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Designing for safety,
a comparative case study on design, safety
and policy reactions in the Patrimoniumshof in
Rotterdam and the Vincent van Goghplein in
Antwerp

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on researching the practical outcome of recommendations given by Jane Jacobs and Jan Gehl on designing for safety. It analyses the recommendations given in the scientific debate in practice by looking at both the built environment and safety in two different case studies: The Patrimoniumshof in Rotterdam and the Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp. Then it takes a second step by looking at different municipalities' reactions when urban design on its own proves to be insufficient to prevent crime.

The analyses led to conclude that the case study in Rotterdam is built largely following the recommendations given in the theoretical framework, while this is not the case in Antwerp. The safety-outcome seems to correlate with this: the Patrimoniumshof is both perceived and objectively safer than the square in Antwerp. However, this can't be solely the result of the design of the square, other factors are also of influence.

When comparing the policies in Antwerp with the policies in Rotterdam the main difference can be found in time, scale and quality when it comes to urban design. On safety policies the situation in Antwerp is more tailored at one hand, but also less integrative and more repressive, while Rotterdam has a more multidisciplinary approach to safety and focuses more on prevention than on repression.

Preface

On New Years Eve 2013 I was at a party in Rotterdam where I met Eline. I told her enthusiastically about my plans for my thesis, without knowing that she was working for the safety department of the municipality of Rotterdam and that this chat at a party would lead to a graduation internship. At the municipality I was lucky to get Afke Besselink as my supervisor.

So first of all, a big thank you to Afke. For hiring someone with no expertise on safety at the safety department, for giving me the chance to explore the organizational structures of the municipality and for taking the time to explain more than was necessary and to show me around. I really enjoyed our on-topic and off-topic talks, they were both really inspiring.

Thanks for the whole 4 cities group for this special experience, seeing you in each new city again made me really feel at home. A special thank you to Stijn for being my best friend these two years. I am grateful that we could study, cook together, rehearse weird dances and laugh a lot almost everyday for two years with only having one minor fight which lasted only 45min.

And a thank you to my parents and sister who visited me in all cities, to my supportive aunt Marijke and my 82 year old granny who visited me in Vienna and to all those friends who did visit me or tried to visit me, but booked their tickets on the wrong dates. All these efforts meant a lot to me, and while not being around much with you these last 2 years, I really enjoyed these weekends we had together.

And thank you Jeroen, for being there, always. For taking care for me when I was too busy writing my thesis to look after myself and for coping with all my fascinations and interests in urban dynamics, even though I know this is not your passion (although I still hope it will also become yours).

I am grateful to look back on two amazing years, which sometimes felt like a gap year, but really opened my eyes to so many things. I discovered fields of science, which were totally new for me, made new friends, changed my view on a million things. This whole program was really a dive in the unknown, but I am happy I did and sad that it is over. To quote Dirty Dancing, I really had the time of my life.

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A city is the characteristic physical and social unit of civilization. It possesses size, density, grain, outline and pattern. The people who live in it shape these properties and are shaped by them.

(Lynch, 1954, pp. 54–63)

1 Introduction

When living in Brussels, I was always relieved to close my door after cycling home in the middle of the night. Six months later, in Vienna I would make a detour to see the city by night in all its splendour and I would not feel bothered at all by people trying to talk to me at 5am on the Ringstrasse. Back home in the Netherlands I noted the same difference in my own town between the two shores of the Meuse. I would definitely cycle to a party in the northern part on my own, but cycling at night in the South would not even cross my mind. The lack of interesting destinations in the southern side of the city for students combined with its bad image in politics and media even led to neglecting this part of the city at all, during both day and night.

After being an urban explorer in 4 different cities for the past 2 years for our masters program, I decided that it was time to discover the unknown parts of my own city as well. I took my bike and cycled across the Erasmus Bridge to this undiscovered part of town. Upon arrival, I was surprised to say the least. I was expecting neighbourhoods with the charm of a Parisian banlieu, but found pre-WW2 architecture, canals with willow trees and streets reminding me of the famous and popular potato rows in Copenhagen (Kartoffelrækkerne). Were these the unsecure streets, which I have been reading about? Were these the neighbourhoods nobody from the North would want to go to? They did not only remind me a lot of the Kartoffelrækkerne, but also of neighbourhoods described by Jane Jacobs and Jan Gehl, both visionaries on urban design with a strong focus on liveability, social cohesion and safety. Wasn't what I saw in these neighbourhoods what is being told in the scientific debate focussing on how the physical characteristics of neighbourhoods are influencing crime (crime prevention through environmental design, CPTED)? In this debate, there is a strong focus on altering the physical design of the communities in which humans reside and congregate in order to deter criminal activity. CPTED principles of design influence features of the built environment stretching from small-scale to an overarching-scale, including building arrangement of a complete urban neighbourhood and the total of opportunity for "eyes on the street".

This combination between the built environment and social behaviour is exactly why I started this master program after finishing my bachelor in Architecture. I wanted to get to know the places and the people that we learnt to design for better. How are communities living together, what is the influence of the environment on the way people interact with one and another? For my thesis I decided to combine this interest with my personal experiences on the topic of safety.

How are (feelings of) safety and the built environment related to each other in this particular practise?

A second fascination derived from the greatest aspect of the 4Cities program: traveling and studying in different countries and cultures. This opened my eyes for other urban practises, but also to my own cultural background. I always took the Dutch planning culture for granted, but studying abroad showed me different. I was for example pleasantly touched by the Viennese soft approach to urban planning and surprised by the lack of authority that the planning office of the Madrid region was facing. For this thesis it is compulsory to do a case study, to compare two cases in different social, cultural, organizational backgrounds. Therefore I want to see how cities are responding to unsafe areas. Dutch people are known for their directness, or even bluntness and our spatial planning is quite straightforward and directive. How are comparable issues handled in other countries? What policies are made? And what would be the result of such an approach? Could these two countries learn from each other?

1.1 Relevance of the topic

Before going into detail concerning the theoretical basis of crime prevention through environmental design and other important concepts related, the importance of the topic for today's society will be presented.

From an academic point of view, the body of research is steadily growing but it does not depict one united picture, nor is much research done in Dutch and Belgian neighbourhoods. The body of research contains a multitude of definitions, approaches and models. Crime prevention through environmental design cannot be characterized as an unexplored topic but especially the comparison to existing neighbourhoods and crime data has not been treated yet. Next to this, the application and use of CPTED-methods by municipalities is largely undocumented and unevaluated. There might be unexploited opportunities for municipalities to be revealed within their cities contexts, deriving from this research.

Furthermore, in recent decades, there has been an increased focus in Western European politics on crime and fear. More than often, fear of crime is used as a political weapon by populist parties. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate if their suggested policies are just a matter of repressive measures, or if they have a broader approach that includes crime prevention by changing, managing and planning urban environmental designs.

1.2 Focus & research question

This thesis focuses on researching the practical outcome of recommendations given by selected authors in the CPTED-debate. It analyses the recommendations given in the scientific debate in practice by looking at both the built environment and safety. Then it takes a second step by looking at different municipalities' reactions when urban design on its own proves to be insufficient to prevent crime. Given the vast amount of writers, opinions, and conflicting views on CPTED methodologies, a choice is made to concentrate on Jane Jacobs and her modern day admirer Jan Gehl.

Therefore this thesis will be dealing with 3 main research questions. The first research question will be:

"To what extent is building according to the chosen framework of Crime prevention through environmental design the case in the Patrimoniumshof in Rotterdam and the Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp?"

The second step focus on at safety in the case study areas and will answer the second research question:

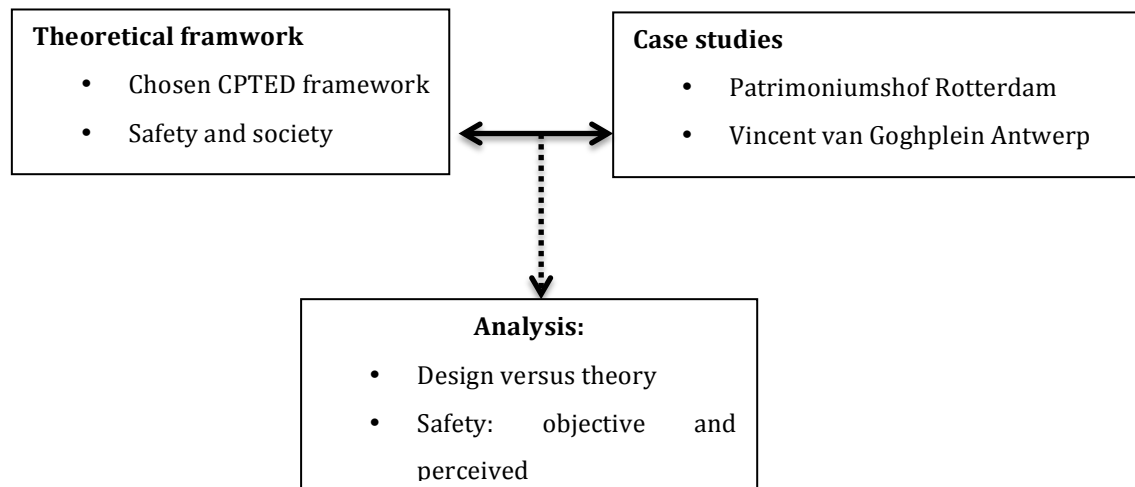
"Are the Patrimoniumshof in Rotterdam and the Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp perceived as safe and are they objective safe?"

After these two questions are being answered, the differences between the 2 municipalities in their approach to the difficulties faced with is being looked upon:

"How are the municipalities in Rotterdam and Antwerp adjusting their policies to the crime-related difficulties faced in Patrimoniumshof Rotterdam and Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp?"

1.3 Structure

The content of this thesis can be divided into two main parts: the first part is descriptive and deals with the theoretical framework, the justification of selected research methods and the description and the selection of the case study areas: the second part is analytical and analyses the case studies on their design, the safety and policies. The graph depicts a sketch of the research design.



The general introduction is followed by chapter 2, which includes the results of an in-depth literature review, discussing the CPTED-framework as defined by Jane Jacobs (1960) and Jan Gehl (2012). Next to this, the chapter deals with the phenomenon of urban crime. A definition is given, as well as insight in perceived and objective crime and its societal relevance. Chapter 3 explains the methodology used for this research. The different case studies are introduced in chapter 4, as well as a justification for the selection of these two. Chapter 5 compares the case study areas to the theoretical framework. In this part the theory is tested in practise. In chapter 6 and 7 there will be given an insight beyond urban design. Chapter 6 gives an insight in the safety in the area, both perceived and objective. Chapter 7 analyses the policy reactions of the different municipalities by researching the different approaches of the two municipalities to address the difficulties concerning safety in the neighbourhoods. This last chapter aims to give insight in the two countries' and cities' differences in planning and policy cultures.

