City of Fear and Freedom
Security as a goal of urban planning

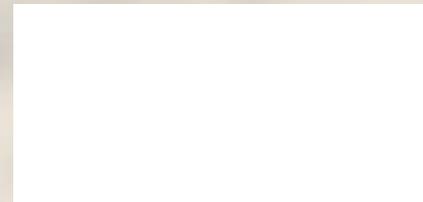洋意安全
Beware of safety
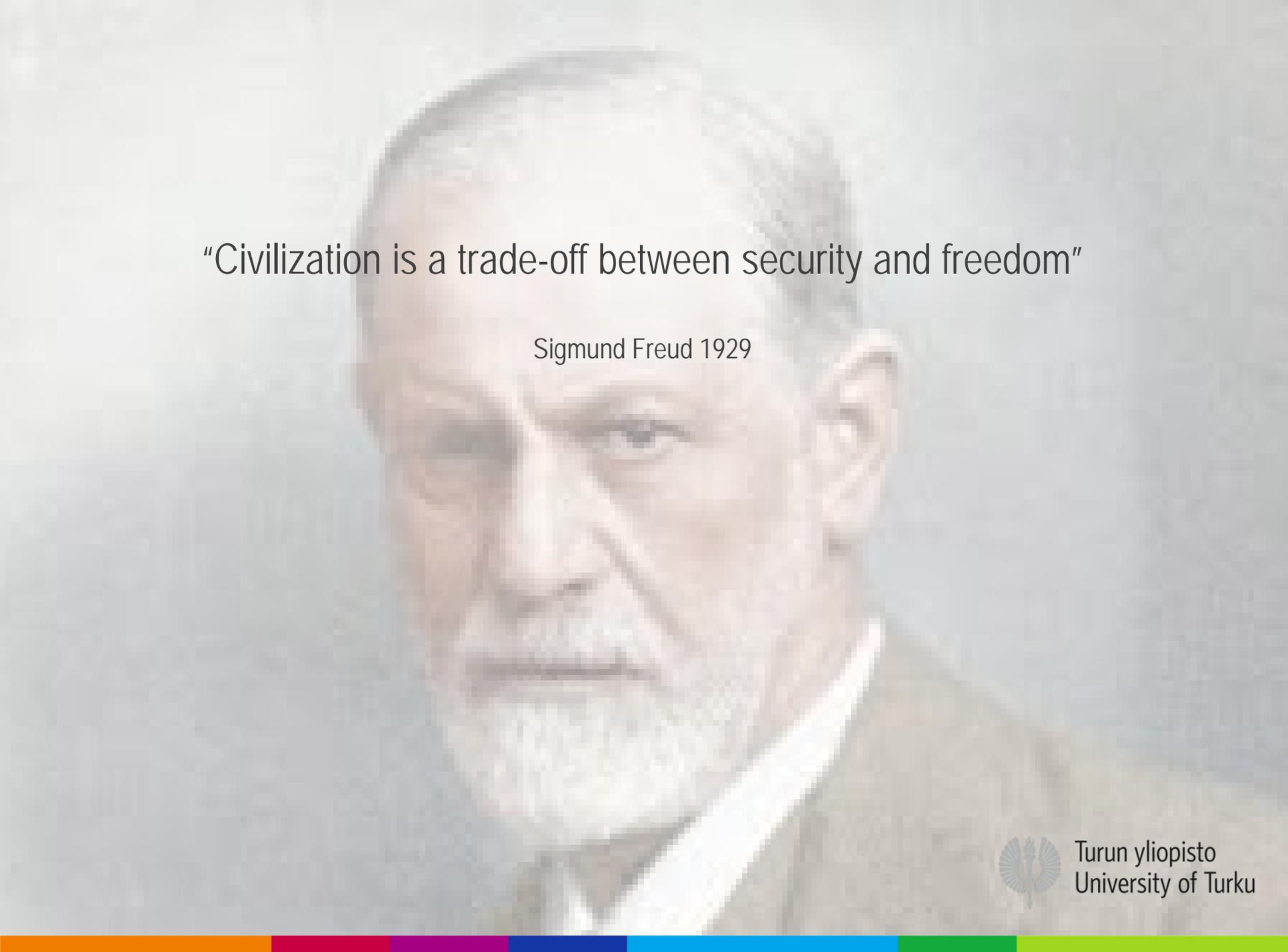
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"Civilization is a trade-off between security and freedom"

Sigmund Freud 1929

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City as a space of freedom?

