HELLO STRANGER

EXPLORING URBAN SAFETY
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF
SPATIAL EQUITY

Hello stranger
Exploring Urban Safety from the Perspective of Spatial Equity
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is set out to answer how a reinterpretation of the concept *trygghet* (the notion of safety/security) within urban renewal can contribute to spatial equity in peri-urban communities. It aims to explore alternative approaches to design interventions for safety that promote spatial justice through a densification proposal in Kortedala, Göteborg. Through this, a set of design strategies that challenge current practice towards a more inclusive and equitable approach is developed.

Safety is a common argument, used by property and land owners as well as public officials and politicians, for initiating urban renewal projects. However, the interventions to improve safety are often benefiting some actors while others are disenfranchised, revealing spatial injustices. The increasing segregation and polarization following urban development processes call for new approaches to deal with safety.

The research reveals the close connection between experienced safety and trust, where the challenge of decreasing trust becomes crucial to handle for anyone involved in improving safety. It also shows the connection between associative thinking and safety, where the discourse around safety is equally as important as contested, and can be used as a tool to legitimize ulterior motives.

The design strategies are based on five key concepts, each one highlighting different aspects of safety: Inclusive problem formulation, Character of safety, Weak ties, Appropriation, and Social Resilience.
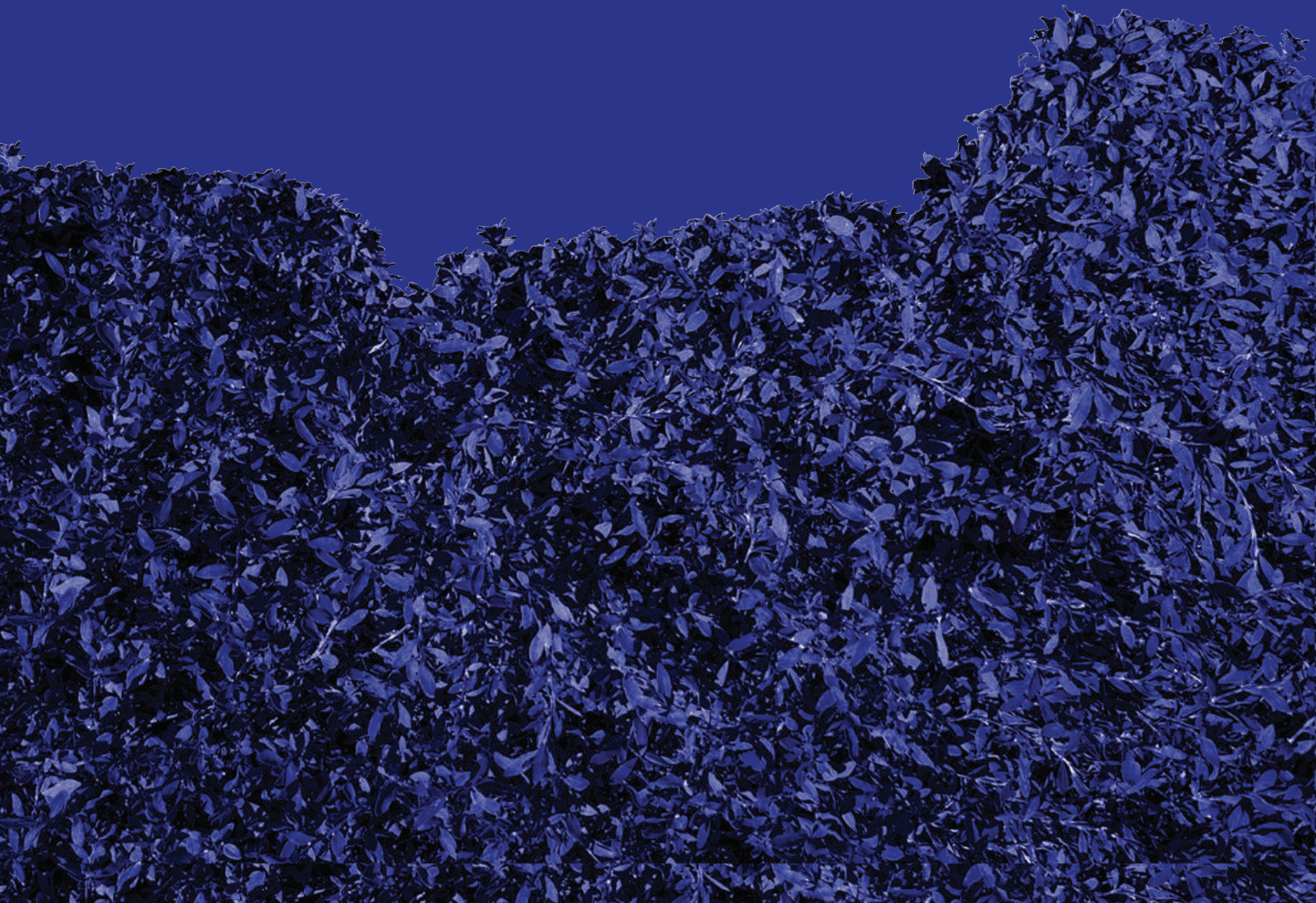
The thesis is concluded by emphasizing the need for a pluralistic perspective on safety with transparent motives. It points out the need to balance social control and autonomy to create social cohesion in a heterogeneous urban population. It also questions if community greenhouses can solve the crisis of decreasing trust following the withdrawal of the welfare state in peri-urban areas.

Keywords: Urban safety, Spatial justice

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

The strife to create safe and secure living conditions is present on both a societal level and in our daily lives. But in a society characterized by late modernity, globalization and environmental urgency, the threats are not as easily identified or prevented. Zygmunt Bauman uses the term *liquid fear* (Bauman 2007), to describe the constantly present and unpredictable threat in today's society.

80% of the Swedish population thinks that crime levels are increasing when in fact the case is the opposite (Brottsförebyggande rådet 2019). In fact, we are healthier and live longer than ever.

Although your health and life expectancy are largely dependent on your socioeconomic situation (Lundqvist 2017). With an increasing polarization in the Swedish society, the issue of safety becomes an issue of spatial justice. In order to tackle the challenges of inequalities that we are faced with today, we need to include the perspective of equity in our work to create safe living environments.

THESIS FRAMING

PROBLEM STATEMENT

DEFINITIONS of safety, a word with positive connotations used frequently in visions for urban development, are often lacking, leaving the word to be used as a vague quality of familiarity and comfort. If it is defined it is often over simplified reducing it to be an issue for specific groups such as women or property owners, or targeting specific problems such as light or maintenance.

EQUITY in relation to safety needs to be addressed, since a more complex understanding of safety reveals conflicts between what is perceived as safe for different groups, where the needs of more affluent groups tend to be prioritized.

STAKEHOLDERS in charge of safety improvement are not seldom lacking legitimacy from a democratic perspective. Decisions previously taken by democratic institutions are handed over to private or public/private partnerships, at the cost of transparency and representation.

DISCOURSES manifesting our collective understanding of something have a great influence on our perception of safety. Therefore it is a powerful tool to be used by vocal groups to influence the urban agenda, but also a way of empowerment for marginalized groups to challenge the current practice.

RENEWAL PROCESSES are often initiated claiming to improve urban safety. When looking at the results, we need to ask ourselves for whom the situation has improved. In most cases, urban renewal interventions are followed by more or less brutal gentrification and displacement processes. This leads us to a situation where urban renewal poses a very real threat to the safety of the less affluent part of the population, who risk losing their homes if they can't afford the rent increase.

RESEARCH QUESTION

How can a reinterpretation of the concept *trygghet* (notion of safety/security) contribute to spatial equity in peri-urban communities?
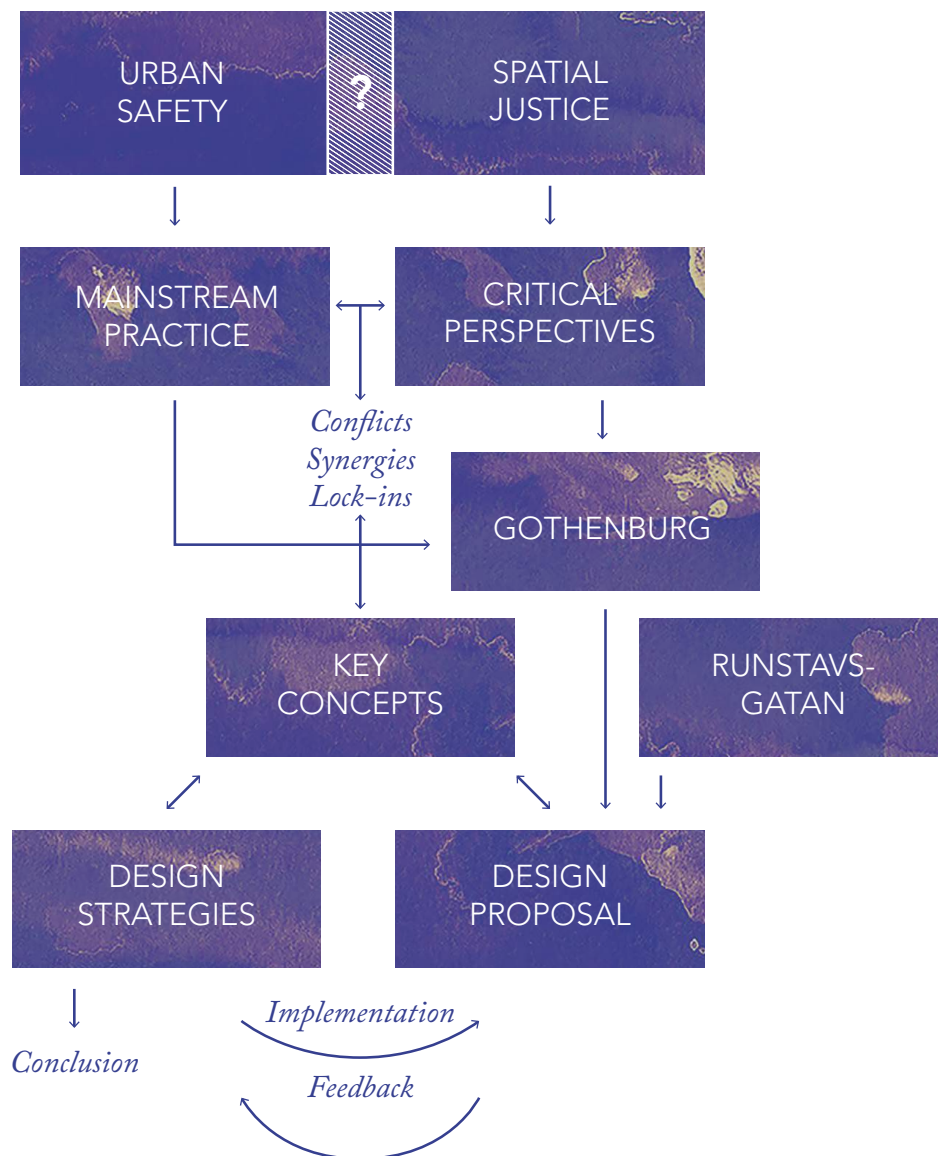
AIM

- To explore alternative approaches to design interventions for safety that promotes spatial justice through a densification proposal in Kortedala, Göteborg

- To develop a set of design strategies that challenge current urban renewal practice towards a more inclusive and equitable approach

DELIMITATION DIAGRAM

Morphology

Identity & expression

Light

Shared spaces

Public/private interface

Sequence & flow

Renovation

Participatory process

Gentrification

Displacement

Influence

Appropriation

Tenure forms

Housing unit disposition

Neoliberal urban paradigm

Local situated knowledge

Gothenburg policy & governance

Architectural Properties

Spatial Justice

Redistribution

Recognition

Context

Racism

Intersec–tionality

Safety

Homelessnes

Crime prevention

Peri-urban areas

Socio-economic perspective

Gender & sexual orientation

Age, Ability, Ethnicity & Religion

Fear of terror

Climate threat

Safety discourses

Notion of safety

Security of tenure

Trust

THEORETICAL EXPLORATION

DESIGN EXPLORATION

METHOD

PROCESS

URBAN SAFETY · ? · SPATIAL JUSTICE

MAINSTREAM PRACTICE ↔ CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

*Conflicts
Synergies
Lock-ins*

GOTHENBURG

KEY CONCEPTS · RUNSTAVS-GATAN

DESIGN STRATEGIES · DESIGN PROPOSAL

Conclusion

Implementation

Feedback

METHOD

POSITIVE FORCES　　　　　　　　　　NEGATIVE FORCES
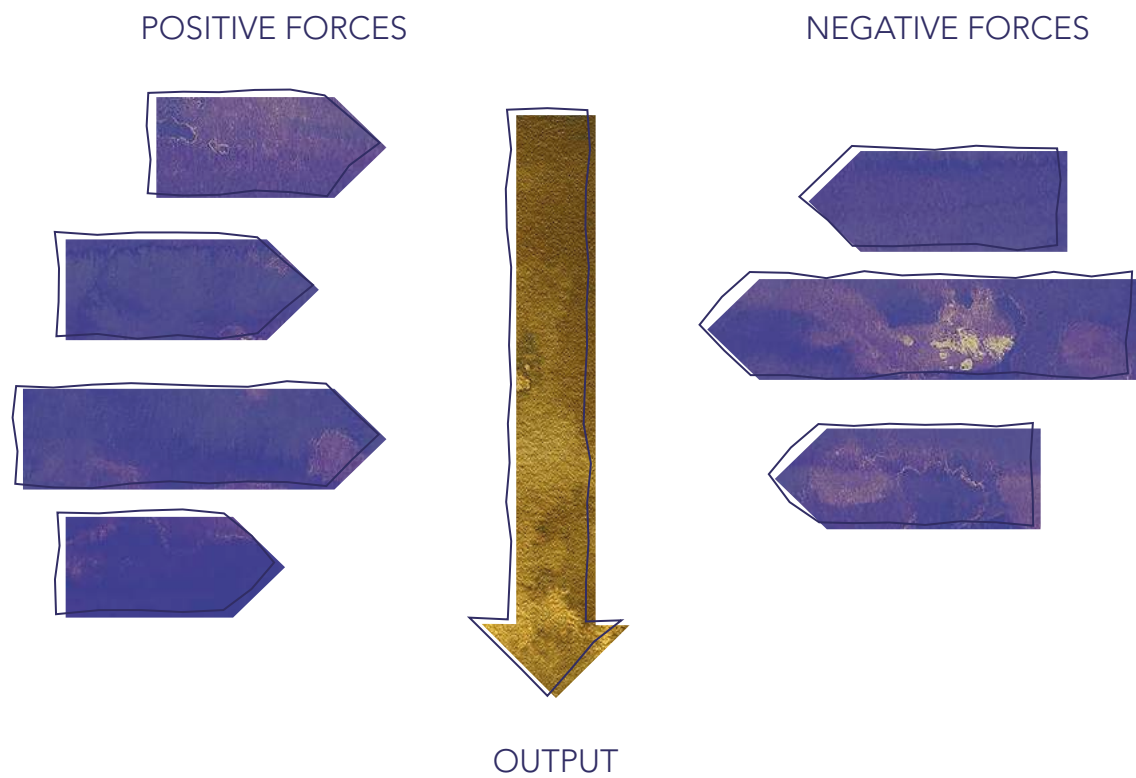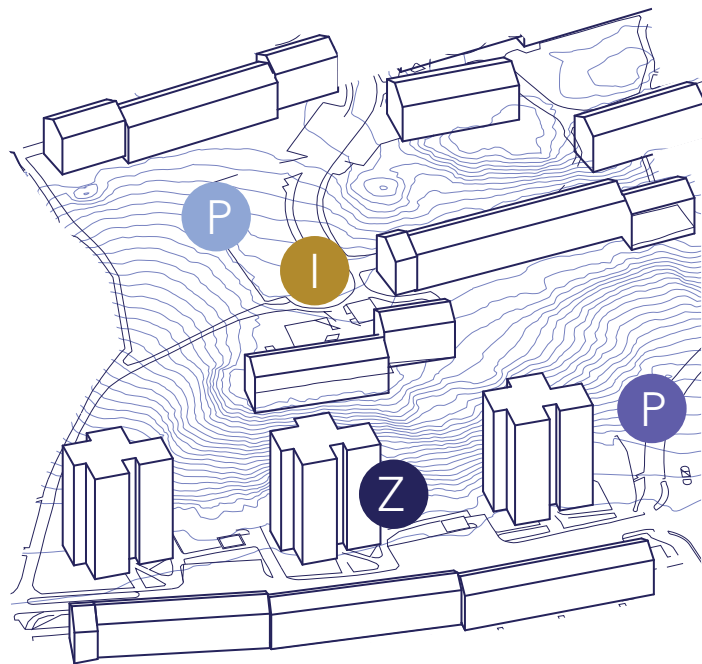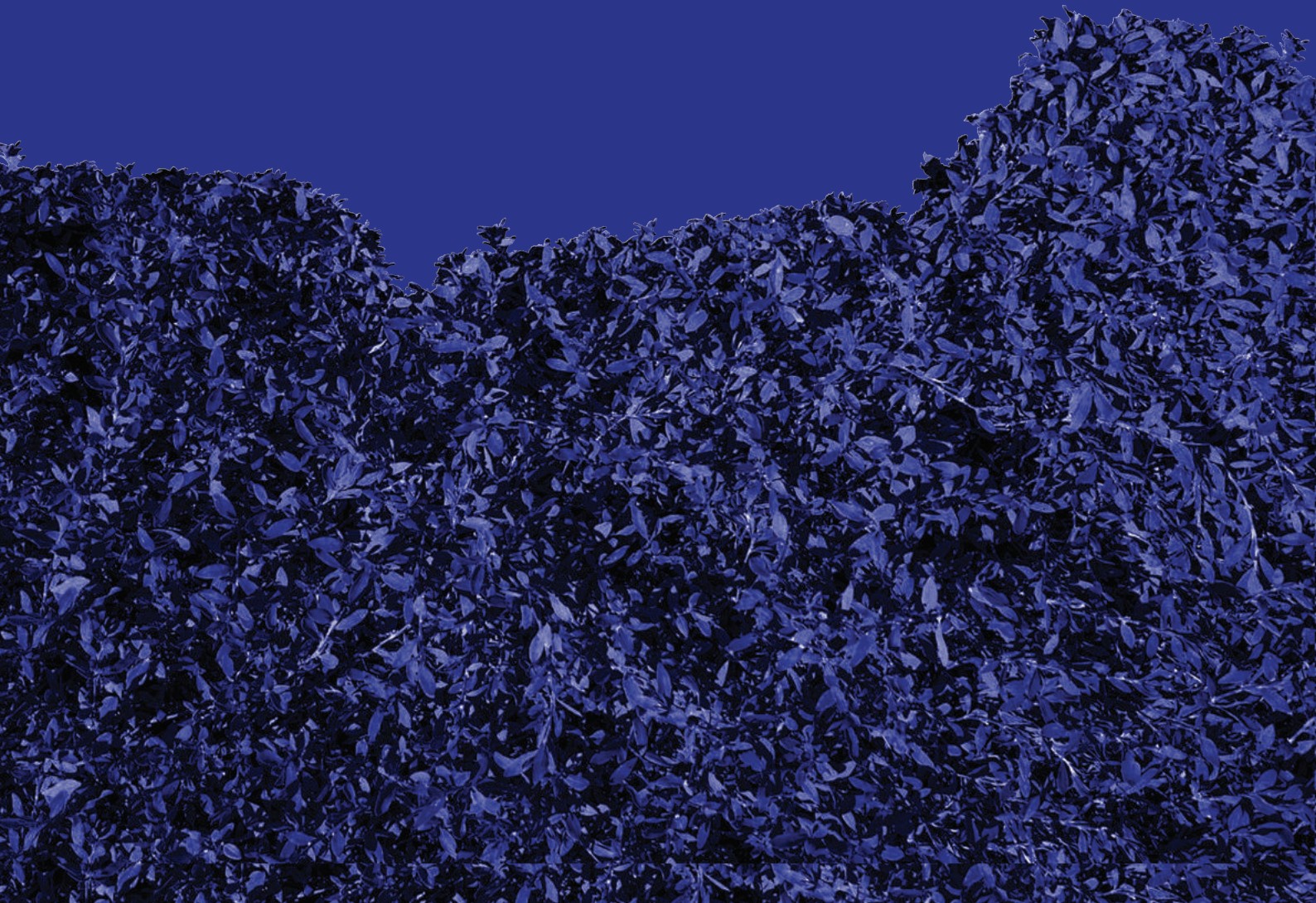
OUTPUT

FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

- Used to establish relation between key concepts and design strategies
- Graphic representation of positive and negative forces affecting the key concepts
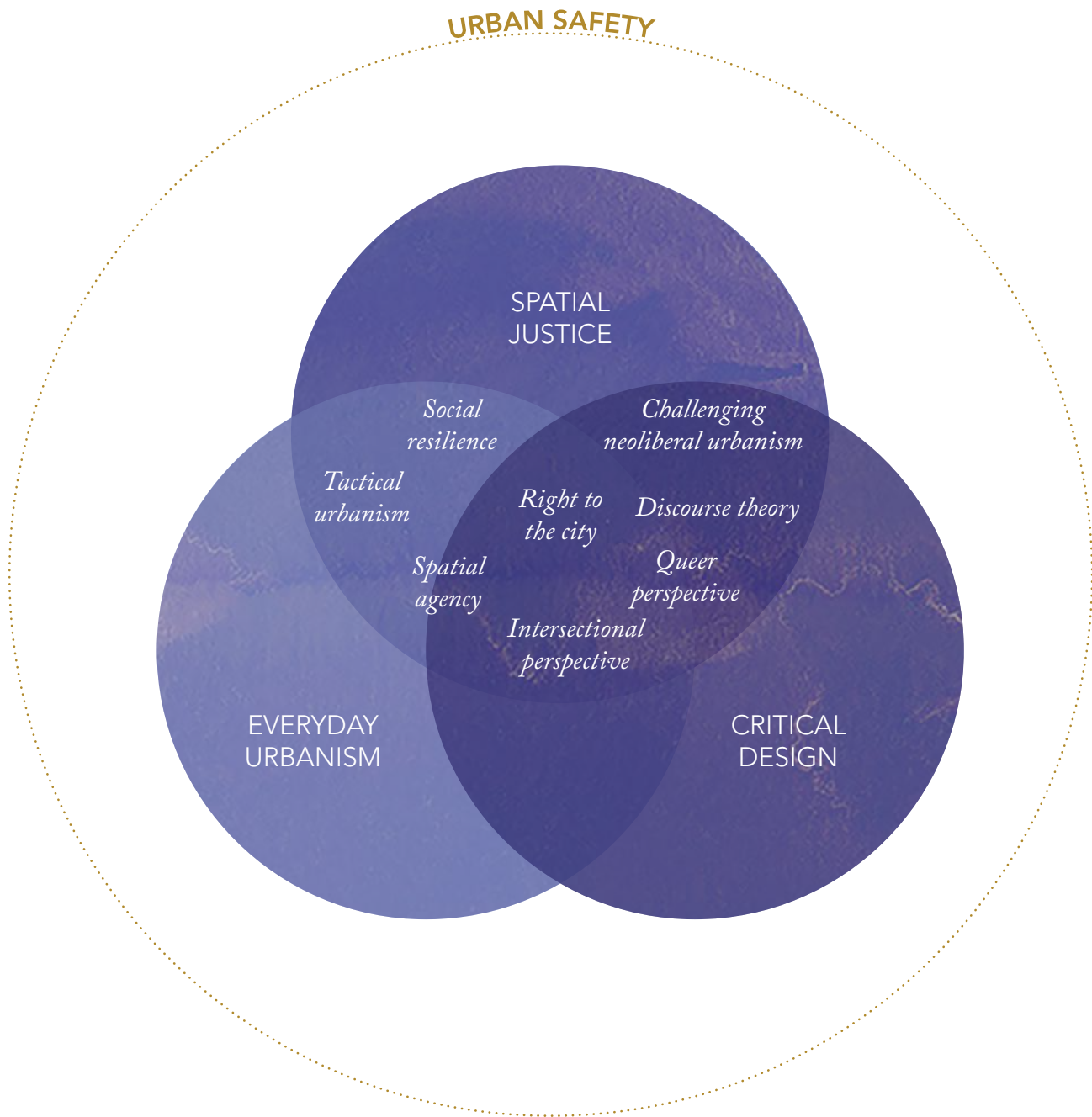- Based on literature studies and iterative sketching

ZIP ANALYSIS

- Used in SOD (System-Oriented Design)
- Used as a tool to evaluate mapping and sketches and inform further research
- Z (Zoom-in) points: Marking points where knowledge is lacking and further research is needed
- I (Intervention/innovation/idea) points: Points where changes can be made to tweak the system in order to change the output in a desirable way
- P (Potential/problem/pain) point: An identified problem or potential that you not yet know what to do about

THEORY

DISCOURSE

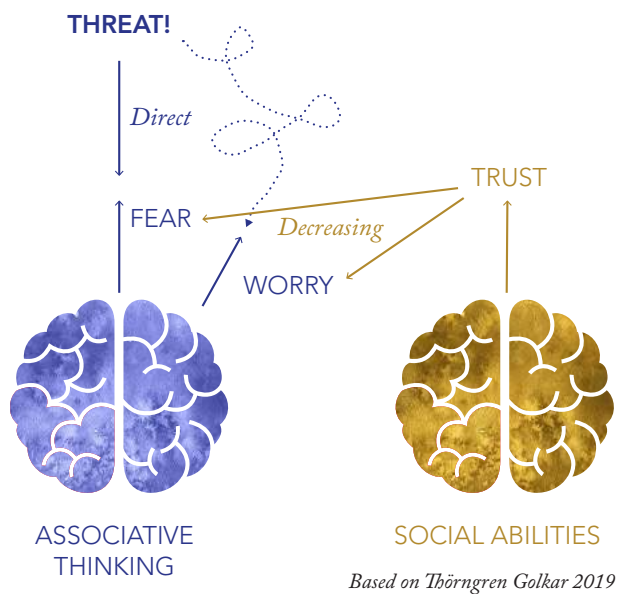URBAN SAFETY

SPATIAL
JUSTICE

*Social
resilience*

*Challenging
neoliberal urbanism*

*Tactical
urbanism*

*Right to
the city*

Discourse theory

*Spatial
agency*

*Queer
perspective*

*Intersectional
perspective*

EVERYDAY
URBANISM

CRITICAL
DESIGN

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

ASSOCIATIVE
THINKING

SOCIAL ABILITIES

Based on Thörngren Golkar 2019

MANAGING THREATS

The ability to react to threats is a basic survival mechanism among animals, and when faced direct threats, humans react just like other animals, with fear. But due to our characteristic cognitive abilities, humans identify not only to direct threats but also indirect threats. By using our associative thinking we understand risk from previous experiences and other knowledge even though we are not faced with a direct threat. The human response to indirect threat can be understood as worry (Törngren Golkar 2019).

For instance, walking home in through a pedestrian tunnel at night make people worried about assault. This is not usually a result of a direct threat, like meeting someone who tries to attack, but a product of how we read the situation through our associations (ibid). Our associations can be based on previous experiences but also by the general discourse.

In order for us to be able to live in a society without constantly seeing others as potential threats, humans have very developed social abilities. Our social skills help us to build trust, which is crucial to our experience of safety in society (ibid). Trust also helps the functionality of society, increasing efficiency and collaboration (Rothstein 2013).

Trust is working on both the individual level among people and on a societal level through trust in authorities. The trust in authorities increased while individual trust decreased during the urbanization following industrialization, due to that urban inhabitants were depending on a larger number of people (Botsman 2016). Governmental trust also enhances individual trust (Rothstein 2013), which is seen as one of the reasons for a generally high trust between people in the Scandinavian countries (Höjer 2014).

The level of trust in Sweden has historically been high, but today the trend is decreasing trust. The local variation is big, where local communities with large inequalities generally have the lowest trust (ibid).

THE SAFETY PARADOX

trygghet

trygg`het subst. *~en*
• det att vara trygg

Throughout the thesis, safety will be defined through the Swedish concept *trygghet,* including not only being safe and secure but also the experience of the same.

Although the holistic concept *trygghet* highlights the importance of experience in relation to working with safety, it also limits the possibility to separate experienced risk and actual risk. It is sometimes useful to talk about it separately due to what is called *the safety paradox* (Abrahamsson, Lanzelius & Thodelius 2017).

The safety paradox can be described as a discrepancy between an experience of threat and an actual threat to a person's safety. Older women, for instance, are the ones most afraid of assault in public space, when in fact the risk for them to be a victim of such crime is lower than, for instance, for young men.

The paradoxical character of the issue is also shown in how certain measures to improve security or safety, such as installing CCTV in a space, can actually have a negative impact on the perceived safety (ibid).

HISTORICAL INTEPRETATIONS

When discussing urban safety today, protection against crimes such as assault and property damage are among the most common implications of the word. The aspect of perceived safety from these threats are also commonly included.

The discourse around safety and what is defined as a threat to safety is changing over time, influenced by politicians with different political agendas. Other influences come from marketing, perspectives in media and the general zeitgeist.

During the 70's, the focus of the political discussion was work related safety. But the focus has shifted and safety is much more connected to fear of crime in today's political discourse. Another change over time has been the shift from describing the state, politicians, the market and other powerful actors as the cause of *otrygghet* (lack of safety), to identifying groups on a low level in the social hierarchy as the cause, such as *"criminals, beggars and gangs of youth"* (Sahlin-Lilja 2018).

Since the public discussion today is very focused on safety in relation to risk of crime, we might oversee other factors that has an impact on how safe our living conditions are, such as environmental threats, economic safety, security of tenure and risk of social exclusion.

SAFETY & HOUSING POLITICS

Historically *allmännyttan* (the municipality owned housing companies in Sweden) has been an important actor within safety work in its' local communities. Allmännyttan has been constructing a large part of the housing stock in many peri-urban areas and are still managing a major share, and is therefore a main stakeholder in development processes in these areas.

During first decades of the 20th century there was a number of governmental initiatives to improve housing availability and standard for low income households. This can be seen as a starting point

of the idea of the state as an actor on the housing market with social responsibility. This resulted in the starting of municipal owned housing companies all over Sweden. From being a matter for private philanthropy, the right to housing started to be seen as a right that the state was responsible to provide for its inhabitants (Hedman 2008).

Ingrid Sahlin (2010) defines three tasks that *allmännyttan* has been assigned, that has been given different emphasis over time.

- *The economic responsibility* – managing the companies an efficient and profitable way
- *The social responsibility* – providing housing to everyone, especially those who does not have resources to get into the private housing market.
- *The moral responsibility* – make the tenants behave properly, through rules and sanctions and moral education and transmitting "right values"

Different aspects of safety related to housing are associated with each of them, and in periods where different tasks has been emphasized, different aspects of safety has been prioritized. While economic and moral responsibility influence some aspects of safety, such as absence of crime and disturbance in the area, the social responsibility provides another type of safety, to have a home and security of tenure (ibid).

The ideological, political and legal development has put more emphasis on the former type of safety while the importance of latter has decreased in the mission of allmännyttan. The 2011 legislation *Lagen om affärsmässighet i allmännyttan* formalizes the hierarchy where economic responsibility needs to be prioritized and limits the capacity to prioritize social responsibility over profit (Lind & Lundström 2011). Instead *social responsibility* has been redefined to only include some aspects, such as order, comfort and sense of community (Sahlin 2010).

Banner from a demonstration against privatization of rental apartments on Marconigatan, Frölunda in June 2018. The text says "We want a city where everyone can live"

URBAN RENEWAL & SPATIAL JUSTICE

The city of Gothenburg is growing rapidly, and large "new" areas are built to facilitate this desired development, such as Gamlestaden or Frihamnen. However, these areas where not empty or unused before, and along with the urban renewal follows a quite brutal process of gentrification and displacement (Despotovic & Thörn 2015).

In many cities this line of conflict has occurred, where the political and economical interest collide with the interests of the inhabitants in the affected areas. This conflict was identified already in 1968 when Henri Lefebvre in his book Right to the City identified the city as an important democratic resource that should be protected from the commodification processes of the neoliberal urbanism. So when we look at the citizens organizing to resist gentrification and renovictions in cities all over the world but also in Göteborg, Stockholm, Malmö, Umeå and Uppsala (Thörn, Krusell & Videhammar 2016) we see a call for spatial justice.

Spatial justice is a concept that aims to reveal the spatial implications of social injustices. It applies to the absolute space as well as the relative and relational aspects of space (Harvey 1973). The fact that life expectancy differs 9 years depending on where you live in Gothenburg (Lundquist 2017)

indicates a segregated city and spatial inequalities. The risk of high rent increases in connection to renovations is also higher in socio economically vulnerable areas (Figure 11), and since the average income is lower, the displacement pressure is a severe threat to the tenants.

Renovations of the post-war housing stock and the financial model for such renovations led to conflicts between tenants and property owners over the past years. Despite extensive mobilization, the tenants have had little influence over the outcome, illustrating Sara Westins (2011) conclusion that tenants have little power in the negotiations.

Westin notes that even though the reason behind renovations is the condition of the housing stock, there can be ulterior motives. If the building is located in an extensive region a renovation can be an opportunity to attract more affluent tenants, raising the property value.

According to Baeten et al. (2016) the displacement processes taking place during renovations of the million homes program housing stock are sometimes so brutal that they can be perceived as violence. As a result, even the threat of having to move has a negative impact on the notion of safety. This threat could be more
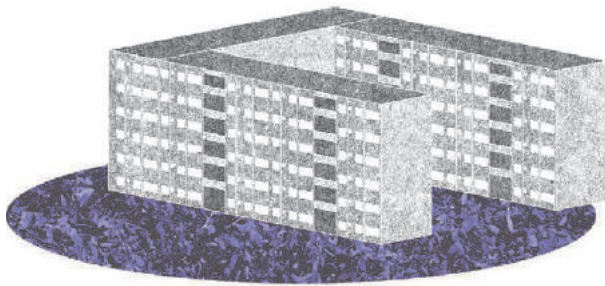
or less severe spanning from facing an actual renoviction to knowing that you live in an area in need of renovation.

Since lack of information and and a sense of powerlessness often characterizes these processes, the stress and feeling of unsafety is increased. Despite that the organized resistance by the tenants in some cases of renovations succeeds to lower the rent increases, the households least likely to be able to handle the proposed rent increase has moved out to more peripheral areas during the conflict (ibid).

While the renovictions result in direct displacement, the same gentrification mechanisms but less obvious can be seen in densification. Framtiden AB (Gothenburg municipal housing company group) claims that the aim of their plans to decrease the percentage of rental apartments in areas with low socioeconomic status, through sales and new construction is to create a social mix (Löwendal 2018). Attracting affluent groups is also profitable and aligns with the directive of economic responsibility. Meanwhile there is no incentive to attract low-income households to more wealthy areas, revealing the hierarchy between social and economic ambition within the Framtiden group.

THE URBAN FRONT

The urban front is a concept describing the relation between center and periphery in extensive urban areas. The urban front defines a border, similar to the military front where the incorporated territory is the city centre distinguished from the peri-urban areas.

In this discourse, the areas within the territory are characterized by familiarity and safety, where the peripheral areas represent otherness, the unknown and unsafe. This connects to colonial and racist discourses and the construction of the colonies (Thörn & Despotovic 2015). In the same way, there is also a romantic understanding of the "settlers", bold and adventurous heading into the unknown, giving gentrifying areas status as hip or vibrant.

Thörn and Holgersson (2016) describes how the renewal of Kvillebäcken, an industrial area in Hisingen, Gothenburg, illustrates how the gentrification can be understood through the concept of the urban front. The renewal of Kvillebäcken was legitimized through the changing of the discourse about the area, building the notion of the area as dangerous and a problem to be solved. For instance the head of the board of Gothenburg city Anneli Hulthén compared the area to the gaza strip in a speech.

Given the role of associative thinking in relation to safety (Törngren Golkar 2019), discourse has a great influence on our notion of safety. It becomes a powerful tool to legitimize interventions, such as urban renewal projects, sometimes with ulterior motives. But if we include more perspectives it is also a powerful tool to challenge the preconceptions about how we design for safety.

NORM-CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SAFETY

As in the example of Kvillebäcken, safety is used as an argument for urban renewal through constructing a discourse about the potential development area as unsafe and problematic. Despite this, the result of the interventions often result in decreasing safety for disenfranchised groups. This shows that safety is a more complex issue than the discourse around it reveals. What has been included in the discourse has been shifting over time depending on political or economical incentives, and is connected to the privilege of defining the problem (Sahlin 2010).

For instance spaces and contexts that are perceived as safe by veiled women, differ to a large extent from the general experience by non-veiled women. Since the conventional practices are based on the norm of not wearing a veil, the experience of safety from the perspective of wearing veil is excluded from the discourse, resulting in discrimination even in design and planning approaches claiming to be feminist (Listerborn 2015).

Hostile design, preventing homeless people from sitting and sleeping on benches or sheltered places is an contested intervention for safety, one of the most vulnerable groups in society is excluded to create the neat and comfortable atmosphere associated with safety for the more privileged.

Another example is the removal of bushes and trees and the lighting of parks during the 80's to improve safety. These interventions destroyed the opportunities for cruising. For the homosexual men the dark corners of the parks functioned as a safe space, since open displays of affection could make them victims for harassment and violence.

Sahlin (2010) questions why our safety interventions often strive for the "neat, picturesque and smalltown-like". This ideal is not only a relic from the past but also derives from small homogenous communities with strong social control, not necessarily experienced as safe by people outside the norm. The same way the dark cruising spots became a safe space, the urban anonymity can be a refuge to feel safe in.

These examples show how safety for different groups are sometimes conflicting, where the more privileged groups' needs tend to form the discourse. This is why a norm critical perspective on safety is needed for a more equitable approach to designing for safety.

ECONOMIC ACCESSABILITY

HOUSING

Since displacement and displacement pressure is a major aspect of safety that is overseen during this paradigm about safety, reintroducing financial accessibility as a criteria when designing for safety is a step towards a more equitable design approach.

The swedish rent regulation model bruksvärdesprincipen, regulates the rent based on on the standard of the apartment. Maintenance is not a reason for rent increase leading the property owners to increase the standard to make the renovation profitable, resulting in rent increases for the tenants (Thörn, Krusell & Videhammar 2016).

With only profit-driven actors on the housing market, the distinction between cost and price is necessary to make. Sweden has the highest building costs in Europe, with large profit margins pointed out as a contributing factor (Nylander 2013).

PUBLIC SPACE

Co-financing between public and private actors is a common model for renewal urban projects. But with larger investment from private actors, the pressure on financial gain gets bigger, demanding more resource strong potential tenants/customers, hence driving a gentrification process. Through working with low-cost interventions, transformations of the urban space can take place without the demand of large profits, targeting other groups than the most affluent. Tactical urbanism is the strategy to use low-threshold, low-cost, sometimes temporary interventions to reach long term goals such as enhancing safety or interaction.

TENURE FORMS

From the building of the swedish welfare state up until the 90's, safe and secure housing for all was high up in the political agenda, with the public housing companies as the main tool for implementation. But with a more profit-oriented *allmännytta,* there is a search for new models to provide economically accessible housing.
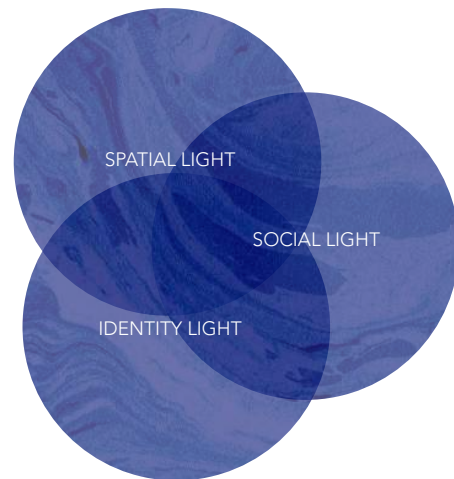
CURRENT PRACTICE

DESIGNING FOR SAFETY

Alingsås municipality developed the following criteria for urban spaces to be experienced as safe:

- Notion of a populated place
- Contact with the surrounding
- Navigation
- Overview
- Maintenance

(Alingsås 2010)

LIGHT

Light design is traditionally divided between functional lighting and effect-lighting. This implies a hierarchy where the functional light is prioritized over the effect-light. Instead light designers Clara Fraenkel and Deike Ladwig use three other terms to describe lighting:

- *Spatial light*– helps defining spatial hierarchy, rhythm and direction. Enables navigation.
- Social light– supports social interaction, meeting and activity. Focus on light in human scale, visibility of facial expression etc.
- Identity creating light– Enhancing the identity of a place or building a new one. Creates opportunity for sense of community and belonging.

(Fraenkel & Deike 2013)
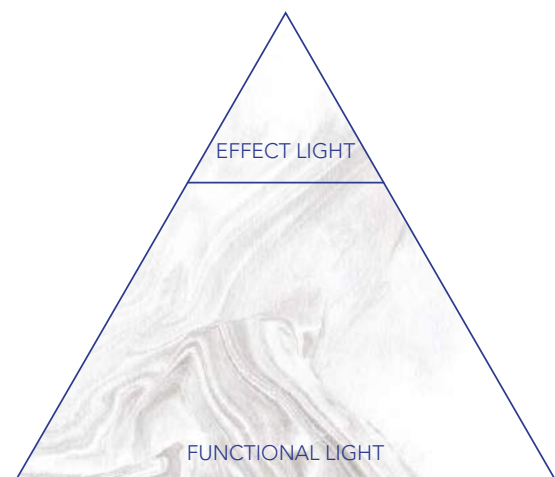
SAFETY IN THE NEOLIBERAL ERA

Inclusive and equitable housing politics was one of the cornerstones in the political rhetorics and agenda of "folkhemsbygget", the social democratic political project from the 1930's up until around the 1970's (Hedman 2008). The housing situation in Sweden during the post-war years was heavily influenced by the political direction (ibid), and the same applies to the present situation.

Since the 1990's, Sweden has taken steps towards becoming what today can be seen as having one of the most neoliberal housing politics in Europe (Christophers 2013). The gentrification and displacement processes are not "natural" effects of urban renewal but related to political and economical conditions (Thörn, Krusell & Videhammar 2016).

With housing as a commodity on a global market, homes in peri-urban areas of expansive cities becomes subject of speculation. Safety is also commodified, where exclusive housing areas are marketed as safe, contributing to the idea that safety needs to be bought (Labourey 2015).

Since women as a group dispose more and more money, women as potential customers become more attractive. Safety and "feminist design" becomes as sales pitch for real estate (Listerborn 2015). Although this means that some women's wishes and needs are being met by the housing market it can hardly be seen as a gain for equality. Still the cities' development caters to the needs of attractive customer and tenants, increasing spatial injustices.

The neoliberal governance is characterized by public/private partnerships. A concentration in property ownerships in combination with a shift in power in benefit of the private sector becomes a democratic problem (Landzelius 2012).

Partnerships lacking the transparency and accountability of public institutions gain influence over safety measures in the cities. Generally, the partnerships lack sufficient representation of tenants, leading the property and business owners' demands for safety to be prioritized over the tenants' (Sahlin 2010).