2 Theory

2.1 Safety

Defining safety

When writing a thesis on the effects of the built environment on safety, it is important to have a clear definition of safety. Last January the Mayor of Amsterdam, Van der Laan stated that “things are going pretty good concerning safety in Amsterdam, except in terms of assassinations, burglaries and robberies.” (Telegraaf, 2014), leaving the reader wondering what in this case is meant with safety.

Safety is a phenomenon with different aspects: it can have a physical aspect, as well as a social aspect. Social safety refers to the level of protection or perceived feelings of protection from harm caused by or threatened by human actions, such as crime, nuisance and law violation by others (Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling, 2004). Social safety is about individuals as well as about groups, and about public spaces as well as in private settings. Social safety is not only related to day-to-day activities, such as home-theft and burglary, but also to riots, terrorism and war. A determining factor is that the harm is being done to people by other people through conducting crimes, breaking the law and producing nuisance. In this thesis, when referred to safety, social safety is meant (Stol, Tielenburg, & Rodenhuis, 2011). Physical safety involves the prevention, reduction and control of security violations of man and his environment by accidents and misfortune by non-human origin. This could be in the area of (medical) care, fire, explosion, hazardous materials, natural disasters and infrastructure (Stol, Tielenburg, & Rodenhuis, 2011).

Although a place free of crime is not considered reachable, many would argue that it should be a city's task or goal to regulate the risk and fear of crime, since a feeling of security reinforces a sense of place attachment and social cohesion of the city's residents. Security includes individuals' risk of being a victim of crime as well as their perceived safety (Ceccato, 2012, p. 6).

Society and safety

It is remarkable to see how quick fear of safety has gained a dominant role in society and policies. For example, in 1975 the Dutch Scientific Committee for the Government Policy (Wetenschappelijke raad voor het regeringsbeleid, 1975) predicted that crime would be a

marginal phenomenon, while nowadays the opposite seems to be true. According to Furedi, 'fear plays a key role in twenty-first century consciousness'. Therefore the last century has been frequently referred to as an 'Age of Anxiety' (Furedi, 2005, p. 1), (Beck, 1992). This paragraph aims to give an answer to the question why safety has gotten such a dominant role in society, politics and media.

Ulrich Beck explains in his book *Risikogesellschaft* (1992) how safety has gotten such a dominant role in our society. According to Beck, technological development has developed so rapidly and drastically that it is not capable of overseeing its own consequences. There is no scarcity anymore due to modern technologies, but these same modern technologies are responsible for great threats. These threats, like nuclear disasters are often not related to a specific time, space or social class. According to Beck, this made our risk society even a catastrophic society, with politics based on potential dangers of invisible threats. At the same time, these technological developments led to a very prosperous society. On one hand it is comfortable to live in such a prosperous environment, on the other hand possession brings more fear: one who has more can lose more. The uncertainty and insecurity regarding potential dangers influence political dynamics and social architecture (Beck, 1992, p. 22).

Ulrich Beck has a very technological explanation of the dominant role of safety in our society, while Zygmunt Bauman, a Polish philosopher explains this role by changes in societal structure. To make his argument, Bauman refers to Nan Elin, who researched the changing meaning of cities. In ancient times, cities used to be relatively safe places surrounded by a wall or a fence, making a distinction between us and them, order and wilderness, peace and warfare: enemies were those left on the other side of the fence and were not allowed to cross it. According to Bauman, this has changed over the last centuries; nowadays "cities happen to be places where socially conceived and incubated insecurities are confronted in a highly condensed and so particularly tangible form" (Bauman, *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty*, 2007, p. 23). The safe haven as described by Nan Elin has been replaced with places that are more associated with danger than with safety. (Bauman, *City of fear, city of hopes*, 2003). According to Bauman, these feelings of fear derive from the liquid modernity that we are living in. In our current society, individuals can shift from one social position to another in a fluid manner. People used to be dependant of their community and their roots; nowadays it is relatively easy to move freely through different social strata, only dependant on their network. Nomadism is the way of life for the 'liquid modern' individuals as life is lived like travellers, changing places, jobs, partners, values and sometimes even political or sexual orientation—excluding himself from traditional networks of support. According to Bauman, this unlimited freedom of life choices puts a lot of responsibility on the individual: since there is no traditional path to take, one has to decide upon its self, which can be experienced as stressful. This makes contexts less controllable and values

less evident, resulting in a greater need for safety (Bauman, *Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty*, 2007).

Frank Furedi argues that the increase of fear throughout society is fed by politics. While particular politicians are often blamed by commentators that they practice politics of fear, Furedi states that this practice is not limited to certain parties, but has been internalized by the entire political class and has become institutionalized throughout public life. Fear cannot be seen as a linear relation between the potential danger and the object, because 'fear does not just happen; it is socially constructed and then manipulated by those who seek to benefit' (Altheide, 2002, p. 24).

Altogether, there seems to be a need for more safety and more control, within a context of boundlessness. Our society faces the permanent temptations of fast, expressive and emotion-focused activities. On one hand these lead to exceedances of norms and values, while on the other hand, this leads to a growing need of protection and safety. This leads to a paradoxal situation: in order to celebrate freedom, it must be limited. This desire is described by Hans Boutellier as a *safety utopia*: the desire for a society, which should give maximal freedom and maximal safety (Boutellier, 2002).

Perceived versus actual safety

The dominant role of safety in the public debate does not seem to cohere with actual crime data. Crime in the Netherlands has been steadily decreasing since 2005 (Centraal bureau voor de statistiek, 2014). Also within the EU there is a general tendency towards a decrease in the level of reported crime between 2007-2010 (Eurostat, 2014). The reasons given above to explain the increased attention given to crime (technology, societal changes and political abuse) can only be explained by decreased perceived safety. Perceived safety is the level of experienced safety. There is often a gap between actual safety and perceived safety, as an extreme example most murders take place within the home, where most people feel safest (Besselink, 2014).

The level of perceived safety differs from individual to individual and is often place bound. The variety in levels of perceived safety correlates with different personal characteristics, but this is not the sole variable. Reviews of the literature on fear of crime conclude that there is a manifest lack of agreement on its underlying causes (Hale, 1996). Criminologists find the reasons for fear in actual crime data, urban planners in the built environment and within gender studies the reasons are often found in gender issues (Schuermans & Maesschalck, 2008). Feelings of fear of crime cannot be described by 'mathematical functions of actual risk but are rather highly complex products of each individual's experiences, memories, and relations to space' (Koskela, 1997).

Perceived safety

The Dutch centre for crime prevention and safety (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013) defined seven different factors as shown in figure 1 to be accountable for perceived safety. First there are personal factors, then environmental factors, and last media coverage and the general societal context.



Personal factors

The first group of factors to define our perception of safety are personal factors.

Figure 1 Factors influencing perceived safety, Source: Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013

These personal factors are as follows (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013):

- Age, gender, ethnicity,
- Sexual orientation
- Education level, economic status
- Mental and physical health
- Perceived vulnerability
- Personally of dealing with uncertainty or stress
- Lifestyle (including media consumption)
- Attitude and perspective on the world

Institutional environment

The institutional environment is defined as the organisations and the professionals who are responsible in a certain situation for safety. These can be actors like police, municipalities, housing corporations, welfare-institutes etc. Their acting, or their failure to act, can be of great influence of perceived safety, as well as their communication about safety matters. (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013). Lack of action can increase feelings of insecurity, but too much communication on crime can also give a wrong impression and therefore increase feelings of insecurity.

Social environment

Social environment covers the social quality and demography of a district (or neighbourhood, or school, or organization, etc.). The social environment has a strong influence on the perception of safety. For example, research in Amsterdam neighbourhoods showed that perceived social quality has an equally large impact on the perception of safety as objective safety. Social quality is researched by examining the social climate of a neighbourhood. What is the level of mutual familiarity, relationships and social cohesion? Do people feel at home? Do they feel noticed and recognized by others? Or do they feel excluded? To what extent do people experience that there is collective self-reliance & collective efficacy? The ability to solve common problems in the relevant situation is crucial for the perception of safety. Demography is also an indicator of the perception of safety. In ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhoods, the perception of safety is usually lower than in ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods. This applies even further if there is a change in the composition of the population in a relatively short period of time (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013).

Physical environment

The physical environment also affects the perception of safety. This implies the design and layout, as well as the management of the physical environment. For a good sense of safety, it is particularly important that the design of the environment is:

- Organized
- Manageable
- Predictable
- Attractive

The environment must be accessible for the right people or inaccessible for others. Is it easy to find your way? Is it easy to feel at home? Does the design and character of the area support the desired social interaction and reduces the chance of unwanted interaction (from the perspective of the user)? These are aspects from the design and layout of the environment that are important for the perception of safety. Management is all about the extent to which the environment suggests that there is social order and that there is also concern for the environment. Degradation, pollution, and lack of maintenance: this can be interpreted as signals for the opposite and will usually translate into a stronger perception of insecurity (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013).

Criminal environment

Another important factor of influence for perceived safety is the criminal environment. What and how much crime and antisocial behaviour actually takes place in an area? To what extent are

people directly or indirectly confronted with crime: by being victims themselves, by being a witness or by hearing of it? What mainly affects the perception of safety are offenses or nuisances that give people the impression that the social, moral or physical order is in danger in their environment. These signal crimes or nuisances disproportionately influence the perception of safety (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013).

Media

The link between media coverage and/or media consumption and perceived safety has often been validated, but it is far less clear under what conditions, how and by whom this relationship manoeuvres. Our own experience in our own immediate residential environment and what we are told by others in our environment seems to define our perceived safety. The media-influence is relatively limited when it comes to our own surroundings. This contrasts when it comes to the perceived safety 'elsewhere', especially when it comes to places, which we hardly ever visit or when it comes to safety in society as a whole. Media are often the main source of information on this subject to form an image. Because media mostly select the divergent messages, we soon get the impression that unusual things are much more common (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013).

General societal context

Our concerns about crime and safety also reflect deeper concerns about the development of society, about the general societal context. This more diffuse 'discomfort' brings up questions about social safety, but actually relate to a much deeper, more existential sense of (in) security. Feelings and thoughts upon the hardening of the society, the increasing individualization, the increasing speed of development and increasing demands in our competitive society combined with the declining provision of security or the emergence of the so-called risk society with its diffuse threats mingle unnoticed in the debate on crime and nuisance. They not only mix, but they reinforce these thoughts and feelings (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013).

Autonomization of fear

Neutral from its origin, the low perceived safety, the fear, has become objective on its own. 'Fear of crime has come to be regarded as a problem in and of itself, quite distinct from actual crime and victimization, and distinctive policies have been developed that aim to reduce fear levels, rather than reduce crime' (Garland, 2001, p. 10). Actually, it appears that the fear of crime is 'now recognised as a more widespread problem than crime itself' (Bannister & Fyfe, 2001). If fear is autotomized within our society it is important to be aware the potential negative consequences

of fear, such as stress and health issues. Like US President Franklin D Roosevelt said in his inaugural address in 1933, it seems rather true that the 'only thing we have to fear is fear itself' (Roosevelt, 1933).

