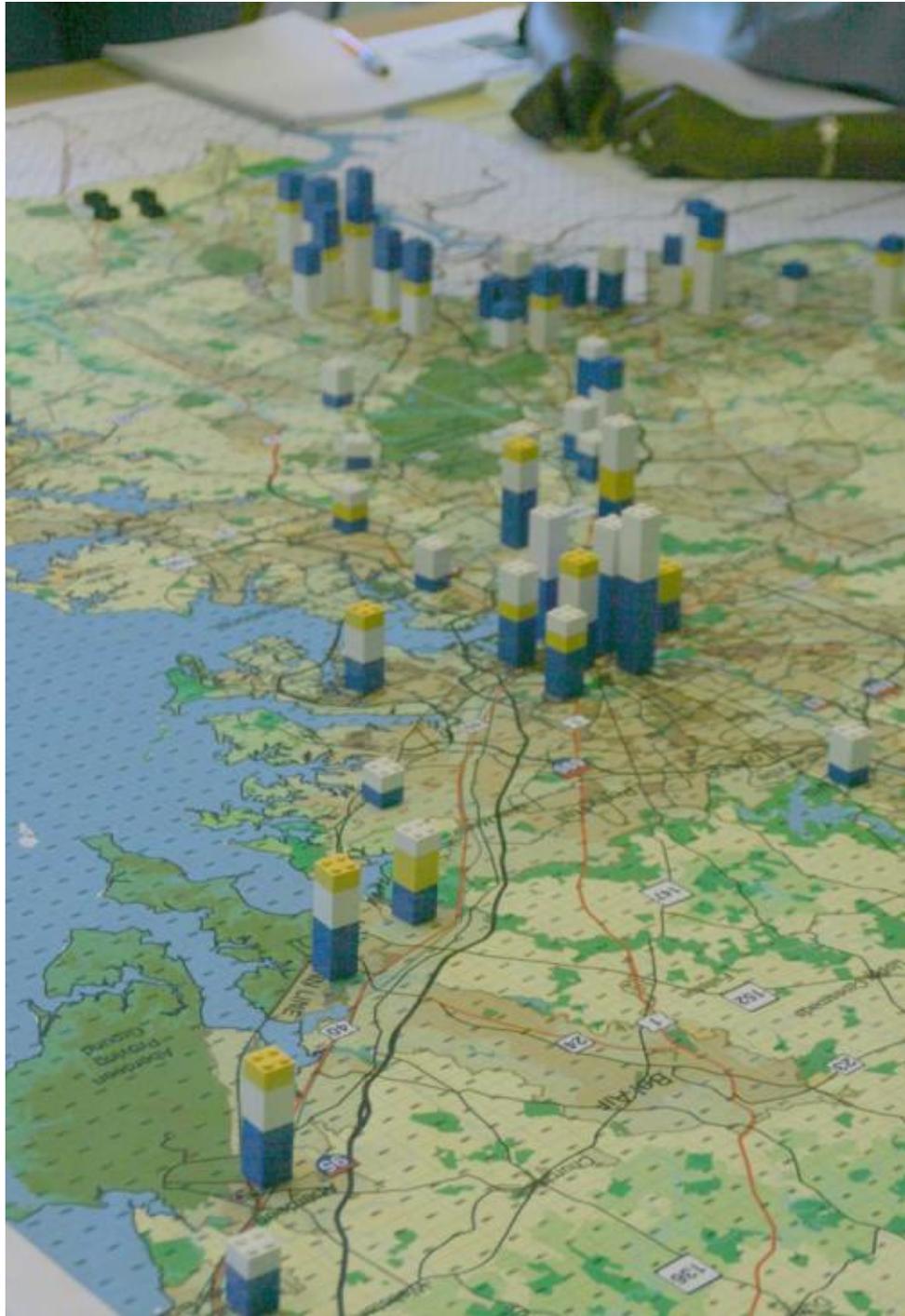


Figure 2: Planning for Densification, IHS 2007.

## Gated Communities in Brazil

<b>Country:</b>	Brazil
<b>City:</b>	São Paulo
<b>Number of inhabitants:</b>	Over 11 million (19 million in the greater São Paulo region)
<b>Project:</b>	Alphaville/ Gated Communities
<b>City:</b>	Rio de Janeiro
<b>Number of inhabitants:</b>	Around 6 million (11-12 million in the greater Rio region)
<b>Project:</b>	Gated Communities in Barra da Tijuca District
<b>Tool:</b>	Physical Planning Tool



### Situation auditing

Brazil is the largest and most populous country in Latin America, and the fifth largest in the world in both area and population. Brazil also has the highest GDP in Latin America and is the ninth largest economy in the world. More than 80% of its 180 million inhabitants already live in cities. Despite its current economic growth the country subsists with major income and social inequality, poverty and social exclusion, urban violence, growing social security debts. Urban violence and crime raised steadily during the 1980's when economic distress and hyperinflation deeply shook its development perspective. Private provision of security services as well as civil society mobilization against urban violence increased dramatically as the country pursued its path to democracy and economic stabilization. This phenomenon was not unnoticed by central, state and local governments. Public response have included but not limited to capacity building of the police apparatus, police and legal reform, increased surveillance, partnership with community-based organisations and NGOs, more inter-governmental cooperation and information sharing, citywide upgrading of favelas and informal settlements, community policing, employment generation programmes and even a recent national referendum on arm production and the gun control act.

In spite of the efforts of the central and local government(s) in Brazil to assure public safety, the majority of the residents still feel unsafe. As a consequence Brazil's major cities have witnessed the mushrooming of gated residential compounds called locally condominiums, commonly built to provide housing opportunities for middle and high-income groups looking for a safe enclave and flee from the sense of insecurity in public space reflected in frequent mugging, robbery, kidnapping and gang violence. These gated communities have emerged in the urban landscape of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil's largest cities. Faiola reports that Brazilians living in these walled communities had doubled over a period of 5 years up to 2002 and only São Paulo had already more than 3000 of such condominiums (A. Faiola, 2002).

The Alphaville concept was introduced in São Paulo in the 1970s by a building company and designed by engineer Renato de Albuquerque and architect Yojiro Takaoka. It was in principle a response by businesses to escape from crime, traffic congestions and other urban discomforts. The company purchased a very large tract of agricultural land situated about 23 km from São Paulo's inner city and developed it into a complete

residential area nearly self-contained and autonomous comprised of housing, businesses, services, and recreational facilities boosting a quiet, safe and gated environment named 'Alphaville'. It is connected to downtown São Paulo via a highway (Castelo Branco Highway).

This "urban safe haven" has attracted high middle class families. Nowadays the area is home to more than 30,000 São Paulo's most privileged residents; it has more than 20,000 housing and other 33 gated settlements have sprung up within the original site. It has become a city in itself with more than 2,000 businesses, dozens of schools and universities. It has 4 helipads and 4 different entrances and exits.



Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:132\\_3268.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:132_3268.JPG)

Alphaville has also its own private security services and generates a substantial amount of daily movement of people who work and/or live in Alphaville compound. Because jobs and certain services are still concentrated in São Paulo, there is a significant commuting from and to Alphaville. Reports on this mention a daily commuting of 150,000 people (Wikipedia, 2007). As a result of this traffic generation, the Castelo Branco highway had to be enlarged and has become a toll road. A side access to serve Alphaville has been implemented and has also become a toll road.

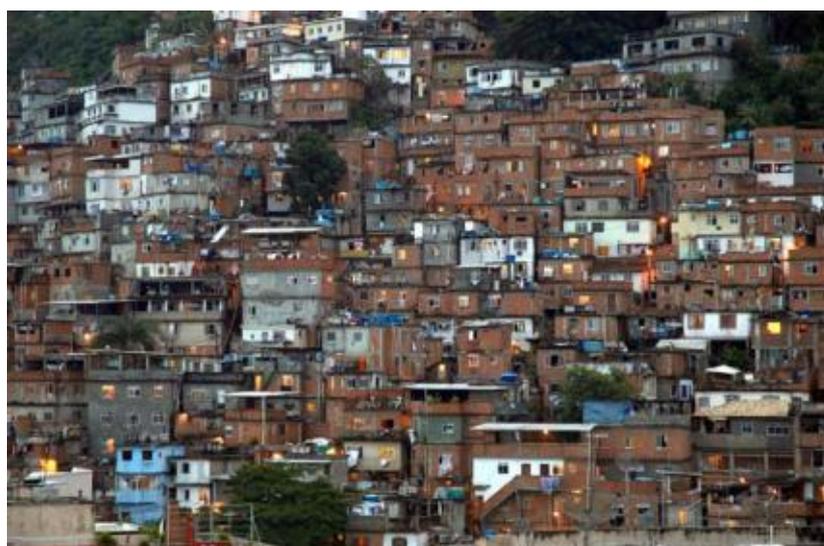
In Rio de Janeiro, the idea was put into practice not in a single project but fragmented in various sites of city expansion areas, particularly in the districts of Barra da Tijuca (high & middle class) and Jacarepagua. The widespread of gated residential compounds or condominium took place simultaneously to São Paulo's Alphaville as the city carried out the 1969 plan designed by Lúcio da Costa (the planner and designer of Brasília). It is a low-density urban plan, crossed by 2 large avenues along Rio's largest and longest beach, with segregated land-use surrounded by greenery and water. Several enclaves were built in a mix of high-rise multi-family buildings and low-rise single standing houses. As population grew and the demand for safety increased, these enclaves started to consolidate as mini-cities, totally segregated from its surrounding and served by their own security guarded entrances, parks, supermarkets and shopping malls, schools, sports facilities and even hospitals.



## Analysis of Key Issues

Safety is a very emergent issue in major Latin American cities like Rio, São Paulo, Bogotá, Medellín just to mention a few. Both Rio and São Paulo have been on world news for their record on violence and rate of homicides, assaults, stray bullets and narco-terrorism undertaken by the different and heavily armed phalanx or commando's controlling drug dealing in favelas and poor neighbourhoods. The war between these different commando's or organized crime for the control of the drug business have set a stage of warfare in the favelas and popular neighbourhoods where they are active. The poor are hit hard by these conflicts with innocent people losing their lives. The youth who cannot find a perspective out of the favela find their way earning quick money and make their living through the rankings of these groups.

Both cities are engulfed in a wave of violence of huge proportions that bring panic amongst the population, particularly the better off groups who are not accustomed and not daily confronted with this event as those living in favelas and peripheral neighbourhoods whom unfortunately have taken violence as part of their routine.



**Figure 4: Favela in Rio de Janeiro**

Source: <http://www.rioholidays.com/rio/bilder/aktiv/favela.jpg>

The rise of services to turn cars bullet proof, the instalment of dark ray ban windshield and side windows, the contracting of private security services, the use of door-to-door transport services based on vans, private property guards, security checks in exclusive residential roads and the self-segregation in gated communities are some of the measures undertaken by better off groups to protect themselves from increasing urban violence and sense of insecurity.

The situation in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro have become one of feeling of being extremely unsafe leading to a search for protection and extreme responses to increase one's own safety in a society earmarked by huge social inequalities. The result is that while the poor is subject to social exclusion, the rich voluntarily exclude themselves in their enclaves. This creates a vicious circle of those exposed to violence and real life situations and those exposed to life in the bubble. Consequently one witnesses the enforcement of a divided city and a significant loss of urbanity.



## Factors of Success

In Brazilian cities safety problems are extreme; so as income inequality; cities are growing in numbers and size steadily towards mega city scales. The way people live in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro reveal two polarised extremes: favela's and gated communities. Are the solutions also extreme? Spatial segregation and the establishment of gated communities seem to resolve the immediate need for safety of those who live in the enclaves though only during the period that they remain within the walls and fences of their community. They create a sense of social control, a safe nest for raising a family amongst those of the same kind and social class. The level of social control is influenced by the scale of the settlement: social control is stronger in smaller communities. Whether the multiplication of these types of residential enclaves alone proves the effectiveness of a physical planning tool that affects positively the citywide safety situation is something that still needs to be confirmed.

The success of these endeavours is related to a number of issues. Without doubts it provides safety and increase the feeling of being safe amongst the residents due to security check points, video-camera circuits, private security services and self-contained community services that prevent residents to expose themselves to public life in the city. Gated communities can guarantee safety when the quality of the private security systems can be assured. The quality of life and the level of services in a gated community need to be of high standards and be reliable. If not and services are not available residents may be forced to go outside the walls more frequently then desirable. This is likely to go against the principles and advantages announced by those producing and promoting these "safety heaven" and consequently expose residents to risks of being victim to crime than expected. From the real estate development point of view, the complete package of housing, services, security and amenities that are equally shared – in cost, finance, use and maintenance – by all residents make it a very attractive for potential buyers and financially profitable for real estate developers. Nevertheless, the gated communities cannot exist on its own. Its relative success is due to their co-existence with favelas and low-income residential areas whose residents supply not only cheap labour for individual household services but also to other complementary residential services at the condominium level. Additionally gated communities can only be sustained because they are accessible through good roads, proper public transport and infrastructure which are all available not only for residents but also and most important to those who work within its walls.



## Evaluation

The phenomenon of gated communities in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo have not been widely studied and published internationally. Brazilian social scientists who are concerned with violence and safety issues in cities seem to agree that the self-retrencing and self-segregation of the elite is not helping solving the problem but making it more acute by sharpening differences and creating social archipelagos in a reverse form of spatial apartheid.

Apart from not facilitating social integration and social cohesion in a city, these self-contained residential enclaves only propel more spatial stratification and the disintegration of urbanity creating disrupted urban structures earmarked by blind walls and empty public spaces. Thus, while creating a safe paradise for its residents within its walls, gated communities are actually facilitating the appearance of unprotected spaces in its surroundings. Public spaces earmarked by desolation where one fears to cross through.

Urban violence is now a phenomenon that affects all in the city. It is so widespread and in the absence of a structural intervention to curb it, residents both poor and rich are searching for their own solutions. This explains why gated communities are also a pattern now frequently found in many low-income residential areas of Brazil and other Latin American cities. The poor are also searching for their own protection. It is no longer a typology only used by the rich.

The government does not fulfil its responsibility to ensure public safety and crime-free residential environments. Private investors have taken this as a business opportunity offering a complete package of safety and good quality of life and living environment that are only affordable for those who are able to buy it. The less fortunate ones need to find their own strategies and/or other solutions to improve safety.



## Reflections on the tool and instruments

Gated communities can be regarded as a physical intervention in the urban space and should be understood as a direct response to fear of crime and violence against property and human life. Originally thought as an enclave created by the rich to segregate themselves from the “brutality of urban life” it is now an instrument through which also lower income residents create a safe and socially more controlled residential environment. The widespread of this form of housing and urban community has perverse consequences for cities. It adversely affects its functionality and spatial configuration but also its social structure. It exactly undermines the strength of cities that is its ability to provide a mix of social, economic and cultural diversity that interact in the urban landscape and are need to fuel creativity and social development.

Apart from the emergence of closed condominiums, other efforts have been undertaken to improve the safety in Brazilian cities. In Rio de Janeiro a relative improvement in the feeling of safety occurred in Rio de Janeiro during the second half of the 90's. The improvements seem to be related to a substantial municipal investment in street patrol through the municipalized police, modernisation of the State Police financed by the municipality coupled with its robust municipal urban revitalization and housing programmes. These initiated in 1993 after local elections brought a new mayor to the city. One of these programmes focused on the improvement of the living conditions in the favelas aiming at their physical but also social integration into the formal city systems, including the legalisation and security of tenure. Reports on the situation in the favelas seem contradictory. While residents report a significant improvement in safety due to improved accessibility, street lighting, infrastructure and public service provision, there is no statistical data to sustain the assumption that public spaces have become safer, as voiced by residents. The lack of reliable data can affect the quality of policy making and evaluation.

The loss of urbanity, diversity and social interaction caused by the multiplication of these enclaves are creating an urban environment earmarked by segregated, self-contained

walled communities and ultimately desolated public spaces in its surroundings. As they multiply in numbers, circulation and functionality of the urban tissue become severely affected. But it would be naïve to deny the benefits found by those searching for self-protection and intentionally want to abstain from being exposed to a situation where the state and society cannot give guarantee for their safety and well being.

One must also consider that people often find like-minded people who socially mirror their own aspirations in such a community. Research shows that people living in a gated community often do not mix with residents outside 'the city wall'. Gated communities are therefore blamed to reinforce segregation, thinking in terms of 'them and us'. People choose to live in a gated community based on fear and because the state cannot deliver safety to the desired extent. In a situation where gated communities become the norm, the entitlement to vital aspects of citizenships such as security, welfare and environmental services become based on which neighbourhood one lives in.