Business improvement districts (BIDs) and private land owning conflicts with the idea of the citizen's right to the city. This conflict was made visible during the Occupy-movement in London 2011, where the privatized urban spaces did not allow public protest (Labourey 2015).

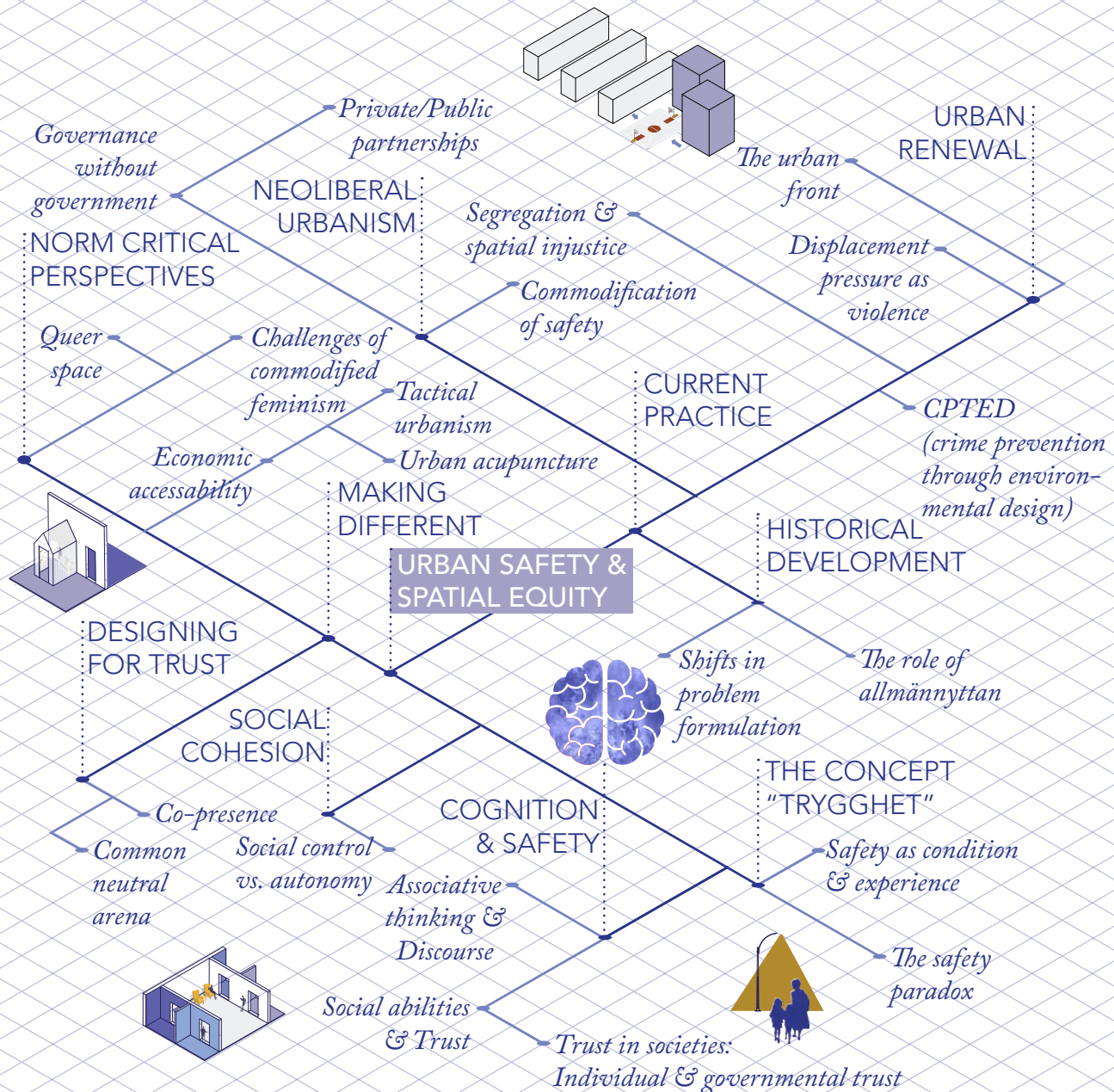## CPTED (CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN)

2nd GENERATION
CPTED

Geographical
juxtaposition

Territorial
reinforcement

Threshold
capacity

Legitimate
activity
support

Natural
surveillence

Social
Cohesion

1st GENERATION
CPTED

Maintenance

Natural
access
control

Target
hardening

Community
connectivity

Community
culture
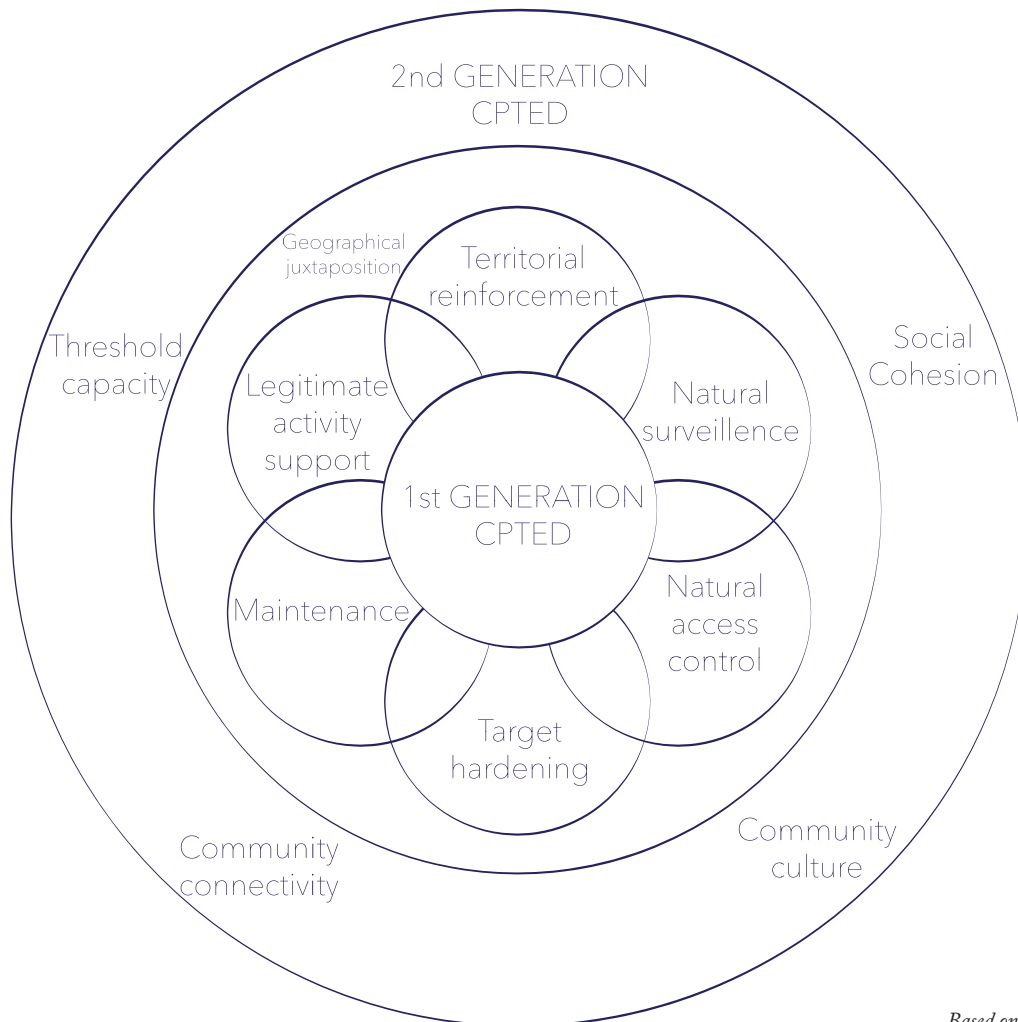
Based on Svanberg (2019)

CRIME PREVENTION

MOTIVATED PERPETRATOR

APPROPRIATE VICTIM/OBJECT

OPPORTUNITY
FOR CRIME

LACK OF CONTROL

Based on Svanberg (2019)

CRITIQUE

The first generation of crime prevention through environmental design has been criticized for focusing on excluding "problematic" individuals (Svanberg, 2019). The second generation aims to complement the first set of strategies by including a wider perspective such as the social capacity of the community. Michael Landzelius (Abrahamsson, Lanzelius, and Thodelius 2017) means that the second generation of CPTED can be problematic when implemented through private-public partnerships, lacking representation of all involved groups and the transparency and legitimacy of public institutions.

RESEARCH MAPPING

Governance without government

NEOLIBERAL URBANISM

Private/Public partnerships

URBAN RENEWAL

The urban front

Segregation & spatial injustice

NORM CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Displacement pressure as violence

Commodification of safety

Queer space

Challenges of commodified feminism

Tactical urbanism

CURRENT PRACTICE

CPTED (crime prevention through environmental design)

Economic accessability

Urban acupuncture

MAKING DIFFERENT

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

URBAN SAFETY & SPATIAL EQUITY

Shifts in problem formulation

The role of allmännyttan

DESIGNING FOR TRUST

SOCIAL COHESION

THE CONCEPT "TRYGGHET"

Co-presence

COGNITION & SAFETY

Safety as condition & experience

Common neutral arena

Social control vs. autonomy

Associative thinking & Discourse

The safety paradox

Social abilities & Trust

Trust in societies: Individual & governmental trust

PRACTICE REFERENCES

EXAGGERRATED SOCIAL CONTROL BETWEEN NEIGHBOURS

Figure 1.
Centre village social housing (Brittain 2013)
Reprinted with permission

5468796 Architecture & Cohlmeyer Architecture Limited 2010
Social Housing
Whinnipeg, Canada

The design aimed to enhance the feeling of social
control between neighbours

-        Feeling watched does not contribute
         to a sense of safety but results in a
         rather claustrophobic yard

USING EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES TO PROMOTE SOCIAL COHESION

*Figure 2.
Greenhouse Gärdsten (Bygg och Konsult AB 2017)
Reprinted with permission*

*Nordström Kelly 2000
Housing renovation
Gårdsten Gothenburg*

During a renovation, the laundry rooms was moved up to the entrance floor and combined with an added greenhouse

+   Using the built environment & everyday
        activities to build relations among
        neighbours

COMBINING PUBLIC ART WITH LIGHT

Figure 3.
Jimmys (Jönsson 2018)
CC BY-SA 4.0

Monica Gora 1995
Light installation
Malmö Sweden

Public art installation i a park, integrating urban light in the concept.

+   Holistic perspective on light involving
        both spatial, social aspects and
        the identity aspect

ARCHITECTURAL FRAMEWORK ENHANCING SOCIAL INTERACTION

Figure 4.
Selgas Cano Cognac Pavilion (Baan 2017)
Reprinted with permission

Selgas Cano 2015
Pavillion
Cognac France

An architectural framework creating a multitude of spaces,
not strictly programmed but inviting to lingering.

+   Enabling activities for people from
         different groups to be present in
         the same public space

CREATING SOCIAL SPACES TO POPULATE STREETS

Figure 5.
Power house (ISA 2014)
Reprinted with permission

ISA 2014, Power house
Housing with mixed tenure forms
Philadelphia, US

Reinterpretation of the entrance stair, a common architectural element in the area, enhancing its' qualities as a social space

+   Creating a buffer zone between the public and private domain, benefiting both spheres.
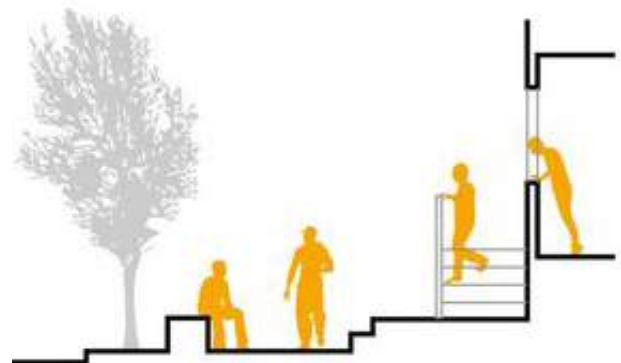
REFERENCE BREAKDOWN: POWERHOUSE

AGENTS

Inhabitants

Ownership & Governance

Patterns of everyday life

Norms/Discourse

DESIGN ELEMENTS   PARAMETERS

Boundaries & In-betweeness   Degree of definition   OUTPUT

Paths   Concentration vs filtration
Connectedness
Presence
Visibility

Homes   Security of tenure
Definition & Boundaries
Sense of ownership
Potiential of adaptation

Block   Scale
Usage
Influence
Definition & Boundaries
Openness to appropriation

Zoning   Degree of separation/overlap
Control
Capacity

Paths: Presence and visibility over the street
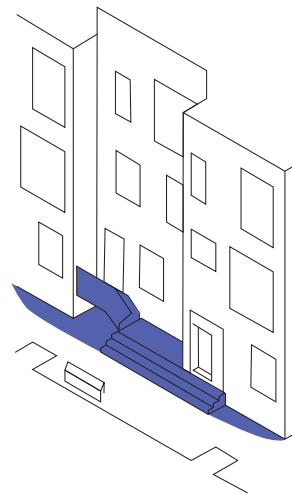
Boundaries and in-betweenness:
Buffer zone between private/public
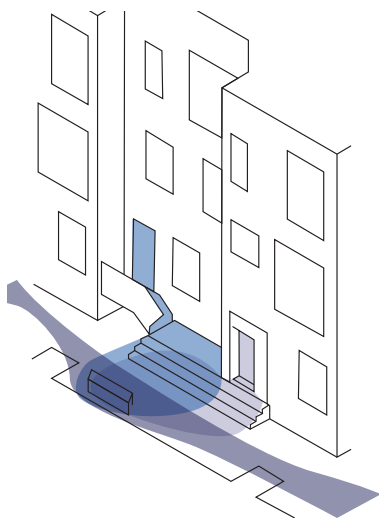
Zoning: Overlapping social spaces
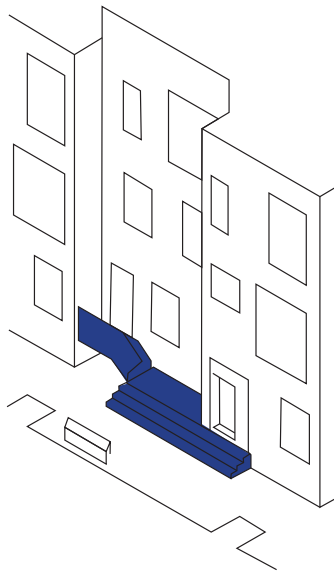
Boundaries and in-betweenness:
Building element defining borders
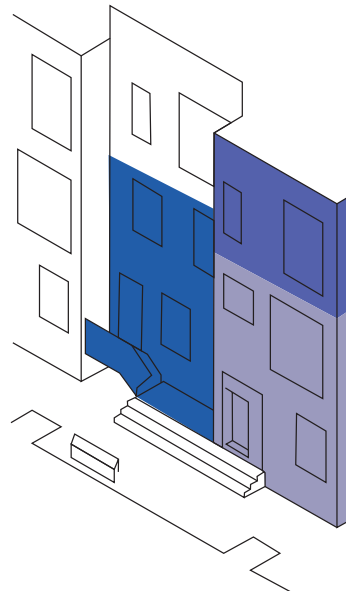
Home: Mixed tenure forms
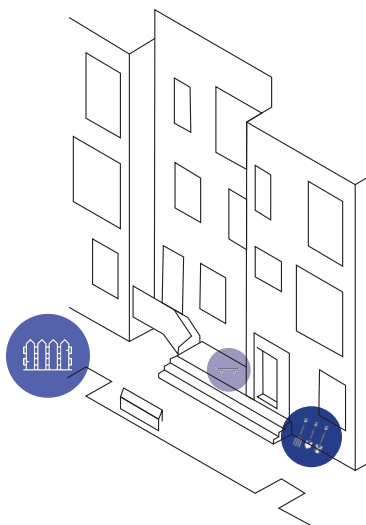
Block: Openness to appropriation

MAKING DIFFERENT

THE SAFETY OF QUEER SPACES

Figure 6.
Clubscenen: act 3(Mycket 2012)
Reprinted with permission

MYCKET 2012
Clubscenen Act 3: Sappho Island
Stockholm, Sweden

Recreating an Ugandan queer club in Kampala,
that was closed down in 2011 after government
crackdown on homosexuality.

+   Exploring the character and aesthetics of
         alternative safe spaces

INNOVATIVE TYPOLOGIES & MATERIALS FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING

Figure 7.
Social Housing (Henriques 2006)
CC BY-ND 2.0

Lacaton Vassal 2005
Social housing
Mulhouse, France

Steel frame and corrugated plastic constructions made large semi-outdoor spaces affordable in this social housing design.

+   Using light and semi-enclosed spaces to expand
         the living space in a cost-efficient way

CO-DESIGN PROCESSES

Figure 8.
Frizon (Tyréns 2015)
Reprinted with permission

Tyréns 2015
Park & Pavillion
Umeå, Sweden

Participatory project focusing on safety for young women,
resulting in a pavillion in a central park area.

+   "Urban acupuncture"analysis of the larger
         context resulting in small interventions
         catalysing change through both process
         and result

ALTERNATIVE TENURE FORMS AND ITS SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS

Figure 9.
Sofielunds kollektivhus (Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor 2014)
Reprinted with permission

Kanozi 2014
Collective housing
Malmö, Sweden

Collective housing focusing on social and common spaces.

+   Exploring the potential of different spatial
         conditions in alternative tenure forms

TACTICAL URBANISM

Figure 10.
Pallet temple (Refunc 2017)
Reprinted with permission

Refunc 2017
Pallet temple
Kairo, Egypt

Used low cost and recycled material to create a temporary intervention in the public space. An example of tactical urbanism.

+   Spatial interventions that can help us renegotiate the narrative of a place

CONTEXT

GOTHENBURG

6,5 km

Central Gothenburg
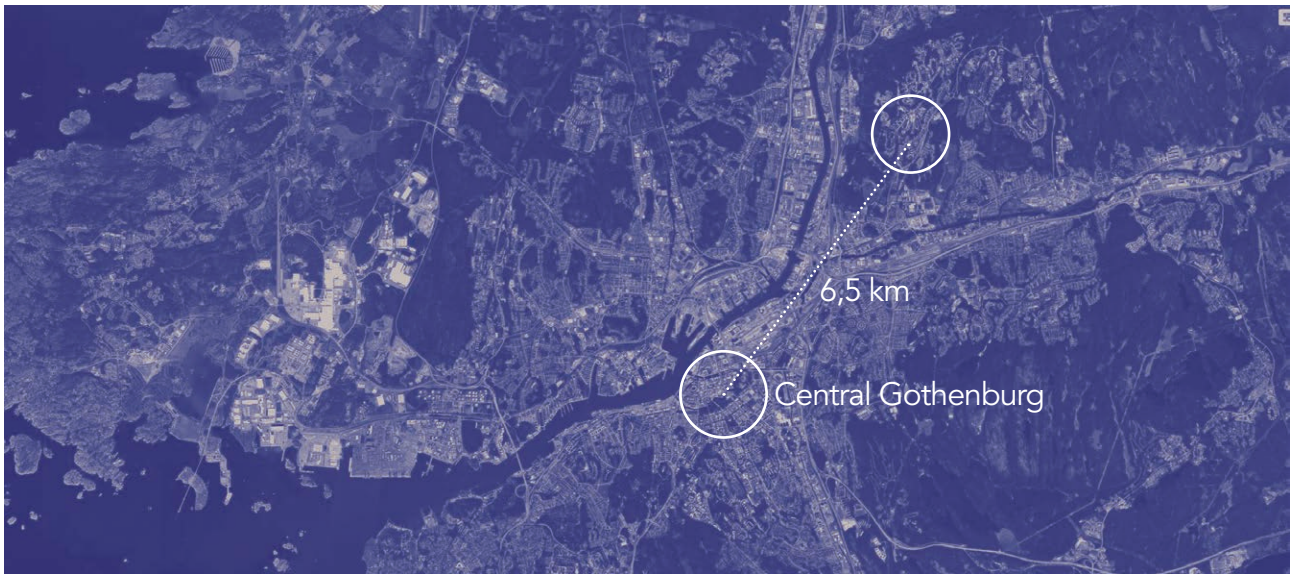
HISTORY

- Developed during the 1950's, 80% of the housing stock was built between 1951-1960

- Modernist planning ideals result in:
  Planning for cars
  Traffic separation
  Urban fabric adapted to topography & nature

TODAY

- Adjacent to Kviberg & Gamlestaden, areas experiencing drastic renewal and gentrification

- Allmännyttan owning a majority of the dwellings

- Large part of the housing stock not yet renovated

- Based on literature studies and iterative sketching

- Average yearly income 212 000 SEK, almost half compared to Långedrag, Gothenburg's most wealthy area (Lundquist 2017)

Förväntade hyreshöjningar
av renoveringar de kommande 5 åren*
EXPECTED RENT INCREASES OF RENOVATIONS THE NEXT 5 YEARS*

Expected rental increase the following 5 years due to renovation (by area average).