- *"Historically, there are four kinds of spaces for freedom and escape: mountains, forests, seas and cities".*

- Cities have preceeded State, central governance and even agriculture.
- From the early history of mankind, cities have served as motors of economy
- Density of settlement, encounters with strangers and unpredictable situations serve as sources of urban dynamics and creativity
- Sources of freedom: the physical form of city (labyrint), quantity of people, possibility to anonymity. City represents "magic of freedom"; "place where everything is permitted"
- From the point of view of city planning: public space is especially important for freedom. Its existence is not self-evident.
- "A battle for public space is a battle of democracy. Public space is a perfomative arena of public sector characterised by freedom of expression, mobility, action"

(Jacobs 1972, Soja 2000, Viren & Vähämäki 2015, Cupers & Miessen 2002, Koskela 2009)

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City as a producer of safety/security?

- Cities arose not only from yearning for freedom but also from need of safety and security
- One purpose of cities has been, from the beginning, to give shelter
- Enemies and criminals, "barbarians" were separated by *a Wall* that protected *"Us"*
- *Production of Otherness* has occurred both in agrarian communities (in individual level) and in the development of cities.

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City as a producer of insecurity and fear?

- Insecurity in cities has been caused by diseases, pollution, social and political disorders, terrorism

- *Otherness* has been produced also *inside* cities: To offer safety to some groups, segregation has been implemented in the name of income differences, classes, ethnicity, religions etc.

- Segregation provides privileges (clean environment, water, quality housing) to well off groups but excludes the poor and unwanted. These groups may even lack access to city centres. (Transport Inequalities, Beyazit, 2016)
    - Segregation can be both intentional policy and unintentional development

- Economic inequality, poverty and hopelessness increase crime and undesirable behavior.

- At worst, these factors form a self-feeding vicious circle of insecurity which is hard to break.

- Insecurity/unsafety is different to different groups

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Critical Urban Theory: The Right to the City

- **David Harvey** (2008): *"The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. **The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right** since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. **The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."***

- **Henri Lefebvre** (1991) : **Social production of space**: Practices and experiences of everyday life produce space. For example, fear creates and reproduces urban space because it affects to our behavior which, again, affects to spaces. ("social night")

- **Zerah et al.** Right to the city consists of (2011): 1) Legal and moral claims 2) right to live in a city (affordable, practicable, accessible, safe livable) and 3) right to public policies and political participation to enable better access to and use of the city.

Feminist approach to urban space

- Koskela & Tani (2005): Women's fear reflects " a spacial dimension of patriarchal power structure".
- The process of masculinzation of space
- Saarikangas (1997),Lilius (2017): The ideal of fuctionalist urban planning (zoning): city centres were planned & designed for working men and for singles. Women's and children's place was at home in "safe" suburbs.

Fear increases – a sociological approach

Robert Castel: **The paradox of fear** (L'insécurité sociale, qu'est-ce qu'être protégé, 2003):

« We – at least in the developed countries feel more insecurity than ever, even if, by many measures, we live in some of the most secure societes ever existed »

Anthony Giddens: **Modernity and Self-Identity (**1991): Ontological uncertainty
- Increase in choice, questioning of beliefs and certainties, self-reflection, devoid of history, pluralism

Zygmunt Bauman: **Liquid modernity** (2000)
- Solid communities to liquid, placeless networks; modern global nomadims, internet
- Increasing individual responsibility, continuous burden of personal development & change
- Belief in *modern project* (beneficial science & technology) has been replaced by fear of future
- Increasing global insecurity and ambivalence, rise of terrorism

Liquid fear (Bauman 2006)

"The difference now is that we no longer trust the future or believe in progress, we are without the illusions that sustained the modern project."