But how unique is this concept of segregation? There are also experts that claim that in a lot of plans attempts are often made to 'design out' the drugs users and gangs of young people through the use of gates, CCTV (Closed Circuit TeleVision), cameras. On the other hand, there are sports clubs, associations and groups with strong social ties that emerge in different contexts, e.g. tennis club. There is obviously a dilemma between segregation and security. It might even be paternalistic to deny safety in a gated community with the argument of social cohesion.

The rise of gated communities in cities worldwide can be regarded considered as the full application of a physical planning tool that has a direct impact on the territory and functioning of cities:

- It affects and tend to create strong social ties within the resident community;
- It promotes social exclusion from a wider point of view;
- It results in spatial segregation of different socio-economic classes;
- It strengthens divided cities;
- Violence an crime may concentrate on transportation axis that connects the divided segments of cities.



**Figure 5: Aerial View of Barra da Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro, 2005**

Source: Photo by A. Acioly, 2005

## Project Haverleij- housing in a protected environment in Den Bosch

<b>Country:</b>	The Netherlands
<b>City:</b>	Den Bosch
<b>Number of inhabitants:</b>	133,978
<b>Project:</b>	Haverleij city extension in Den Bosch (210 ha of which only 24 ha for housing for approximately 1000 dwelling units)
<b>Tool:</b>	Physical Planning Tool



### ***Situation Auditing***

Den Bosch is a secondary city centrally located in the Southern province Noord Brabant in the Netherlands. The local government has developed a city development policy in which safety and high quality living environments are promoted within the city. One of the elements addressed in the policy is that the different neighbourhoods are encouraged to develop their own, strong identities. Since 1993, a large number of new neighbourhoods in the Netherlands have been developed as VINEX<sup>4</sup>-locations (based on the 4<sup>th</sup> Paper on Spatial Development Extra by the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Environment and the Spatial Development). The idea of the VINEX-locations is to build large urban neighbourhood in close proximity to existing primary and secondary cities to counterbalance sprawl and to boost the amenities of the existing cities as well as to keep distance between working and living environments short. Of the around 30 VINEX-locations have a reputation of a lack of creativity and design and spatial patterns are considered to be dull, yet efficient. The municipality of Den Bosch has developed a unique VINEX location with the development of Haverleij. Project Haverleij is a unique city extension project in the Netherlands. It is developed as a new neighbourhood with a unique identity. Here people can live safely, in an urban but traditional setting, close to the nature. It is a housing project for approximately 1000 dwelling units for middle and high income groups.

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<sup>4</sup> VINEX stands for **V**ierde **N**ota ruimtelijke ordening **E**Xtra (VROM, 1993): A national policy document in which locations (so called *VINEX locations*) for city extension projects have been appointed.



## Analysis of Key Issues

The feeling of safety is becoming a more urgent matter in the Netherlands. People are more and more looking for places to live in a rather traditional style (both in terms of architecture and in terms of social networks), safely and with people that 'are just like them'. Haverleij is responding to this emerging phenomenon.

Haverleij is a development located at the North of Den Bosch that is formed by a total of 9 castles and a fortress. More than half of it has been realised so far. The project is unique in terms of its architecture and its landscape planning. Although the entrance to the settlement is open to the public, the project is designed in such a way that it can be considered a gated community, the first of this nature and size in the Netherlands. The project is located between two villages -Engelen and Bokhoven- that are just outside the city of Den Bosch.

The houses are developed within the castle walls and the court yard of the castle is semi-public. As there are no public facilities located, such as shops, offices, schools, within the residential complexes (effectively the castles), the courtyards are virtually closed off to non-residents.



Source: [www.haverleij.nl](http://www.haverleij.nl)

A public-private partnership (PPP) has been set up between the municipality and two property developers. A civil servant of the municipality is the director of the PPP. The municipality and the property developers have an equal share in the project. The Municipality of Den Bosch has played a key role in the initiative for the development of Haverleij by making an explicit choice for a unique VINEX-development. To realise the project Haverleij, the municipality of Den Bosch has entered into a public-private partnership with two large Dutch property developers. In most VINEX-locations, affordable housing is also provided through partnerships with Housing Associations. In the case of Haverleij, no affordable housing has been realised and no Housing Association is involved in the public-private partnership.

The Haverleij project aims mostly at attracting young higher-income couples and families; who have a desire for the social networks of villages and a longing for a safe environment but at the same time live an urban (not rural/village) lifestyle. The rather unique architectural style (neo-traditional) provides a sense of the old and a strong hint for nostalgia yet at new-built quality levels adds to the attractiveness. The architectural layout (a fortress) of Haverleij in fact emphasises the sense for security and is known as 'defensible space and defensive architecture'.



## Factors of Success

Haverleij has drawn a relatively homogenous type of residents. In a questionnaire executed by a researcher, the residents noticed a rapid emergence of social safety nets and a high value of social capital in the neighbourhood. This can be explained by several factors: residents come to live in Haverleij because they appreciate an intensive and closed social networks and the social networks are formed by 'similar people. This particularly is considered key to a feeling and sense of security and safety by the residents. There are very low levels of crime in the area and very little trespass. The price level of the houses attracts people from middle-high and high income categories.

The majority of people in Haverleij have moved there from nearby villages and towns. As they are often young families they were looking for the space and relative affordability (for middle to high income households) of VINEX-locations. The main concept of Haverleij, a fortress, has created enclosed public spaces for residents to interact and in particular for children to play safely in the public areas. The green space surrounding the residential development which is owned and maintained by the collective owners (VVE) is very desirable amongst the middle- and higher income households that have little time nor desire to keep up large individual gardens, more commonly found in other VINEX-locations.



Source: [www.bright.nl](http://www.bright.nl)

The success for the project Haverleij, as a VINEX-location, is undoubtedly its unique architecture of both the residential and landscape environments. The relative exclusive character of Haverleij by focussing on non-subsidised rental housing and middle- to high housing prices development created a very favourable investment opportunity for the property developers. The two architects developed the concept of Haverleij and delivered an unique concept. Both the Public-Private Partnership as well as the architects strongly detest the application of the term 'gated communities' to be applied to Haverleij, the argument has been that the enclosed residential environment has been

necessary to maintain the large public green areas. A golf course within the Haverleij project, takes up most of the green area.



## Evaluation

Most residents did not consider a safe residential environment as a key factor in their choice to move to Haverleij. However, the fact that one feels very safe in this enclosed environment is considered one of the greatest attributes of Haverleij.

Albeit, a homogenous neighbourhood positively affects the feeling of safety, critical observations have been numerous. In Haverleij it is not likely that interaction with other social groups occurs since the public space is only used by the homogeneous group of residents. Another issue that critics mention is that the space around the houses is not all public space: for a large part it is covered by a golf space. The golf space is used by its members.

Access is based on car-ownership. Public transport does not exist in the vicinity and the area is not easily connected to the nearest city bicycle paths. People from outside Haverleij are not facilitated to visit the settlement and the residents are not facilitated to leave it. The Municipality of Den Bosch tries to address the latter, by promoting the Haverleij project by a large photo exhibition at the city hall and by organising excursions to Haverleij. Although, these seem to attract large number of visitors to the Haverleij project, it is mainly a way of attracting potential buyers.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

A 'gated community' is a new phenomenon in the Netherlands that is widely criticised. Opponents see it as a form of segregation, making ghetto's for the rich that only increase the notion of not feeling safe 'outside the wall's'. The safety in the community is high; but it is not (yet) known whether this physical planning tool affects the safety at city- or national-level positively or negatively in the longer term. The spatial distribution of income is associated with the number of gated communities. Countries like South Africa and Brazil where income there are sharp differences in income, there exist far more gated communities than in most European countries (see also: pictures on next page). Los Angeles and Moscow follow the trend of emerging gated communities at the city level, as these cities become unequal in terms of income distribution.

People that have moved to Haverleij are higher-income young families and would probably not have left a particular unsafe neighbourhood as they come mainly from the city of Den Bosch and surrounding villages, in general fairly safe areas. Since the target group for the project Haverleij were higher income people, the development was financially attractive for the municipality and the project developers. The prices of the houses are high. Haverleij is not accessible to all Dutch residents; one has to be able to pay a high price for the privilege to live inside walls of safety.

In fact the majority of the residents of Haverleij were previously not even so much affected by unsafe living environments. The rationale of resident of Haverleij, has mainly been a choice for a lifestyle rather than for a safer environment as such. The

same goes for a large number of other residential environments in the Netherlands where security walls are mushrooming, e.g. in villa neighbourhoods in Amsterdam. Security walls are considered to provide more privacy and are even seen by some as a symbol of status. This is the reason for gating the community and not the unsafe neighbourhoods. Since the tool of developing gated communities is gaining importance in the Netherlands, its application needs critical consideration by national and local governments in the Netherlands.



**Figure 8: Low Income Gated Community, Lima, Peru, 2007**

Source: Photo by C. Acioly

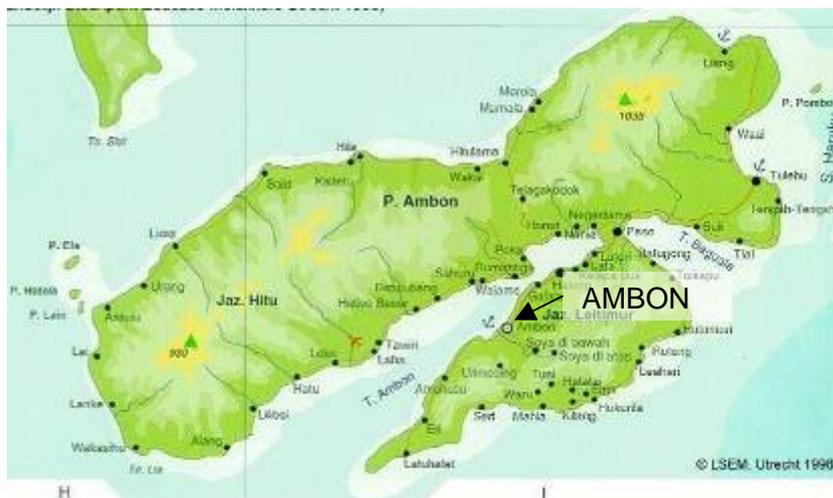


**Figure 9: Community Safety Measures, Lima, Peru, 2007**

Source: Photo by C. Acioly

## Dealing with Spatial Segregation in Ambon

<b>Country:</b>	Indonesia
<b>City:</b>	Ambon, Maluku Province
<b>Number of Inhabitants:</b>	330.000 in Ambon and over 2 million in Maluku province
<b>Project:</b>	Responding to spatial segregation of minority groups
<b>Tool:</b>	Physical Planning Tool



“A safe place is a place where we are the majority”



### ***Situation auditing***

Ambon Island is part of the Maluku Islands of Indonesia; Ambon City is its capital and main city and seaport of the island. Ambon City has a tumultuous history in which violence and severe ethnic tensions play a major role. Currently the violence and tension are strongly related to ethnic tensions. The tumultuous history is rooted in the colonial history (first the Portuguese ruled Ambon and later the Dutch). Amongst other things, Ambon City was the site of a major Dutch military base during World War II. Indonesia declared its independence in 1945. In 1950, Ambon City was the centre of an uprising against Indonesian rule, caused by the rebellion of Republic of the South Moluccas. Indonesia reasserted control just in few weeks.

The ethnic tensions of today are also rooted in the history of the city. Historically Ambon was a centre of Christian missionary activity. Today Ambon City has many Christians as well as Muslims that predominate in most of Indonesia. Inter-communal violence between Christians and Muslims has lead to heavy riots in January 1999 in Ambon. Parts of Ambon City were destroyed and violence escalated. Riots did not occur prior to 1999, but tensions had been simmering and relations between Christians and Muslims

were very poor. The violence decreased in late 2002, and ever since the city is relatively peaceful.

One of the results of the riots is the emergence of spatial segregation in Ambon City. Spatial segregation is a result of social stratification and can be found everywhere in the world. Social stratification refers to the existence of different groups (strata) based on characteristics such as income, age, ethnicity, etc. If these groups are segregated, areas emerge where homogeneous groups live such as e.g. rich people, ethnic minorities or elderly. Safety, or the feeling of safety, can be heavily influenced by patterns of spatial segregation. Segregation in terms of minority-majority population groups can be found everywhere and is well documented for the USA and Europe. Very little is known about these processes in Asia.

After the riots in 1999 sectarian divides mean that outsiders are discouraged from visiting the area and the city of Ambon is still partially segregated along religious lines. People living in an enclave (of a minority group) refused to move back after the riots, because of safety concerns. They generally had the feeling that one could only live safe where one is part of a majority. This case study shows what type of physical planning techniques the local and national government and the UNDP have used to respond to the situation.



## Analysis of Key Issues

The case of Ambon provides a unique insight into the effects of spatial segregation in Asia. In this particular area, with a long history of violence and religious conflicts, (the feeling of) safety is significantly enhanced by spatial segregation.

In Ambon, spatial segregation on the basis of religion has existed for over hundreds of years. Before the major riots of 1999, minority groups lived in small villages surrounded by the majority groups. The houses in these enclaves were sold, left or exchanged and people moved away after the 1999 riots. The deserted villages, known as lost villages; were not considered safe anymore by the people who lived there previously. People with different religions did no longer trust each other. The connotation by local people of a safe area is defined by a place where one is part of the religious majority. Exclusive one-religion areas have come into existence.

The people that have fled from their houses to another place within their own country are called Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's). The local government, the national government and the international community have responded to the situation in Ambon. The policy implemented by the government in the beginning of the 2000's was to facilitate three options to the IDP's<sup>5</sup>. The identified options are, placed in order of the governments' preference:

1. Return of IDP's to their place of origin
2. Empowerment of IDP's to start new lives and livelihoods around their place of origin
3. Resettlement of IDP's to new locations

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<sup>5</sup> IDP's exist in several parts of Indonesia. It are persons that have fled their house due to human or natural disasters.

Together with the UNDP, the (local) government of Ambon City have focused largely on addressing barriers for the IDP's to return to their houses, to be empowered or to be resettled. Efforts included physical projects such as governmental housing projects and the rehabilitation of infrastructure and public services. The government uses a specific physical planning technique. The majority of the people remain living across religious lines and housing projects are also developed across this line. But, all religious groups are forced to use the same public facilities (infrastructure, squares, schools, health centres, etc.) as these are not separately located like the housing is. The public facilities are an important factor in the process of reconciliation between the various religious groups. It is the task of the government, sometimes assisted by local community organisations, to ensure the safety in the public facilities.



**Figure 10: Lost villages**

Source: Azuz, 2005



## Factors of Success

During the riots many people experienced very traumatic situations. This has led to the lack of trust between religious groups and has created a situation where the need to feel safe is strongly manifest. The spatial segregation of the residential areas of the different religious groups has considerably improved the feeling of safety amongst residents in Ambon. Nevertheless, the operation of resettling and empowering IDP's is only partly successful. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) reports in June 2007 that there are still tens of thousands of IDP's in Maluku that are not resettled or empowered.

All religious groups use the non-spatially segregated public spaces, which keep up integration during daytime, e.g. people work together and make use of public facilities. Public facilities can only be an important factor in the process of reconciliation when they are safe environments where people can start to re-integrate. Ensuring safety and promoting trust-building are considered to be important activities in which the local government should take the lead. Local government does bear the main responsibility to ensure safety in public spaces as well as the resettlement and empowerment of the IDPs. However, local government in Ambon does not have the capacity to address all

of this adequately. Both the UNDP and World bank, as well as a large number of NGOs support the capacity-development process.

To increase the level of support by the community it is important that projects and programmes, including the reconstruction of the public facilities, are characterised by participative planning approaches. Even though participation is not always strongly practiced in the reality of Ambon city, the applied approach is more or less successful. Trust between communities is growing and people do feel safe to mix with each other for work and limited social events (e.g. visit a wedding), albeit not mixing in living environment; e.g. housing remains separated and no mixed marriages, etc. T



## Evaluation

The aspect of trauma is very vital in understanding the feeling of improved safety when spatially segregated. The recovery of trust is a long and slow process; some professionals claim that this process cannot be forced. The approach used by the local government is twofold. On the one hand tolerate and sometimes even stimulate spatial segregation in residential areas. On the other hand the reconciliation process is given a push by deliberately planning for the common use of public facilities slowly progressing into less spatially segregated living environments. This also implies that the local government should ensure the safety in public facilities. In practice this is not always without problems, but big riots have not re-occurred.