Figure 11.
Spårvagnskartan (Allt åt alla/Alla ska kunna bo kvar)
Reprinted with permission
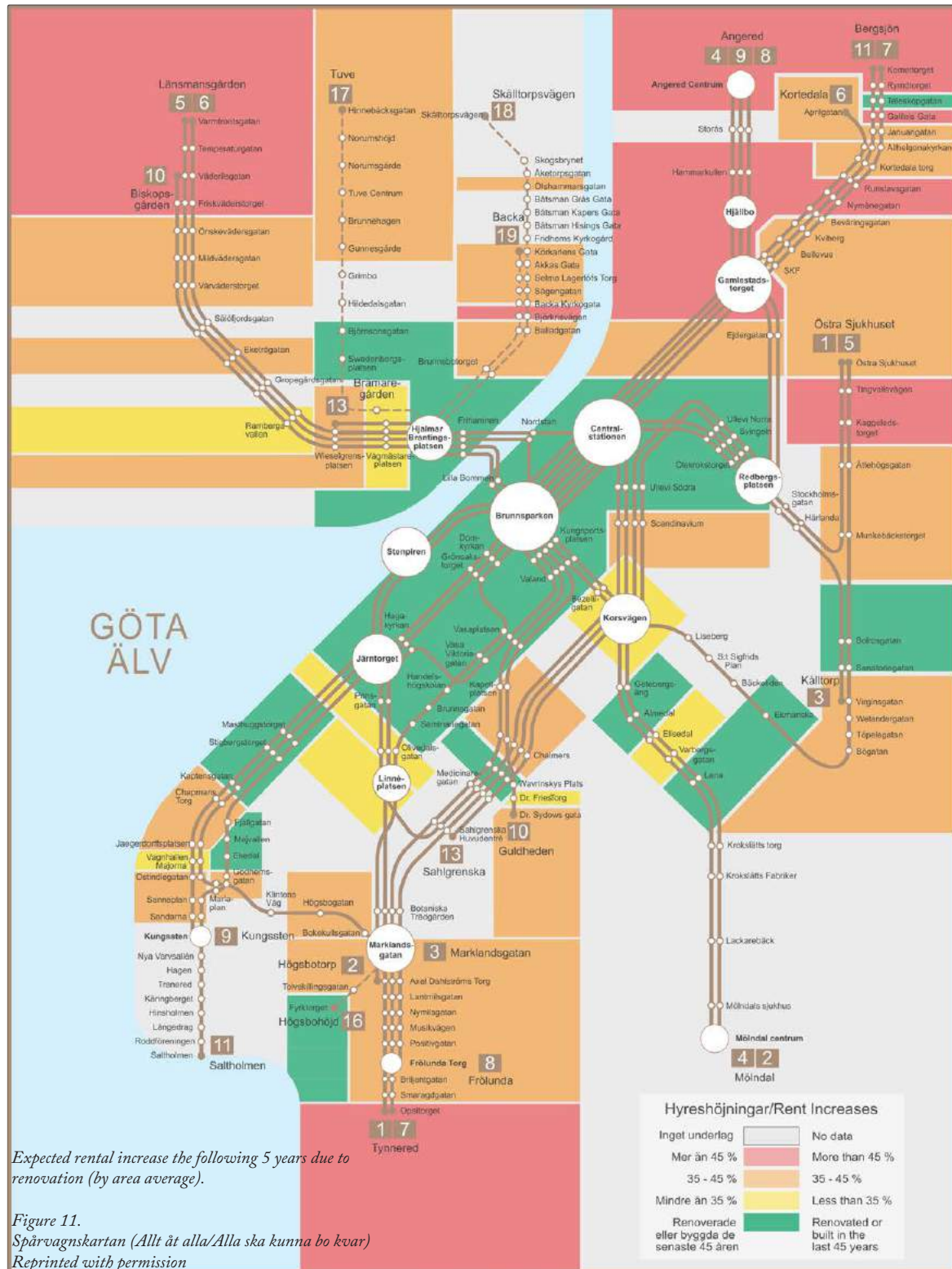
* Kartan visar ett snitt av hyreshöjningar i flerbostadshus som skulle komma att ske ifall byggnader totalrenoveras för att upprätthålla sitt värde enligt skatteverkets schablon (renovering vid 50 års byggnadsålder). Områden där de flesta flerbostadshusen har byggts eller renoverats de senaste 45 åren är gröna på kartan.

KÄLLA: www.vasttrafik.se och Mangold, M. (2016). Challenges of renovating the Gothenburg multi-family building stock: An analysis of comprehensive building-specific information, including energy performance, ownership and affordability

KORTEDALA

Lyktan (The lantern) was designed 1957 by Sven Brolid. The old kiosk has been threatened by demolishion for the past decade, but is currently being renovated. However, the future program is not decided.
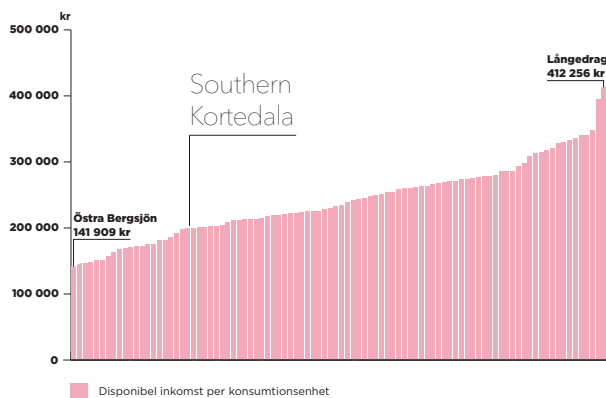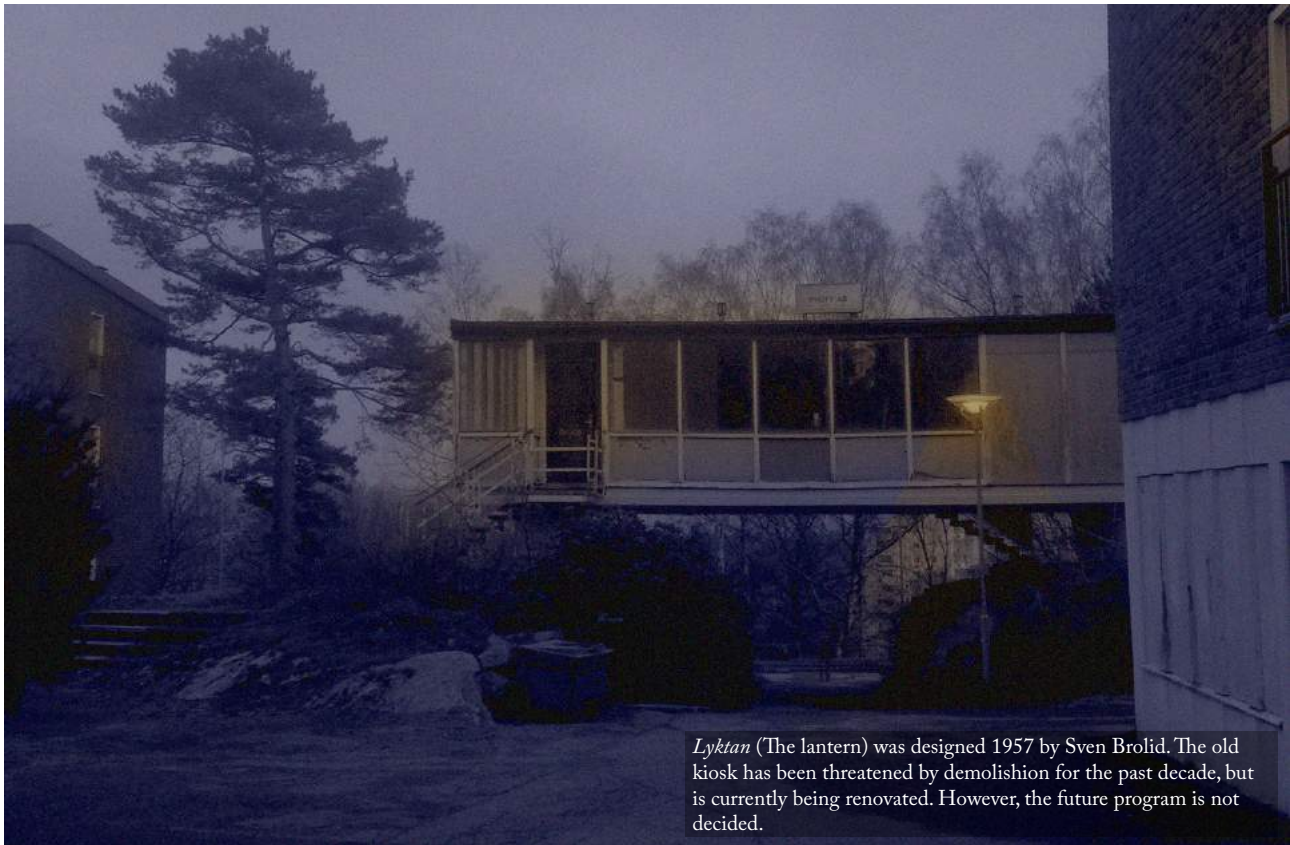
Figure 12.
Disposible income per household (Göteborgs stad 2017)

THE SITE

- Near tram stop, big flow of residents from the neighbourhood passing through
- Very empty and quiet during dark hours
- Proposed by the municipality for development (Göteborgs Stad 2017)
- Municipality suggests private housing cooperatives (owning) to "promote a social mix" (ibid)

Sports field

Kortedala Torg

Commercial Center

Schoolyard

8 min to Komettorget
(end of line)

13 min to Central Station

Runstavsgatan

Sports field

Proposed site for densification, currently parking and a football court in bad shape

Playground

50m 100m 200m

1:3000

SITE PHOTOS DAY

SITE PHOTOS NIGHT

CONTEXTUAL EXPLORATION

CHARACTARIZATION OF INBETWEENS
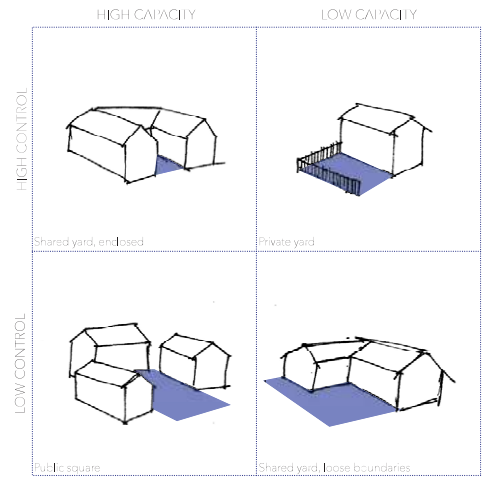
Based on Minoura (2015)

PUBLIC/PRIVATE INTERPLAY
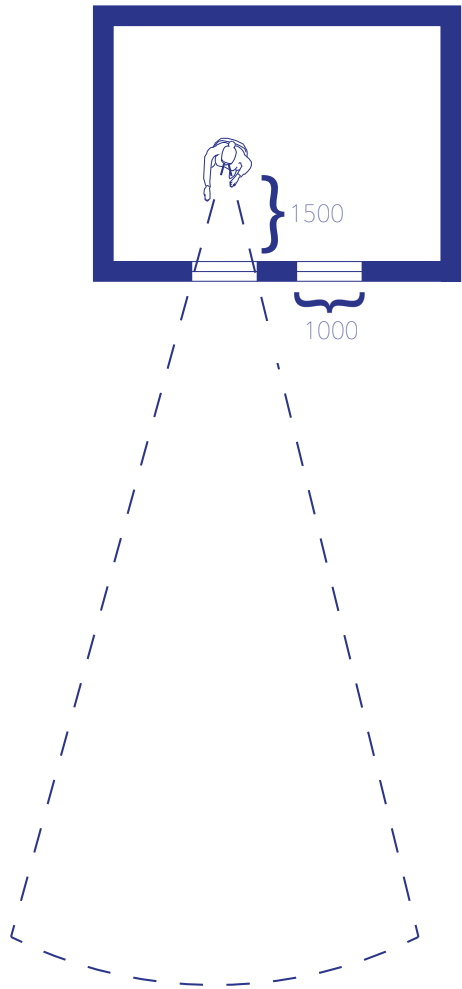
			Low control/Low capacity
			Low control/High capacity
			High control/high capacity
			High control/low capacity

Daytime

Day and nighttime

ACTORS MAP

POTENTIAL
BUYERS/TENANTS

*Dormant
stakeholder*

LOCAL
GOVERNMENT

*Dominant
stakeholder*

PROPERTY
OWNERS

*Partnerships for
safety*

*Dangerous
stakeholder*

*Definitive
stakeholder*

*Discreationary
stakeholder*

BUSINESS
OWNERS

POWER

*Dependent
stakeholder*

LOCAL
ORGANIZATIONS

INHABITANTS

LEGITIMACY

*Demanding
stakeholder*

URGENCY
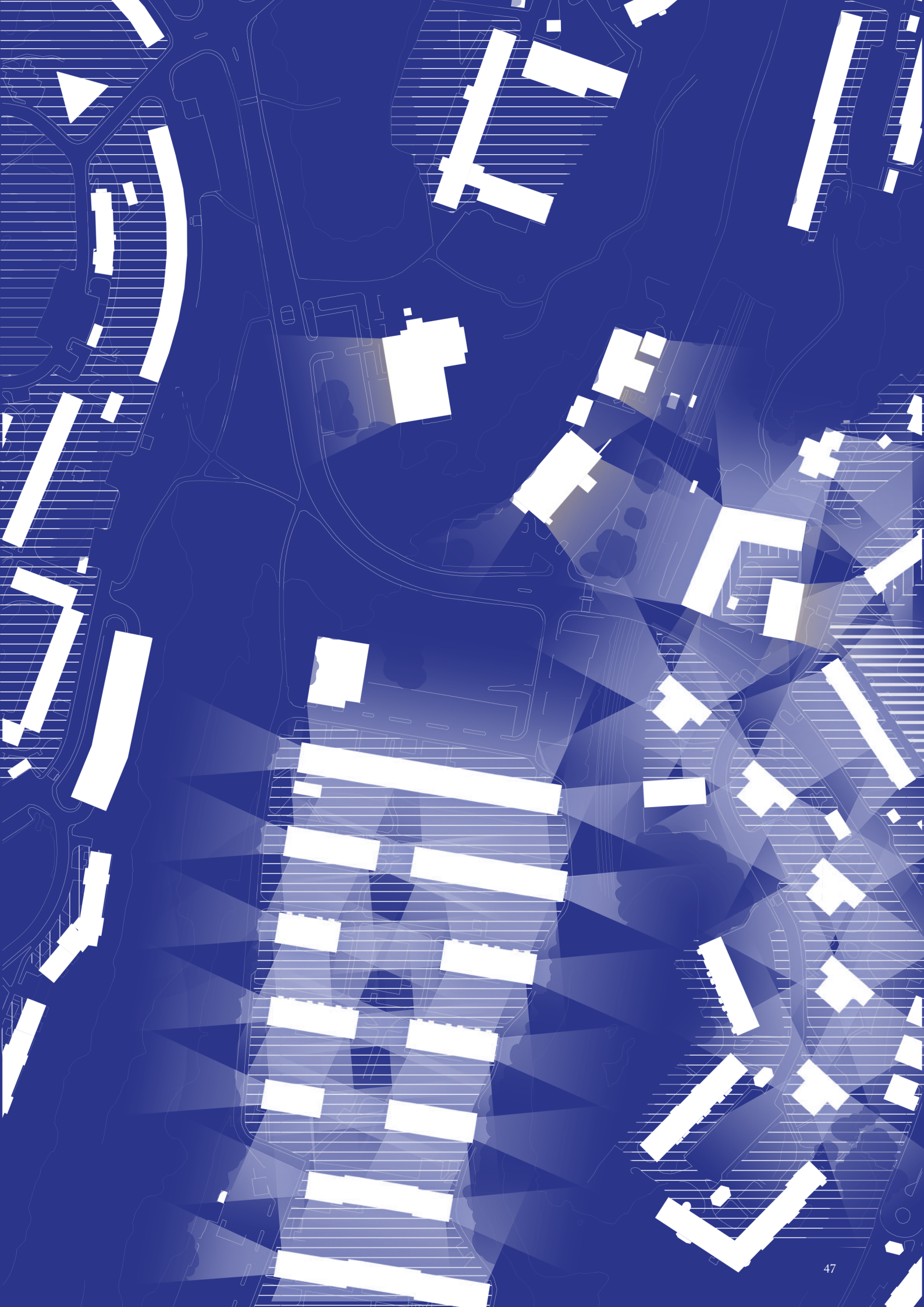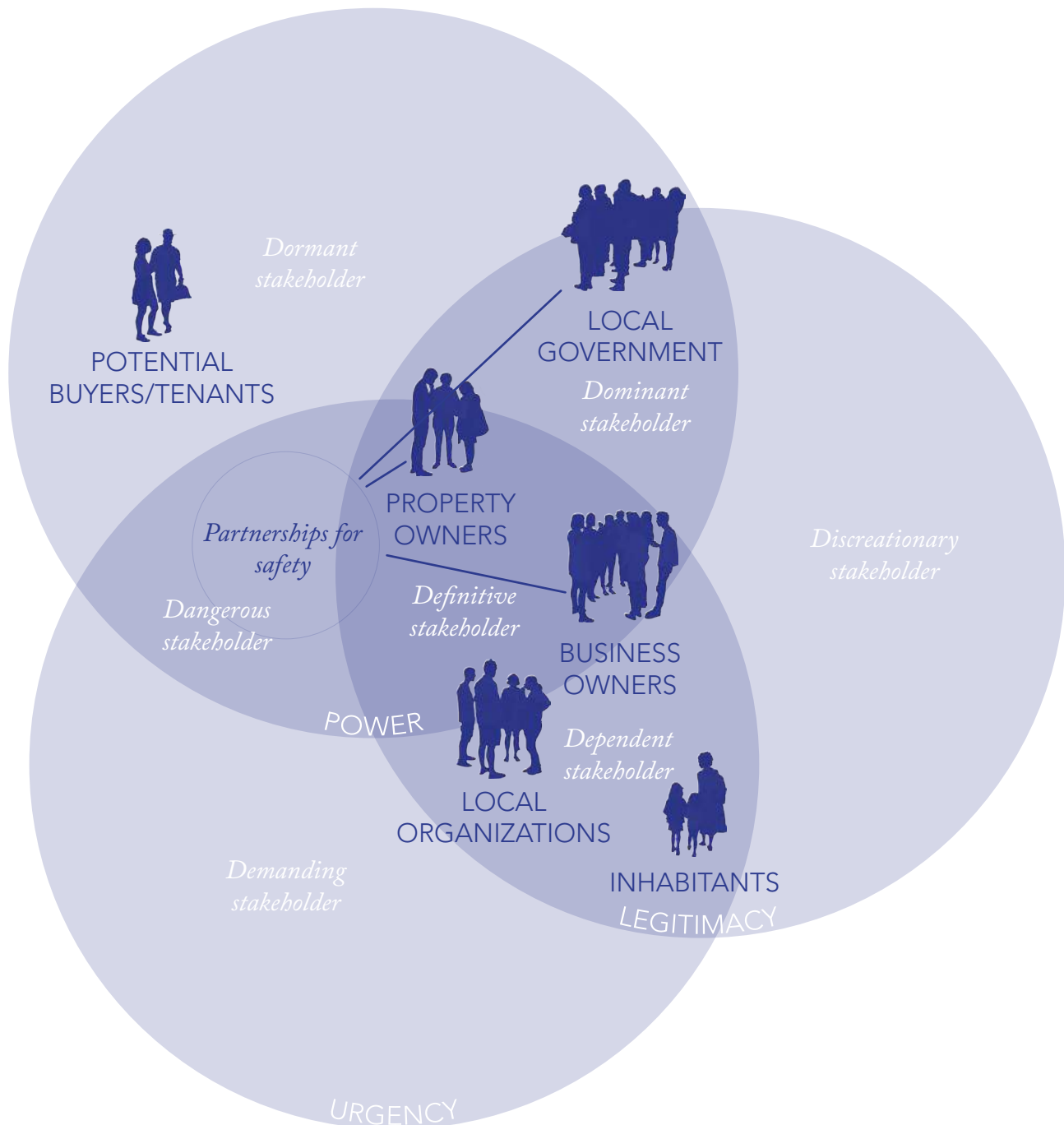
DESIGN
DEVELOPMENT

KEY CONCEPTS

KC1. INCLUSIVE PROBLEM FORMULATION

Who gets to define what is perceived as safe depends on norms and power relations. The commodification of safety and governance by public/private partnerships leads to an urban development catering to market demands rather than the needs of all citizens. When aiming for an equitable approach to safety in the urban space, an inclusive problem formulation is crucial. That includes representative decision making as well as building a pluralistic discourse around safety and enhancing the inherent conflicts.

POSITIVE FORCES

NEGATIVE FORCES

PROBLEM FORMULATION

Representation/Opportunity to influence urban renewal

Transparent decision making processes

Pluralistic perspective

Commodification of safety

Excluding & hostile design

Simplification of problem

Displacement pressure
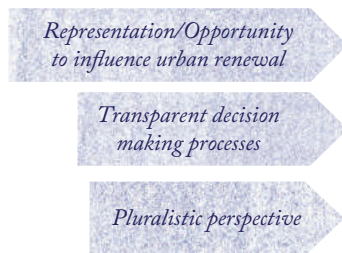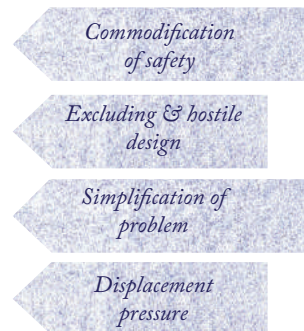
INCLUSIVE PROBLEM FORMULATION (KC1) : DESIGN STRATEGIES
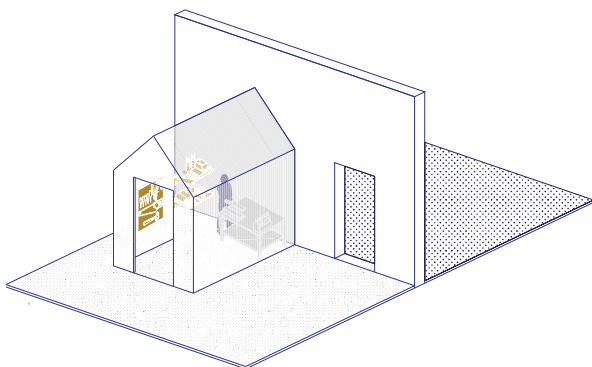
DS1.1 Economically accessible solutions to enhance quality and utility.