- By Bauman, fear consists of three kind of threats:
- **Unsafety:** unsafety which is focused to self, family, property or neighborhood. For example, fear of being a victim of crime.
- **Insecurity:** fear for social order or system; for example when I get sick or old who is going to take care of me?
- **Uncertainty**: Fear of future, uncertainty and risks, for example fear of getting unemployed, fear of terrorism or natural disasters.

- By Bauman, State has difficulties to handle *structural or system-level problems*. Therefore, most attention and acts are *chanelled* to decrease unsafety because it is possible to achieve easier and more concrete effects there. (For example, the rise of surveillance technologies and many forms of control in the cities)

- Bauman: People tend to name their fear as unsafety even if in the backgroud there might be other fears. For example, one might be afraid of getting unemployed or becoming marginalized but this fear can be expressed as a fear of crime or fear of weakened street safety.

Perceived safety depends also on individual factors

- In addition to social conditions, personal safety/unsafety are affected by age, gender, personality, ethnicity, religion and earlier experiences.

- *Perceived safety* (subjective safety) *and crime safety* (objective, statistical safety) don't always correlate (Grönlund 2013)

- In other words those who feel themselves the most safe are (statistically) the most probable victims of crime (young men).

- Perceived fear or unsafety is a true feeling and it must be taken seriously. It cannot be neglected or justified by statistics.

- There are plenty of research about the effects of personal factors to the perceived safety.

- Unsafety relates typically to different situations and places; for example women and men feel unsafety in different situations (social, political, cultural conditions).

Can we increase safety by urban planing?
- Critique rising from the sociology of fear

- In the field of urban planning and design, there are plenty of attempts and schools of thought to decrease crime or fear of crime by planning.

- The ideologies and tools are of great variety.

- The basic line of critique is that, instead to aiming to solve structural inequalities and social exclusion, safety oriented urban planning aims to prevent crime by increasing the risk of getting caught.

- "Crime is not prevented nor cured by architecture" meaning: We should cure the disease, not the symptoms

- BUT: The ultimate mission of architecture and urban planning is **NOT** to prevent crime but produce cities and physical spaces **for inhabitants** and other people for their everyday life. At its best, this space is agreeable, lively, safe, enabling and accessible; at worst it is dreary, alienating and scary (or exclusive).

- Sigmunt Bauman: "Modern architectural bunkers" creates fear and untrust (2006, 69)

- Jane Jacobs: "Architecture of fear" (1961)

- **Architecture and urban planning, in many ways and levels, have real effects on people's experiences. In the long run, these effects can be structural.**

Tools to promote safety by urban planning

- It is essential to ask by which tools we want to produce safety and which are the values and mindsets behind them
- Both perceived safety and objective safety can be improved by various tools of different scales and effects.
- **The scale of available tools** varies from detailed level of urban design (e.g. materials, lighting, planning of different functions) to more general city planning and urban policies, transportation planning, housing and social policies (e.g. urban regeneration and infill, prevention of segregation, preference of public transportation)
- Creating or generating safety is a complex picture. For example, crime prevention in a long run calls for policies and decisions that are different from those acts that aim to quick changes or increased control (like situational crime prevention)
- Actions made in one sector of society may cause changes and effects in other sectors. These links are often unconscious.
  - For example: cuts in the mental health care system have led to increasing perceived unsafety in trams and busses.
- Some effects and causal connections are hard to measure by statistics or numbers.