The long-term spatial segregation and the lack of (local) government tools to adequately address this issue and to introduce new planning mechanisms that would ensure more participative approaches and less segregation environment prevent any break away from segregated communities. Apart from the short-term strategies, the (local) government should develop long-term spatial and physical planning policies linked to long-term social and economic development and migration strategies to more fundamentally deal with the issues. So far the development of long-term plans is lacking behind. The local governments could deal more effectively with the problems if their capacities would be increased and their experiences used as lessons.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

The long-term goal of the described efforts is to restore trust between the various religious groups and to enhance integration between religious groups. Generally, such rigid spatial segregation is not desirable in any society, but as a result of recent grief it might well be an appropriate intervention to establish safe living environments. Nevertheless, it seems crucial that the short term interventions (IDP resettlement and empowerment) are supported by long-term strategies for development. Such a strategy should be translated into concrete projects with a strong commitment of the local people and of implementing partners.

The specific conditions and situations in this particular study show that within the short term this intervention has addressed safety adequately. The long term effects remain to be seen. The negative effects of the intervention may outweigh the positive effects on the long term basis. A long-term vision for the development of Ambon city is thus essential to maintain safe living environments.

As a general note, the IHS team has noticed that case study material regarding safety issues and programmes are hard to find in Asia. This might indicate that safety and cities is less of a problem in Asia, or less documented. The case of Ambon depicts however an intervention that is widely practised, although not always considered the most desirable it does contribute to safer living environments.

### 3.2 Public Service and Infrastructure Provision Tool



Figure 11: Public Transport & Accessibility, The Hague, Netherlands, IHS, 2006.

## The Community Safety Partnership in Glasgow

<b>Country:</b>	UK - Scotland
<b>City:</b>	Glasgow
<b>Number of inhabitants:</b>	600.000
<b>Project:</b>	Three initiatives by the municipality to create a cleaner and safer city, in particular the city centre: <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Safer City Centre Initiative</li><li>2. Closed-Circuit TeleVision (CCTV)</li><li>3. Restorative Justice Centres</li></ol>
<b>Tool:</b>	Public Service and Infrastructure Tool



### ***Situation Auditing***

Glasgow is an old industrial city with approximately 600,000 inhabitants. Its heydays were at the beginning of the industrial revolution. Glasgow faced severe socio-economic problems since the collapse of industry in the 1960's. Today the city is characterised by high-unemployment rates, high social problems and high crime rates although a recovery has been underway since 1995. The city has a very high percentage of rental housing (45.8% against 49.7% home-ownership) compared to other UK cities.



<http://en.wikipedia.org>

Glasgow as one of the main cities in Scotland, gives it influence to the immediate city area and across a much wider area of Scotland. It is the main employment and service centre, the main retail centre, the main centre of further and higher education, and the main centre of cultural, leisure and entertainment activities for a vast region of Scotland and over the last few years Glasgow has been the engine for regional growth. Glasgow City has been performing well with a GDP growth of 2.4% per annum between 1999-2002 – almost double the city region average. Glasgow has had the largest employment growth of any city in the UK. In addition it is nr. 3 in

terms of provision of higher education centres outside of London; nr. 2 as the largest retail centre in the UK; and nr. 4 in terms of manufacturing cities in the UK.



## Analysis of Key Issues

In Glasgow several initiatives have been undertaken by the City Council to create a safer and cleaner city. The three main initiatives are described here and are part of a general safety policy: the Community Safety Action plan. The City Council has actively sought for partnerships with the private sector to develop effective policies and programmes, which is strengthened by the Community Safety Partnership that was formed in mid-1998. The Community Safety Partnership is a partnership between different City Council departments and external agencies from the public, private and voluntary sectors to enhance safety. The three best practices that are discussed here all focus on creating services and infrastructure that are helpful to increase the safety in the city centre.

### 1. Safer City Centre Initiative

This initiative is aimed to reduce the cost, incidence and fear of crime as well as to provide effective remedies. It is a joint initiative by the City Council, the police, Street watch Glasgow and the business community in the city centre. The initiative involves the management of a retail radio-link system for members to pass on information quickly; links to the CCTV network; an information-sharing scheme on offenders between members of the initiative; training of retail staff to adopt 'deter at entry' techniques; and effective joint working between public and private partners.

### 2. Closed Circuit TeleVision (CCTV)

There are over 400 public space cameras all over the city centre which are monitored by the CCTV centre. In the UK this is now common method for the police to tackle crime and disorder, but is also regarded an important community resource as it perceptions of safety by citizens have improved by the mere presence of CCTV.



**Figure 13: Safety Camera**

Source: [www.uniplex.net](http://www.uniplex.net)

### 3. Restorative Justice Centres

Since youth crime was exceptionally high in Glasgow, the city council took specific measures to address the reduction of youth crime. They formed a partnership with the police, the transport police, the fire brigade and youth and health NGOs aiming at youth. Young offenders are confronted with their behaviour and encouraged to take on responsibility.



## Factors of Success

In all the three examples the tool that has been applied focuses on creating public services and infrastructure to combat crime. Nevertheless, partnerships have proven to be key in making this initiatives work. It is essential that the city council initiates more partnerships with e.g. police departments and youth organisations.

1. Safer City Centre Initiative: If only a small area is protected, as is the case with this initiative, than crime will spread to neighbouring areas. This implies that the initiative should be expanded. The coordination/management of the initiative can potentially be adopted by the Community Safety Partnership.
2. CCTV: There is an on-going debate of privacy and CCTV. Some critics also raise the concern that the potential situation can arise where CCTV replaces any human action, i.e. no follow-up takes place by sending an officer to the location of the crime offence as it has already been monitored. It is thus of vital importance that any offence noticed on CCTV is followed up by the response of the police, or any other relevant party.
3. Restorative Justice Centres: Restorative action is used on target action on offending youngsters. In the past, no formal action was taken against youth offenders, with restorative justice it is possible to target young offenders, in particular those who are in the early stages of defending. With the establishment of Restorative Justice centres, young offenders are first cautioned, on a second occurrence a 'conference meeting' is held between victim and offender to confront the offender, and lastly the young offender will be have to participate in a specific program for young offenders, where they also have to complete a Community Challenge.

The initiative to create a Partnership by the City Council of Glasgow has been a key disposition to embark on regeneration of the city and to address safety. The City Council of Glasgow has been very pro-active in building partnerships with both the commercial sector but also with partners from the public, private and voluntary sectors that have an interest in making Glasgow a safer place.



## Evaluation

The establishment of the Community Safety Partnership which is a strategic partnership between City Council, public and private sector, is one of the keys to success in the Community Safety Action Plan in Glasgow. The initiative was taken by the City Council in order to build a partnership amongst any different partners that all play a vital role and also have a responsibility to harnessing safety in the city.

1. Safer City Centre Initiative: Strong cooperation between the partners resulted in a drop in crime rates. Information exchange between participants has proved beneficial to combat crime; a Radio Link has been set up for this.
2. CCTV: Perceptions of safety have changed in places where cameras are present: people feel safer and have requested more cameras. Cameras also work preventive as their presence provides evidence for a crime.

3. Restorative Justice Centres: by youngsters has dropped significantly; in particular for youth that has been involved in relatively few offences. Early intervention is particularly important to reduce the incidence of re-offending. Also the provision of facilities and amenities for youngsters is crucial in order for them to have an alternative to pass their spare time. Monitoring of young offenders, who are subject to a restorative approach, has been most useful to gain insight in measures needed.

Overall, crime has decreased in Glasgow after these initiatives have been implemented and people feel safer in places with cameras. However, the general perception on safety has not improved; arguably as a result of media coverage of crimes in particular at night time. As the city of Glasgow is still working to develop a positive image the number of visitors and businesses have been increasing over the last years.

One must bear in mind that these safety measures follow Glasgow's urban revitalisation programme and particularly its inner city development that was launched as a paramount initiative to reverse the process of urban decay that severely affected the liveability and viability of its inner city core couple of decades ago. Thus one can deduct that physical improvement only cannot make cities safer.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

The City Council of Glasgow has relatively little means but has quite rightly foreseen the need to invest in crime reduction. Additional funding was generated by participation in EU-funded programmes. GDP growth is on the rise for Glasgow, but a higher growth rate and time is needed to combat unemployment in Glasgow.

The city centre now has lower crime levels but this is not yet the case for the suburbs surrounding the city centre. Many of these neighbourhoods are Scotland's most deprived wards and are in dire need of crime reduction and a safer environment. It will however be a challenge to involve the private sector as actively as in the city centre to improve these deprived neighbourhoods. But not only the private sector will need to be involved more heavily, also citizens will have to actively support initiatives in the suburban areas.

In general it is not enough to combat crime only and without working on the causes: the high level of un-employment. Increasing employment opportunities are important. The increased safety situation can however, lead to more economic development, which could positively affect the employment situation.

The establishment of a Partnership between public, private and voluntary organisations improves the implementation of refurbishment processes. In particular, the private sector can play an important role but the risk exists that they are less keen to invest in suburban neighbourhoods, where partners are often less prosperous to invest. The root cause of the problems is of course the relatively weak economic development. However, as is shown in Glasgow, City Council has given off an enormous boost to economic development by also starting to address the effects of high-unemployment, e.g. youth crime and perceptions of lack of safety. The promotion campaign by the City of Glasgow to combat crime, to show its successes, and to continue to develop new initiatives, does play a role in making Glasgow a safer city altogether.

# Transportation Security in Île-de-France

Country: France

City: Paris

Number of inhabitants: over 2 million (9.9 million in the greater Paris region)

Project: Sécurité des transports ferrés d'Île-de-France

Tool: Public Service and Infrastructure Provision Tool



## Situation Auditing

Paris, the capital city of France, is situated on the River Seine, in northern France, at the heart of the Île-de-France region. The estimated population is 2,153,600 within its administrative limits and the area called the Unité Urbaine (urban unit) has a population of 9.9 million, which makes it one of the largest urban regions in Europe.

Paris is today one of the world's leading tourist cities and a global centre for business and culture. The Paris region (Île-de-France) is France's most important centre of economic activity.

Public transport is a very important mode of transportation in Paris. The public transit networks of the Paris region are coordinated by the Syndicate des transports d'Île-de-France (STIF). Members of the syndicate include the RATP (Régie Autonome des Transports Parisiens), the SNCF (Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Français) and a number of other private operators managing suburban bus lines. The RATP operates suburban buses, the Métro, and sections of the RER (Réseau Express Régional, "Regional Express Network", an urban rail network in the Île-de-France region). The SNCF operates the suburban rail lines and the other sections of the RER. The Métro is one of Paris' most important methods of transportation and comprises 16 lines.

In the period from 1999-2002, crime increased including robberies, pick-pocketing, the aggression to travellers and police officers in the 'rail-networks' in the Île-de-France region. The increase of crime rates resulted in decreased feelings of safety by travellers in the Île-de-France region.



## Analysis of Key Issues

In order to improve the safety and the feelings of safety on public transport the Transport Police of Paris embarked on a large integrated safety project. The number of policemen in uniform in the transport vehicles and in the train stations was increased. Additionally, policemen in civilian clothes/uniform were increased and the organization and cooperation with the transport operators and the police improved drastically, now being supervised by the Regional Transport Police. The total number of staff members concerned with safety have increased to a total of 1300; allowing

the police to make 160 surveillances daily, in 1000 metro's and RER trains in Paris and the Banlieux.



Source: [lacot.org/fr/photos/2006/08/paris/1070.html](http://lacot.org/fr/photos/2006/08/paris/1070.html)



## Factors of Success

The Regional Transport Police has set up a system to constantly monitor and coordinate the safety situation on the rail-network. The system is organized in a central 'nerve centre' that is linked to several smaller centres of action.

- A central control post for RATP (PC 2000)
- A central control post for SNCF (PC Corail)
- Seven departmental directives (these directives represent smaller units in the île-de-France region, such as central Paris) for public security
- Four groups of departmental police

Additionally the surveillance in the metros of RATP, SNCF has increased tremendously. The project was successful, crime decreased.

The conditions that highly contributed to the success of the project in France were, amongst others: the availability of data and research results (both on facts and feelings of safety) on safety issues; the good cooperation and coordination between different departments of the police and the political support that made large investments and efforts to increase the visibility of policemen possible. The available crime statistics proved to the public transport operators, the police, the inhabitants and the politicians that improving safety was an urgent issue. Furthermore, monitoring proved that efforts and measures were bringing positive results and contributing to a solution. This increased the trust of the different actors involved and provided guarantees for the continuity of investment. In France the central government strongly influences developments in Paris. The prime minister decided that updating the safety plan and increasing the investment in safety was necessary. He got support from local government departments and politicians. In France the

general political attitude is to stimulate and subsidise public transport, since politicians believe that good and safe public transport are important for social and economic development. But the institutions worked rather isolated, while crime is not an isolated issue. Due to the lack of coordination and sharing of data results amongst them, the safety situation on the public transport was not optimal. Because all the organisations were actually forced to cooperate, partly under public and political pressure, and because they were facilitated to do so they could achieve better results. One of the fundamental factors of success was that the several departments and organisations that are concerned with safety in the greater Paris region were already equipped with good staff and materials and equipments.



## Evaluation

The strategy in Paris can be considered successful, it shows that co-operating of the police and the public transport operators can lead to good results. An increased number of police officers and patrollers has positively influenced the sense of safety and crime rates are reduced.

In 2003 crime decreased with the following numbers:

- Robbery: -4%
- Robbery with violence; -3.7%
- Pick-pockets: -19,31%
- Aggression to travellers: -8%
- Aggression to policemen: -7,6%



Source: [lacot.org/fr/photos/2006/08/paris/1070.html](http://lacot.org/fr/photos/2006/08/paris/1070.html)

Crime continues to decline, in 2006 the crime rate declined with 9.9%, and in the first period of 2007 the crime rate declined with 11%.

Public transport is operated by the transport operators and financed by the regional government of the île-de-France region, by the state and by the transport operators themselves. The initiative to improve the safety situation in the public transport system was taken by the central government. But, the role for lower governmental bodies is also considerable in this project. For specific projects the local governments of the departments of the île-de-France region contribute in terms of money and organisational capacity. In this project the public transport operators, the seven departments and four groups of departmental police have contributed to the investments. Since the central government took the initiative to improve safety, they have final political responsibility. But from a more organisational point of view, it was the public transport operators, the seven departments within the île-de-France region and the departmental police that needed to change their way of working and they eventually run the project.



## Reflections on the Tools

The applied approach has been successful in Paris and might be successful in other areas as well. The keys to success seem to be the high level of investment and the good coordination between the different organisations. The investments are made by several parties: the state, the region, the city, the police and the public transport operators. Since all parties are satisfied with the results they are willing to continue to invest. It can be very difficult to mobilise resources; the strong role of the central government is probably key to the success in this case. In France the position of the central government is very strong.

Investing in safe public transport can have positive effects for a variety of other sectors. Safe public transport allows tourists to go around the city in a pleasant manner and provides the local population with the opportunity to commute, to work, to go to school or university, to sport clubs, to cultural events, etc. Good transportation possibilities are very important for tourism (a major source of income for Paris and France), and for social and economic development of the inhabitants. Public transport is not only a fast form of transport, it is also cheap and accessible for almost all the inhabitants of the city. Reliable and well covered but safe public transport assures that major hotspots if not the entire city is accessible to all of its inhabitants giving them the opportunity to overcome eventual distance and eventual spatial isolation. This results in a large spin-off effect: people have opportunities to reach places that enhance the quality of their lives and that can help them to develop themselves.

## Improving Birkenhead Bus Station

<b>Country:</b>	United Kingdom
<b>City:</b>	Birkenhead Town (located in the Merseyside area in the Wirral Borough Council)
<b>Number of Inhabitants:</b>	+/- 325.000 residents (Merseyside is 1.4 million)
<b>Project:</b>	Design guidelines and Birkenhead Bus Station
<b>Tool:</b>	Public Service and Infrastructure Provision



### *Situation Auditing*

Birkenhead is a town within the Metropolitan Borough of Wirral in Merseyside, England. It is located at the West coast, and it has a port and a total resident population of 83,729.

The Birkenhead bus station has been developed as a project that is part of a programme of new infrastructure developments built and managed by Merseytravel, the Merseyside Passenger Transport Executive. The Birkenhead Bus Station has been built in anticipation of significant increased usage of Birkenhead shopping and leisure centre with new developments, including a multiplex cinema and leisure park. Merseytravel has also built a nearby (within 5 minutes walk) train station (Conway Park).

The bus station was opened in summer 1996. The bus station in Birkenhead is used daily by thousands of passengers and is located in the town centre of Birkenhead. A revamp of the bus station area has been completed in August 2007 and has been part of a regeneration plan for the town centre.



Source: [http://www.securedbydesign.com/pdfs/safer\\_places.pdf](http://www.securedbydesign.com/pdfs/safer_places.pdf)

In the UK, safety and security are considered vital for the creation of sustainable communities. The planning directions at national government level have identified seven attributes to promote safer places through effective planning and crime prevention. They argue that good quality design can contribute to the creation of sustainable living environments. Designing out crime and making safer places aims at the promotion of sustainable and attractive environments.