2.2 CPTED

A physical approach to increase safety and reduce crime has often been a controversial topic within scientific debate. The first section gives a brief introduction to the debate on the relationship between the built environment and safety. The second section explains theories of two main authors within this debate further.

Location and crime

In the 1960-ies sociological researchers showed that people in some places have a higher risk of becoming a victim of criminal behaviour than in other places. Within the literature socioeconomic analyses (Chang, 2009) and sociological theories such as social disorganization and control theories had a predominate position for a long time. In these analyses, the perpetrator was the primarily object of study (Reynald & Elffers, 2009). These approaches seemed insufficient in explaining the high crime-rates, therefore the reasons for crime were sought by more and more researchers outside of the predator: in the built environment (Jacobs, 1993) (Newman, 1972).

Jane Jacobs was the first to relate the design of the built environment to crime prevention in her book 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities'. According to Jacobs, mixed land use, short building blocks and other characteristics would lead to 24h-activity on the streets, which in return would lead to more 'eyes on the street' providing surveillance and safety (Jacobs, 1993). Only a few years later, in the beginning of the seventies, 'crime prevention through environmental design'-theory (CPTED) had its origins. The creation of an urban environment able to reduce criminal behaviour became a main point of focus within crime policies, especially after Newman introduced his theory of defensible space in 1972 (Newman, 1972). His ideas gained a lot of political interest even though his theory was disputed within scientific contexts. Disappointing results in practice and the lack of theoretical evidence led to a fast shrinking popularity of this ideology.

Recently, the study of place-based crime has gained again an increasing amount of attention. Although there is a consensus on the strong relationship between physical space and criminal behaviour, there has not always been agreement on the nature of this relationship and the question of how urban design 'determines' behaviour. The physical environment cannot be the cause of behaviour, but it can still coordinate it to a certain extent. The built environment can prevent things from happening in a particular place, or encouraging them to happen, but the environment is not able to determine anything. Urban design is a mediator that can function as a

particular contribution to the distribution of crime and violence, or of positive behaviour, but the idea that physical measures can solve what is primarily a social problem, is an illusion. In the end, “the social environment of men is his fellowmen” (Deelder, 1977).



Figure 2 Poem Jules Deelder on Nieuwe Binnenweg Rotterdam, Source: own picture, 2014

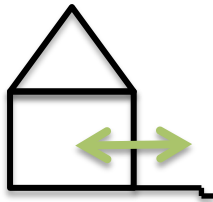
The most used approach to relate safety to the design of the built environment is called Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). Strategies that emerge from CPTED are used worldwide today (Cozens, Saville, & Hillier, 2005). The CPTED theory is based on the idea that crime is partly the result of the opportunities offered by the physical environment. For that reason, it should be possible to adapt the physical environment in order to make it less likely for crime to occur (Casteel & Peek-Asa, 2000). Present implementations of CPTED are based entirely on the idea that appropriate design and effective use of the built environment are able to reduce crime and fear of crime and that the quality of life improves (Crowe, 2000, p. 46).

CPTED principles of design affect elements of the built environment ranging from the small-scale elements (such as use of light and sound installations) to the overarching building form of an entire urban neighbourhood and the amount of opportunity for "eyes on the street" (Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid, 2013). This thesis focuses on the larger scale, since its nature is more persistent and less likely to be changed. Within CPTED-theory there are many different approaches on how to design the overarching built environment, but this thesis only addresses two well-known dominant writers on this topic. One is old and well established; the other is more up to date, but also very influential.

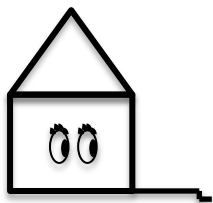
Jane Jacobs

As explained, the contemporary focus on crime and safety in relation to the built environment began with Jane Jacobs (1961). To her, a safe city was the traditional city with streets and blocks, diversity, functional mix and buildings of different age such as the neighbourhood she was living in herself; Greenwich Village in New York City. Life on the streets and neighbourhood parks were seen as essential by Jane Jacobs, actually this is her main argument: streets are safer when more people are using them. Additionally, streets are safer when people are able and willing to watch the street from their windows. These two factors: people on the streets and people watching the street from their windows are the basis of the famous 'eyes on the street'-concept.

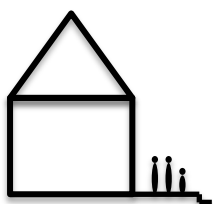
According to Jane Jacobs, modern urban planning was a failure. In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, she explains how to make public streets and public spaces secure. Her ideas are not merely a way to achieve a feeling of security, but are a prescription for real crime prevention (Jacobs, 1993).



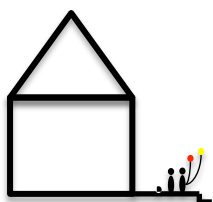
1. *Buildings must be facing the street.* They should not turn their backs to the street, and they should not be gated so that residents have no reason to care about what happens in their neighbourhood. Active building fronts (porches, shops, restaurants) are the most optimal, since these places are used and are therefore providing eyes at the street.



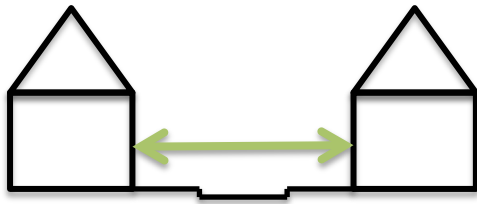
2. *There should be eyes upon the street from the buildings lining the street.* Good building design provides windows and porches that allow a clear view of the street and the neighbourhood.



3. *The sidewalk should be used continuously*, at nearly all hours, to not only add a sense of community but also to encourage neighbours to watch the street. "Nobody enjoys sitting on a stoop or looking out a window on an empty street. Almost nobody does such a thing".

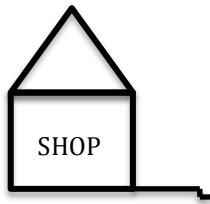


4. *Children are able to play on sidewalks and streets.* Attempting to create secure, isolated courtyards or gated play areas are pointless according to Jane Jacobs: "No normal person can spend his life in some artificial haven, and this includes children." Well-used streets and public spaces are the best defence against potential criminals.



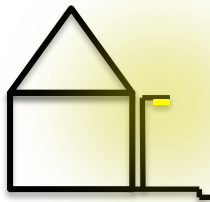
5. Neighbourhood streets should be as narrow as possible and accommodate only slow moving traffic. It must be noted, that when Jane Jacobs mentions 'narrow', she means narrow according to American standards, not to European standards. Not only are narrow streets easier to cross,

narrow streets are much more pleasant for activities, such as walking along the sidewalk or sitting in an outdoor café. The best way to discourage street use is to build wide roads with high volumes of high-speed traffic. Motor vehicles, en masse, make streets unliveable.



6. A large number of *shops and public places*, particularly those that are bustling at night, should be sprinkled throughout a neighbourhood, Such attractions give people a reason to use sidewalks, and also help to populate places "which have no attractions to public use in themselves but which become travelled and peopled as routes to somewhere else".

This kind of street activity helps to attract pedestrians and other street users. Shopkeepers also have a vested interest in neighbourhood safety, and serve as street guardians.



7. *Good lighting* offers reassurance to people who wish to use the sidewalk at night, who then become street watchers simply by their presence. While lighting helps to increase the range of view, it alone cannot guarantee safety: "Without effective eyes to see, does a light cast light? Not for practical purposes". A sufficient number of street users are key (Jacobs, 1993).

To summarize, Jane Jacobs argues that life in the streets, mixed functions and residents' care for common space has a crime preventive effect.

Jan Gehl

"First, we shape the cities –then they shape us." (Gehl, 2010, p. 9)

According to Jan Gehl, urban structures have always been designed and developed to support the city's mode of operation. The Roman cities with their rigid grid structure were designed to support its military role, while medieval cities with short walking distances, squares and market places were designed for the purpose of craftsmanship and trade. Haussman renovated the small streets of medieval Paris in the 1850ies to make grand boulevards that enabled the army to control the people and gave at the same time a stage to the bourgeois upper class. In the

twentieth century cities were mostly modified to give place to the car: all available place in the city was made to serve the moving or parked vehicle (Gehl, 2010). Jan Gehl pleads for contemporary cities to shift their main mode of operation from places of car transport to places of living, to prioritize the human in the city.

Jan Gehl continues to build further on the work of Jane Jacobs and acknowledges the benefits of life in the streets, mixed functions and residents' care for common space on safety. Feeling safe is crucial for life in the streets, for people to embrace city space, which in its turn contributes to a safer and more pleasant urban environment. Jane Jacobs' eyes on the street can only work, according to Jan Gehl, when a street is a pleasant place to walk and to spend time (Gehl, 2010).

According to Jan Gehl, the safety discussion has two different dimensions, a general dimension and a more focussed dimension. The first, general focus is "maintaining and supporting the vision of an open society in which people from all socio-economic groups can move about side by side in the common room of the city as they go about their daily business" (Jan Gehl, 2010:97). The second, more detailed dimension must be seen within this more general framework and aims to carefully consider the design "of the many detailed solutions in the city" (Gehl, 2010, p. 97).

Even though urban designers have always been dreaming and designing for open and safe cities, the reality is often different. Jan Gehl does not blame the architects, but social economic inequality for high urban crime rates and for the efforts to protect property and private life in cities. These protective measures, ranging from fences and cameras to gated communities are indicators of the insecurity and fear that have tiptoed into communities around the world. This does not only show the protection against invasion of private property, but also the overall withdrawal to the private domain by certain population groups. These attempts of the individual resident to prevent crime are futile when it comes to perceived safety, since perceived safety is often deeply imbedded in social conditions and culture and therefore not likely to be changed by the efforts of the individual (Gehl, 2010).

When looking at perceived safety in public space as opposed to the private domain, Jan Gehl describes a strong connection between his goal to strengthen city life and the desire for safety. If more time is spent walking or just being in public space, safety (both perceived as objective) will increase in most situations. The presence of others is comforting and seen as an indicator of a good and safe place to be, while they provide at the same time Jane Jacobs "eyes in the street". This presence of others also catches the attention of "eyes on the street", because "man is man's greatest joy" (Havamal, quoted by Gehl, 2010, p. 23) or as Jane Jacobs said, "Nobody enjoys sitting on a stoop or looking out a window at an empty street. Almost nobody does such a thing. Large numbers of people entertain themselves, off and on, by watching street activity" (Jacobs, 1993).

These eyes on the street are seen as natural surveillance. According to Jan Gehl, “a lively city becomes a valued city and thus also a safer city” (Gehl, 2010, p. 101)

Next to this loop of “life in the street means safer cities – and safe cities provide more life”, there are several other boundary conditions set by Jan Gehl.