DS1.2 Give opportunity to choose between anonymity and familiarity.

KC2. CHARACTER OF SAFETY
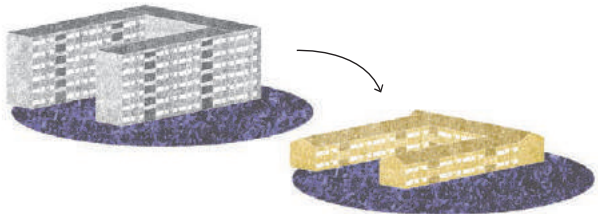
Since an inclusive problem formulation includes allowing diversity in perspectives and questions, we also need to challenge what the output of the discussion can be. Since our associative thinking plays an important role in our perception of safety, we can challenge norms and preconceptions about safety by exploring the interplay between the built environment and its' narrative. Through looking at the spatial qualities of alternative safe spaces, such as the queer room, we can explore the characteristics of safety beyond the neat and familiar villa street.

POSITIVE FORCES

NEGATIVE FORCES

CHARACTER

Safety interventions enhancing characteristics

Transformation of existing structures/spaces

Inspiration from alternative "safe spaces"

Poor detailing from aiming for low-maintenance

Narrow interpretation of aestethics promoting safety

Trying to eliminate all potential threats
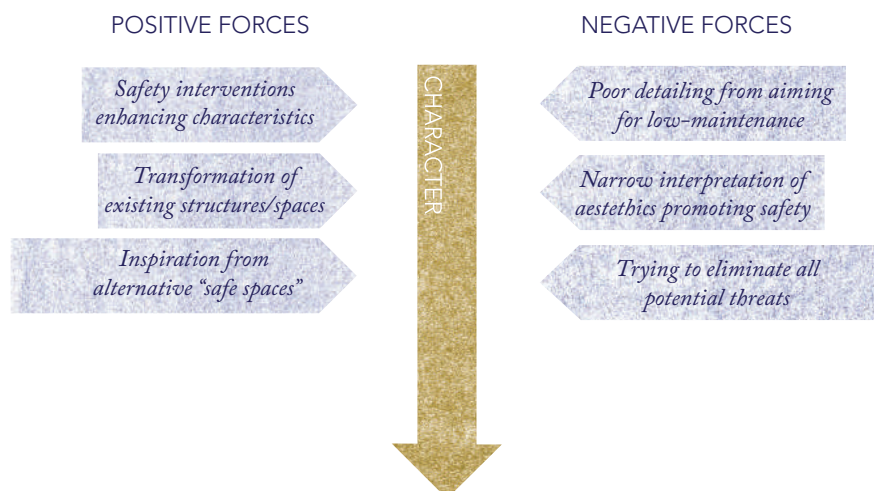
CHARACTER OF SAFETY (KC2): DESIGN STRATEGIES
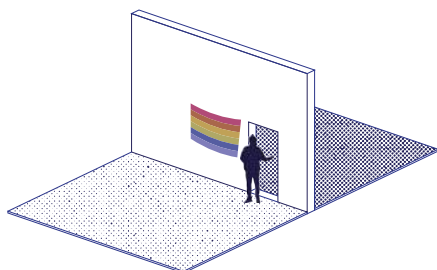
DS2.1 Get inspired by different types of safe spaces and challenge the conventional characteristics
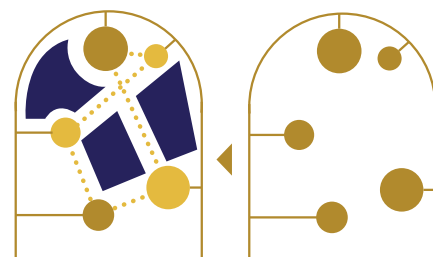
DS2.2 Create safe and continous spaces doing, being and moving around rather than removing all potenitally unsafe places.

KC3. WEAK TIES
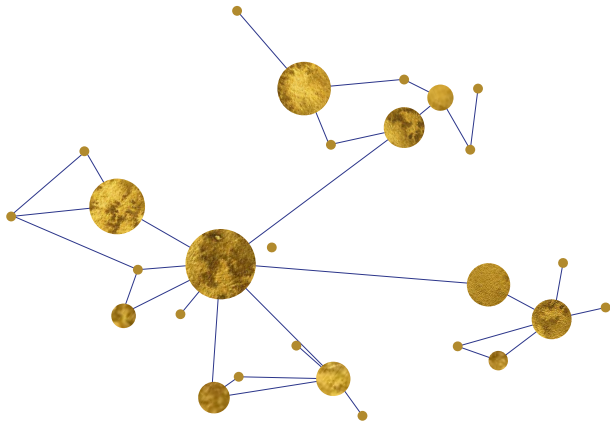
With the equitable safe city as a goal we need to break segregation and polarization. This means that we need to look, beyond the homogenous small community with strong social control, for other models for safety. In a heterogeneous and pluralist peri-urban environment, there needs to be a balance between social control and autonomy. The challenge is to build trust in an urban population where the trust in authorities is decreasing. Through promoting *co-presence* (Legeby 2013) and creating *common neutral arenas* (Olsson 1997) for people in the neighbourhood to meet, the weak ties can be enhanced, promoting social cohesion in a large and fluid urban population.

POSITIVE FORCES		NEGATIVE FORCES
Common neutral arena	WEAK TIES	Segregation
Visual traces of neighbours		Lack of meeting places
Co-presence		Isolation/ Exclusion
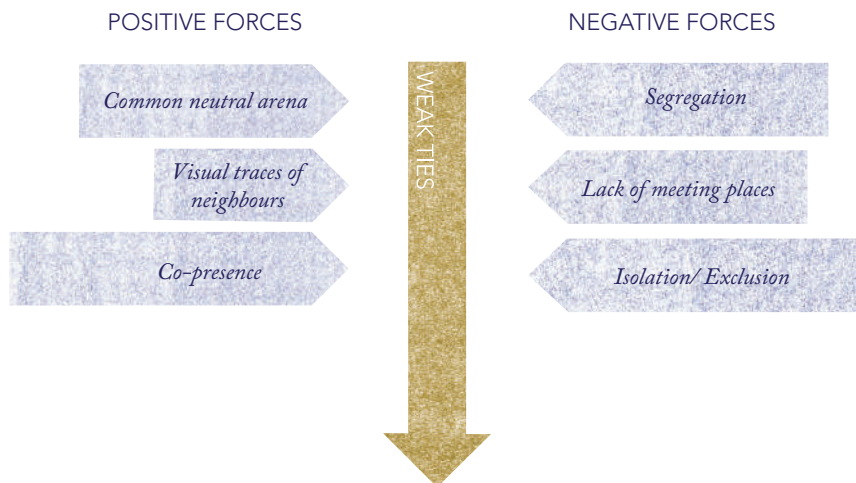
WEAK TIES (KC3): DESIGN STRATEGIES
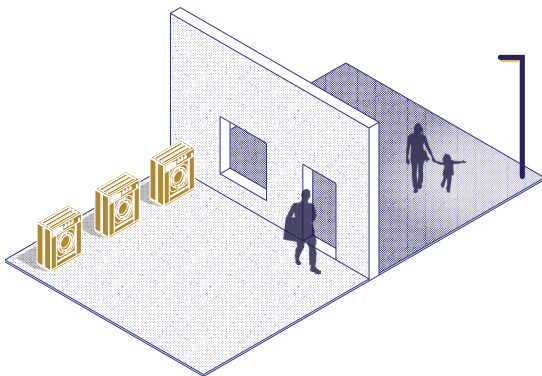
DS3.1 Create presence in public space starting from locally anchored activities.
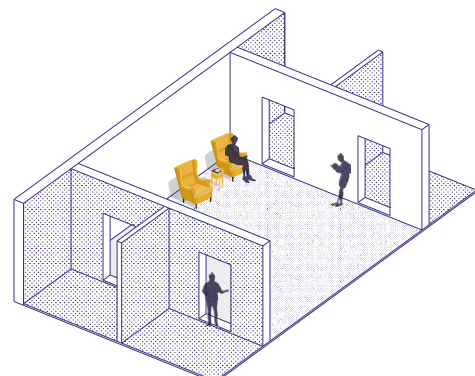
DS3.2 Create *Common Neutral Arenas*

KC4. APPROPRIATION OF SPACE
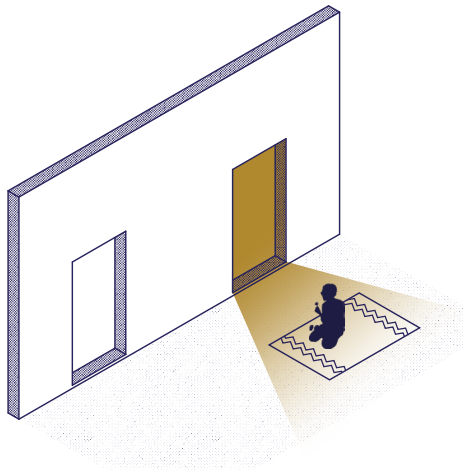
Displacement pressure and insecurity of tenure increasingly effect notion of safety in peri-urban areas. Partnerships of property and business owners in gentrifying areas tries to influence the urban environment to attract their preferred tenants and customers rather than the current inhabitants of the area. Due to this, appropriation of space and a sense of ownership becomes an increasingly important manifestation of the right to the city, also as a way of communication with neighbours, contributing to the identity of the area.

POSITIVE FORCES

Regulations allowing DIY

Raw/unrefined space

Wish/need to make alterations

Networks enabling sharing of resources

APPROPRIATION

NEGATIVE FORCES

Insecure tenure

Loss/ destruction risk

Uncertain sense of entitlement

Lack of resources
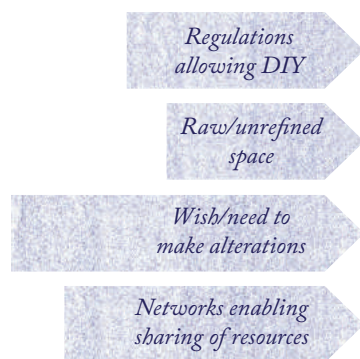
APPROPRIATION (KC4): DESIGN STRATEGIES

DS4.1 Create clearly defined and integrated spaces for individual and collective appropriation.
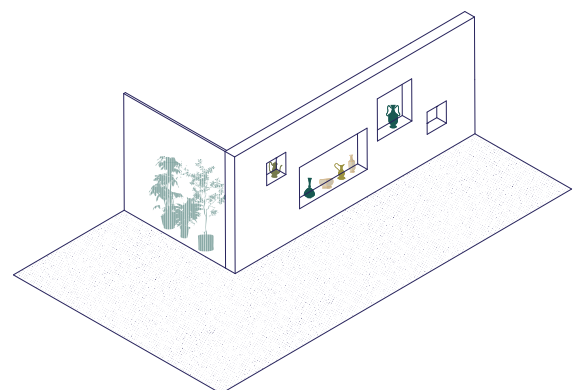
DS4.2 Use architectural features that allows and highlights DIY additions and transformation .

KC5. SOCIAL RESILIENCE
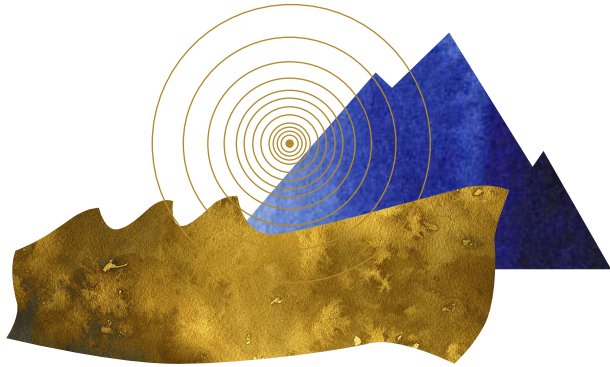
The term social resilience is used mainly in relation to communities vulnerable to natural disasters. The criteria to cope, adapt and transform can be applied also to communities threatened by gentrification and displacement. By strengthening networks and developing a common agenda, the inhabitants become empowered as active stakeholders claiming their place in the decision making and development processes.
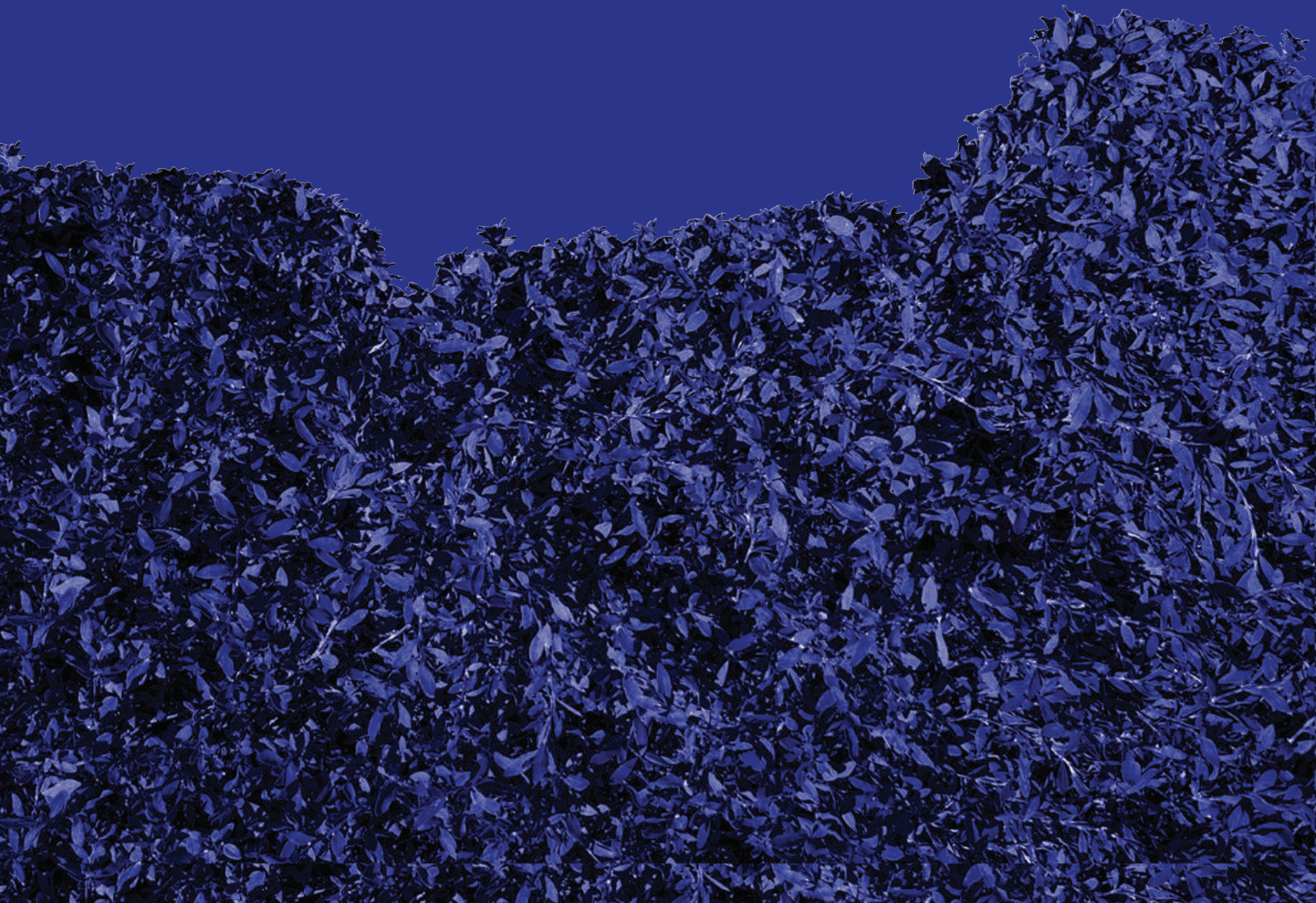
POSITIVE FORCES

Structure for knowledge sharing

Common agenda

Collective resources

SOCIAL RESILIENCE

NEGATIVE FORCES

Lack of meeting places

Desinformation

Lack of trust
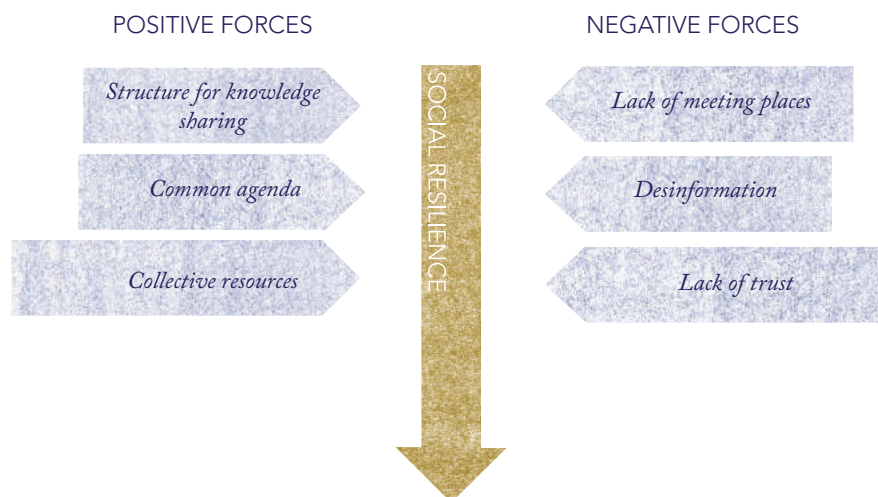
SOCIAL RESILIENCE (KC5): DESIGN STRATEGIES
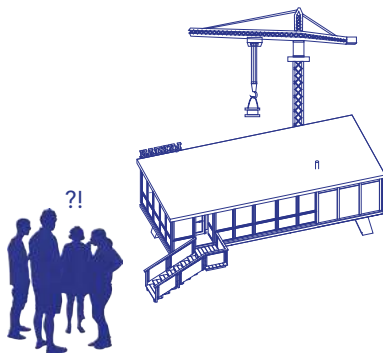
DS5.1 Use local development as a tool for local mobilization and building a comman agenda
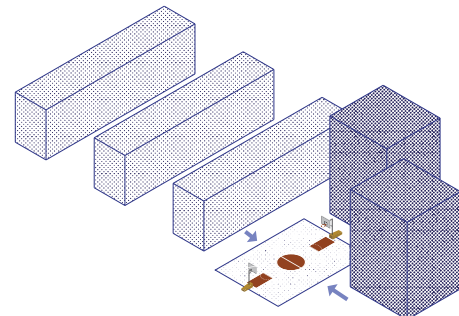
DS5.2 Facilitate both old and new inhabitants with new additions.