The seven attributes are:

1. Access and movement: places with well-defined routes, spaces and entrances that provide for convenient movement without compromising security
2. Structure: places that are structured so that different uses do not cause conflict
3. Surveillance: places where all publicly accessible spaces are overlooked
4. Ownership: places that promote a sense of ownership, respect, territorial responsibility and community
5. Physical protection: places that include necessary, well-designed security features
6. Activity: places where the level of human activity is appropriate to the location and creates a reduced risk of crime and a sense of safety at all times
7. Management and maintenance: places that are designed with management and maintenance in mind, to discourage crime in the present and the future



## Analysis of Key Issues

The city has developed a new bus station for the town centre of Birkenhead. Merseytravel together with the city took the initiative for the development of Birkenhead Bus Station. Merseytravel is the operating name of the Merseyside Passenger Transport Authority and Executive. It is a public sector body that co-ordinates public transport through partnership initiatives, with the aim of delivering a fully integrated and environmentally friendly public transport network. It also plays a key role in the regeneration of the Merseyside area.

The applied design standards are high and based on the seven attributes discussed above. The bus station area was unsafe and unattractive: it was a collection of road stops and located around a triangular block with adjacent night time entertainment, a shopping complex and parking. To turn this station into an attractive environment several actions have been undertaken:

- Involvement and consultation with representatives of disabled groups, schools, women's groups, the police, bus operators and the wider community during the design process;
- Design of a new bus station that is very well-accessible for the disabled;
- A transparent design, including a loop that facilitates surveillance from one stand to another and enhances visibility throughout;
- Installation of CCTV (Closed Circuit Television, a video surveillance system) and high intensity lightning both deterring criminals and increasing the perception of safety;
- Installation of audio warnings, lockable waiting areas and alarm buttons in waiting areas to enhance safety;
- Installation of security staff at the bus station as well as a security link for the retailers at the bus stop;
- Enhanced emphasis on maintenance (both short-term and long-term maintenance measures) so the bus stop remains clean and safe 24/7.



## Factors of Success

The loop design of the bus station and the glass material used provides a very transparent environment, contributing to safety and security. The well-thought design provides surveillance from one stand to another, from buses into the waiting areas and from passers-by. The visitors of the station find cover and enclosure in the building without losing visibility. The building is designed to be low maintenance, making use of passive solar energy and natural 'stack effect' ventilation.



Source: [http://www.securedbydesign.com/pdfs/safer\\_places.pdf](http://www.securedbydesign.com/pdfs/safer_places.pdf)

The facilities office in the bus station provides 24hr security and monitoring and the office can thus constantly manage security and cleanliness. The large areas of glazing are relatively easily damaged or vandalised, but due to strong surveillance this does not occur. The incidents of crime and anti-social behaviour are about three to four times less compared to similar Merseyside bus locations. Recognition of design guidelines and the promotion of guidelines by national government has played an important role in the choice for design for Birkenhead Bus Station. Also the anticipated number of passengers and the key location of Birkenhead Station in a new-to-be-developed large urban development have played an important role in the development of the bus station along these design guidelines. Improving safety in public transport is a major concern for Merseytravel and consequently, many investments are made to improve safety and security.

The Birkenhead bus station has won a series of awards: the Civic Trust Centre Vision Award, the Merseyside Civic Society Award, a RIBA Award and the Structural Steel Design Award.



## Evaluation

The Birkenhead bus station is one of many examples where the seven attributes defined by the English Government (described in the Situation Analysis) have been applied.

1. Access and Movement: the bus-design has well-defined routes spaces and entrances
2. Structure: the use of the different spaces is clearly structured
3. Surveillance: the bus station is watched over 24/7
4. Ownership: the design gives the impression that it the bus station is designed for the accommodation of travellers and not as general public space
5. Physical Protection: it offers cover and physical protection to the travellers
6. Activity: the activity (bus transfer, accommodation of travellers) suits the location and the building
7. Management and Maintenance: the bus station is well-managed and maintained

The design for this particular bus station has proven to deliver a more secure and safe area for the passengers and has contributed to the regeneration of the town centre as the bus station forms an important entry point into the town centre. The bus station is an example of a good design combined with strong monitoring and management. The project has boosted the creation of a safe and secure area, ultimately contributing significantly to sustainable and attractive living environments.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

The UK Government has given high priority to safety. In several projects, also in Birkenhead, big investments have been made that resulted in physical improvements. The physical improvements have been accompanied by good management, surveillance and maintenance. The seven attributes approach is probably successful because it is clear and complete.

The seven attributes can be applied in numerous ways and incorporated into a design. The attributes are an important starting point for designers and professionals to follow but an analysis of the local situation is equally critical. Similar problems might in practice require different responses because of the local circumstances.

In order to successfully plan and design safe and secure environments one has to be able to 'think criminal' to arrive at adequate and effective responses. A design should be assessed from the point of view of possible criminal behaviour.

The focus on design guidelines for creating safer environments has only recently regained interest. It was a big issue with the environmentalist of the 1970's but lost interest in the 1980's. With the renewed interest for sustainable living environments, design guidelines and planning systems that aim to create safe environments regain its importance. An example of methodology that is widely applied in this context is CPTED (pronounce as Septed) - Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design – a set of guidelines for safety in design. CPTED is based on four principles:

1. Natural Surveillance: See and be seen. A person is less likely to commit a crime if they think someone will see them do it.
2. Natural Access Control: The use of walkways, fences, lighting, signage and landscape to clearly guide people and vehicles to and from the proper entrances.
3. Territorial Reinforcement: Creating or extending a "sphere of influence" by utilizing physical designs such as pavement treatments, landscaping and signage that enable users of an area to develop a sense of proprietorship over it.
4. Maintenance: One "broken window" or nuisance, if allowed to exist, will lead to others and ultimately to the decline of an entire neighbourhood. Maintenance helps to preserve property value and make a place safer.

This case study points out the importance of design measures to create safe environments. It illustrates that design measures significantly improve safety of public spaces, in this case a bus station. However, as the case study also highlights other integrated measures that maintain the built environment are equally vital for a design to be successful: maintenance and surveillance are two examples of this. However, it does not eliminate crime, as other criminals will find other locations were design guidelines for safety have not been (well) applied.

### 3.3 Private Sector Mobilisation Tool



**Figure 18: Shopping Area Executed via PPP, Rotterdam, The Netherlands**

Source: Photo by J. Odé, 2003

## A Business Improvement District in Philadelphia's City Centre

<b>Country:</b>	United States of America
<b>City:</b>	Philadelphia
<b>Number of inhabitants:</b>	+/- 1.5 million in the City District and 6.2 million in the greater urban region
<b>Project:</b>	Centre City District Philadelphia – a Business Improvement District (BID)
<b>Tool:</b>	Private Sector Mobilisation



### ***Situation Auditing***

Philadelphia is a city in the east of the United States of America and with approximately 1.5 million inhabitants it is the biggest city of the state Pennsylvania and the sixth most populous city in the United States. The Philadelphia metropolitan area has a population of approximately 5.8 million. Philadelphia is a major commercial, educational, and cultural centre for the nation. Historically it is a city that, through ideas, and subsequent actions, gave birth to the American Revolution and American independence.

Philadelphia has faced several problems with respect to the housing situation and the quality of life in several neighbourhoods. As a response revitalization and projects and processes began in the 1960s and continue into the 21st century. A lot of manufactures and businesses have left Philadelphia or have been shut down and new developments have emerged.

A Public-Private Partnership – the Centre City District (CCD) - was initiated in the early 1990's by the largest property owner in central Philadelphia to improve the central business district which was the time a dirty and dangerous downtown area. The CCD is a Business Improvement District (BID) serving more than 2100 property owners within a 120 block district and governed by a private-sector board. The CCD is authorized to e.g. provide security, cleaning and promotion services to supplement basic services.

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) have been used since the 1970s for revitalisation of downtown city areas. BIDs are public-private partnerships whereby local business owners and/or property owners agree to pay an extra tax to provide supplementary services for their community. These services include sidewalk cleaning, waste collection, policing, and marketing. In addition, in a district where the BID methodology is applied landscaping and street furnishings are often upgraded by including benches and seating, trash bins, and signs. It is estimated that over 10,000 BIDs exist across the globe. The way a BID is designed and implemented is city or area specific and there is not blueprint for a successful BID.



## Analysis of Key Issues

The improvement of the Centre City District in Philadelphia has been essential for the development of Philadelphia from an industrial to a services economy. To realise a clean, safe and attractive Centre City a number of investments and projects have been made and implemented over time, including:

- Clean streets and public spaces; ensuring that the city remains clean at all times by providing sufficient cleaning services for streets and public spaces
- Appoint Community Service Representatives, trained by the police these people ensure control and contribute to information exchange on safety
- Crime mapping, to gain an understanding of crime problems, places and persons in order to apprehend criminals
- Installation of Community Court
- Bringing entertainment into the city centre, so it stays vibrant day an night
- Improve the streets by lightning, maps, signposts and landscaping
- Refurbish old and derelict buildings into offices, yet also into housing and attract residents to live (not only work) in the city centre

The CCD provides a range of services together with the Central Philadelphia Development Corporation (CPDC). These services include:

- Clean and graffiti-free sidewalk cleaning services
- Uniformed on-street personnel on foot and bicycle patrol
- Crime prevention services in partnership with the Police department
- Law enforcement through the Philadelphia Community Court
- Improve attractiveness by lightning, landscaping and signage
- Promotion by marketing events



## Factors of Success

Local government and private sector have joined forces in a public-private partnership. This has proven to be an effective model to address the decline of the city centre. However, to reduce crime and to create a safer city, involvement of police and justice departments also proved to be essential. Local government is primarily responsible, but as the situation in the city centre of Philadelphia was rather bad, it was in fact the private business sector that took the initiative for the public-private partnership.

The success of this approach has shown that the added costs for business is in fact an investment and will yield return in the form of increased property values, revenues, and growth.



Source: <http://www.2747.com/2747/world/city/philadelphia.jpg>

The CCD has led to the establishment of more BIDs in Philadelphia, some successful others not so. Amongst the struggling BIDs are those in neighbourhoods where no financial resources can be drawn from the private sector. In these cases other revenue streams and more public resources would be necessary for the BID to become successful and sustainable. The participation of a strong business sector that is willing to participate in such a partnership is thus a key condition for successful establishment of a partnership to combat crime.



## Evaluation

Crime has declined by approximately 16% since the year 2000 in Philadelphia as a result of investments in public safety. Major crimes have dropped by nearly 40% and nuisance crimes (such as car theft) have dropped by 78% between 1996 and 2006! As a result, perceptions on safety have improved significantly in the City Centre as well as the perception of the cleanliness of the city.

The office market in the central Philadelphia has seen growth figures as well as property prices increasing significantly. Yet also, services like health care, education, arts and culture, tourism and retail are now well-established in the city centre which returned to the city centre or established there after the area became safe again. The enablement frame of the BIDs also gives incentives for service providers to return to the city centre.

Transportation has improved also in terms of safety and cleanliness, which is essential as the majority of the people employed in the city centre commute everyday from surrounding areas. Inner-city housing has taken a flight with increasingly rising property prices. In addition, parks, recreational areas and e.g. sidewalk cafes have sprung contributing further to a dynamic, yet clean and safe city centre.

It is no coincidence that the revival of Philadelphia has taken over during a period when BIDs have become increasingly more apparent. In particular, the CCD is considered one of the most successful BIDs in the USA. BIDs can in fact play a key role in the reduction of crime and to improve the attractiveness of a city, yet this is most effective in neighbourhoods that are (potentially) attractive for the business sector, for which accessibility plays a major role.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

Although BIDs are not a panacea for urban decay, they have helped transform neighbourhoods in several countries in the world, mainly in North America and Europe. In Philadelphia it is researched (by Lorlene M. Hoyt, 2005) that the improvement of the business districts by using the BID methodology, do not have negative side effects (spill over effect) to the adjacent neighbourhoods. Success is especially present in neighbourhoods where the public and private sector truly cooperate. The men and women that own property and run businesses in the BID make plans for improving the area and they pay for services in a public private partnership structure. They decide how and on which services money is spent and they invest themselves, which gives them a lot of control and responsibility.

Philadelphia's BIDs strive to make physical improvements to public spaces by deploying staff who sweep streets and remove graffiti. According to the "broken windows" theory well-kept places are less vulnerable to criminal acts; if there is one broken window this is the starting point for neglecting maintenance. The "defensible space" theory claims a strong relationship between surveyable acts and the physical design of the environment. In line with this theory in BID's additional lighting is introduced to reduce the likelihood of crime by making public spaces more physically accessible and visible to the public. Police is made more visible in BID's and private (BID security) and public (police) street patrols are coordinated to streamline security-related communications and performance. Finally, BIDs create a unified voice for a group of property owners. They monitor the level of service to the area, and they negotiate with politicians and municipalities on behalf.

## Better Buildings Programme Johannesburg

<b>Country:</b>	South Africa
<b>City:</b>	Johannesburg
<b>Number of Inhabitants:</b>	3.3 million
<b>Project:</b>	Better Buildings Programme - Europa House
<b>Tool:</b>	Private Sector Mobilization Tool



### *Situation Auditing*

Johannesburg is the largest and most populous city in South Africa. It is not one of the three capital cities, these are Cape Town - legislative, Pretoria - administrative and Bloemfontein -judicial. The city, often referred to as Joburg, is the provincial capital of Gauteng. It is the city with the largest economy of any metropolitan region in Sub-Saharan Africa. Johannesburg houses the South African Constitutional Court, South Africa's highest court. According to the 2001 Census, the population of the city is more than three million. The population of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Area is almost eight million. Johannesburg also encompasses Soweto to the south west, a township that the apartheid government established to accommodate the large number of migrant workers.



Source: photo by E. Geurts, 2004

In 2003, the city government launched The Better Buildings Programme (BBP) with the main goal to refurbish high-rise and high-density buildings situated in the inner city, which are hotbeds of crime. The strategy included attracting private sector investors to refurbish these buildings and to turn them into affordable rental accommodation. The BBP is an example of a measure that mobilises the private

sector to invest in real estate. It focuses at the building level but is linked to the larger scale inner city regeneration strategy.

The target of the BBP is to upgrade 1000 buildings in a 3-year period, starting in 2005. The BBP aims to provide good-quality accommodation for low-income groups, yet at the same time improving the situation in particular neighbourhood blocks. The BBP envisages new partnerships between government and the private sector and a transformation of the property sector in the inner city of Johannesburg.

The municipality focuses on a city vision for Johannesburg that aims at an “exclusive, well-managed, safe and attractive World class dynamic city”. Several initiatives are enrolled to regenerate the city. Some parts of Johannesburg are listed as City Improvements Districts (CIDs) and others fall within Urban Development Zones (UDZ), both targeting at inner city regeneration. The BBP is part of Inner City urban regeneration efforts currently being implemented by the Municipality of Johannesburg.



## Analysis of Key Issues

The inner city of Johannesburg suffers from high-crime rates and urban decay, with various obsolete housing complexes and overcrowding by poor residents. The lack of integrated and consistent urban management is considered as one of the reasons of escalation of crime and criminal offences in this particular part of the city. As a consequence the safety and attractiveness of the inner-city for investors, businesses and residents has been negatively impacted.



Source: Photo by E. Geurts, 2004

The BBP works via the following process: the City Council (represented by the JPC - the City of Joburg Property Company) expropriates buildings that are technically in bad conditions and whose owners are facing financial difficulties due to huge arrears with property tax and duties from municipal services. Subsequently, the debts related

to these buildings are written off and buildings are then let out to private companies who want to properly renovate and manage the buildings.

An example is the Europa Hotel building that has been upgraded by the Madulamoho Housing Association, one of the investors in the BBP. The Europa Hotel is located in the eKhaya neighbourhood. The Europa Hotel was known as the “Queen of Sleaze”, since it is perceived as an indecent place by the inhabitants of Johannesburg. The Europa Hotel is renovated and the eKhaya neighbourhood improved significantly. After renovation, the building provides 4 types of accommodation: transitional housing, communal housing, bachelor units, and emergency housing. A partnership between the Housing Association and the Metropolitan Evangelical Services (MES) secures the provision of social and developmental services (e.g. childcare) to the residents. The eKhaya neighbourhood is one of the City Improvement Districts (CIDs) of Johannesburg. In a CID the property owners and the local government jointly invest in the provision of services with the aim to create a safe and clean environment.

A wide range of measures are implemented within the BBP-Better Buildings Project in order to improve safety in the inner city area. Some are worthwhile to mention:

- The partnership between the Housing Agency, the evangelical NGO the MES and the local government
- The provision of a diversified range of housing options such as communal, transitional, units for small households, which meets the particular needs of the poor
- The provision of cleaning and security services (e.g. cleaning of the streets and increased the number of policemen and surveillances) at neighbourhood level
- The installation of security systems at the building level, e.g. turnstiles, 24-hour security, a thumbprint system

As a result, criminality has decreased and the image of the inner city is changing positively.