1. Life in buildings means safer streets

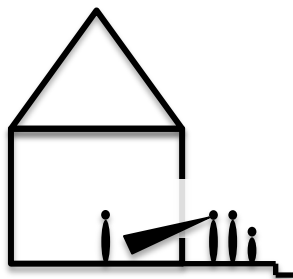
Life along the street has a significant influence on safety. Mixed-use areas can provide more activities spread out over the day and night in and around buildings. The vicinity to housing and residents is crucial for feeling safe. This only works when the houses are located on a reasonable distance to the street level, both horizontally and vertically.

2. Soft edges mean safer cities

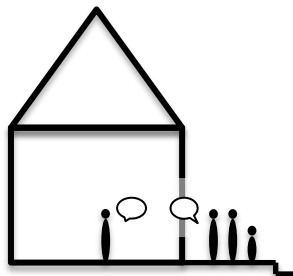
Jan Gehl stresses on the influence of the design of the ground floor facade. This is the façade that pedestrians are facing while walking the street, but this façade is also determining how much the residents can see from the streets when being inside. The ground floor façade is defining the relation between inside and outside. This could improve perceived safety by the apparent presence of others nearby. Facades that have so-called ‘soft edges’ indicate that a place is welcoming and hospitable, while closed metal shutters give a more hostile impression.

Soft edges are described by the following characteristics:

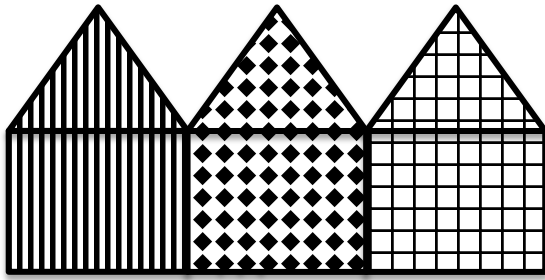
1. Facades are open and transparent:



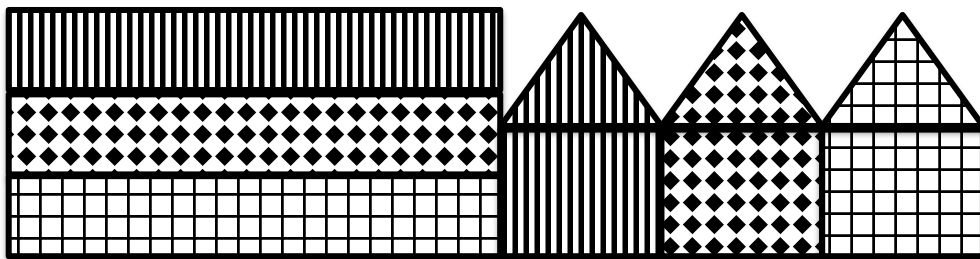
2. Facades are interactive and appealing to all senses:



3. Facades are interesting have texture and detail:



4. Mixed functions
5. The facades have a vertical rhythm:

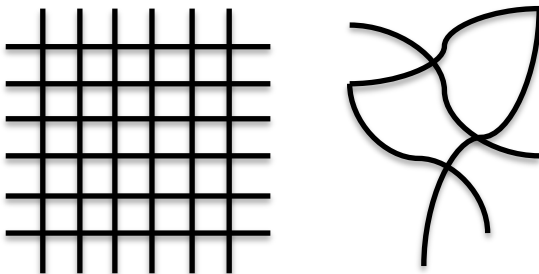


3. Ordinary concern means safer cities: visibility

Certain situations must be avoided, like insufficient lighting, deserted paths and pedestrian tunnels and too many bushes. This reduces visibility and gives opportunities for crimes to happen unseen.

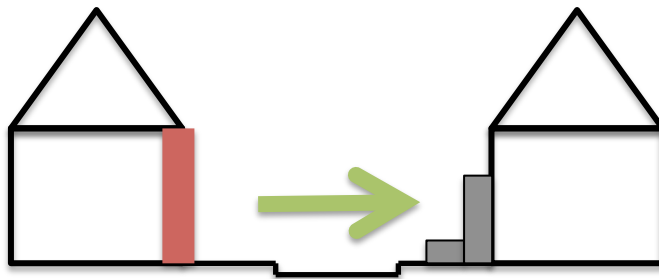
4. Clear structures mean safer cities

A comprehensible city layout doesn't only make it easy to navigate and to orientate in a city, but also improves the perceived safety. This does not directly imply that cities should be grid based with large intersections, but the individual nodes, streets and landmarks in the network should have well-defined visual characteristics. Next to this, areas should have a distinctive character and should have a clear hierarchy visible between important streets and the less important ones.



5. Soft transitions between private and public space mean safer cities

The transition from public to private should allow contact, but at the same time protect the private sphere. When efforts are made to graduate and soften transitions between private and public areas by building semiprivate and semi-public transition zones, the likelihood of contact from zone to zone increases, and residents gain the opportunity to regulate contacts and protect private life. A well-proportioned transition zone can keep events at a comfortable distance from the private sphere. Changes in pavement, landscaping, furniture, hedges, gates or canopies can mark where public space ends and fully or semiprivate transition zones begin. Height differences, steps and staircases can also mark the transition zone, providing critical prerequisite for the important function of soft edges, which is the facade as the link between inside and out, between private and public. Only when territories are clearly marked can the private sphere offer the degree of protection that people need to make contact with others and contribute to life in the city (Gehl, 2010).



To conclude

Life in the street and at the street, mixed functions along the street, friendly edge zones and clear structures are key qualities for good cities — also in terms of safety and protection. The opposite is the perfect recipe for an insecure urban environment: lifeless streets, mono-functional buildings lacking activity for large parts of the day, closed, lifeless and dark façades (Gehl, 2010).

3 Methods

This chapter describes the methods used in this thesis. In order to answer the research question several different methods are used. The results found are the outcome of the combination of a literature study, data collection, policy analysis, interviews and observations. This combination of primary and secondary sources and different research methods led to an in-depth analysis of the topic.

3.1 Interviews

When doing interviews, it is important give special consideration to the selection of persons to interview and the interview methods. The selection of persons interviewed for thesis was for the case study in Rotterdam partially based on the expertise of Afke Besselink (employee of the municipality of Rotterdam at the safety department, but also the supervisor of the 6month internship conducted for this thesis). For the case study in Antwerp, the selection was based on people involved in town planning and crime prevention in Antwerp. In both case studies it was aimed to make a diverse selection of interviewees, to gain a complete analysis of the situation. In the appendix translated summaries of the interviews can be found. All interviews were conducted in Dutch, translated transcripts are therefore available upon request. The table below shows an overview the persons interviewed for this thesis:

Date	Place	Name	Occupation	Institution	Interest for the research
28/02/14	Antwerp	Michel Gerits	Department of urban design	Municipality of Antwerp	Research project on safety and built environment
12/03/14	Rotterdam	Rien van der Steenoven	City-marine municipality Rotterdam	Municipality of Rotterdam	Policies on safety
14/03/14	Rotterdam	Tjalling de Vries	Employee NPRZ	Municipality of Rotterdam	Policies on safety and urban renewal
17/03/14	Rotterdam	Sander Klaassen	Department of urbanism,	Municipality	Urban design

			Rotterdam municipality	of Rotterdam	strategies Rotterdam
01/07/14	Rotterdam	Xenia van Heemskerk	Neighbourhood networker Bloemhof	Municipality of Rotterdam	Expertise Bloemhof
08/07/14	Rotterdam	Maurice Schweitzer	Neighbourhood manager Bloemhof	Municipality of Rotterdam	Expertise Bloemhof
04/08/14	Rotterdam	Luc Jonkers	Manager at the social housing corporation	Vestia	Managing Patrimoniumshof
08/08/14	Antwerp	Mark Rombaut	Architect of the Vincent van Goghplein	Rombaut en Merckx architects	Design Vincent van Goghplein
08/08/14	Antwerp	Ilse Rossou	Safety coach Stuivenberg	Municipality of Antwerp	Safety in Stuivenberg
08/08/14	Antwerp	Birgitte Bruininckx	Manager DNA project	Municipality of Antwerp	Policies in Stuivenberg

The interviews conducted are all semi-structured interviews. The persons that are interviewed are all experts on their own topic, therefore rigid questions would be a limitation for the conversation, since important information might not be told, simply because it might not have been asked. This way of interviewing is suitable given explorative character of this research. Therefore only some general topics or questions were prepared for each interview

3.2 Observations

Both sites were visited 5 times to experience the life between the buildings, to see the social interactions in public space and to feel the ambiance. Both sites have been visited in winter, spring and summer to get a representative image. During these visits informal conversations have been conducted with inhabitants. This did add a personal dimension to the observations.

3.3 Secondary statistic data

In addition to the information retrieved from interviews and observations, statistic data is used. Statistical data for both municipalities was available, although the nature and extent of it was different. Rotterdam excels in its 2-yearly safety-index (Veiligheidsindex), measuring safety in its neighbourhoods. This is the result of police and municipal data combined with a survey

conducted among a representative number of inhabitants (16000 in total). The result is presented in an index grade, reflecting on subjective and objective safety. Other main sources for data on Rotterdam are its social- and physical index, the neighbourhood profile and the data provide by the statistical office of the municipality (OBI). In Antwerp, most data was retrieved via the Buurtmonitor (neighbourhood monitor) and via the police and via the website of the municipality.

4 Case Studies

The housing project Patrimoniumshof in the southern neighbourhood Bloemhof in Rotterdam (the Netherlands) and the Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp (Belgium) have been chosen as case study areas in order to analyse the effects of CPTED-building and the different municipal policies in a comparative manner. This chapter will first give a justification of the selection of the case studies. The second and third part gives a short description of the case studies and the cities and neighbourhoods in which they are located.

4.1 Selection of case studies

The two case study areas have been selected along different criteria on city and on neighbourhood level that helped to structure the selection procedure.

Comparable cities

The cities of Rotterdam and Antwerp are chosen since they are comparable in many features. Both cities are not capital cities, but the second largest city of their country. Antwerp has a total of 514.432 inhabitants (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2014), while Rotterdam is only slightly larger with 618.109 inhabitants (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014). The scale and the position in their respective countries gives a similar framework for this research.

Both cities are often seen as sister-cities. They are comparable in many ways, not only in scale and national position. Above all, the two cities are both harbour cities. Throughout history Antwerp and Rotterdam have been competing each other on being the largest harbour of Europe. Nowadays, the harbour of Rotterdam is handling more than twice as much goods as the harbour of Antwerp does (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014). The presence of the harbour has been defining for the identity of both cities. The harbour activity supplied a lot of jobs, but also drew a lot of immigrants to the cities. In the 19th century these immigrants were in both cities mainly farmers from the hinterland, which was suffering from unemployment due to automation. In the 20th century the flow of immigrants became much more international in both cities, leading to large immigrant population. Another result of the harbours are the large amount of working class inhabitants (Bertels, Muck, & Goethem, 2010). These similarities in the cities' identities and demographics make this research an interesting comparative study.