DESIGN
PROPOSAL

P1

P9
P3

P2

P10
Z6
I3

P4
I1

Z5
I4

Z3

Z4

P6
Z7
I2

Z2

TRAM STO

Z1

P11
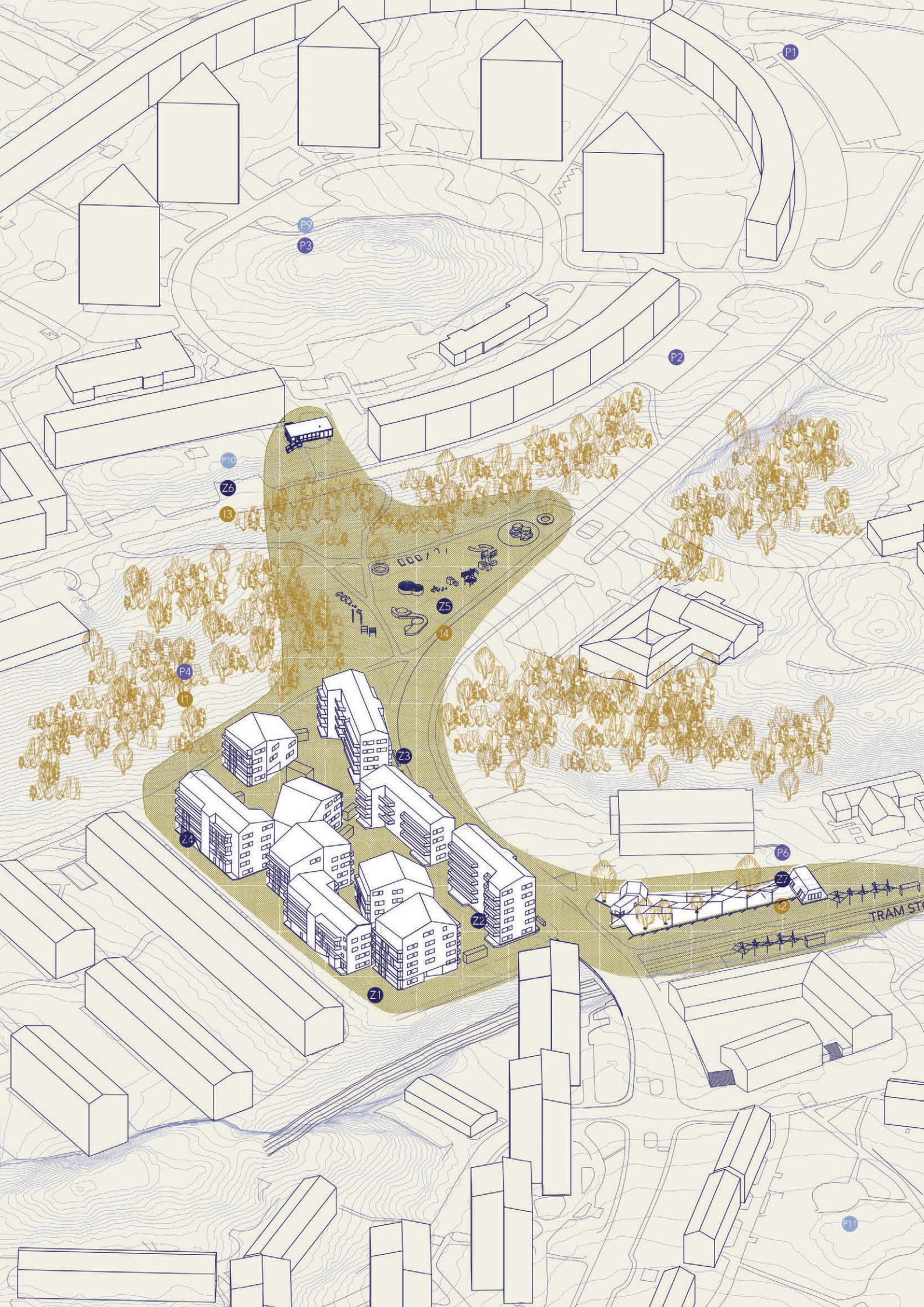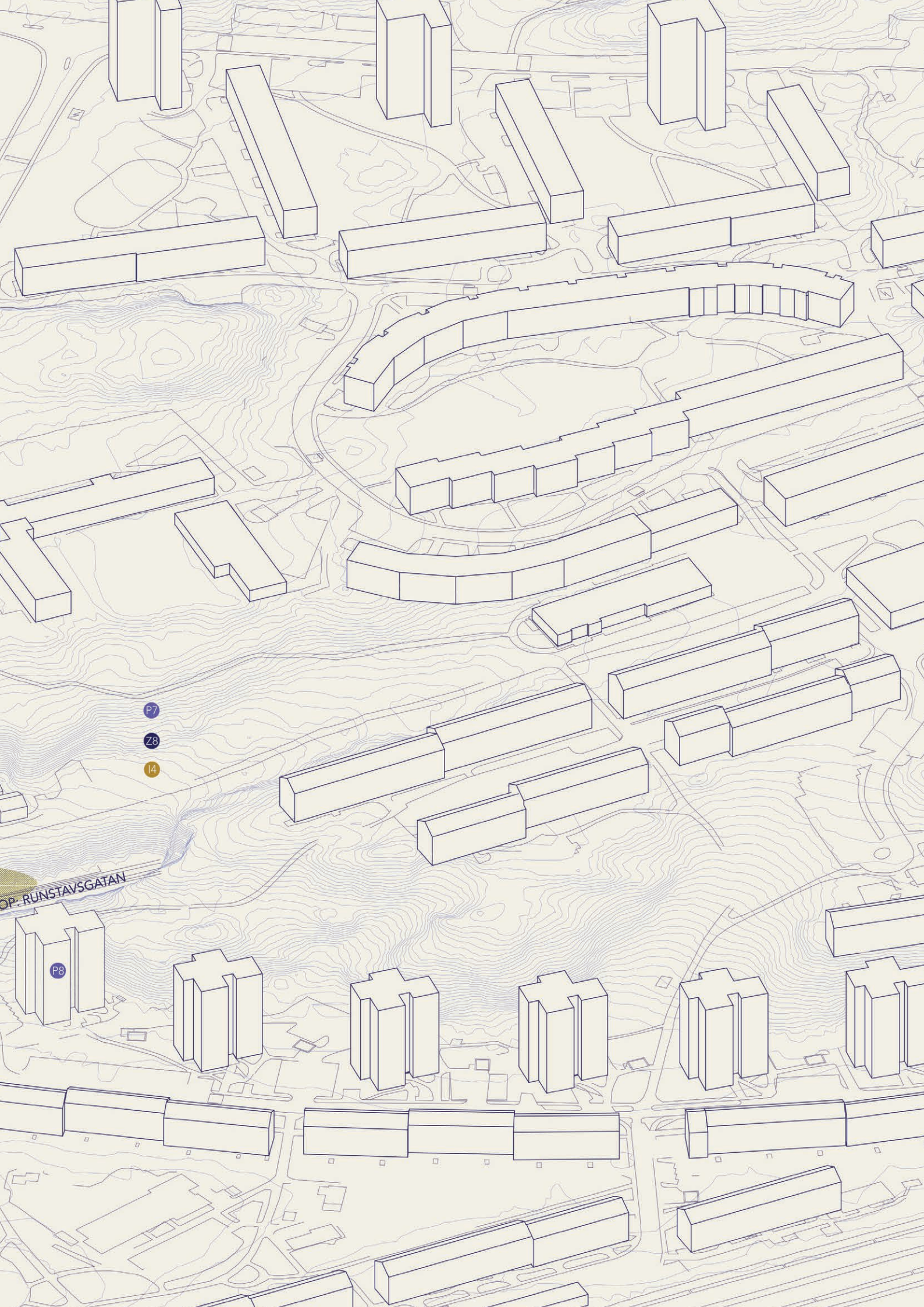
OP. RUNSTAVSGATAN

P7

Z8

I4

P8

PROBLEM/POTENTIAL

1. Urban pattern prioritizing cars resulting in vast and empty in between spaces

2. Distance between buildings and street breaking the visual connection

3. Unkept green areas are sometimes associated with unsafe experience, leading to removal of quality

4- Development claiming to promote "social mix" through changing demography generates gentrification

5. Main path for pedestrians on the outskirt of the neighbourhood

6. Tram stop identified as an unsafe place by inhabitants.

7. Traffic separation forces pedestrians to choose between long detour along car routes or isolated walking path

8. Renovation needed generally in the housing stock, risking displacement of a large part of the tenants due to rent increase

9: Characteristic presence of nature in the neighbourhood contributing to well-being as well as pride and identity

10. Ongoing renovation of Lyktan: Kiosk by Sven Brolid 1957

11. Månadsparken water playground, a popular meeting place for children and parents

ZOOM IN

1. Economic accessibility: Typology & structure

2. Social cohesion: Common neutral arena

3. Public/private: configuration and boundaries

4. Public/private: social control/autonomy

5. Tactical urbanism: strategy for inclusive renewal

6. Urban acupuncture: small scale catalyst

7. Co-presence: architectural framework for interaction

8. Holistic light design: beyond car-oriented urban light
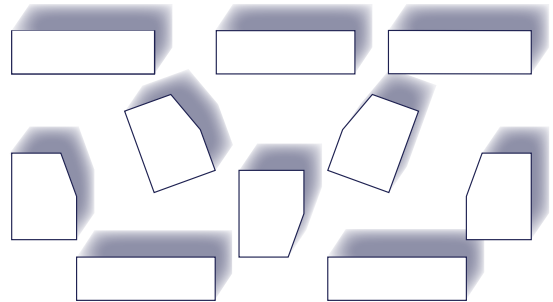
INTERVENTION

1. Densification

2. Tram stop

3. Activity park

4. Lyktan

5. Paths & mobility

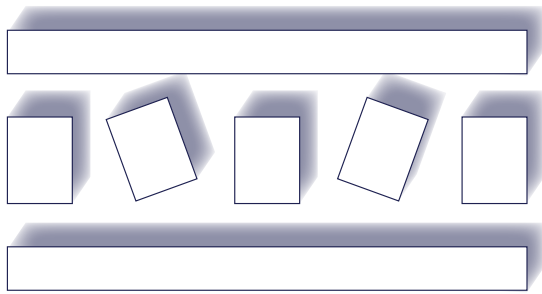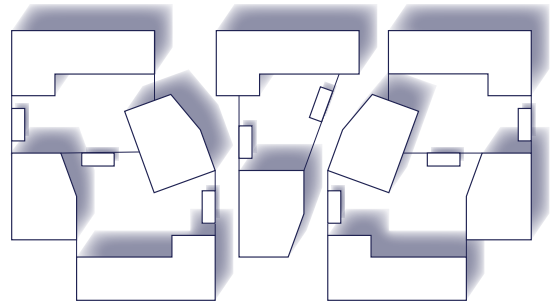## INTERVENTION 1: DENSIFICATION

DESIGN EVOLUTION
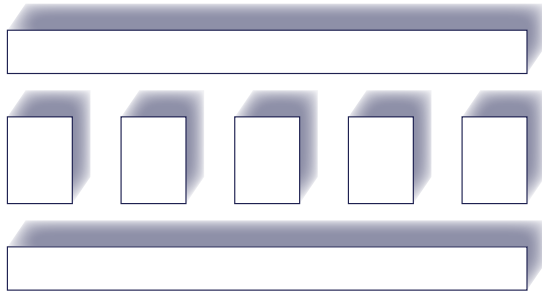
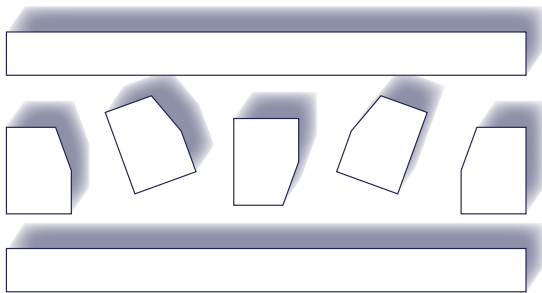*Large flow: Defined boundaries,
Small flow: Looser boundaries*

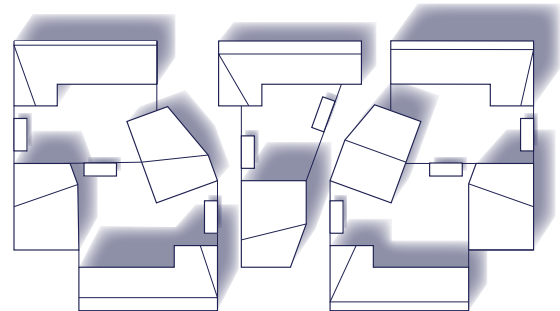*Offset to enhance the inbetween spaces*

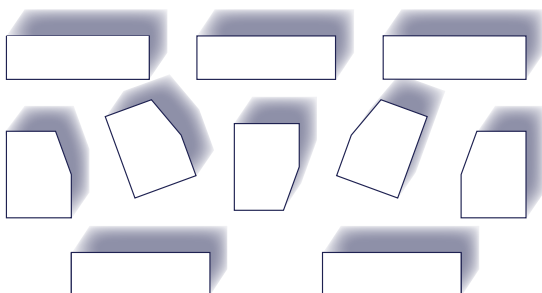*Tilted to create angle between facing windows*

Outer buildings help framing yards

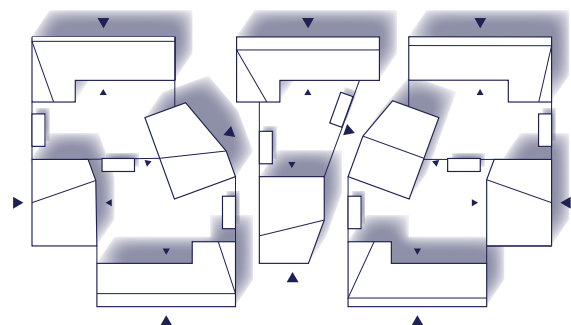*Cut corners to let in sun in more angles*

Heights
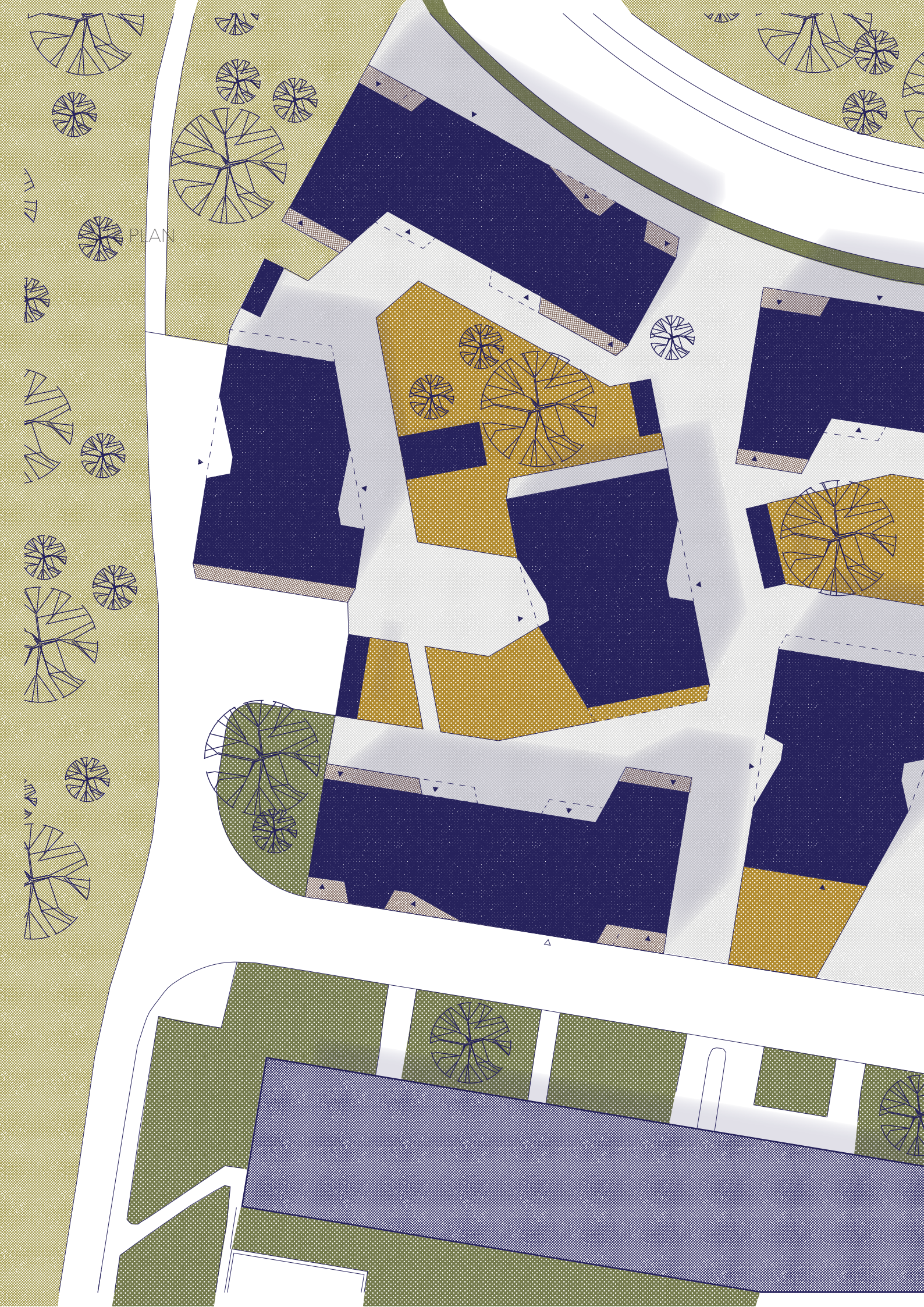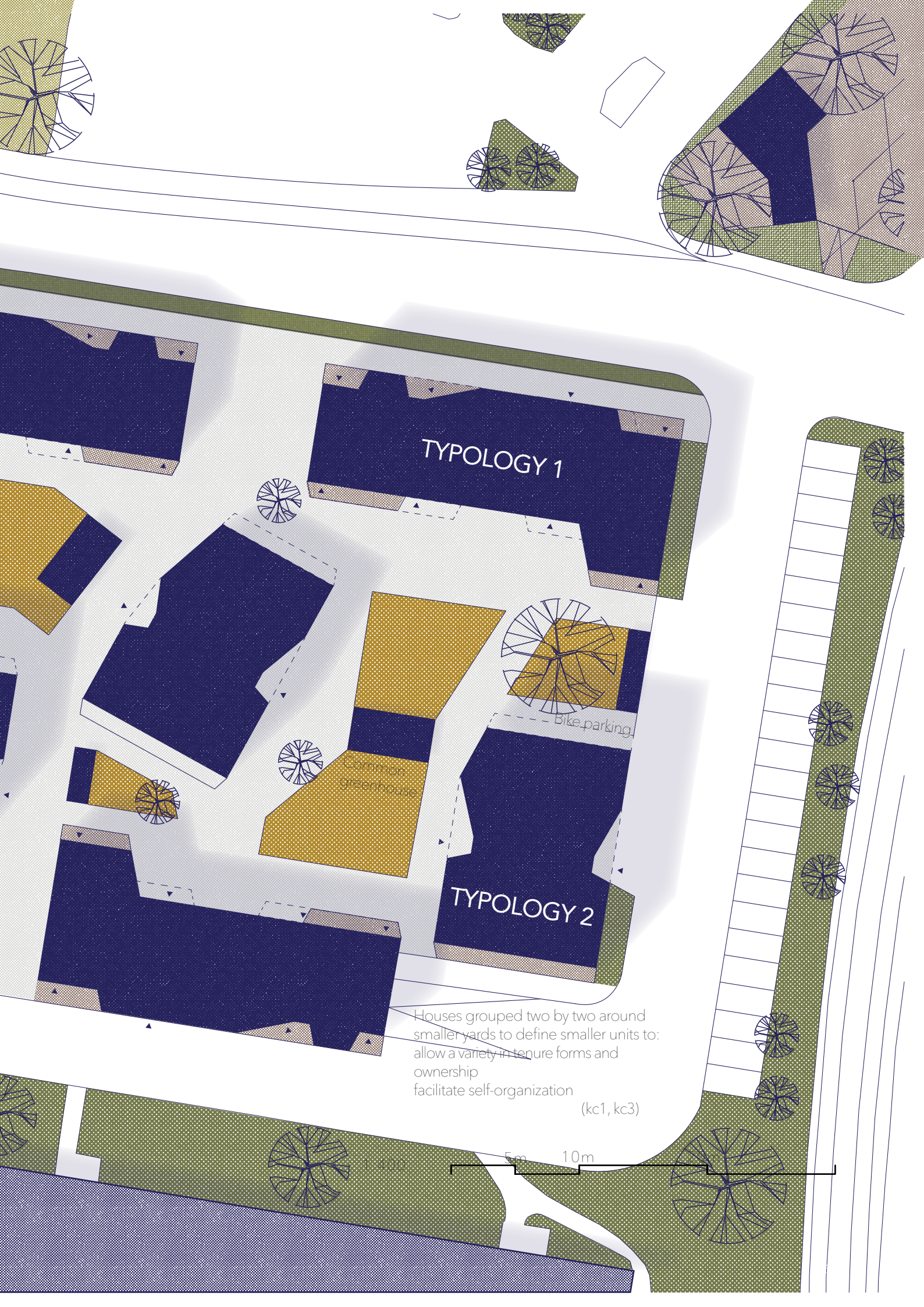

Open up paths within the larger block

Entrances

PLAN

TYPOLOGY 1

TYPOLOGY 2

Bike parking.