## Factors of Success

One of the fundamental factors of success of the BBP is the integral approach in facing processes of urban decay, violence and public safety. This integral approach consists of:

- Political commitment and public sector policy cohesion in tackling safety related issues in the city's core urban area
- Cooperation between private and public sector
- Using physical interventions as a tool to bring more safety and quality of life in the living environment
- Coordination and synergy between various public programmes such as the BBP-Better Buildings Programme, the CID-City Improvement District, the UDZ-Urban Development Zone and inner-city strategy

The BBP programme uses the physical dimension as an entry point to improve public safety, business opportunity, social cohesion and better housing opportunities in the inner city core of Johannesburg. The attention given to the BBP by the City Council and the very favourable conditions for investors to engage in the BPP play a vital role in the success of the BBP, they are in fact necessary conditions. Yet, the integrative approach that is laid down in the Integrated Development Plan for Johannesburg and that includes all the different initiatives such as the UDZ, the BBP, and the CID together has pulled investors back into the city centre. The banking sector and government institutions have played a major role in keeping large business in the Johannesburg city centre. In addition, the provincial government of Gauteng also plays a key role in development initiatives.



## Evaluation

The BBP and the Europa Hotel have definitely achieved success. Crime rates have dropped, the living environment has been improved; the liveability and the general quality of life in the target buildings and the surrounding block as well as the neighbourhood where they are located have been uplifted; new investors are drawn to the inner city of Johannesburg. Furthermore, a variety of new partnerships have been formed involving local government, private sector as well as NGO's.

However, the funding possibilities of the projects within the BBP are limited. Through the applied mechanism it is not possible to up-scale the programme and widen the improvements achieved at the neighbourhood level. Nevertheless, over time the benefits of the programme can be enhanced because of increasing business and investments in the inner city that may cause positive spin-off effects on job and income generation opportunities. This might have a displacement effect that may push poor inner-city dwellers out of this location.

As criminal offences and crime decrease, and criminals seem to move away from the inner city area there is no evidence that they have disappeared but rather move to other areas of the city where crime prevention, safety measures and overall physical improvements have not yet taken place. This underscores the need to couple urban revitalisation efforts with social policies.



Source: [www.nasho.org.za](http://www.nasho.org.za)

The challenge of the BBP programme is to improve the housing conditions of low-income city dwellers and to recover the operational costs implicitly in the programme. The programme demands grants and favourable loans as well as municipal write-off of huge arrears for the refurbishment of the buildings and the debts derived from exploitation of the buildings within the BBP. Costs are recovered in the projects where commercial units and higher-income housing are realised. A project like the Europa Hotel can be financially sustainable because the commercial units are rented out and result in a continuous flow of financial returns. In fact, only professional management companies can operate successfully in the BBP: running financially sound projects, while safeguarding the needs of the urban poor. A possible approach is using the cross-subsidising option in which benefits from housing projects focussed at higher-income groups are used to finance projects for low-income city dwellers.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

Crime is strongly present in the dilapidated areas in Joburg and is associated with processes of urban decay that is accompanied by the physical deterioration of the built-up environment and infrastructure and the corrosion of the social welfare of the population. Crime and safety were placed high in the agenda of the BBP. The use of a physical tool to tackle a problem with a physical, economic and social dimension resulted in reversal of the process of decline in the liveability of the inner city area while increasing confidence amongst other social actors and investors.

The BBP can be considered as a successful measure to regenerate dilapidated buildings in rundown areas and to improve living environments as a whole by improving public safety. The upgrading of a single building can have a big ripple effect in its surrounding but the upgrading of multiple buildings couple with other urban management and planning initiatives can have a much broader impact thus carving neighbourhood development.

However, without accompanying social policies and safety networks to support the very poor it is likely that the programme will fall short in its ambition to create a safe, just and economic vibrant inner city.

The challenge is whether the municipal government can keep up with the large number of programmes and sustain its capacity to coordinate and articulate all the different sector programmes and maintain the coherence and cohesion of its municipal agencies.

Critics of the BBP argue that the programme does not provide enough accommodation for the poorest groups. They say that there is an on-going and continuous displacement of these groups.

## Pact of the South in Rotterdam

<b>Country:</b>	The Netherlands
<b>City:</b>	Rotterdam
<b>Number of Inhabitants:</b>	+/- 0.5 million
<b>Project:</b>	Pact op Zuid
<b>Tool:</b>	Physical Planning Tool



### Situation Auditing

Rotterdam is the second largest city in the Netherlands with a population of nearly 650,000 inhabitants. Its port known as the gateway to Europe is ranked 2<sup>nd</sup> in the world. The river Muse runs through its heart creating a division between its north and south. Many of the post-war neighbourhoods have been built at the Southern bank of the river Muse, an area generally known as “Rotterdam Zuid”. These neighbourhoods have remained relatively isolated until a new vision for the city was developed and a major waterfront redevelopment programme was launched at the Kop van Zuid, where derelict harbour facilities opened up new opportunities for development. A new bridge was constructed and accessibility and connectivity has improved substantially. The new VINEX housing area called Carnisseland has been developed in the nearby boundaries that substantially carved the physical integration of the Southern neighbourhoods and boosted even more attention of the municipality of Rotterdam to their development.

The total population of the South of Rotterdam is nearly 234,000 and it is a relatively young population. The South boasts good accessibility and is served by good public transport. The South is provided with a great number of public parks and greenery. It is also the home of the internationally acclaimed soccer stadium “De Kuip” of the Feyenoord football club, and the multi-functional Ahoy Arena where many international events such as the North Sea Jazz Festival and ABN-AMRO Tennis Championship take place. Nevertheless, the South of Rotterdam is not a popular place to live and there are several safety issues. The ‘Pact op Zuid’ [The Pact of the South] programme is part of the municipal effort to reinforce developments in this part of town.



### Analysis of Key Issues

A municipal survey from 2004 revealed a high level of dissatisfaction amongst the residents of the South of Rotterdam with their living environment. It also indicated a high level of population mobility. People moving out of the South of Rotterdam as soon as the first opportunity appears, resulting in a different mode of gentrification meaning that only those with a lower income and lower education are staying behind. As a consequence of this phenomenon a considerable number of neighbourhoods in

the South of Rotterdam were classified as 'socially problematic' and 'unsafe' in a monitoring made by the municipality of Rotterdam during the period 2003-2006. Some of them have been included in the national list (composed by the Dutch Ministry of Housing and Spatial Planning and Environment) of neighbourhoods that need special policy attention.

Rotterdam is a city that is administratively divided in several 'sub municipalities'. Both the city's government and the municipal departments in the South have put effort to improve safety in the Southern part of Rotterdam. Additionally, neighbourhoods in Southern part of Rotterdam have been addresses as priority areas by National Politicians (Minister of Housing and Social Planning, Minister of Housing, Communities and Integration). Improving the situation in the Southern communities in Rotterdam was and is seen as a national political priority and the central government allocates subsidies to the communities.



Source: Municipality of Rotterdam, 2005

The Pact of the South is a programme aiming at the improvement of the quality of life in the South of Rotterdam. It is a public private partnership initiative involving social housing associations, municipal and central governments and social partners. Several initiators from three sub municipalities, the municipality of of Rotterdam and five social housing associations have taken the initiative to start the Pact op Zuid. They have mobilised local and national politicians in the field of economic development, social development, education, housing, spatial planning and city development and youth and society. They have agreed on a development agenda for the South of Rotterdam, with clear targets and clear methods. The total estimated investment is €1 billion during the period 2006-2015 in the physical, social and economic infrastructure of Rotterdam South. The private sector has been strongly mobilised within this programme. 80% of the total investment is made by the social housing associations, which are privatised organisations in the Netherlands.

The three targets set for the Pact op Zuid are linked to different scales and different levels:

1. The South, to become an area with powerful communities with:
  - a. More high- en middle-income residents
  - b. More economic participation (less residents who are jobless)
  - c. A higher level of education and less drop outs in primary school and secondary and vocational education
2. The South, to become an area with attractive neighbourhoods that have:
  - a. More houses with a high value
  - b. Inhabitants that are satisfied with their living environment
3. A strong South of Rotterdam, with have:
  - a. More entrepreneurship and economic (including job) opportunities
  - b. More investments made by companies

The Pact op Zuid programme aims to reverse the situation of deprivation and lack of safety in the South of Rotterdam and radically change its image. For the year 2007, there are 27 different projects that concretise the three targets; tackling a wide range of issues such as healthcare, housing, local economic development, widening opportunities for entrepreneurs, education, sports facilities and public parks. Exemplary projects are the refurbishment of gyms, large scale renewal and renovation of the existing housing stock, the introduction of Youth and Family centres, the setting up of a Business Improvement Districts that includes partial financial compensation in the form of direct repayment (currently with a maximum of 50%) of the investments made by entrepreneurs.



## Factors of Success

Pact op Zuid is successful when it manages to create a safe and liveable South of Rotterdam, with a strong image in which inhabitants enjoy living. In order to improve safety in the entire city of Rotterdam, the municipality of Rotterdam has implemented a citywide safety project that includes several local locations in the South of the city. Linking the Pact op Zuid with existing and newly developed initiatives should enhance its chances of success. The municipality pursues a “no-tolerance” approach towards drugs trafficking and illegal housing that includes preventive screening of people who enter libelled areas. This reactionary approach to handle safety problems has been incorporated in the long-term approach, more focussed on sustainable socio-economic development, of the Pact op Zuid programme. The progress of the citywide safety programme is measured and published as the ‘safety index’. The monitoring not only shows the successes but also allows policy makers to adjust the policies when the results are not as desired.

The Mayor of Rotterdam takes political responsibility for the Pact op Zuid. But the unique character of the programme is the commitment of different parties, local political leaders, national politicians, civil servants and social housing agencies. All these actors take responsibility to improve the situation in the South in a sort of

collective agenda to change completely the image of the area. They work in their own field of expertise, but join forces when this is needed in multi-sector integrative projects. The city council has appointed a programme manager and the alderman for work, social affairs and policy for large urban regions has established a steering committee with representatives from sub-municipalities and the directives of the social housing agencies and several working groups. Without the political support and the drive of the other partners, the initiative could not have emerged.

The uniqueness of the Pact op Zuid is the partnership of the different actors who all tuned towards a common vision. Social Housing Associations, as private partners, have committed financial resources, around 80%, that by far exceed public investment. The advantage is that private investment ensures private commitment and money can be allocated very easily and quickly. The commitment of the (local) government assures that projects are in line with general policy promoting an integrated development and not only focusing on one sector e.g. housing belonging to the housing associations. One must bear in mind that housing associations have a strong position that is unique to the Netherlands. The associations are private entities with social goals that have large stakes in many cities since they own financial and physical (real estate) capital. Nearly 60% of the housing stock in the South of Rotterdam belongs to social housing associations, and in some neighbourhoods as much as 85%. This explains their importance and power: if the associations ensure that their investments takes place within an agreed line of good plans and agreements with the various public and private actors then development will probably accelerate. If not, it is really difficult for other parties to guide the development. In the case of the Pact op Zuid, the contribution and strong role of the social housing agencies is probably one of the most important conditions for achieving success.



## Evaluation

During the last years safety has been of major concern for the municipality of Rotterdam in the city and specifically in the south of the city. It has had positive results so far. The safety index, created by the municipality as a measure for safety, has shown positive developments for the South of Rotterdam in the last years. The perception of safety improved amongst residents and entrepreneurs in the South of Rotterdam. The positive developments regarding safety are probably the result of safety measures (more police, camera control in problematic areas, screening). It is expected that the Pact op Zuid will contribute positively to the general quality of life and safety. Since the programme is currently under implementation it is not easy to truly measure its effects. The programme has its own website where some successes are mentioned. Several small projects have started this year. Examples are the opening of restaurants in 'eetwijk/ neighbourhood for eating', realization of a 'community house' that people can use for meetings and the organization of an architecture summer school. Up to date it seems to be a success story.

The Pact op Zuid aims to boost the general development of the South of Rotterdam, and uplift its image drastically. A bad image has a negative effect for the people that live in the South of Rotterdam (think about stigmatisation) and it has a bad influence on the value of real estate. Improving different elements: safety, development of the territory and services, increasing development opportunities for the inhabitants and uplifting the image are all expected to have positive side and spin-off effects. Just to mention a few: companies prefer to invest in a safe zone; well kept urban areas in

which companies have invested where the level of services is high result in better quality of life in these places; the supply of good schools and opportunities for further education help people to develop themselves and gain new skills and consequently people with good opportunities are likely to be less involved in criminal activities, etc.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

One of the unique elements is the integral programme approach that links physical, social and economic improvements. Jobs are equally important as a good quality built environment. Public safety is equally important as access to education and economic opportunities. Entrepreneurship is equally important as drug and violence free environment. The investments are directed to different sectors and resources are drawn from different parties in the form of public-private partnerships that bring multi ownership and commitment to the programme. This approach covers direct investment in creating opportunities in the area, making it pleasant and safe for people to live, work, and visit.

The role of social housing associations is crucial to achieve success of the Pact op Zuid. The willingness and ability to make investments is high within the participating housing associations. However, if this approach is to be followed elsewhere where housing associations do not have this willingness and ability to participate then other investors need to be mobilised. It can be expected that this process is far too complex to execute with private landlords.

### 3.4 Social Inclusion Tool



**Figure 24: Public Space Improvement, Favela Bairro Programme, Rio de Janeiro**

Source: Photo by C. Acioly, 2005.

## The Warszawa Municipality Improvement Programme

<b>Country:</b>	Poland
<b>City:</b>	Warszawa
<b>Number of inhabitants:</b>	+/- 1.6 million
<b>Project:</b>	The Warszawa Municipality Improvement Program
<b>Tool:</b>	Social Inclusion Tool



### Situation Auditing

Warsaw, Poland's capital is with 1.63 million inhabitants the largest city in Poland. Together with its suburbs, it is also the second largest industrial area in Poland (after Katowice), with over 2.5 million inhabitants in the conurbation.

In the Capital City of Warsaw safety and public order issues are a great challenge for the local authorities and governmental services. As a capital city it is visited by tens of thousands of commuters every day and many national and international, political, economical and cultural events take place. The phenomenon of crime is in many ways the same as in any other big European city: petty theft and robbery, vandalism and littering, aggression against persons or property, drunkenness and drugs. But a lot of these phenomena have manifested itself a lot stronger since important constitutional and societal reforms took place.

In 1989 Poland officially changed from a communist society into a republic. The Parliament changed the country's constitution and the name changed from The People's Republic of Poland to the Third Republic of Poland. Since the nineties the municipal infrastructure has been strongly developed leading to increased foot and vehicle traffic and a greater risk to safety and disturbed public order for citizens. In 2002 the administration and local government legal structures were completely changed. In 2004 Poland has joined the EU and this has resulted in major economic growth. Today, major economic growth takes place and the new practical standards of co-operation between institutions, services and residents are still being devised. As a result not only Warsaw is changing and coping with change, but entire Poland is in this process.



## Analysis of Key Issues

In 1999 the local government of the city of Warsaw developed The Warszawa Municipality Improvement Program to cope with all the societal changes. The changes included a different traffic situation with an increased number of movements of people, goods and cars, increased crime rates and rising social pathologies (e.g. drug abuse, homelessness). The city government responded with the formulation of a wide range of targets within the improvement programme. This aims to improve safety and security and to include all groups of people into society life:

- Minimize the effects of natural disasters and catastrophes
- Reduce crime rate
- Improve road safety
- Enhance fire safety
- Combat social pathologies
- Coordinate the efforts of all institutions responsible for safety and public order



Source: [http://www.siradi.com/photos/Warsaw/Warsaw-misc/m/warsaw\\_construction3.jpg.m.jpeg](http://www.siradi.com/photos/Warsaw/Warsaw-misc/m/warsaw_construction3.jpg.m.jpeg)

The local government has the lead and the final responsibility for the project, but it is actually a programme and process that engage a number of different actors. The Municipality, various NGOs and welfare organisations work together to implement the Warsaw Municipality Improvement Program. The emphasis on the social inclusion of those living in a deprived situation is one of the core elements of the approach. Public and private partners have made major joint efforts to fight social pathologies. Subsidies have been allocated by the Municipality of Warsaw while NGOs and welfare organizations carry out the (tasks of the) Programme by providing courses and training and by operating centres for addicts.