The two cities are also comparable in their political preferences. In both Antwerp and in Rotterdam populist parties recently grew, both appealing to feelings of insecurity. These political parties have been both accentuating crime and safety in their electoral campaigns, making them

interesting for this research to see how this has translated to practise and to policies (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2014) (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014).

Comparable case study housing units

The two housing units were chosen because of the similarity in their initial purpose. The Patrimoniumshof was built during WW1 as a “courtyard of peace in times of war” (Lucas, 2010, p. 9). The initiators of the project had very specific ideas on how the new immigrants of Rotterdam, coming from the countryside should live together. They wanted to build a courtyard to improve the living conditions and to elevate the mentality of this group. The courtyard was constructed during the First World War, which was an extra incentive for the initiators to make this place a safe-haven (Lucas, 2010). The Vincent van Goghplein is almost 100-years younger, but was built with similar ambitions. This square should be designed to improve social safety in Stuivenberg and to foster a pleasant social climate (Apostel, Janssen, & Pittollion, 2008). Despite these best efforts, both projects are in places that are prone to crime. The Patrimoniumshof is amidst Bloemhof, one of the most unsecure places in Rotterdam, according to the safety-index (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012). The Vincent van Goghplein was recently covered in national newspapers as a square of drug dealing and violence. The contradictions in initial aims and contemporary reality makes these two places an interesting place for research. How were these places designed and what did go wrong? In typology the case studies are comparable to. Both are housing projects, situated around a square and are designed as one uniform unit.

4.2 Description of case study Rotterdam

Rotterdam

As told in the previous paragraph, Rotterdam is the second city of the Netherlands, with a large harbour and a large immigrant population. Next to this, the city is known for its modern architecture. At the beginning of the Second World War, most of the historic centre of Rotterdam was destroyed, resulting into a predominant modern city centre today. The city's physical shape and infrastructure have been dramatically recreated, consisting now of a mix of skyscrapers made by famous architects and a functionalist zoned city centre, where cars are more present than in other Dutch inner cities. The city has always been the subject of urban design: this was already the case before WW2 but even more after the war. Social housing is also of big influence in Rotterdam, making up 50% of the housing stock.

The mentality of the 'Rotterdammers' is very well described by Vers Beton an online magazine for reflection on Rotterdam:

We, Rotterdam-people are proud of our work ethic. We indulge ourselves in romantic slogans like Rotterdam is the city where the shirts are sold with the sleeves rolled up, no words but deeds and others. In addition to this, we suffer from a persistent calimero-complex. Not only was our town bombed during WOII and neglected by the rebuilders: we also are on top of all bad Dutch lists. As a backlash, we in Rotterdam want the biggest, most expensive, and highest of everything.¹ (Kraaij, 2014)

The calimero-complex is arguable, but the dominant position of Rotterdam on top of all 'bad-lists' is undeniable. Rotterdam has relatively low incomes, high unemployment and a low level of average education.

Feijenoord

The municipal district Feijenoord unites different aspects of Rotterdam on a small scale. All different kind of neighbourhoods and residents, which can be found in Rotterdam, are represented here. Vreewijk in the South is very traditional and has a village ambiance, while the Kop van Zuid claims to be Manhattan on the Meuse with its high-rise modern residential buildings. Noordereiland is very quiet and residential, while the neighbourhoods in the middle of Feijenoord (Afrikaanderwijk, Hillesluis and Bloemhof) are considered more urban and have a more multi-ethnic demography (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014).

Bloemhof

Bloemhof is a pre WOII neighbourhood in the area of Feijenoord in Rotterdam. It's located in between Putselaan, Hilleliet, Groene Hilledijk, Strevelsweg and the Dortselaan. Bloemhof originated in the beginning of the previous century when the port of Rotterdam was growing rapidly because of the high demand for labour force. These new inhabitants were mostly farmers, migrating from Noord-Brabant and Zeeland to the city between 1880 and 1920. In this era, a lot of consideration was given on how to house these new residents of the city. Different housing

¹ Own translation out of Dutch, original tekst: "Wij Rotterdammers laten ons graag voorstaan op ons arbeidersethos. Zo zwelgen we weg in romantische leuzen als mouwen opstropen, geen woorden maar daden en niet lullen maar poetsen. Daarnaast lijden we aan een hardnekkig Calimero-complex. Niet alleen is onze stad gebombardeerd in de oorlog en door de wederopbouwers nog verder verwaarloosd, ook voeren wij zo ongeveer alle slechte Nederlandse lijsen aan. Als tegenreactie willen we daarom in Rotterdam van alles het grootste, eerste,

projects were erected like the Patrimoniumshof and the Kiefhoek, designed by J.J.P. Oud. Most of the houses in Bloemhof are terraced houses and porch-houses (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014). The neighbourhood has a high density in both inhabitants as well as in buildings. The area consist of 80% social housing which is mostly located in the core of the area, while the houses along the edging roads are often privately owned. Because of the many migratory movements in the past century and the employment opportunities in the harbour Bloemhof became a multicultural area with more than 150 different nationalities (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014). A considerable high percentage (37%) of the population resides less than 2 years on one address (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014). The average income in the neighbourhood is below average, 69% of the population is in the lowest income group and 28% is even living below poverty threshold (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014).

Patrimoniumshof

Location:	Bloemhof, Rotterdam
Actors:	Patrimonium Woningstichting (PWS), contractor; Kieviet, G.
Architect:	A. Kruithof
Year of construction:	1915-1917
Renovations:	1983 & 1992
Surface:	8300m ²
Number of housing units:	103(original 168), of which 44 at the square
Type of housing:	Apartments, social rent



Figure 3 The Patrimoniumshof, location and historical picture, Source: Rotterdamwoont.nl, 2014

The Patrimoniumshof is a courtyard consisting of a closed-off garden with a fountain surrounded by houses, in two different rings. The courtyard has one entrance, which is open to cars, and one passage for pedestrians. The houses on the corners have a loggia; the houses on the ground floor have a backyard.

The plans for the housing complex were made at the beginning of the First World War. At the start of the building process a speech was held by the chairman of the housing corporation, who stated "A good house is even more essential, when life is more demanding". In those days the housing conditions in Rotterdam were often utterly bad, unhygienic, moisty and dark. The housing corporation Patrimonium was therefore set up, to improve the living conditions of the public housing. Rotterdam had an enormous appeal on labour migrants in the end of the 19th century. The migrants were predominantly settling on the south shore of the Meuse. For the first arrivals both housing and working conditions were bad. They only place that was heated and lighted was often the bar in those neighbourhoods. Already in the end of the 19th century these places became rather deprived and gained the bad reputation that they are still suffering (Lucas, 2010).

In 1850 public housing corporations were established to counter these developments and in 1901 the housing law was adopted. This law made it possible to get state finance for housing for those with a low income. Only 10% had to be paid by the housing corporations, while the state would lend out the remaining 90%. Next to this, the municipality gained an active role in the supply of rental-houses (Lucas, 2010).

The housing corporation Patrimonium is more than just a corporation, it is also a workers' organization. The organisation strives betterment by improving working conditions as well as by "moral elevation of the working class". As said in the speech held at the inauguration of the project, "Social elevation and good housing of the worker are not only important for his own benefit: it benefits the employer and the society as a whole as well. Decent housing has a positive influence on moral, health and psyche" (Lucas, 2010, p. 16).

Over the years, the courtyard has been a popular place to live. The apartments are still in hand of a social housing corporation, Vestia. The apartments all have a private entrance. Originally, the apartments were very small: the ground floor was measuring only 35m² with two bedrooms and an alcove, the first floor apartments were approximately 49 m², with two bedrooms and a sleeping loft. After a small renovation in the eighties, the complex was thoroughly improved in the nineties, including new kitchens and better sound insulation. During this renovation the number of houses was set back from 168 to 103 housing units of which 44 are situated in the courtyard. In 2007 the complex was designated as a national monument (Jonker, 2014).

4.3 Description of case study Antwerp

Antwerp

Where Rotterdam's urban structure is largely planned, Antwerp did grow more organically. It is undeniable that Antwerp has planned elements, but most of these efforts had other objectives than urban planning and housing: they were constructed for military reasons or for protection against the water. Where urban planning in Rotterdam has a long history, in Antwerp the first binding urban plan was made as late as 1996 (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2012). Spatial policies in Flanders had traditionally a strong focus on suburbanization (Loeckx & Vervloesem, 2012).

Stuivenberg

The neighbourhood Stuivenberg is centrally located, between the station and the harbours and between the historical centre and the suburbs. Stuivenberg is a neighbourhood which is in administration often called Antwerp-North and which is sometimes also known as the Seefhoek. Stuivenberg and Seefhoek are called different neighbourhoods: even though there is no clear boundary between the two. Therefore Stuivenberg and Seefhoek are rather synonyms than two separate neighbourhoods (Lennaers, 2011). Traditionally, this neighbourhood is a popular and lively neighbourhood where lots of cultures are living next to each other. This area had its heydays in the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century. In those days, the area hosted various theatre and cinema halls. The best shops could be found in the Offerandestraat, the first pedestrian shopping street in Antwerp. In the fifties the neighbourhood faced a large influx of migrants and temporary residents (Heynen & Meulder, 2006). In the late 80s the good days were over, the nightlife drastically declined around the Central Station. The various cinemas in the area closed one after another which also led to the bankruptcy and closing down of many cafés, cabarets and dance halls. The neighbourhood was in decline and the drug scene became more dominant. Older high-quality businesses, including the Ford Garage at Permeke, left. This resulted in many vacant and neglected buildings. The neighbourhood attracted more and more unemployed, migrants, illegal immigrants and the disadvantaged, while at the same time the majority of the middle class left the neighbourhood (Heynen & Meulder, 2006). The neighbourhood suffered from this bad image, but recent developments such as the Design Centre, the Permeke-site with the Grand Café Permeke and the library, Park Spoor Noord and other smaller projects are changing the perception of the area positively (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2012).

The average income in the area has been structurally significant lower than the average income of the whole city, as shown in figure 4. Next to this, the income growth of the inhabitants of the area is lacking behind, while the number of welfare-dependant inhabitants is increasing more rapidly than the city's average (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2014).