Dimensions of safety oriented planning
Control versus Trust

- Increase of fear has decreased trust and increased the need of control – both self control and control of others (Bauman 2006, Siltala 2017)
- Control and Trust can be set as opposites or as extremities of a same line
- Control: surveillance, supervision, monitoring
- Trust: firm belief in the reliability, truth, or ability of someone or something. Freedom of suspicion or doubt that somebody would cheat or disappoint. In a societal level it means well functioning structures, fair policies and common rules that are visible and same to everybody.
- **Institutional Trust** (Puustinen et a. 2017): Correlation between institutional trust and safety
- *There is an interface between control and trust: Who is allowed to control who? For example, what is the role of Police in cities and communities? Whose side is Police on? Is Police a representative of hard control or "one of us", to whom you can trust?*
- In urban planning, can we – and in which ways - invest on trust building instead of control?

- Urbanity is based both on neighborhood spirit and anonymity. It is important to quarantee both – **here comes the freedom!**

Basic distinction in safety-orinted urban planning:
Trust or control
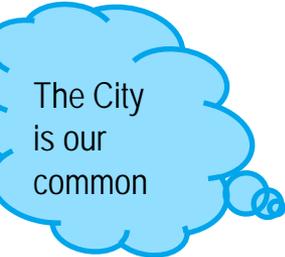
The City is our common

My safety is not your safety

Trust (Inclusion)

- "Scandinavian model" (Grönlund 2013; Kyttä, Puustinen et al. 2008; Ekman 2002)
- Used theories: Jane Jacobs, Oscar Newman, Christopher Alexander, Jan Gehl, (latest interpretations of CPTED-model)
- Residents and perceived safety in focus
- Important goal : learning to tolerate difference and otherness
- Based on openness, inclusion, trust, regeneration, participation, community spirit
  - Anonymity is still allowed
- "Soft " forms of control: natural surveillance assisted by urban planning & design
- Can be criticized for being gullible

Control (Exclusion)

- "Gated Communities"
- Criminals and crime prevention in focus.
- CPTED-model, Situational crime, Routine activity theory, Target hardening
- Goals: To make crime as difficult and unprofitable as possible or to isolate criminal (or a person who behaves agoinst norms)
- Based on exclusion, and segregation of residents and /or selection of clients
- "Hard" forms of control: locks, surveillance cameras, guards etc.
- Can be criticized for creating fear (instead of safety) and pictures of enemies, and for social exclusion.

This is the general setting - the discussion is more complex and multifaceted. For example, which tools of urban planning are "soft" and which are "hard"?

In practice, good planning solutions are, depending on the situation, somewhere between these two extremes

TRUST

Natural surveillance: transparent ground floor and entraces, lighting, places to sit, rest, play and socialize

Social policies and education aiming to equality

Mixed functions

Open public spaces (indoors and outdoors)

Services

Building image: human scale, quality materials, maintenance

Pedestrian and cycleways inside and between housing areas

Participatory planning procedures

Segregation preventio

Youth inclusion

"village police"

CPTED-model

DETAILED PLANNING

Space hierarchies

URBAN POLICIES & links to other policies

Dead-end alleys

Target hardening

Privatization of (public) space

Locks, gates, security systems

Surveillance cameras

Private guarding

Segregatio

Gated communities

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CONTROL

"Civilization is a trade-off between security and freedom" – is it, Mr. Freud?

- Urban planning is not just physical planning & design of our environment but an important factor or a sub-system of a complex society. Still - it has its limits and its own goals and shares.

- Urban planning is for residents and for heterogeneous users of the city - not for criminals or for terrorists.

- **Safety must not dominate urban planning – it must be parallel or** *an ally* **to other aims** – cosiness, liveliness, accessibility, sustainability etc.

- Many well-known tools and principles of "good planning and design" (f ex "12 quality principles of public place" by Jan Gehl) advance several goals simultaneously.

- In well-designed urban environment one don't *think* about safety

- **In each situation and in every level of planning, one should estimate if safety/security seeking produces more bleakness, control or even more fear – if it changes one's behavior consciously and unconsciously.**

- There are different scales and tools, they all have their own uses and impacts.

- Trust enables both freedom and security, but *can we trust trust?*

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