Public and private institutions have been reformed and transformed within the programme. Several forums and unions have trained and assisted the government,

making this transformation possible. The Nationwide Forum for Crime Victims has conducted training for the staff of justice administration and prosecution authorities. The Forum has taught them how to handle crime victims, what legal status crime victims have and how welfare assistance systems operate. The residents of Warsaw have also been trained. The Polish Scouts Union provided courses for children and youth in self-defence, first aid and road traffic rules. Two important NGO's, one that is working in the field of assisting the socially excluded such as addicts, the homeless and HIV patients (MONAR) and one that assists youth and children (KARAN) have assisted to combat drug and alcohol addiction and to undertake socio-therapy.

Apart from the social inclusion element, safety around water and on roads has been addressed through training and legislation. The Volunteer Water Rescue Services provided courses for residents and professionals in water rescue and the government appointed staff to protect unguarded water regions. The city of Warsaw implemented a speed limit of 50 km/h in the city centre of Warsaw.

The infrastructure that influences the institutional performance has improved considerably. The police stations have been renovated and equipped with modern information and communication technology and in some strategic places in the city and in important buildings a TV monitoring system is built. The state purchased rescue and fire equipment for the fire department.



## Factors of Success

The change of the political system resulting in social, economic and cultural developments have clearly affected the safety situation in Poland. Polish society could only deal with the new issues related to safety if projects, programmes, attitudes and institutions would change. The Warszawa Municipality Improvement programme focuses on a variety of elements that are related to safety. It clearly distinguishes the need to incorporate social inclusion programmes and institutional strengthening and development. Social organisations have a major position within the programme. The local government has stimulated their participation because there is a belief that these organisations are crucial in the implementation of social programmes and their input is key to the development of plans that fulfil people's needs. The local government is responsible to implement the programme but it does not have the capacity, nor the knowledge to deal with issues of social exclusion and fighting social pathologies, in particular among children and youth. It needs other partners to do so.

Before the programme started, the different institutions that are working in the field of safety and public order (municipality, police, fire department, social institutions) all worked isolated from one and another. The culture in the institutions was highly influenced by the communist period in Poland. Now, the institutions have been reformed and the municipality has taken the initiative to establish partnerships with the police, fire department, and NGO's and Welfare organizations. The infrastructure of the institutions was also improved during the programme. This has resulted in more efficient and effective institutions and better coordination of their activities. Effectively functioning institutions that cooperate and coordinate their work with others is a key condition for successful implementation of plans.

The case of Warsaw shows that good cooperation between the Police, Fire Department, City Guards and other institutions responsible for safety, contributes to better and more effective use of the existing means and resources. The introduction of a rational planning system and purchasing specialized modern equipment helped to achieve this in Warsaw. The Municipality has allocated relevant funds that are necessary to implement and achieve the main goal of the Program, i.e. increasing the level of safety for residents. The Warszawa Centrum Municipality pioneered projects that make use of a cooperative model and the co-financing structure between the municipality and the Police and Fire Department on a nationwide scale. As a result of the experiences by the Municipality of Warsaw, other local governments have begun to provide significant subsidies to their fire and police departments.



## Evaluation

Within the Warsaw Municipality Improvement Programme several results have been achieved. The crime rates have dropped with 50% in areas with video monitoring. The road safety has improved considerably since the introduction of the speed limit and social pathologies are being fought within several programmes; which means that also the socially excluded have a chance to take part in society again.

Although progress has been made, some goals have not been achieved and additional measures should enhance the implementation of the Programme. The efficiency and capacity of the Polish Police is not optimal yet. Since Poland has entered the EU, the pressure on the Police is high, but since its capacity is limited it is difficult to absorb all the new ambition. The effects of natural disasters are still a source of unsafety and it requires continued efforts to minimize them. The participation of welfare organizations and residents has increased a lot over the last years, but the level of participation is still not at its desired level. To truly improve safety and to limit social pathologies it is necessary to develop more social programmes together with social institutions and people. The fire department and the police still lack equipment that they need to ensure security and safety. The initiatives of nongovernmental organizations operating in the field of safety and social pathologies need (financial) support.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

Paradoxically the factors of success of the approach in Warsaw are also part of its challenges. On one hand the integrative nature and focus on institutional strengthening and social inclusion are positive aspects of the programme but on the other hand there is still a lot to be done exactly in these fields. The transformation of Poland has created a situation in which there is a major challenge to keep up with the speed of societal change. The state has to be reformed, infrastructure is needed and the individuals who cannot keep up with the changes have a high risk to become 'social victims' and fall into a situation of exclusion. The challenge for Warsaw is exactly to keep on emphasising the importance of inclusion of all socio-economic groups in this process of change.

To improve safety and promote sustainable urban development in Warsaw it is important that projects are targeting social, economic and physical development. Thus an integrated approach. Within the Warszawa Municipality Improvement Programme the focus has been on physical and social programmes, often by implementing training and legislative projects. The realisation of new infrastructure (buildings and monitoring equipment) for the police and fire departments was a physical measure that has led to increased institutional capacity. The speed limit and its enforcement has been a legislative and operational measure and the programmes to fight social pathologies strongly focussed on training people to be able to deal with socially excluded individuals. But it is noticeable that within this programme there has been insufficient attention for economic projects, or projects that stimulate private sector investments.

## Social Inclusion and safety in projects initiated by CLEEN in Lagos

<b>Country:</b>	Nigeria
<b>City:</b>	Lagos
<b>Number of inhabitants:</b>	+/- 8.8 million
<b>Project:</b>	Access to Basic Services for Slum Dwellers – the CLEEN Foundation
<b>Tool:</b>	Social Inclusion Tool



### Situation Auditing

After years of military rule, Nigeria elected a democratic government in 1999. The democratic government has, however, not been successful in creating a stable or flourishing social and economic situation. The instability and low levels of social and economic development in the country influence the life in cities, amongst others in the capital Abuja and in the largest city, Lagos. It is unsafe in Lagos and the young and poor are typically most vulnerable.

Lagos is the most populous conurbation in Nigeria and the second most populous in Africa after Cairo. According to the 2006 census, there are 7,937,932 inhabitants in the Lagos Metropolitan area and the Central Lagos Area and historic centre of Metropolitan Lagos, had a population of 209,437. Lagos is, by most estimates, one of the fastest-growing cities in the world with a population increase of about 275,000 persons per annum. Lagos has attracted many young entrepreneurs and families seeking a better life. Many residents of Lagos are poor, and live in slums where living conditions are particular unsafe, whilst there are districts of considerable wealth. The Economist recently (August 2007) ranked Lagos as one of the least liveable cities in the world.



Source: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/pictures/image/0,8543,-10105140983,00.htm>

The following quote and the picture give an impression of the situation of a slum in Lagos:

‘Makoko slums and sawmills. Lagos, Nigeria - Makoko slum is seldom visited by anyone from outside. It is dangerous to go in without guides, and volatile. While I was there, there was a major fight between youths over a canoe. Machetes were drawn, there was a lot of shouting but only one man was slightly hurt, cut on the arm. A few youths were later arrested outside the slum. Police seldom if ever go into the slum...’

(The Guardian, 2005)



## Analysis of Key Issues

Lagos is very unsafe and it appears very difficult to improve the situation. A lot of people are poor, youth is heavily involved in crime and people do not trust the police, since the police used to be heavily involved in dictatorial oppression. In order to break the cycle of injustice, poverty, despair and lack of safety in Nigeria several professionals, activists, scientists and idealists took the initiative to act: run projects focusing at social inclusion. They have formed the CLEEN foundation in 1998. Its mission is to improve human rights, public safety and security, and access to services in entire Nigeria, including Lagos. CLEEN is funded by the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the Justice Initiative, Cordaid, DFID and the European Union.

In 2004 the CLEEN foundation started its safety and security programme. The first step was carrying out research to monitor the development of crime rates and the perception of crime in Nigeria<sup>6</sup>. Collected data revealed that crime rates are high: 23% of households are victim to car burglary, 1% of households have been affected by murder and 25% is victim of theft. With regard to the perception of crime, 70% is afraid to become a crime victim. One of the major problems in Lagos is the lack of trust in the police system. The majority of the population believes that police performance is declining and they do not trust the police. In most neighbourhoods in Lagos the ‘control of order/safety’ is in hands of vigilantes who practice lynching of immolation as punishment of criminals.

Based on the outcomes of the research the CLEEN foundation initiated 4 projects on public safety and security in two Local Government areas in Lagos, Ajeromi and Ifledun. All these projects focus at the social inclusion of groups of people vulnerable to crime and insecurity:

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<sup>6</sup> Earlier, reliable statistics have not been available and therefore it is not yet possible to show the development of the statistics. The results and figures presented in this analysis are withdrawn from the CLEEN Research published in 2005, based on 2091 responses.

- Youth against crime: a project for crime prevention and education, in two public schools
- Community Policing Project: a project to improve the image of the police and to give people a role in setting policing priorities. In the last three years CLEEN has established fourteen Police-Community Partnership Forums in the local government areas in Lagos
- Conflict Management Project: creation of informal periodic forums for exchange of views and discussion among community stakeholders
- Informal Policing Project: the installation and support of prevention committees for neighbourhoods and the police corps

The Local Governments of Ajeromi and Ifledun in Lagos are the partners of CLEEN in the implementation of the public safety and security programme. The Local Governments host the monthly meetings of the community policing forum project. Representatives of the community and the police meet to discuss common crimes, physical and social disorder problems that plague their neighbourhoods and jointly find solutions to them. The local government and stakeholders in the community undertake action upon the priority problems identified in such forums. Public safety and security problems identified under the CLEEN project and addresses by the two local government councils include:

1. Clearing of overflowing refuse bins, fixing of broken down pipes and sewers in inner-city communities. Broken elements in the neighbourhood give the impression that nobody cares about the environment and encourages criminal behaviour the use of such neighbourhoods as hideouts.
2. Addressing issues of drug abuse by young people in high schools. Combating unruly behaviour of juveniles in public schools and in street corners.

The local government takes the lead and has the responsibility to implement the measures. However, to fulfil the mission under 2, CLEEN is actively involved. CLEEN has expertise and experience to train groups of people and particularly youth.



## Factors of Success

To improve the situation of safety people need trust. Trust in the government, in the police, in other institutions and in themselves. In Lagos the situation is far from good and trust is generally lacking. This is due to corruption and the appalling political and socio-economic environment in Nigeria. In fact, a stronger government, more transparency and less corruption, and a better social-economic situation seem to be key conditions for safety programmes to become successful. But, the fact that CLEEN has emerged shows motivation and willingness of a group of Nigerians to combat crime and the ability to mobilise efforts and resources. Whether the efforts of CLEEN to raise awareness, mediate, increase trust and discuss the safety situation at schools result in decreased crime rates is difficult to prove. But, CLEEN has the position to run projects. The local people trust CLEEN and the police and local governments trust CLEEN.

Another condition for successful projects to improve safety is the availability of reliable data and its subsequent use to sustain urban safety measures. CLEEN has tried to create a sound basis for their projects by researching the most emergent

issues related to safety and security. Based upon facts they formulate projects that focus at social inclusion of different groups of people. The research and data collection by CLEEN is a first good step towards evidence-based programmes, but it is not sufficient because it is not embedded into policy, its is not use as a monitoring tool and does not serve decision-making. It is likely that the safety situation will not improve as long as crime prevention and urban safety is not placed as top priority in the political agenda of the government (national and local). This implies that strong and continuous political support is extremely important. The government should also put effort in the continuous data collection in order to build a reliable crime statistics. Only then programmes will be responsive to facts and trends and the capacity to monitor will increase and policy adjustments will be made possible.

The local governments and important stakeholders (e.g. community groups) implement the projects. In order to improve the impact of CLEEN projects, organisations such as Cordaid assist CLEEN to professionalize its organisation and to finance projects. The division of tasks is probably one of the factors of success in the CLEEN approach: formulate goals and targets for -amongst others- social inclusion projects, negotiate with NGO's and Local Government for implementation and get support from international organisations. But this approach can only work when all the partners (international organisations, NGO's and Local Governments) are reliable and capable to fulfil their task effectively.



## Evaluation



Source: <http://www.medizin.uni-tuebingen.de/tropenmedizin/Lagos%20FI%F6%DFer.jpeg>

The Nigerian population is sceptic with respect to the expectations of safety and security projects. A general feeling is that crime will not be solved easily in Nigeria. The CLEEN research showed that the majority of people (74%) think that resources should be spent on social development (in stead of spending it on law enforcement and/or judiciary) to improve the situation in Nigeria. This justifies the approach of CLEEN: focus on safety issues but together with local people and design solutions that also ensure the social inclusion of vulnerable groups such as youth. It shows the importance of a multi-sectoral approach. The problems in Lagos cannot be solved in isolation: safety programmes have to be strengthened with programmes for institutional strengthening and socio-economic development.

The challenge for organisations and people trying to improve the situation in Lagos (such as CLEEN) is twofold. On the one hand projects need to be implemented to reduce crime and to enhance social inclusion of vulnerable groups and social and economic development. On the other hand, awareness needs to be increased and the results of crime reduction and development projects should be visible to the public. This might increase the trust of people and increase the perception of safety. It is necessary that partners unite their capacities and access additional funds to address safety matters in Lagos. This is probably only possible if there are enough actors (civil servants in the local government, elected politicians in the local council, local people, community and non governmental organisations) that believe in the possibilities to change the situation in Lagos and Nigeria.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

Initiatives for safety, security and social inclusion such as the projects of CLEEN are important but not sufficient to improve the situation in Lagos. Investing in social and economic development is crucial, yet in relation to safety and security measures (also to protect the outcomes of socio-economic development).

Additionally, the continuity of projects is crucial. It is positive that CLEEN, which depends on several sources of foreign funding, manages to maintain a continuous flow of funding. Nevertheless, the political support is not always continuous and this can frustrate the process of improving safety. The lack of political stability and the unsafe situation in Lagos and the rest of Nigeria might be related to one another. If this is the case; opportunism and short term responding to problems do not improve safety and the lack of safety creates a chaos in which opportunism and short term responses can flourish.

## Building the Tercer Milenio Park and integrated development in Bogotá

<b>Country:</b>	Colombia
<b>City:</b>	Bogotá
<b>Number of Inhabitants:</b>	+/- 7 million
<b>Project:</b>	Construction of the park 'tercer milenio'
<b>TOOL:</b>	Social Inclusion Tool



### Situation Auditing

Bogotá is the capital of Colombia, as well as the largest and by far the most populous city in the country with 6,776,009 inhabitants (2005 Census). Bogotá and its metropolitan area has an estimated population of 7,881,156. For a long time Bogotá was known as one of the world's most dangerous cities with a homicide rate of 80 per 100,000 inhabitants.

Since the nineties, the election of progressive mayors has placed safety and security at high priority in political agenda of the municipality of Bogotá. As a result of that the city government formulated and implemented citywide plans to tackle violence and improve safety and quality of life. These plans follow a general citywide approach to deal with safety that trademarks the Bogotá experience since the 90's. The approach is based on seven principles and characteristics:

1. Improving safety is a top priority (also politically) in the municipality of Bogotá
2. Knowledge about crime and violence should be gathered in reliable database system to monitor development of crime and violence, assured in the newly developed United System of Information about Violence and Crime (SUIVD)
3. A suitable administrative infrastructure should be assured in order to effectively assign sufficient resources (human, technical and financial) to deal with the projects geared to improve safety in the city
4. The development of an integrative plan for security and living together must guide public sector action, and this includes but not limited to the improvement of hotspots for crime in which community involvement plays a major role. This is reflected in the PRU-Programa de Rehabilitación Urbana (Urban Rehabilitation Programme) and the PMB-Programa Misión Bogotá (Mission Bogotá Programme)
5. Strengthening of the capacity of the metropolitan police
6. Continuous monitoring and monthly evaluation of the results of the United System of Information about Violence and Crime (SUIVD), including the regular statistics analysis made by the cities authorities
7. External evaluation and data gathering by private sector in order to assess effects of government programmes, resulting in external private sector watchdog function and monitoring on the statistics of crime and safety and of perception of crime and safety (linked to the project Bogotá Como Vamos)

One of the concrete projects initiated under the municipal administration of mayor Enrique Peñalosa Londoño at the end of the nineties was the construction of a park of more than 20 hectares. The name of this project is Proyecto Tercer Milenio (PTM) or Third Millennium Project and it was part of the citywide urban rehabilitation programme called 'Programa de Rehabilitación Urbana' (PRU). As expressed by a testimony of city dweller:

'Before this park was realised the district decided to demolish 602 buildings (houses, shops and canteens) in 22 blocks and transform this entire site that was one of the most deteriorated and dangerous places in the city into a space that gives honour to live.'



## Analysis of Key Issues

The residential district where the Tercer Milenio Park was realized was plagued with several problems related to safety such as:

- A high number of homicides
- A high rate of violence
- Drug use and drug dealing activities
- Illegal business and housing occupations

The site was mainly residential, comprised of houses of poor quality and the available public space was not considered attractive and safe. The safety problems in the area were strongly related to serious social and economic problems of the residents.