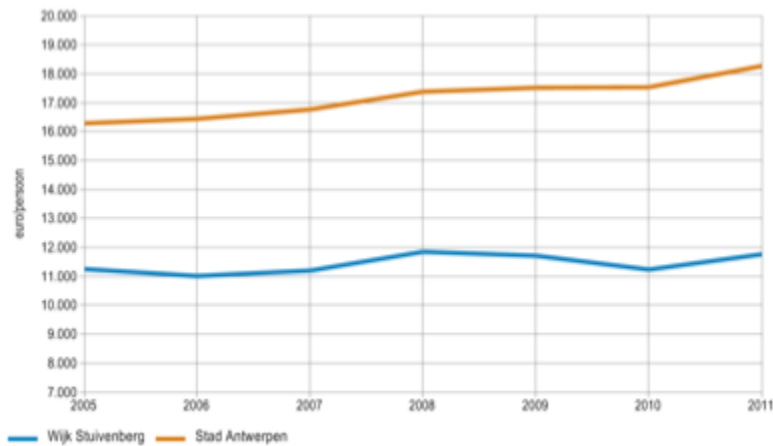
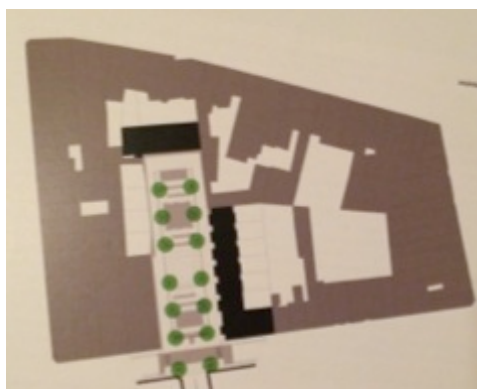


Figure 4 Average income in euros per person 2005-2011 in Stuivenberg, Source: Buurtmonitor Antwerp, 2012

Next to this the area is very dense, with only a few open spaces besides the new Park Spoor Noord. Also the amount of social housing is rather high, compared to the average of the city, but compared to Rotterdam it is extremely low with its 15%. (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2014)

Vincent van Goghplein

Location:	Stuivenberg, Antwerp
Actors:	Stad Antwerpen, Ag Vespa, Ag STAN, SHM ARRO & ABC
Architect:	Rombaut & Markx Architecten
Year:	2001-2007
Surface:	3400m ²
Public space:	1475m ²
Living:	4355m ²
Number of housing units:	22
Type of housing:	8 Apartments, social rent 8 Houses, social rent 8 Houses, via a subsidized ownership program



The Vincent van Goghplein is part of a series of impulse projects in the neighbourhood Stuivenberg for the upgrading of the neighbourhood. Originally, on this location used to be 2 small open spaces: one

square on the Lange Zavelstraat and one courtyard. The bad condition of the public space, the lack of greenery in the neighbourhood and the intense use of the area led to several different conflicts (Rombaut, 2014).

The location was selected to be redeveloped, because of the proximity of the two open spaces to each other and the possibility to connect the two spaces and create one new public space. The courtyard used to be connected to working class houses that could only be reached through a very small alley. These houses were demolished, and after this, the location has been used as a car park for several years (Apostel, Janssen, & Pittollion, 2008). In 2001, the area was bought by the city of Antwerp, as well as the private houses next to the street. Together with the owners of the neighbouring houses, the outlines for the redevelopment of the area were discussed. This led to cooperation with the housing cooperation ABC, who owned a neighbouring parcel on the Lange Beeldekenstraat. The basic structure of the public space was made by the municipality, based on the structure of the former working-class houses. One side of the area was sold to housing corporation ARRO, with restrictions and boundaries concerning the houses to be built. The houses had to be built to overlook the Van Goghplein, fostering extra social control over this new car free open space. For the design of these houses, ARRO selected Rombaut & Marckx Architecten (Rombaut, 2014).

5 Analysis: Design of the case studies

This chapter compares the framework on building for safety as given by Jane Jacobs and Jan Gehl in section 2.2 with the two case study locations. The findings presented in this chapter are based on field observations, expert interviews and informal interviews with residents conducted throughout 2014.

5.1 Patrimoniumshof, Rotterdam



Figure 6 Aerial picture of the Patrimoniumshof, Source: Google Maps, 2010

The Patrimoniumshof is a courtyard, with only two entrances. One is accessible for cars; the other is a passage under the houses. In total there are 103 houses in the project, but the inner ring of houses, which is the main focus of this research consist of 44 dwellings.

Observations

One of the 2 entrances is a passage, which can be closed off. Only some of the residents have a key, so the fence is most of the time locked.



Figure 7 Passage to Patrimoniumshof, own picture, 2014



Figure 8 Outer ring of the Patrimoniumshof, own picture, 2014.

The outside of the courtyard is formed by a second ring of houses, with their entrances facing the outer side. The façade has repetitive elements, such as the windows on the second floor. Despite the repetitive elements, this façade still has decorative elements in which bricks are used creatively or in the placement of the windows. The transition from public to private space is harsh here, with no soft transition zone. The research however focuses on the inner ring of the courtyard, with the front doors facing the core of the project.

The car-entrance leading to the square leads between two blind walls of houses and backyards. Many use this area, since it is the main entrance to the courtyard, but when no one is there at the moment, it feels unpleasant.



Figure 9 Car entrance to the square, own picture, 2014

The courtyard itself has plenty of windows overlooking the square. In total 44 front doors are connected to the courtyard. The inner part of the courtyard is closed off and therefore there is no life in this part. It is only decorative and meant to look at. However, around this closed off square there is a road. This road, which makes a circle, is often filled with little kids and when they are not there, you can feel their recent presence by the toys that are left behind.



Figure 10 Fenced green space, own picture, 2014.



Figure 11 Impressions of the Patrimoniumshof, own pictures, 2014

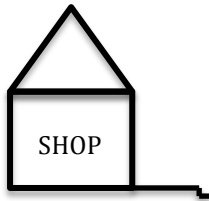
Although there are no places to sit and to stay a bit longer outside, the outer space is well used. People obviously feel at ease here: children are playing outside without supervision of their parents and front doors are left open.

Just like the outer ring, the transition from public to private space is quite abrupt. There are no front yards, but people do put private belongings like flowers in front of their houses to mark their territory.

Comparison with theoretical framework

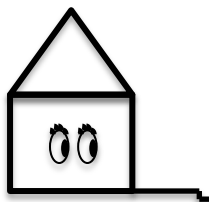
Jane Jacobs

Most observations on the square are coherent with the theory of Jane Jacobs.



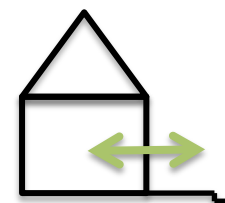
Mixed functions

The area is mono-functional, with only residential buildings around the square. This results in fewer users of the square.



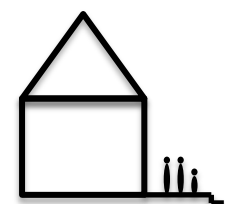
There should be eyes upon the street from the buildings lining the street.

Since there are 44 houses having their front doors and their windows directly on the square, the square is throughout the day observed.



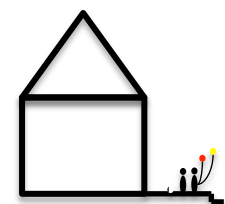
Buildings must be facing the street.

All the houses are facing the square, only the 2 entrances have blind walls facing them. In the courtyard the residents feel comfortable enough to leave their front doors open on sunny days.



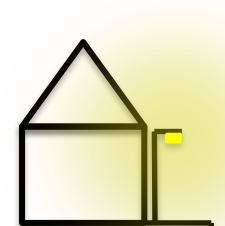
The sidewalk should be used continuously, at nearly all hours, to not only add a sense of community but also encourage neighbours to watch the street. Since the construction of a fence, which is blocking the possibility to trespass from one street to another via the courtyard the square, the amount of users of the square has dropped, but given the high amount of

houses that have their main entrance to the courtyard there is still a lot of activity.



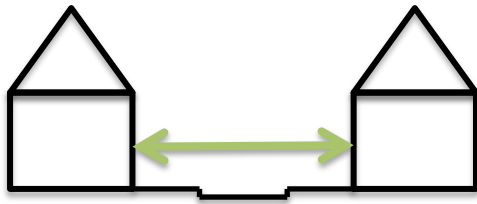
Children are able to play on sidewalks and streets.

While the inner part of the courtyard is fenced of, children are only able to play on the street. Despite this, the area is full of forgotten toys and other signs of intense use. The low amount of traffic and the slow speed that is driven in the courtyard makes it a safe place for children to play.



Good lighting

There is good lighting on the square, which leads to a safe place in the evening in combination with the numerous windows around the courtyard. The weak points of this development are the entrances, which are dark or not surveyed by houses.



Neighbourhood streets should be as narrow as possible and accommodate only slow moving traffic.

In this case, the area is only allowing traffic in one direction. At the same time the dimensions of the area could be described as narrow.

Jan Gehl

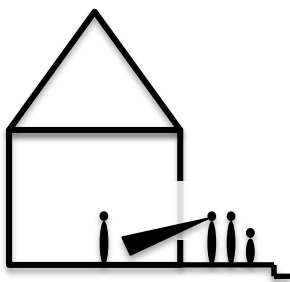
When looking at the framework as given by Jan Gehl, one can conclude that the area is largely built following his philosophy. Below follows an overview of the principals of him that are not overlapping with Jane Jacobs and an analysis to which extend these principals are used in the design of the Patrimoniumshof.

1. Life in buildings means safer streets

The area is mono-functional; there are only residential buildings in the direct surroundings. Therefore the area is not always as lively, since residents are often away from home during the day. This could have been more problematic than it is, since the inhabitants seem to be of varying ages and therefore have varying rhythms throughout the day. Also the number of dwellings is rather high.

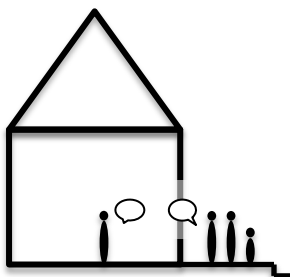
2. Soft edges mean safer cities

The design of the ground floor façade is very important in the theory of Jan Gehl. His recommendations on how to make the edges between the public and the private sphere are mostly followed.



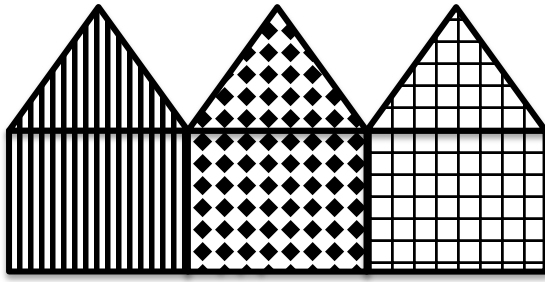
Open facades, transparent

The facades are not extremely closed, but you can still see what is happening inside. Since there are many front doors there is less space for windows, but there is still plenty of opportunity to stay in touch with what is happening inside and vice versa.



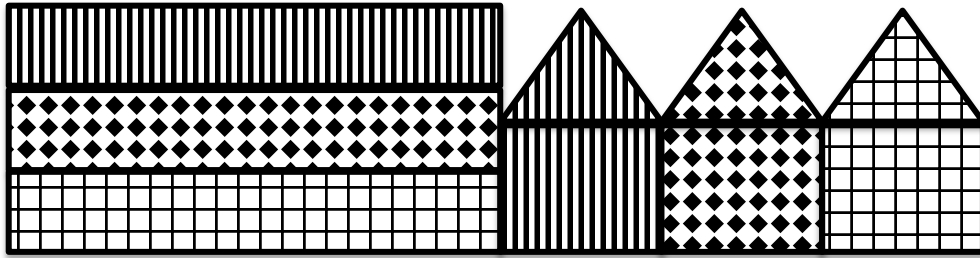
Interactive facades, appealing to all senses

The facades are not appealing to all senses. They are closed off so communicating, hearing, smelling etc. is not possible between the interior and the exterior.