Common
greenhouse
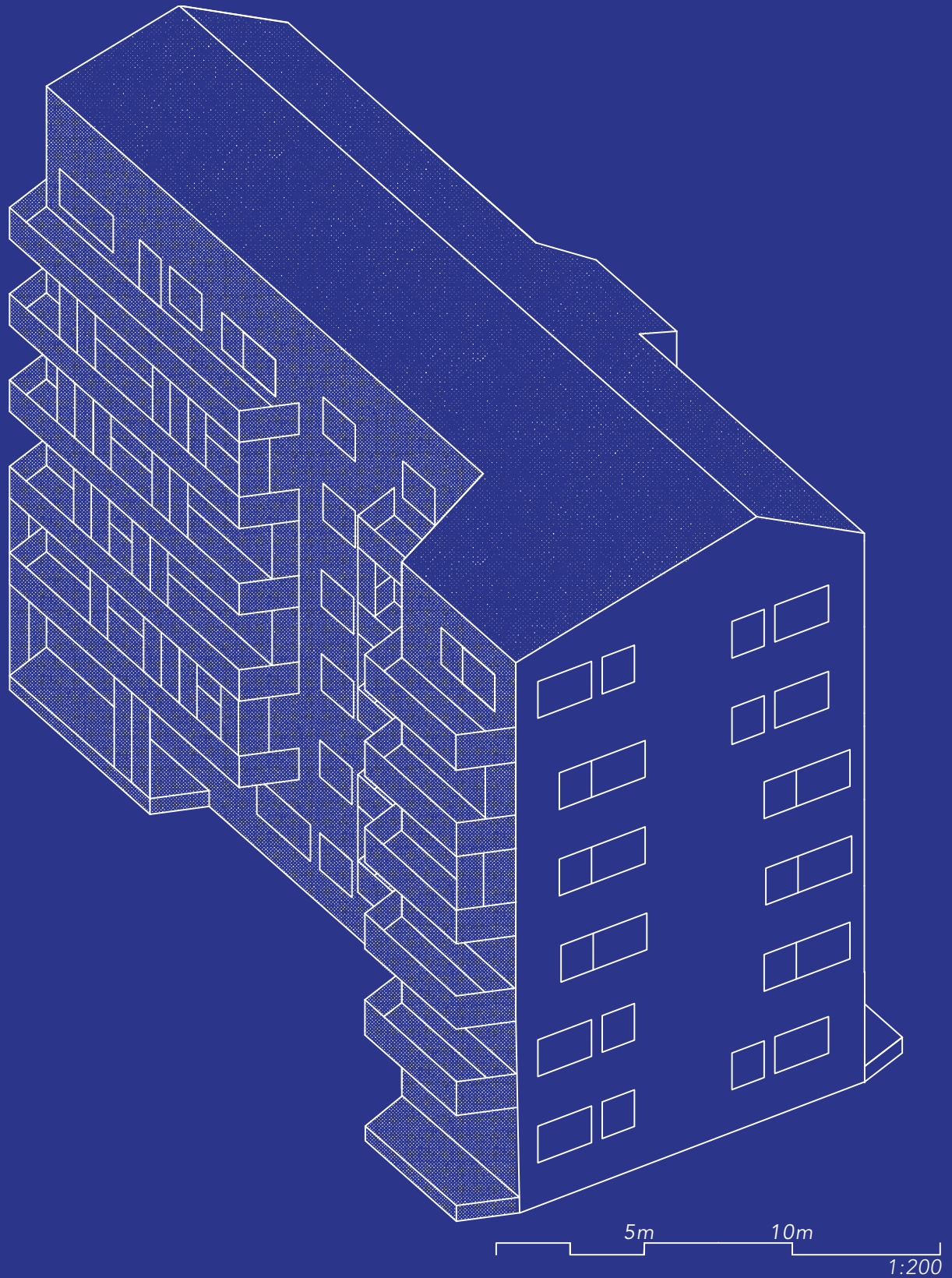
Houses grouped two by two around
smaller yards to define smaller units to:
allow a variety in tenure forms and
ownership
facilitate self-organization

(kc1, kc3)

5m   10m

TYPOLOGY 1: *LAMELLA WITH EXTERIOR CORRIDOR*

5m   10m

1:200

- *Exterior corridors facing Runstavsgatan and Solvarvsgatan contributes to presence and vitality along the street*
  (ds 3.1, ds 3.2)

- *Exterior corridors maximises the part of the built area usable by the tenants, working as an extra balcony with movable screens and at the same time contributing to economic accessibility*
  (ds 1.1, 3.2, 4.1)

- *Bike storage, and laundry are given a central locations on the ground floor. Synergies between programme and streetscape through creating contact with the surrounding for otherwise isolated spaces and giving the bypassers a glimpse of the everyday life, giving the comfort of co-presence.*

  (ds 3.1)

- *By upgrading the conditions for everyday activities such as household work and transportation, the design facilitates women, who generally spent a larger part of their time on household duties and drive less*   *(kc 1)*

- *Entrance floor towards the street is pushed in to create a private buffer zone usable as a patio for the tenants*
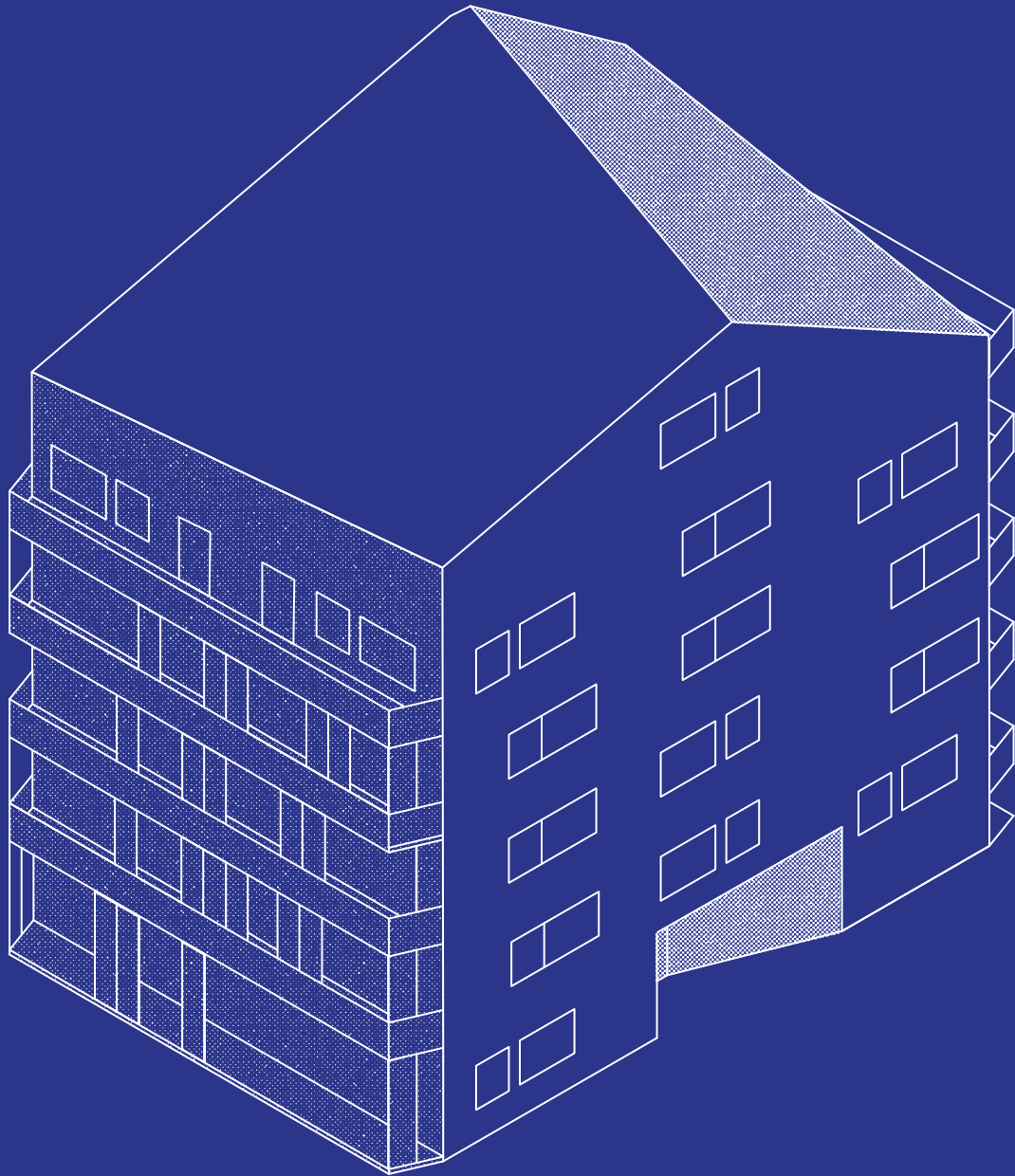 *(ds 4.1, ds 4.2)*

ENTRANCE FLOOR

TYPICAL FLOOR

5m   10m   20m   1:400

64
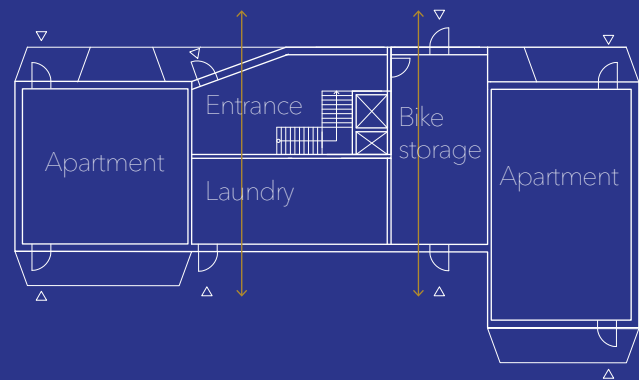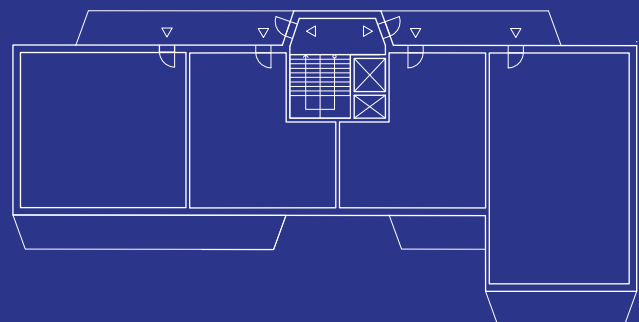
TYPOLOGY 2: LOW TOWERBLOCK

5m   10m

1:200

- *All apartments are reached through a single staircase allowing the neighbours to be familiar to the tenant (ds1.1, ds3,2)*

- *The entrances are located in nisches to enhance the transition between the public and private space, the niches have a wide angle to improve overview and shed light over the surrounding.*
  (kc1)

- *A workshop space is located on the ground floor to populate the ground floor by the yard, complementing the functions located in the other house sharing the same yard. (ds3.1,kc4, kc5)*

- *Movable screens on exterior corridors and balconies allows for regulation of climate as well as privacy (ds 1.1, ds 1.2, ds 4.2)*

ENTRANCE FLOOR

TYPICAL FLOOR

5m   10m   20m

1:400
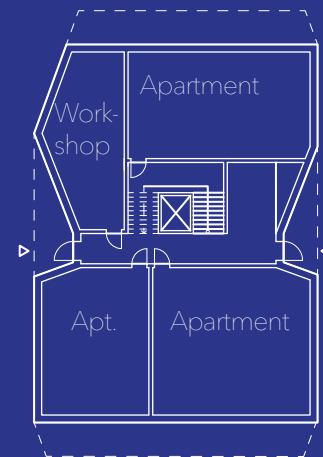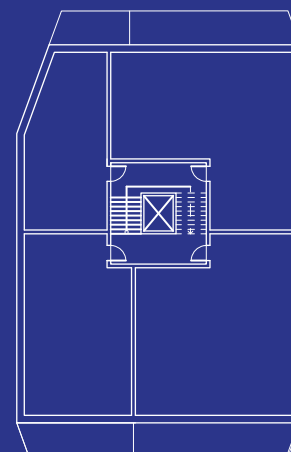
INTERVENTION 2: TRAM STOP

A kiosk and restaurant ensures presence of others during longer hours.

By providing a weather protected space wi programming, many different activities ca during the same time.

Kiosk

The tram stop is a node in the neighbourhood and by encouraging lingering, co-presence between groups can be achieved.   (kc 3, ds3.2)

thout strict
take place
(kc 3)

Resturant
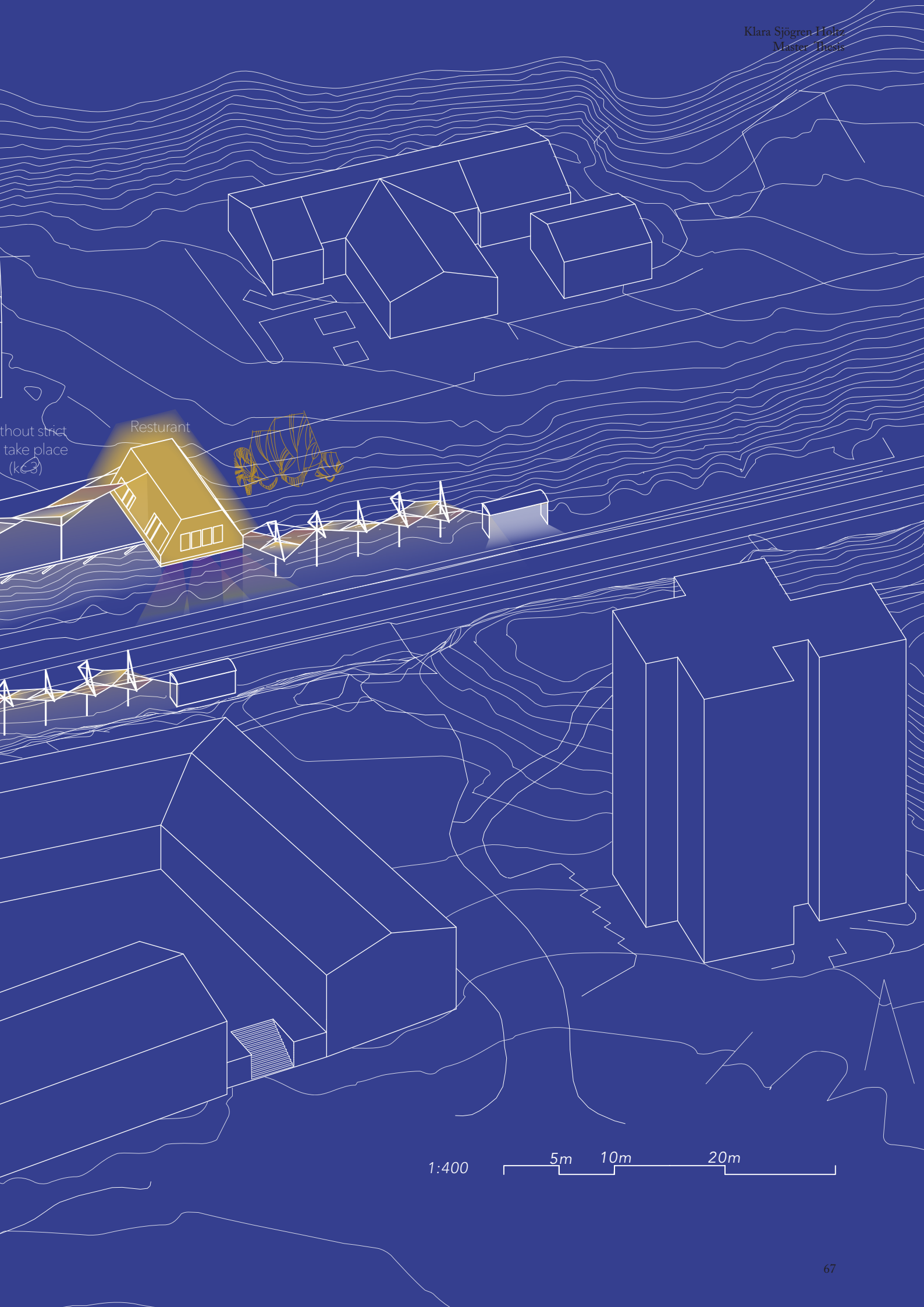
1:400   5m   10m   20m

INTERVENTION 3:   ACTIVITY PARK

Overview over multiple entry/exit points

By applying tactical urbanism
strategies of low-cost interventions
with different degrees of permanency
the space can be appropriated by
the current users. Tactical urbanism
challenges the idea that a safe space
needs to be neat and ordered, and
allows for a multitude of aesthetic
ideals to be expressed.

Location where others a
lowers thresholds of fear
hours, improving acessab
larger group (kc1)

Program based on loc
& activity (kc3, kc4)
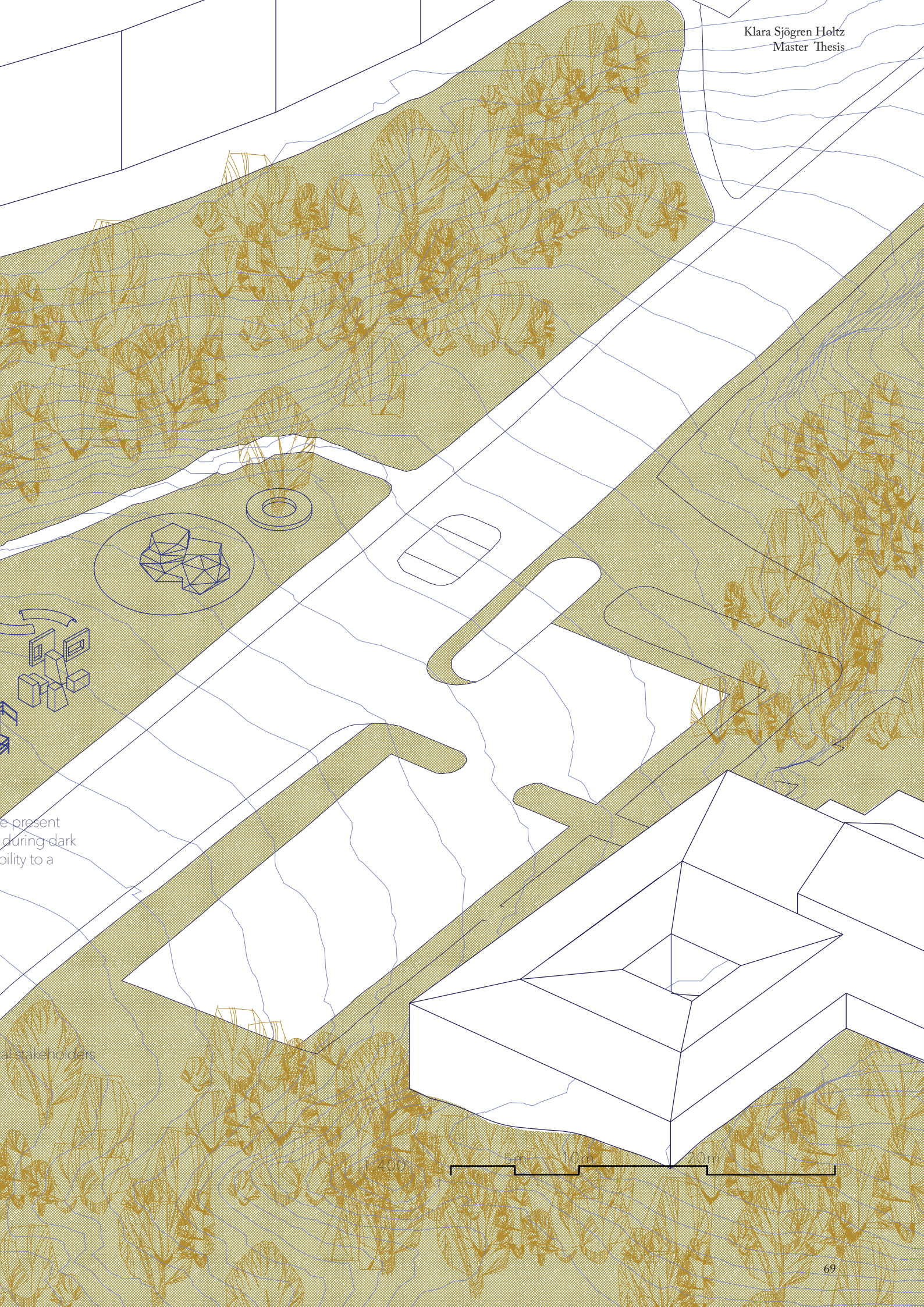
e present
during dark
bility to a

al stakeholders

400   5 m   10 m   20 m

INTERVENTION 4:   LYKTAN

In order to strengthen the social resilience of Kortedala, the newly renovated Lyktan could be used (temporary or permanently) as a meeting place for the local tenants organization and other organization. This currently empty building could be utilized as a tool for local mobilization, for the local population to gain more influence over the development agenda. The design and placement of lyktan makes light and activity visible from a distance.

<p align="center">(ds 3.1, ds 5.1, ds 5.2, kc3, kc5)</p>

INTERVENTION 5:   PATH & MOBILITY

Improving connectivity of lit
paths benefits the mobility for
groups limited by fear (kc 1)

A

C

B

Extra care for lighting on paths
to tram stops contributes to
safety for groups who uses car
less (kc 1)

Preexisting goalpoints

Activated zone

Intervention 5: Light path

50m   100m   200m

1:4000

71

GREEN STRUCTURE

YARDS

Greenhouses creating a *common neutral arena* for the neighbours to meet without compromising with their personal integrity   *(kc4, kc5)*

Alternative location enables accessability for all   *(kc1)*
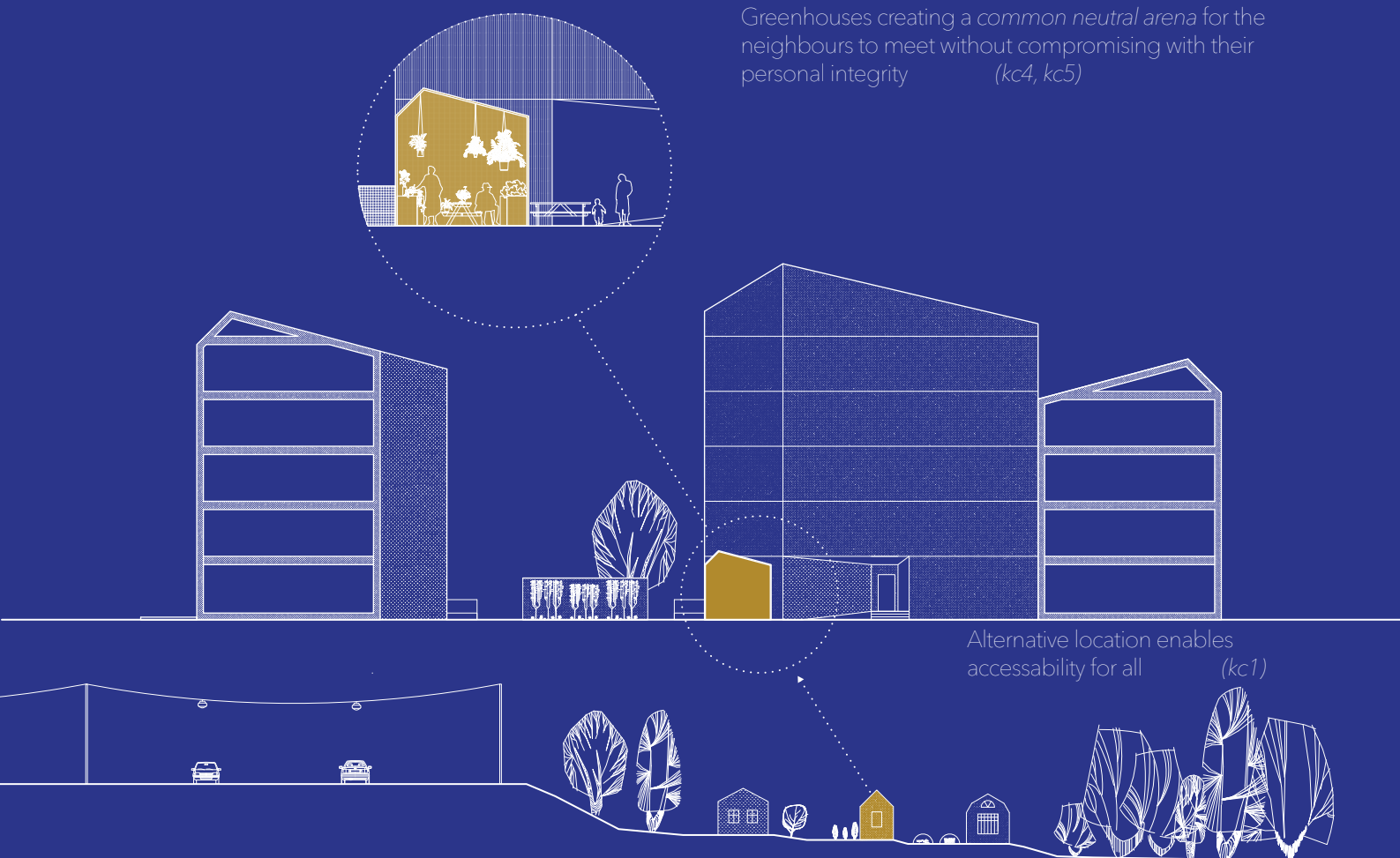
Greenhouses hosting both productive and recreational functions located on the yards creating a more accessible alternative to surrounding allotment gardens.