Source: <http://www.bogota.gov.co/portel/libreria/jpg/parquetercermil1.jpg>

The PTM project is an example of a project with a holistic and integrative approach. It focused on increasing safety and on social inclusion and improving the quality of life of the residents in and around the area. The project included physical reconstruction of the deteriorated area; the realization of the park, demolishing 65% of the structures and redevelopment of real estate. Additional measures that were implemented are: improvement of social well-being of the inhabitants, improvement of access to services and housing and increasing the educational and economic opportunities for the inhabitants. Measures especially focused on the residents that were under a high risk of social exclusion. The people who had their house demolished received compensation in the form of money or a new house and the city helped the people with problems.

The project was realised through a public-private-community partnership that involved organizations like the Institute for Urban Development (IDU-Instituto Desarrollo Urbano), the environmental social integration secretariats, the social

housing organisation, El Fondo de Ventas Populares, the metropolitan police, the secretariat of the government and the District Planning and Urban Renewal Agency. It is important to note that the residents were asked to provide input and organize themselves, participating intensively in the project. The Bogotá example gives an unequivocal evidence about the leading role played by the municipal government in leading the initiative, convincing and mobilising other parties including the local population and taking full responsibility for the project.



## Factors of Success

The PTM could not have been successful without the involvement and active participation of the local residents. Their participation resulted in a fairly easy process of demolition and relocation that was required to cleanup the site for the park. Their participation was also fundamental to have the social and economic programmes truly demand-driven and responsive to their needs.

Nevertheless it was not easy to make participation viable and organize the involvement of local residents and stakeholders. Residents and grassroots organizations needed time to trust government authorities. On the other hand, the PTM facilitated confidence building that helped local authorities to gain respect. This was achieved through:

- Investing in concrete social and educational programs
- Giving reasonable compensation to and relocate the people that had to leave their house;
- Dealing with the problems (drug addicts, homeless people, domestic violence, and illegal businesses) that were encountered
- Assuring that businesses of residents can be continued in other parts of the city by negotiating and mediating
- Promoting simple and understandable project targets
- Being honest: no false promises and a clear position in what is and what is not negotiable
- Working together with all departments for one goal: don't frustrate other institutions
- Solving conflicts based on solid legal advice and in cooperation with the police whenever necessary

In summary, besides residents' participation and public-private partnerships, the success of the Bogotá approach can be also accredited to a good diagnostic and monitoring of crime and violence through a reliable system of data and information management; the existence of visionary leadership, political will and commitment; the integration of different municipal agencies resulting in inter-sector collaboration, administrative cohesion and public sector efficiency. Finally, the leadership of the local government and the prioritisation of violence and urban safety in the local political agenda was an important factor of success. The issue was placed high in the political agenda. Consequently long-term commitment and financial resources allocation were made even in a country not so rich as Colombia.



## Evaluation

There are tangible and less tangible impacts from the realisation of the 'Park Tercer Milenio' project. Amongst the tangible ones is the creation of an extra green area in a city district in great need of such facility. It functions public space of high quality that provides amenities as well as sports and education facilities for the youth in an area formerly confronted with social distress. Data monitoring reveals that safety increased significantly with dropped crime rates and improved feeling of safety.

The number of drug addicts as well as drug dealing activities has decreased. A number of informal economic activities have been formalized and home ownership increased in the area of influencing of the park. A lot of residents found new or better forms of employment in and around the district as a result of complementary assistance of the city government in the form of educational programmes, job searching and support to job applications. People who were socially excluded and regarded as risk groups like homeless, drug addicts and jobless have been helped through these government programmes. The municipal authority and public agencies have gained respect and legitimacy amongst residents and have increased their institutional efficiency through the implementation of these multiple programmes and actions.

A less tangible impact relates to the rise of residents confidence and self-esteem as a result of government intervention in their neighbourhood and the recognition of their needs and aspirations. From a situation of neglect and exclusion from public sector investment, residents are now provided with benefits that are accessible to any single resident of the city.



## Reflections on the Tool and Instruments

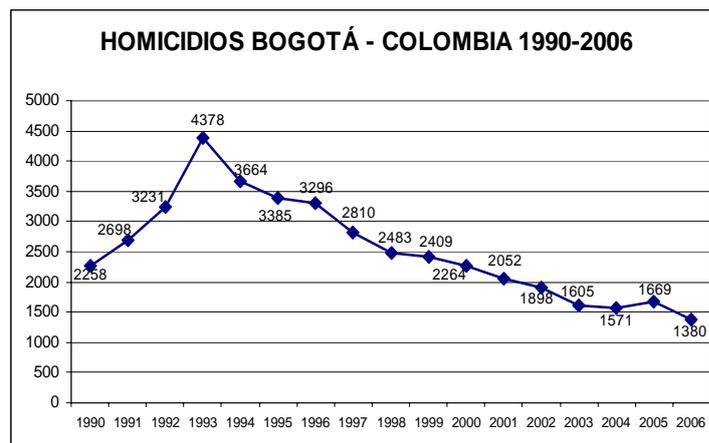
The case of Bogotá unequivocally demonstrates that an integrative approach driven by a committed and institutionally cohesive local government can be very successful to improve the safety and social inclusion in a city district. As expressed by the testimony of the municipal government:

'After six long years of public works the inhabitants of the neighbourhood Santa Inés and the citizens who transfer between roads 6 a 9 and avenue 10 and the avenue Caracas, can now rest and enjoy themselves in this fabulous park (Municipality of Bogotá, 2006).'

Safety should not be looked at in isolation. Equally the PTM project should be looked at not as an isolated initiative but as part of a broader citywide urban revitalisation programme like the PRU. The PRU is concerned with the entire city of Bogotá and aims at the improvement of the city's infrastructure and the integration between its various parts and districts through a number of physical, social, economic and public management programmes geared by the seven principle approach. Some of these programmes are worth mentioning like the Trans Milenio public transportation project

and the bicycle tracks programme both inspired from the prize winning Brazilian city of Curitiba; additionally the execution of large scale housing programme called Metrovivienda and packages of public investment in economic zones, creation of employment opportunities, rehabilitation projects for drug addicts, etc.

The PRU represents a policy turn of 360 degrees in addressing urban safety issues. Until the 90's the general way to respond to it was based on the controversial military approach used in warfare situations. Statistical analysis proves that change in approach results in falling crime rates and improved sense of safety in the city. This is thanks to a coherent public safety policy that mobilises public and private institutions, resources, individuals and community-based organisations. The integrated approach based on the seven principles mentioned above can be regarded as the clue to the success.



Source: Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses. Bogotá Colombia 2006

The establishment of a monitoring system backed by reliable data collection and analysis is a fundamental support to effective government response. But it is the intangible that makes a difference in Bogotá. The political will, creativity and determination of visionary mayors that have governed the city that has actually propelled government action and has generated a change in attitude within the citizenry. It has generated long-term government commitment and a sense of ownership of this new approach. Not only has it affected positively citizen's confidence and self-esteem of poor and rich but have also touch the mindset of people working for the city. The shift in policy and attitude change seems to lead to an inclusive and visionary way of doing things and less reactionary and narrow-minded responses. The decline of the number of homicides is one of the unequivocal indicators of the success of the strategy.

## 4. Conclusions

Since conditions of safety are different in the respective case study cities, it is not easy to develop a common set of recommendations and tools to increase or establish public safety. This is even more difficult if local and culturally-bound perceptions of safety and security are taken into account. What may be perceived as a threat or as provocative in one society may go ignored in another. Although safety is partly shaped by people's perceptions and behaviour, some common lessons can be drawn from the concrete prevention measures and policies highlighted in the 12 selected cases analysed in this study.

The 12 cases are presented in a comparative analysis in table 2 at the end of this chapter. It gives an overview of the separate cases reviewed through the SAFER-approach. Table 3 gives an overview of the major lessons that can be drawn from the different cases. It answers two important questions:

1. How to make cities safer?
2. What is the role of the important actors?

### **Political priority and support**

Placing safety high on the political agenda is a sine-qua-non condition for success. It ensures that crime prevention, tackling violence and urban safety as a whole gets embedded into policies and long-term development strategies. It is ineffective to deal with safety in an ad-hoc manner. Causes and prevention require long-term commitment and political will. This is very evident in Paris, Bogotá, Rotterdam, Warsaw and Glasgow.

At the national level safety can be placed on the agenda through new legislation and policies, and the use of existing mandates followed by well-directed and long-term publicity. But it is at the local level where visionary mayors and political leaders can make a difference in mobilising the required institutional and political support, finance and human capital, policy cohesion and resources of various types from the various stakeholders involved in safety. The cases depicted in this review give evidences of this important factor of success.

In the case of Paris, central government commitment was crucial in mobilising the required finance to improve infrastructure and the public transport system as well as its safety. This was coupled with local resources and the local government commitment. In Bogotá, it was a sequence of elected visionary and progressive mayors that fostered local government commitment and continuity in efforts to create a safer city. Safety was placed very high in the political agenda. Local leadership was also responsible for public sector cohesion and the support from various stakeholders from public, private and community sectors. By placing safety as top political priority and involving others not only trust but also confidence was built amongst citizens. This is also the case for Glasgow where the local Council placed safety in its inner-city core as top-priority.

Lagos (Nigeria) reveals the opposite where safety and urban violence have not found its way in the political agenda due to political neglect. An NGO has taken the lead but does not have the mandate nor the capacity to institutionalise the programme. Additionally one clearly identifies the lack of coordination between the various institutions responsible for tackling urban safety issues. Similar can be said about the case of Ambon where local government neither has had the capacity nor the strong

political support to place long-term solutions for the safety problem in the local agenda.

### **Information gathering and sharing**

In Paris, Glasgow and Philadelphia it is evident that data sharing amongst different actors like police, public transport operators and private entrepreneurs are key in designing effective prevention and safety measures. It is worth noting that various cases reported by the Safer Cities Programme of UN HABITAT show that effective approaches to address urban safety have data collection and information sharing as a common point of departure.

In Rotterdam and Bogotá information through research and the establishment of an appropriate database as well as the capacity to analyse and monitor are fundamental to understand the nature of unsafe cities and neighbourhoods. These tools are important to sustain the design of policies and approaches and to tackle, and not only mapping, the root causes of problems. Not only mapping them but tackling them. The municipality of Rotterdam has for instance designed a safety index that is used to monitor the level of safety in wards as well as in the city as a whole. This involves data collection and information sharing from and with the citizenry, the police, social work organisations etc.

In many cities adequate data on crime and perception of safety is often lacking. In cities in the developing world the capacity is unfortunately not always in place like in Lagos and Ambon and this has perverse effect on these cities' development. Institutional capacity strengthening is needed as well as support to the design and implementation of citywide policies.

### **Image building and communication**

Positive and supportive messages in relation to safety at the local level are relevant, as shown in several cases. Reaching out a wider public and providing information that acknowledges the problem and informs about measures to resolve them helps to build confidence and belief that government is working to make the city safer. Public campaigns that comprise advertisements and the marketing of specific locations, building better images and participatory and cultural events (Rotterdam, Philadelphia and Glasgow); educational workshops (Lagos); or the promotion of secure public transport (Paris, Birkenhead) are gradually changing the morale and perceptions of the general public towards particular areas and slowly rebuilding the image of those who are stigmatised.

Equally important is the act of making successes in safety building visible. Like Bogotá, Paris, Johannesburg, Philadelphia and Rotterdam and even the gated communities in Rio and São Paulo and Den Bosch that promote a protected environment. Making it visible ensures future involvement and motivation of stakeholders and the public in safety related projects and can foster financial investments (Bogotá, Paris, Johannesburg, Philadelphia and Rotterdam).

### **Partnerships**

Many of the cases analysed in this study show in different ways that citizen's participation and partnerships between government and private sector are pre-requisite for a safer city. The cases reinforce the argument that a safer city is not only a matter of government concern but also the concern of all different civil society

actors. The participation of the private sector as well as NGOs is part of the equation to solve problems derived from lack of security, violence and crime.

Important hereby is that local authorities build up a close dialogue with communities, entrepreneurs, citizens and grassroots organisations by involving them in problem analysis, finding solutions and in revising projects and activities accordingly. Localised assessments throw a better light of the safety situation at neighbourhood level, like the yearly survey conducted by the municipality of Rotterdam that forms the foundation for the safety index. This approach requires however a change in the government's attitude towards citizens to stimulate and facilitate active citizenship. As mentioned before public and private parties cooperate in data sharing and information management about crime and safety like Glasgow, Paris and Philadelphia. In Lagos and Warsaw it is the partnership between government and NGO's that helped to address safety issues.

There is much that the private sector can do to reduce both its own business risks due to unsafe locations and to disable crime. The important role that the private sector plays in projects directed towards urban safety in the case of Philadelphia, Glasgow, Johannesburg and Rotterdam is very obvious. However, clear communication and coordination channels are needed between governments' agencies dealing with safety on a city scale and those in a financial position to do something about the safety of particular areas.

### **Housing improvement, service delivery and infrastructure**

Interventions in the physical environment and physical improvements can boost safety and help tackle the fear of insecurity. In Birkenhead for instance the upgrading of the bus station had a positive impact on the notion of safety amongst the passengers and users of the station. In this case the design as well as the maintenance is very important to avoid that buildings lose their security image once they start to deteriorate. The most striking example was found in Johannesburg under the Better Buildings Program, where Hotel Europa was physically upgraded and safety measures were established simultaneously. The improvement of this building had a positive spin-off effect for the surrounding neighbourhood.

In the case of Rotterdam the housing associations also invest in the improvement and (re)building of housing in order to develop a new image of the neighbourhoods. On one hand the physical quality of housing is improved, triggering positive impacts on the value of immovable properties and thus increasing the attractiveness of the area; on the other hand new groups of people are attracted to the area. This phenomenon is also visible in Johannesburg. Though the approach is criticised because low income groups are often evicted by market forces and have to find affordable housing elsewhere, it remains a useful approach to neighbourhood upgrading and improvement of urban safety.

In Bogotá the dwellings have been demolished and a park with accessible social services has been constructed. It is a clear example of a physical improvement but the attention given to social services and recreation (software) to complement hardware improvements is the major asset of the project. Another positive aspect of the Bogotá programme is the attention paid to employment generation. This has resulted in better opportunities for all residents and is the starting point for combating the roots of crime.

The cases of Brazil and The Netherlands reveal very special forms of resolving safety through a housing project designed as a gated and self-contained community. These are cases in which individuals search for their own solutions of safety. In the Netherlands this form of housing is not so common. But apparently it is responding to

a demand, as reflected by the popularity of Haverleij in Den Bosch. In Brazil and in many Latin American cities where urban violence and crime have reached levels of civil unrest the approach is becoming widely popular not only amongst the rich and middle class (pioneers) but also amongst low income groups. Due to the incapacity of the government to safeguard safety and crime-free neighbourhoods individuals are acting and arranging for their safety on their own or as a group in guarded and walled communities or by hiring private security services.

The main lesson of these cases is that housing improvement provides a basic for individuals to feel safe but if it is dealt with in isolation it is not sufficient to curb violence and make cities and neighbourhoods safer.

### **Integration of approaches**

Safety is a multi-causal phenomenon that requires inter-organisational and multi-sectoral approaches. This is the main message of the cases described and analysed in this study.

- **Integrating national polices and local coordination**

Mainstreaming safety into sectoral programs is possible and requires city level synchronization but also coordination with national policies to determine the rules of the game in the political field. Like in Glasgow, where safety measures derive from a national safety policy.

- **Integrating long-term solutions with short-term actions**

Long-term solutions must be set in motion whereas immediate needs must be addressed at the same time . In Warsaw and Bogotá, local governments invest in institutional capacity building and inter-organisational coordination to build a long-lasting foundation for safety. In Ambon, on the contrary, local government limits its interventions by allowing spatial segregation of citizens without searching for long-term solutions.

- **Integrating agencies**

Safety programs need to bring together agencies that are responsible for urban land-use, housing, employment creation, social services, education, the police and the legal actors to cope with the circumstances that generate or facilitate criminal behaviour. In Bogotá, Warsaw Birkenhead, Glasgow and Paris good cooperation between agencies has been established demonstrating the existence of a responsive urban management and good public administration.