Interesting facades, texture and details

There is little variation in the courtyard, since it has been built as one single unit, but the design was done with great eye for detail. There are loggias at some houses, while others have decorative brickwork.



Vertical façade rhythms

The variation in the facades can't be found in a vertical direction nor in a horizontal direction: none of the two is dominant over the other.

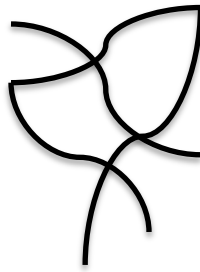
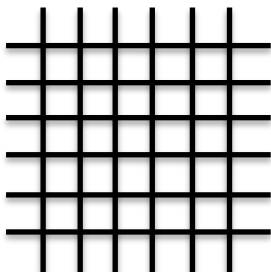
Ground bound houses

There are ground bound houses and the ones that are not ground bound are on a reasonable distance to the ground floor.

3. Ordinary concern means safer cities

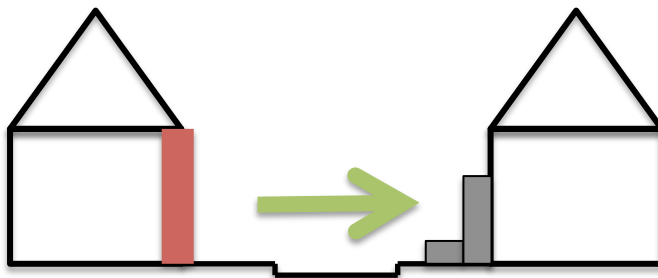
The area is very clear organized. Apart from the passage there are no dark nooks and the hedges are not too high.

4. Clear structures mean safer cities



The area has a very clear structure, making it easy to navigate, the fact that the courtyard is a cul-de-sac however makes it not well used by others.

5. Soft transitions between private and public space mean safer cities



The transition from private to semi-private doesn't lead true a semiprivate area, although the whole courtyard has a sheltered, almost semi private feeling. The fronts of the houses are sometimes marked with personal

belongings or porticoes, marking the territory of the residents.

5.2 Antwerp

This Vincent van Goghplein is relatively new; it was built between 2005 and 2007. The municipality bought the ground and gave the task to a social housing organisation and a social-buying organisation to redevelop the site. A square was constructed with a playground for the younger kids in the neighbourhood with support of European subsidies. Due to the expiration date of these subsidies, the square was constructed before the design of the houses had even started. Next to the practical difficulties this gave during the construction of the houses, it was also a restraining factor in the design process (Rombaut, 2014). The design of the two blocks was done by Rombaut architects. The boundary conditions given to the design was the definition of the building volumes as well as the possibility to reach the Lange Beeldekenstaart, which is behind the block of social housing apartments (as visible in figure 12).

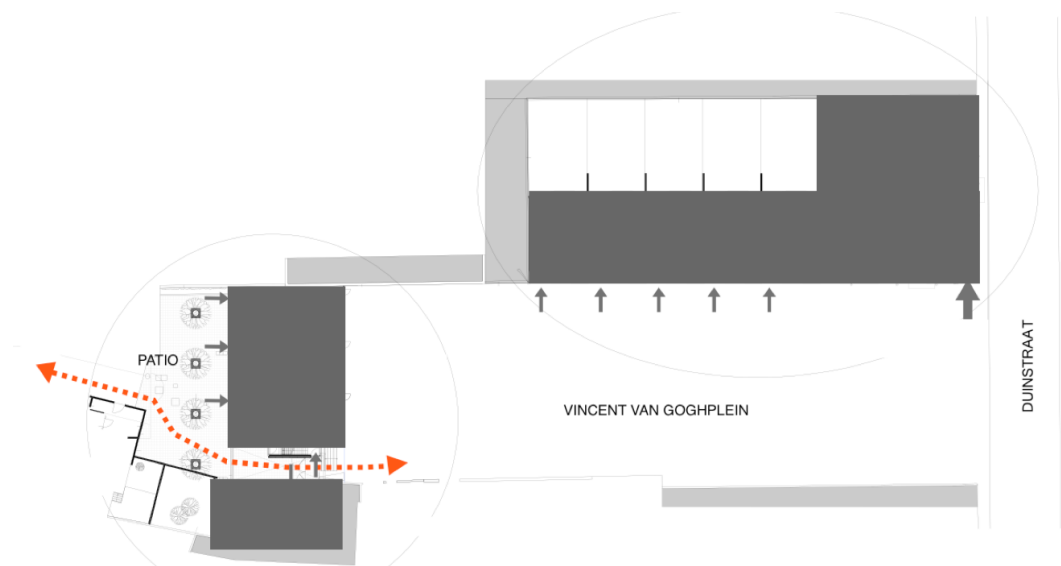


Figure 12 Boundary conditions set for the design of the Vincent van Goghplein, Source: Mark Rombout, 2014

The area used to be a place with torn down slum-like houses and a squat occupied by drug dealers. This combined with a neighbourhood with a high density and a lack of open spaces, led to the decision to redevelopment in to a composition of houses around a playground which should be leading to a socially safe urban environment. The architects chose to design the block with owner-occupied houses with the kitchens facing the square, giving them large windows overlooking the public space. As seen in figure 12, the houses have a split-level. Mark Rombaut, the architect of this housing project explains that this would increase the privacy of the residents since passers-by cannot look inside, while the view from the interior to the square would be much further due to its elevated position, as seen in figure 12 (Rombaut, 2014).

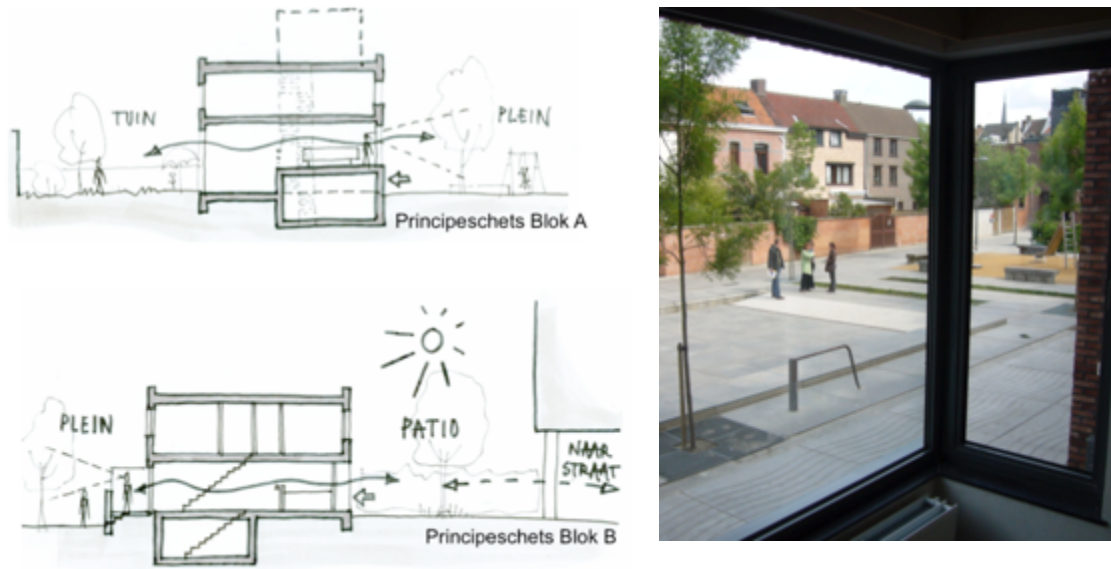


Figure 12 Sections of houses and view from kitchen upon square, Source: Mark Rombaut, 2014

The same principal of privacy for the residents is given to the inhabitants of the houses on the end of the square. The entrance of these houses is not on the side of the square, but on the backside. All the apartments have balconies facing the square that are a bit elevated. To avoid the look of passers-by inside the houses, a wall is constructed (Rombaut, 2014).

As often happens, things work out different in reality. After the houses were sold most windows (which were supposed to overlook the square to guarantee social safety) were covered entirely with plastic, to avoid the exposure of the wives cooking in the kitchen to strangers. According to the architect of the estate, this has to do with the predominantly Moroccan background of the inhabitants of the 5 houses facing the square. Also, when walking on the square, there might be eyes on the street, but since they are designed to be elevated, this is perceived differently. On the eye level there is not much to see than bricks, making it not a very interesting façade to walk next to (visible in figure 13).



Figure 13 Impressions of Vincent van Goghplein. Source: own pictures, 2014

The route to the street behind the square crosses the former courtyard of a social housing block. Therefore it was requested that this area could still be closed off at night. A fence was constructed (see figure 14, right side), but this appeared to be not high enough: there were still drug addicts on the square. As a result, the fence has been replaced by a new fence that goes up from the ground to the ceiling (see figure 14, left side).



Figure 14 Fences: on the left the new situation, on the right the old situation. Source: own pictures, 2013 and 2014

This results in a complete different dynamics of the square. There is no longer a route going over the square. This means that there are no occasional or coincidental visits to the square: you only go there to visit the square, not just to pass through.

This fence is not the only fence that has appeared on the square since its inauguration. Also the individual front doors, which are located directly on the square, have their own fences, to protect the 1m² of private space in front of their doors (figure 15). Walls also surround the existing houses that are on the left side of the square (figure 15). Behind these walls are no backyards, but the front doors. Two blind walls of adjacent houses furthermore define the surroundings of the square, which is shown in figure 15. Next to the little opportunities of natural surveillance, there is also a problem with the transitions from public to the private sphere. This edge is really clear designed, there is no room for misunderstanding where the one ends and the other begins. This has a very unwelcoming effect on the passers-by. This all together gives the square a very isolated feeling.

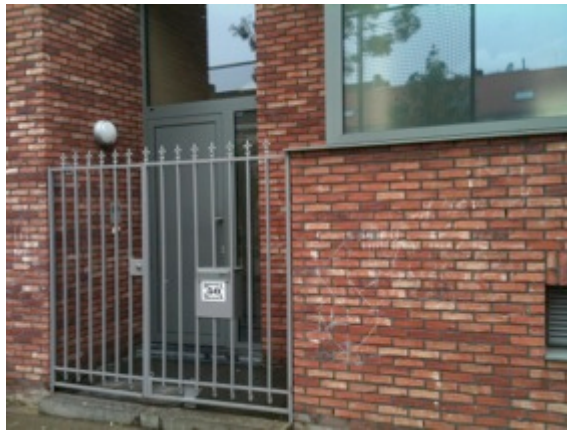


Figure 15 Impressions of blind walls and fences, Source: own picture, 2014

As a result, the public space is not well used. Also the design of the public space itself is rather poor. As told in the interview by Mark Rombaut, the design of the square was made under great time pressure. The result is composition of elements no one seems to know how to use (figure 16). There was little neighbourhood participation in the whole process, which is visible in the choices of elements. The elements are abstract and conceptual, with no room for own initiative. The result is a square with little to no life on it.