5m   10m   20m

1:400
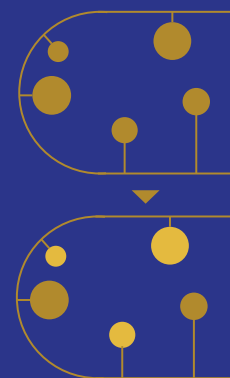
FORREST
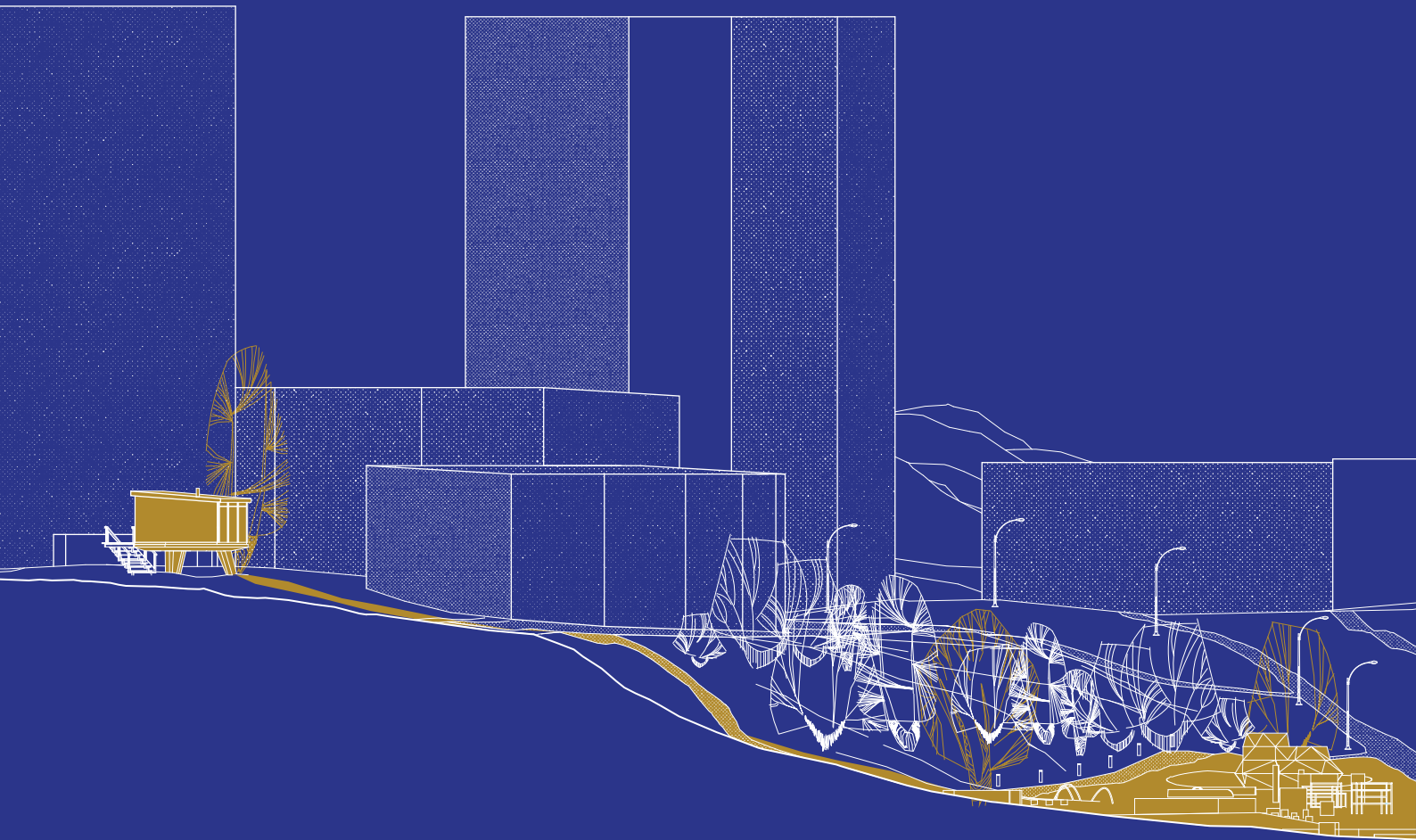
*Instead of isolated units of buildings with
paths & roads connecting through forest
some activities are integrated in the forest
landscape by the main paths where presence
of both bypassers and participants mutually
supports one another's notion of safety.*

5m   10m   20m

1:400
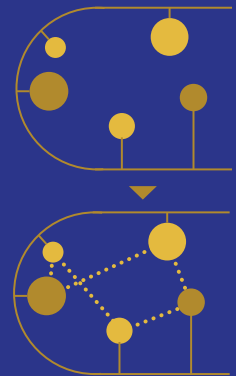
INFORMAL GREENS
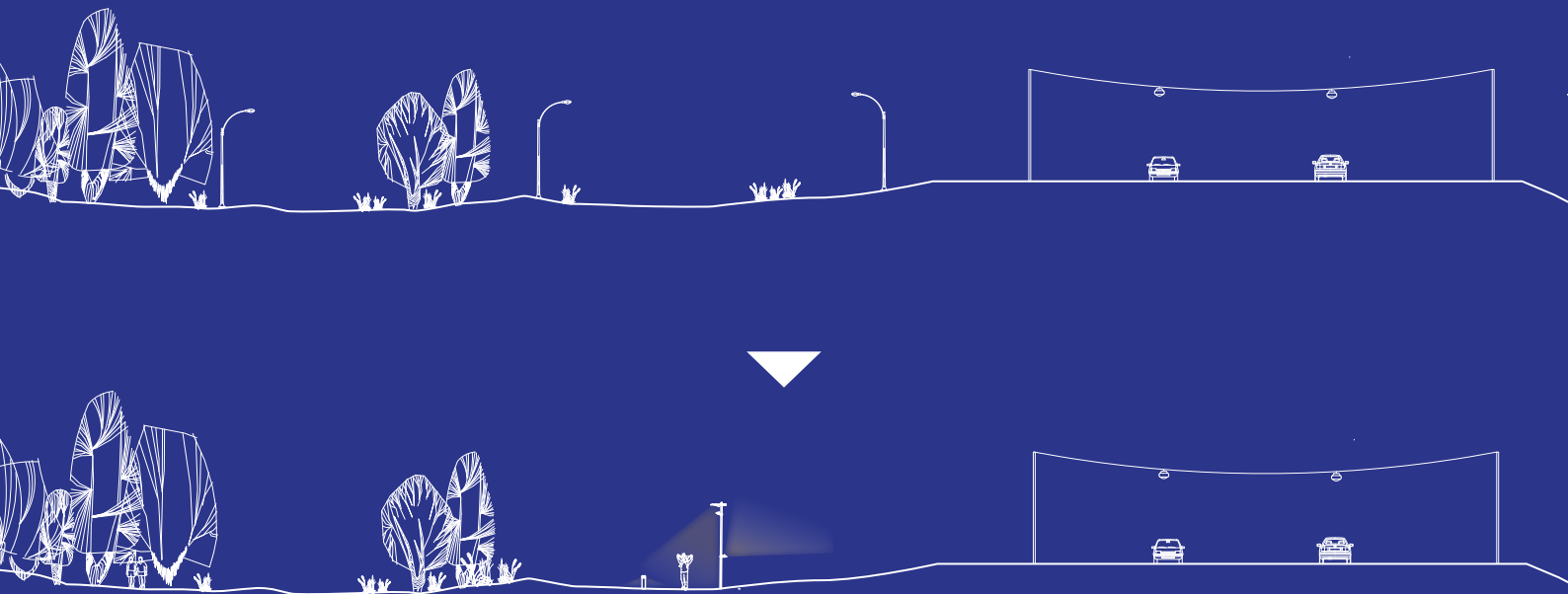
Rather than controlling every part of an area, safety interventions is about making the urban space readable and through design make it more accessible and comfortable. There is also a spatial quality in the dark or unkept, that can coexist with more controlled spaces.
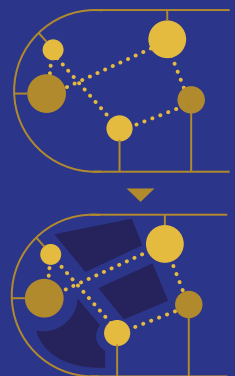
LIGHT
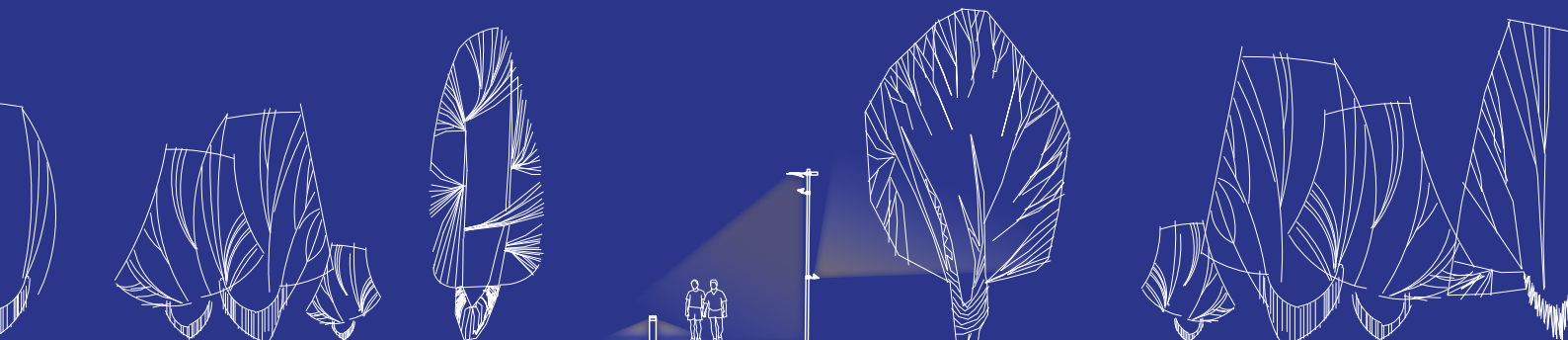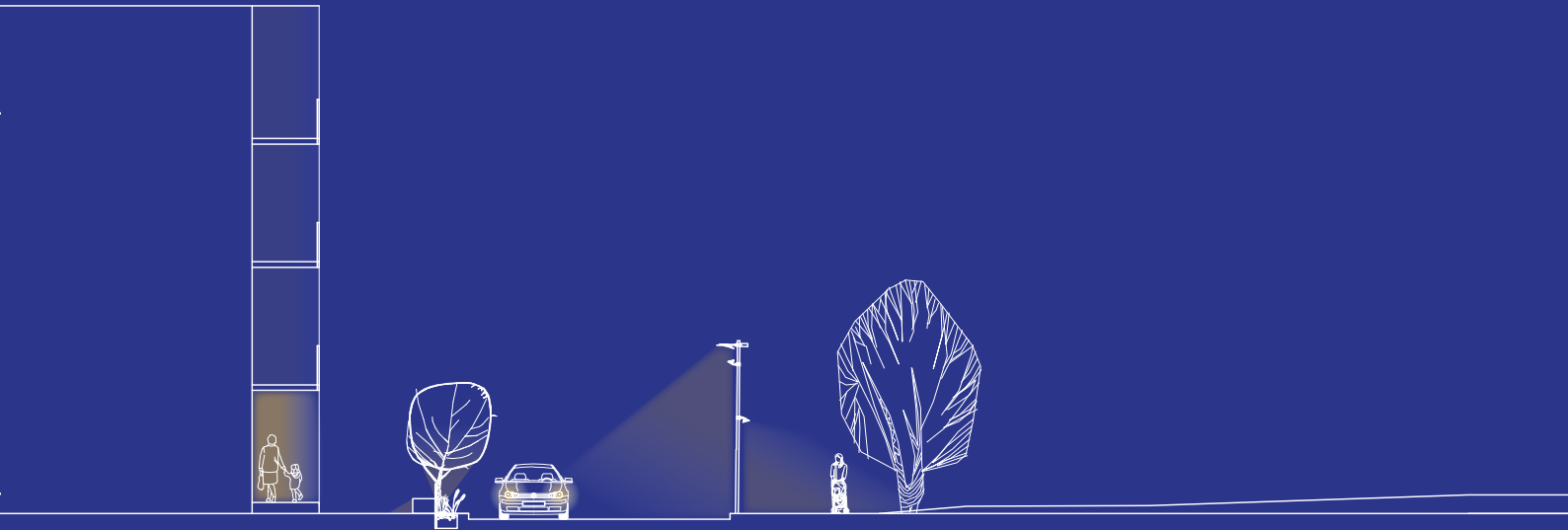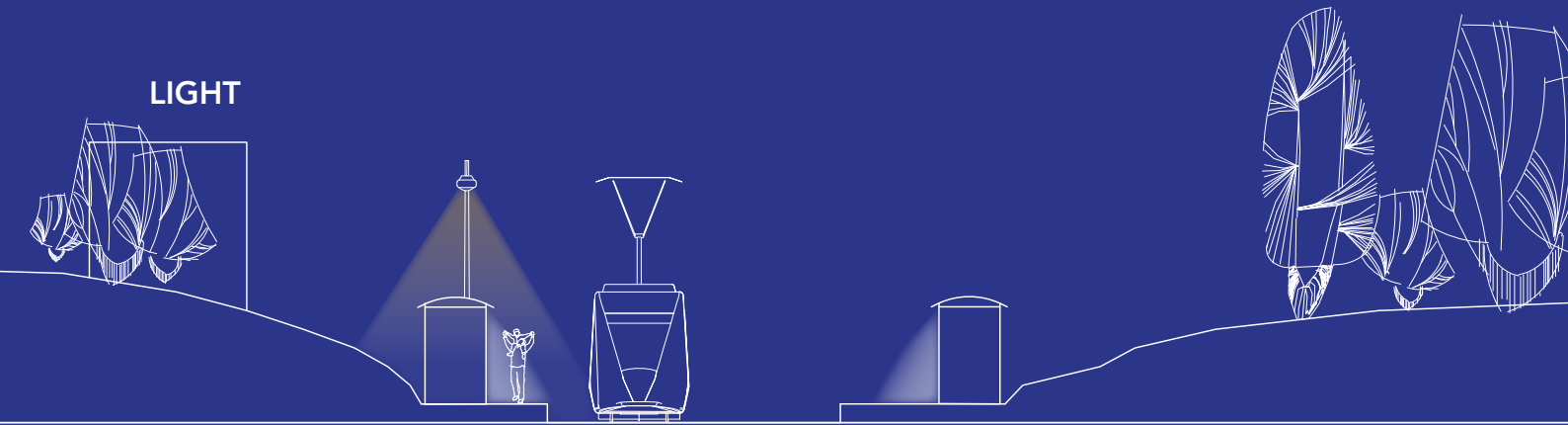
10m   20m   40m

1:200

CONCLUSION

KEY CONCEPT RELATIONS

+ Broader discourse

+ Diversity

CHARACTER

+ Security of tenure

+ Recognition

INCLUSIVE
PROBLEM
FORMULATION

+ Right to
the city

+ Spatial
framework for
co-creation

+ pluralistic
perspective

APPROPRIATION

+ Visual
communication

+Formulation
of common
agenda

+ Co-presence

WEAK TIES

+ Strengthened
networks

+ Tenants gaining influence
as stakeholders

SOCIAL RESILIENCE

+ Redistribution of
power

CONCLUSION

Safety has shown to be a both complex, contradictory and contested topic. But rather than looking for the one most relevant perspective, we should allow a diversity in interpretations and implications. What is lacking today is the transparency where the origin of the standpoint is revealed. Who is represented in the partnerships influencing the development of our cities? What are the motives behind a renovation of a post-war residential building? Who is not able to stay in their home to experience the result of the renewal project?

A recurring aspect of safety throughout the research has been the importance of trust. An important part of the architect's role when working with safety therefore becomes to design to enable trust between the inhabitants to develop. For instance through using the interplay between private and public spheres and creating spaces for co-presence.

Because of the withdrawal of the welfare state many peri-urban areas experience a sense of exclusion and a loss of trust in authorities. As Rothstein (2013) states, the trust in authorities enables individual trust, therefore we can not substitute a functioning welfare state with community greenhouses to maintain trust.

The same logic applies to the economic accessibility, knowledge and skill of the architects can contribute to keeping the building costs down while maintaining quality for the user, and economic accessibility is a condition for designing for safety in an equitable way. At the same time, it does not change the fact that a more affluent group of tenants is more profitable, which means that to achieve economic accessibility we need other motives.

Rather than striving towards the close-knit small community, building trust by enhancing weak ties is more well adapted to the size and diversity of the urban population. We should protect the urban anonymity as it provides refuge from a too strong social control that oppresses minorities and people who live outside the norm in different ways.

Even if our associative skills and our ability to identify indirect threats causes much worry in the liquid modern society, it is also hopeful that the environments we create also give feedback to our understanding and experience of safety. By shaping the physical space, we also change the relative and relational space.

By making different we actually make difference.

CONCLUSION DIAGRAM

Representation

INCLUSIVE
DEFINITION

Transparency
in development
agenda

Urban renewal

Disenfranchised
areas

Peri-urbanity

Post-war
neighbourhoods

APPLICABILITY

Balancing social
control and
autonomy

Spatial framework for
liquid modernity
or social engineering?

Design for trust:
Challenging or
legitimizing public
withdrawal?

Spaces enabling
co-presence and
stengtening of
weak ties

Feedback to
perception

Spatial
renegotiation
of narratives

Recognition

DISCOURSE

INHABITANT

Renewal processes as
an opportunity to
discuss community
agenda

Secure
tenure

HOME

Alternative strategies
for urban renwal

Spatial agency:
The architect as
particpants in a collec-
tive process rather than
individual authors

TRUST

Governmental trust
enabling local trust

ECONOMIC
ACCESSABILITY

NEIGHBOURHOOD

ARCHITECT

Geographical
redistribution of resources
& influence

SOCIETY

REFLECTION

DIY & PUBLIC WITHDRAWAL

In my research I have identified tactical urbanism as an inclusive way to improve safety conditions, since it encourages interaction and has low economic thresholds.

This method can be criticized for legitimizing public withdrawal and enabling a society where the state does not take social responsibility or develops neighbourhoods with a socio-economically low status. But temporary interventions can also be used as an empowerment tool, a way of imagining things different and mobilizing for a common agenda.

There is also a risk that the community engagement and strengthened identity is used to raise property values through branding.

THE PROCESS & FURTHER RESEARCH

In this thesis, the site by Runstavsgatan has been a testbed to explore ideas and develop concepts. The context is in many ways typical for the type of area that I wanted to explore within the project: the location in the city, and relation to the city center, the built pattern with traffic separation and neighbourhood units, and its challenges and opportunities.

Being site-specific has helped me develop specific scenarios and face problems that would stay hidden on a more general level. At the same time, the diagnosis of this context has been leading the way during the project and I Would have ended up somewhere else if I picked another, similar but not same, case to study. Staying at one site made it manageable within the framework of a master thesis, but contrasting it to other cases would add relevance in terms of applicability.

If these ideas would be developed or realized in Kortedala, the first step would be involving local stakeholders. I have chosen not to in this step, for the sake of delimitation. Nevertheless, to initiate a more equitable development work within safety, the local community is the very starting point.

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FIGURES

note: all figures absent from this list were produced by the author

Figure 1.   Brittain, J. (2013). Centre village social housing [Online Image]. Retrieved from https://www.archdaily.com/385093/centre-village-5468796-architecture

Figure 2.   Bygg och Konsult AB. (2017). Greenhouse Gårdsten [Online Image]. Retrieved from http://www.byggochkonsult.se/vaxthus-i-gardsten.html

Figure 3.   Jönsson, J. (2018). Jimmys [Online Image]. Retrieved from https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fil:Pildammsparken_2018-09-20_(redigerad)_07.jpg

Figure 4.   Baan, I. (2017). Selgas Cano Cognac Pavilion [Online Image]. Retrieved from https://www.dezeen.com/2017/07/05/pavilion-selgascano-cognac-fondation-dentreprise-martell-france/

Figure 5.   ISA. (2014). Power house [Online Image]. Retrieved from http://www.is-architects.com/powerhouse

Figure 6.   Mycket. (2012). Clubscenen: act 3 [Online Image]. Retrived from https://www.mycket.org/CLUBSCENEN-ACT-3-SAPPHO-ISLAND

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Figure 9.   Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor. (2014). Sofielunds kollektivhus [Online Image]. Retrived from https://www.kanozi.se/projekt/kvtrevnaden/

Figure 10.   Refunc. (2017). Pallet temple [Online Image]. Retrived from http://refunc.nl/?p=4077

Figure 11.   Allt åt alla/Alla ska kunna bo kvar. (2015). [Online Image]. Retrived from http://allaskakunnabokvar.se/sparvagnskartan/

Figure 12.   Göteborgs stad. (2017). [Online Image]. Retrived from https://goteborg.se/wps/wcm/connect/3fe012fe-9367-4bd9-a0e9-52999da2ee7d/J%C3%A4mlikhetsrapporten2017_171219.pdf?MOD=AJPERE

Hello stranger
*Exploring Urban Safety from the
Perspective of Spatial Equity*

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Master's Thesis
Chalmers School of Architecture
Gothenburg Spring 2019