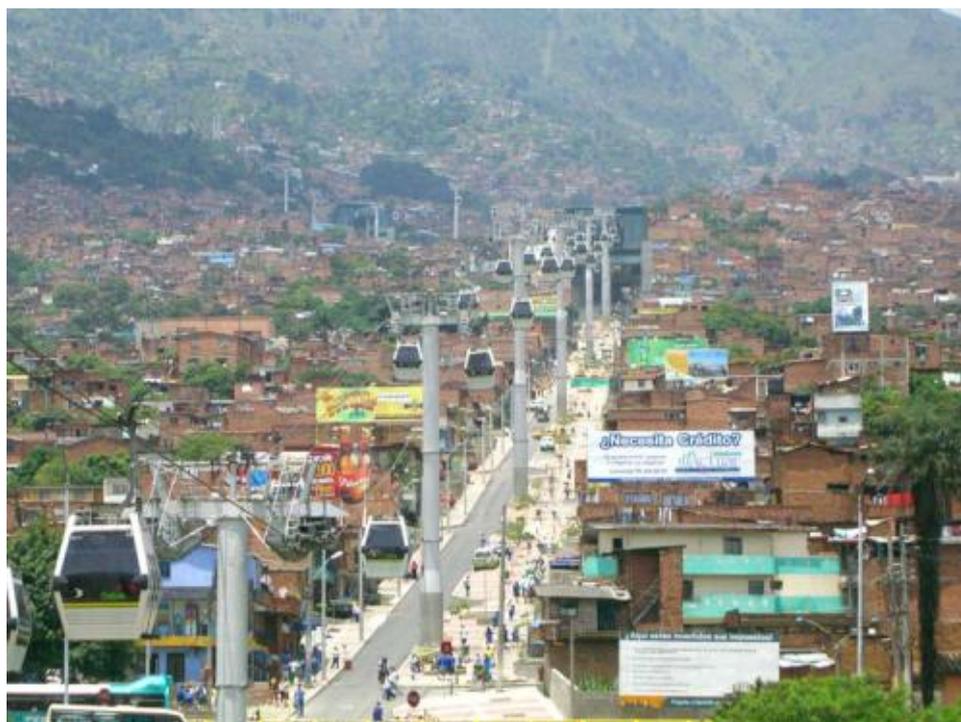
- **Integrating the soft and hard approach**

At times a zero tolerance approach is needed to reverse a spiral of misbehaviour in public space. Police appearance and surveillance and repressive approaches and prompt criminal justice are not enough to confront the root causes of urban violence and crime. Safety issues are not merely a matter of policing or of law making and enforcement of legislation. This is shown in Glasgow, Rotterdam, Philadelphia and Birkenhead.

### **Final Remarks**

Safety is an integral part of su issue of good urban governance that values citizenship and inclusion. Consulting and involving citizens and other interested groups and stakeholders in decisions and planning – including those who are marginalised (UN-Habitat – Safer Cities Programme, 2005) seems to indicate a way

out for making cities safer. As depicted in the cases presented herein this study, the measures and approaches do not only include policing, preventive safety measures but it must also keep focusing on an ultimate goal of developing a socially just, economically viable and a physically safe and sustainable living environment.



**Figure 30: Physical and Social Inclusion of Poor Neighbourhoods, Medellín, Colombia.**

**Table 2: Summary of the findings of the analysis following the ‘SAFER-analogy’ of the different cases.**

		<b>S</b> ituation auditing	<b>A</b> nalysis of key issues	<b>F</b> actors of success	<b>E</b> valuation	<b>R</b> eflection
Physical Planning Tool	Gated Communities in Brazil	In São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro gated communities offer protected living environments mainly to the middle- and high-income class	Extreme crime rates and the incapability of the government to ensure a violence-free residential environment results in fenced communities	Safety is guaranteed by security services such as fencing, check-points, social control, and spatial-segregation.	A gated community is a response to fear  Differences between safe and unsafe places are sharpened. Cities become more divided.	Loss of urbanity and interaction due to segregation  Understandable reaction to failure to ensure public security by state
	Project Haverleij-housing in a protected environment in Den Bosch, the Netherlands	City extension project (VINEX) in a Dutch secondary city, designed as a modern ‘fortification’	Development of a protected living environment; responding to a general decreased feeling of safety in the Netherlands	The emergence of social safety nets and social capital enhance feeling of safety and security  Medium to high-density housing leaving room for large protected green semi-public spaces	Homogeneous neighbourhood creates a feeling of safety and security, and living amongst the “alike”.	‘Gated communities’ can enforce segregation and jeopardises basis of equity and welfare distribution of Dutch society.
	Dealing with spatial segregation in Ambon, Indonesia	Spatial segregation as a result of social stratification of religious groups	Segregation of residential areas for different religious groups and offering public services for mixed groups	Policy response lacks long-term vision  Integration at public utility level  Short-term plans allow for segregated settlement	Feeling of safety increased  No more religious riots  Segregation can help to overcome very traumatic recent experiences	Important to link projects to long-term development

		<b>S</b> ituation auditing	<b>A</b> nalysis of key issues	<b>F</b> actors of success	<b>E</b> valuation	<b>R</b> eflection
Public Service and Infrastructure Provision Tool	The Community Safety Partnership in Glasgow, UK	Integration of 3 public service and infrastructure instruments to address safety and security	To deal with high social and safety problems related to un-employment the city implemented: 1 Safer City Centre Initiative 2 Closed-Circuit TeleVision (CCTV) 3 Restorative Justice Centres	Partnerships between municipalities and other partners are essential  A multi-factor (integrated) approach is more effective  Large-scale urban revitalisation prior to safety measures	Crime has reduced but the feeling of safety has not equally improved  Successful cooperation between public and private partners	Requires substantial and long-term funding  Commitment needed from many partners  Un-employment needs to be addressed as well
	Transportation Security in Île-de-France, France	Increased number of policemen and improved monitoring on Public Transport in the Île-de-France	Responding to increased crime rates and decreased feeling of safety on public transport  Increased number of staff-members	Good auditing of the situation (data available)  Political will and support  Good cooperation and coordination between transport operators and police	Crime has reduced  Perception of safety improved	Large investment

		Situation auditing	Analysis of key issues	Factors of success	Evaluation	Reflection
	Improving Birkenhead Bus Station, UK	<p>Application of 7 UK design attributes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Access and Movement</li> <li>2. Structure</li> <li>3. Surveillance</li> <li>4. Ownership</li> <li>5. Physical Protection</li> <li>6. Activity</li> <li>7. Management and Maintenance) for a safer bus station</li> </ol>	Design for new bus station has created a safer environment	<p>The Bus station is a transparent structure with surveillance and CCTV contributing to security.</p> <p>Good accessibility and cleanliness contribute to safety</p> <p>High political commitment</p> <p>Investment and support for safety by the transport agency is essential</p>	<p>Application of all of the 7 attributes have created safer bus stop</p> <p>Bus station has boosted the development of a business and shopping area in the immediate surrounding</p>	<p>Design guidelines important starting point</p> <p>Safety measures such as the 7 attributes and CPTED enhance safety in the applied area do not address the roots of crime</p>
Private Sector Mobilisation Tool	A Business Improvement District in Philadelphia's City Centre, USA	The Centre City District (CCD) has been developed as a Business Improvement District (BID) to revitalise the city centre	Local business owners and property owners in the CCD decide what services (cleaning, security) are available and pay extra for it.	<p>Auditing figures on the safety situation urged private sector to get involved</p> <p>Investment and commitment of the private sector</p> <p>Good cooperation and coordination between Public and Private sector</p>	<p>Safety improved, a spectacular drop in crime rates (up to 78%)</p> <p>Liveability improved</p> <p>Property values increased</p>	<p>BID's can be very successful</p> <p>Property owners get opportunity to influence the environment and take responsibility</p> <p>BIDs depend heavily on strong private sector involvement which is less ready available in suburbs</p>

		<b>S</b> ituation auditing	<b>A</b> nalysis of key issues	<b>F</b> actors of success	<b>E</b> valuation	<b>R</b> eflection
	Better Buildings Programme Johannesburg, South Africa	PPP between municipality and private organisations for inner-city regeneration: Better Buildings Programme	PPP between organisations  By improving 1 building (Europa Hotel) a whole neighbourhood is upgraded	Financial sustainability is critical  Local government writes off debts  Physical tool in combination with social policies: Europa Hotel is exceptional case  Strong linkages with other city-wide programmes	Security and safety have increased  Spin off effect to a greater area  Cooperation between public and private partners has been achieved	Possible replacement of crime scene elsewhere  Physical upgrade but no longer affordable for current inner-city dwellers  Too little capacity Housing Associations in Johannesburg to make investments like Europa Hotel
	Pact of the South, Rotterdam, the Netherlands	Uplift the Southern neighbourhoods of Rotterdam  Public and private partners have made upgrading plans	Local government and Housing associations run social, economic and physical projects in order to safety and quality of life and to upgrade the image of the Southern Neighbourhoods of Rotterdam	Strong (financial) commitment of very social private partners (social housing associations)  Political commitment on safety issues in the entire city  Availability of data (safety index)	Safety and perception of safety improved  Improvement of several complexes  Opening of new restaurants and community house	Crucial role for social housing association that has power and resources

		<b>S</b> ituation auditing	<b>A</b> nalysis of key issues	<b>F</b> actors of success	<b>E</b> valuation	<b>R</b> eflection
Social Inclusion Tool	The Warszawa Municipality Improvement Programme, Poland	Political, societal and infrastructural changes have resulted in an urge for new forms of planning for Warsaw	To deal with increased crime, unsafety and social pathologies Warsaw developed an integrative approach to improve safety with attention for social inclusion	Improving the infrastructure and public services and focusing on social inclusion  Institutional reform, and institutional strengthening including the change of culture	Crime decreased and measures to deal with social pathologies have been implemented  Reform is still continuing	Society changed; policies and institutions change not always in same pace  A wide scope and good cooperation between institutions are crucial
	Social Inclusion and safety in projects initiated by CLEEN in Lagos, Nigeria	Lagos is very unsafe  CLEEN is an NGO focusing at improving safety	CLEEN initiates several projects in Lagos to increase safety and promote social inclusion in Lagos, including a survey on safety  Local government is implementing partner	Cooperation of community, government and NGO  Increased trust is starting point to improve safety  Lack of political and economic stability hinders safety	Crime is still extremely high  Focusing at the youth can be promising	Thorough auditing and monitoring helps to make good policy  Very complicated situation, political engagement seems too minimal
	Building the Tercer Milenio Park and integrated development in Bogotá, Colombia	Violence and Crime were extremely high in Bogotá  Integrative approaches have been developed to address safety	Construction of a park in a deteriorated part of the city, including social programming  The area used to be a hotspot of crime, drug abuse and poverty	Offer alternatives to forced removals  Building trust  Good cooperation, coordination, shared targets and strong leadership  Strong political support  Facts (data) support plan development and implementation	(Feelings of) safety increased  Social development improvement indirectly improves safety/security  Physical improvements also affect well-being  Crime rates dropped drastically	Safety is related to well-being and socio-economic development, a long-term process so long-term political commitment is essential  Investment in efficient institutions has proved success

**Table 3: Overview of the Major Conclusions**

Case	Major conclusions per case	
	How to make cities safer?	What is the role of important actors?
Gated Communities in Brazil	Fortification of the housing and living environment and physical protection against intruders ensure safety.	Safety becomes a market: private investors provide safe living environments for those who can afford it. The government fails in providing public safety. Residents pursue their own solutions for acquiring a safe living environment.
Project Haverleij-housing in a protected environment in Den Bosch, the Netherlands	Realisation of a safe neighbourhood in a city extension project in a semi-enclosed environment in traditional style of medium-density housing for middle- to high income groups	Both the municipality and property developers invest (in the form of a public private partnership) in developing a new neighbourhood: it is a project in line with the cities development vision and it is financially attractive. The Municipality is responsible for maintaining the public space.
Dealing with spatial segregation in Ambon, Indonesia	Full spatial segregation of the residential areas of different religious groups creates (a feeling of) safety amongst traumatised residents of Ambon; sharing of public facilities and services (creating spatial zones of neutrality) is the first step towards interaction between different groups.	Local authority and UNDP have sought short-term solution to end violence and to overcome recent trauma. The local government lacks the capacity to formulate and implement a long-term solution; international interference does not lead to substantial capacity development.
The Community Safety Partnership in Glasgow, UK	Safety has been improved by implementing 1) the Safer City Centre Initiative which includes sharing information and joint working between public (e.g. police, street watch) and private partners (e.g. shop-owners); 2) implementation of a Closed-Circuit TeleVision (CCTV) system - placing camera's in public spaces in the city and constantly monitor them; 3) establishment of Restorative Justice Centres that run programmes to prevent youth to (re-) enter into criminal activities.	The City Council has taken the lead to invest in safety and to engage many different stakeholders by coordinating activities in which different stakeholders cooperate, bringing them together, monitor the results of the projects, etc. The focus has been both on measures to address safety as well as to reduce the roots of crime (by developing employment programmes), with an emphasis on the roots of youth crime.
Transportation Security in Île-de-France, France	Safety has increased by improving the coordination and data sharing amongst police departments and public transport operators (establishment of a central nerve centre) and by increasing the number of policemen in trains, metros and stations.	Departments of the police, the local governments and the transport operators invested in staff and material to facilitate better coordination and data sharing and to increase the number of policemen. The central government is the initiator and partly finances the operation; the local government and the transport operators are the other investors.

Major conclusions per case		
Case	How to make cities safer?	What is the role of important actors?
Improving Birkenhead Bus Station, UK	<p>Safety has been improved by physically improving the bus station. In the design the following issues were addressed:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Access and Movement</li> <li>2. Clear structured use of different spaces</li> <li>3. Surveillance</li> <li>4. Clarity: use of station is for passengers</li> <li>5. Offering of Physical Protection</li> <li>6. The building logically accommodates the Activity (passengers and bus transfers)</li> <li>7. Management and Maintenance are organised in plan</li> </ol>	<p>The public sector transport organisation is the leading partner for improving the bus station. The local government assisted in realising the station and the central UK government implemented and promoted seven innovative national guidelines for safe design. The new station has promoted new investments for a business centre.</p>
A Business Improvement District in Philadelphia's City Centre, USA	<p>Establishment of a partnership between private and public partners, including police and justice departments and the set up of a Business Improvement District (BID). Property and business owners pay extra tax for extra (safety) services such as surveillances, camera's and high-level maintenance of public space.</p>	<p>The private sector and the local government have joined forces to establish a partnership and to attract investors to return to the city centre and create a desirable environment for employers. The private sector (property and business owners) decides on the package of services that is implemented and pays extra tax for it.</p>
Better Buildings Programme Johannesburg, South Africa	<p>The local government and project developers have upgraded buildings (e.g. the Europa Hotel) in the Better Buildings Programme (BBP) that were hot-spots of crime and replaced people involved in crime. The upgrading had a spin-off effect and uplifted surrounding neighbourhoods.</p>	<p>The local government takes the lead in the BBP and expropriates dilapidated buildings and property developers invest in the buildings and rent out apartments to tenants.</p>

Case	Major conclusions per case	
	How to make cities safer?	What is the role of important actors?
Pact of the South, Rotterdam, the Netherlands	Private investment in physical, economic and social projects (e.g. upgrading sport facilities, realisation of a school, offering cheap locations to entrepreneurs) complements government plans. This boosts development and improves quality of life, safety and the image of the South of Rotterdam. The Programme for the South is linked to a precisely monitored city wide safety programme.	Social housing agents take major financial responsibility (they benefit from high real estate values) and have a unique role and position: private organisations, rich in resources and with a social mission.  Politicians facilitate and stimulate the continuous involvement of different stakeholders (by forming a steering group and several working groups). Local government is committed and takes the lead.
The Warszawa Municipality Improvement Programme, Poland	Investment in police and fire departments (upgrading of physical infrastructure); training of professionals (e.g. skills development to deal with criminal behaviour) by NGO's; and running social programmes for the socially excluded (e.g. addicts, homeless, HIV patients) has contributed to safety in Warsaw.	The local government coordinates and initiated the programme, but the implementation and investments in terms of time and money are made by the police and fire department and NGO's.
Social Inclusion and safety in projects initiated by CLEEN in Lagos, Nigeria	Safety has been addressed by the NGO CLEEN by initiating projects in schools (e.g. awareness campaigns) and bringing local people, police and the local government together in community projects focussing at concrete improvements such as the physical improvement of a neighbourhood; waste collection and surveillance projects.	The NGO 'the CLEEN Foundation' initiates the projects and operates as coordinator and neutral partner (necessary since relationships between residents, private investors and local government tend to be conflicts). The actual implementation of programmes is done by schools, private investors, communities and the local government.
Building the Tercer Milenio Park and integrated development in Bogotá, Colombia	Physical reconstruction of a dilapidated area that goes hand in hand with social inclusion projects for drug addicts, jobless and homeless. People who had to leave their homes were reasonably compensated e.g. a new house or cash money.	The local government takes the lead and the responsibility, the community is intensively consulted. Private partners NGO's and the local government are the implementing partners and work as a team with one goal: improve the liveability and safety of the area.

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