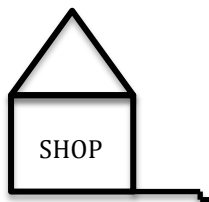


Figure 10 Impression of playground, Source: own picture, 2014

If you compare these observations with the theoretical framework as described in chapter 2, you can see that this way of building is not improving safety at all. Although the architects gave it some thoughts, the concept of “eyes on the street” failed dramatically. The elevation of the kitchens did not add any eyes to the street, since all the windows are covered with plastics. The perceived surveillance is decreased simply by the fact that users of the square aren’t able to notice the life inside the buildings. There is little to no life on the square, because of its cul-de-sac layout and the lack of facilities adjacent to the square. The houses adjacent to the square do not have soft edges. The transition from private to public is harsh, with wall around balconies and fences in front of the front doors. Also the design of the houses is repetitive, with little details. The fact that blind walls and fences enclose half of the square is even worsening the case. There is also a lack of front doors leading to the square. Of the 22 houses that are involved in this project, only 5 have direct access to the square.

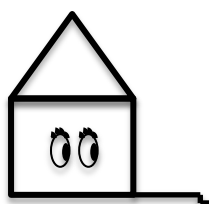
Jane Jacobs

Some observations on the square are coherent with the theory of Jane Jacobs, but most of her points made in ‘The death and life of great American cities’ are not represented in the design.



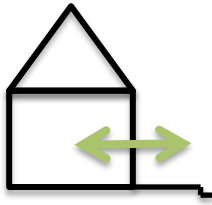
Mixed functions

The area is mono-functional, with only residential buildings around the square. This results in fewer users of the square.



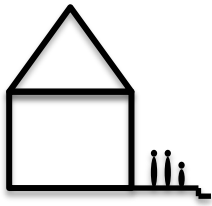
There should be eyes upon the street from the buildings lining the street.

There are little to no eyes on the street, since the square is for a large part surrounded by walls. The few windows that are facing the square are covered with plastic.

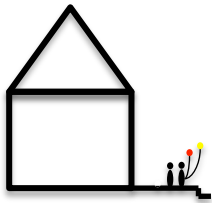


Buildings must be facing the street.

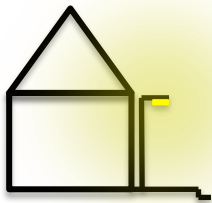
As said in chapter 2, buildings should not turn their backs on the street, and they should not be security gated so that residents have no reason to care about what happens in their neighbourhood. This has dramatically gone wrong in this case: the front doors have gates before them and the apartments have their backs turned at the square.



The sidewalk should be used continuously, at nearly all hours, to not only add a sense of community but also encourage neighbours to watch the street. Since the construction of a fence, which is blocking the possibility to trespass from one street to another over the square, the amount of users of the square has dropped. Nowadays the square is most of the time deserted.

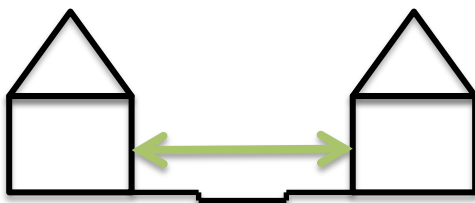


Children are able to play on sidewalks and streets. There is place for the kids to play, but it is not used very well. The place can be described as an artificial haven, which is considered not likable by Jane Jacobs. Well-used playgrounds are theoretically the best defence against potential criminals, but then they have to be used.



Good lighting

There is good lighting on the square, but this alone cannot guarantee safety: without effective eyes to see, the light itself does not make a large difference. A sufficient number of street users are key to a safe environment.



Neighbourhood streets should be as narrow as possible and accommodate only slow moving traffic.

In this case, the area is completely pedestrianized and the dimensions of the area could be described as narrow.

Jan Gehl

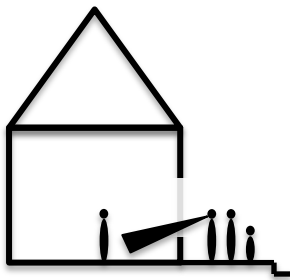
When looking at the framework as given by Jan Gehl, one can conclude that the area is hardly built following any principals of his philosophy. Below follows an overview of the principals of him that are not overlapping with Jane Jacobs and an analysis to which extend these principals are used in the design of the Vincent van Goghplein.

1. Life in buildings means safer streets

The area is mono-functional; there are only residential buildings in the direct surroundings. Therefore the area is very quiet and deserted throughout large parts of the day.

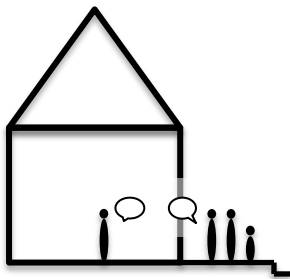
2. Soft edges mean safer cities

The design of the ground floor façade is very important in the theory of Jan Gehl. His recommendations on how to make the edges between the public and the private sphere are not visible in the design of the houses.



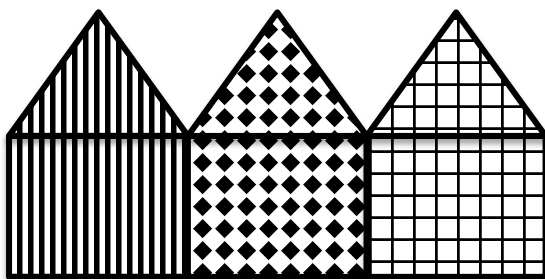
Open facades, transparent

The houses are especially built to maximise privacy. Windows are elevated from pedestrian eye level, fences surround balconies, and walls are put in front of the front yards. This limits the notion from inside what is happening outside and vice versa.



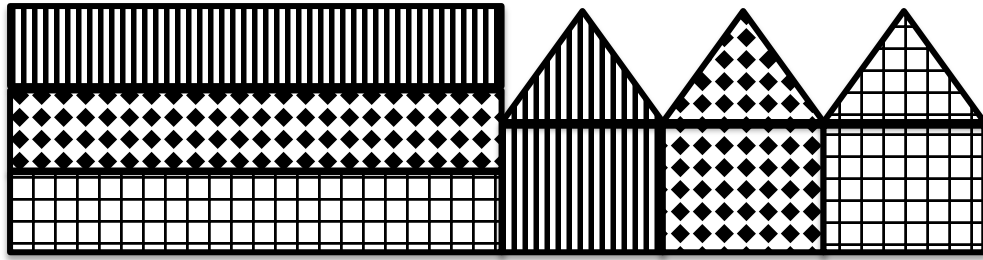
Interactive facades, appealing to all senses

The facades are not appealing to all senses. They are closed off so communicating, hearing, smelling etc. is not possible between the interior and the exterior.



Interesting facades, texture and details

There is little variation in the facades, since it has been built as one single unit. The facades consist of large planes, with some windows. The interruption in the long façade is the entrance, here the facades withdraws a bit.



Vertical façade rhythms

The variation in the facades can't be found in a vertical direction nor in a horizontal direction: none of the two is dominant over the other. The only interruption in the façade can be found in the interruptions at the place of the front doors.

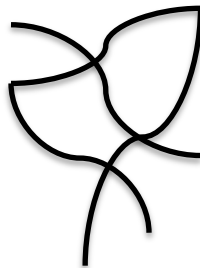
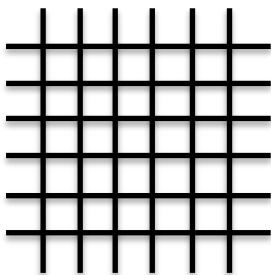
Ground bound houses

Of the 22 houses in the whole project, only 5 have their direct access to the square.

3. Ordinary concern means safer cities

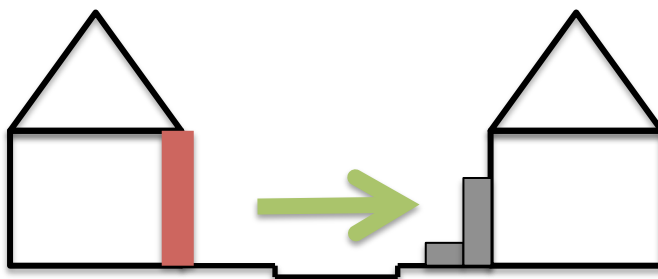
The area is very clear organized. Apart from the passage there are no dark nooks and the hedges are not too high.

4. Clear structures mean safer cities



The area has a very clear structure, making it easy to navigate. The fact that the courtyard is a cul-de-sac however makes it not well used by others.

5. Soft transitions between private and public space mean safer cities



of them.

The transition from private to semi-private doesn't lead true a semiprivate area, although the front doors do have a small space before them. This however can hardly be called semi-private, since they all have a fence in front

5.3 Comparison Antwerp and Rotterdam



Figure 17 Comparison of entrances: Rotterdam on the left, Antwerp on the right. Source: own pictures, 2014

The ambiances on the two squares are reasonably different. In the Patrimoniumshof, the residents feel that much at ease that they leave their front doors open, while at the Vincent van Goghplein residents did put up fences in front of their front doors.

Another main difference that can be explanatory for the other findings is that the Patrimoniumshof is denser than the Vincent van Goghplein. The ratio between the public space and the number of residents is in the case of Rotterdam lower, meaning that the public space is used more intense. This higher number of resident results in a higher number of windows overlooking the square in Rotterdam, making the space both more used and more surveyed. In Rotterdam, there are 44 front doors connected to the square, while in Antwerp only 5 houses have their entrance directly on the square. This means more surveillance, more uses and more life on the streets. Another beneficial factor of the Patrimoniumshof is the controllable entrance. There is only one entrance to the square in Rotterdam while the Vincent van Goghplein has one whole side of the square open to the outer world. The last main difference is the use of the public space. While the Patrimoniumshof has a closed garden that is only meant to be looked at, the Vincent van Goghplein is all over accessible and has a public function as a playground.

6 Analysis: Case studies & safety

The previous chapter analysed the built environment by conducting observations and comparing these with the given theoretical framework. This chapter compares the actual safety as perceived and as reported in both case study areas. At first, the level of the case study is discussed, and then the safety situation on neighbourhood level. In both cases perceived and objective safety are considered. This analysis is realised by conducting interviews and analysing statistical data and policy documents provided by the different municipalities.

6.1 Rotterdam

Patrimoniumshof

The Patrimoniumshof is considered as a nice and quiet spot within the neighbourhood. The neighbourhoodnetworker, Xenia Heemskerk knows the area very well, but for her there is not much work in the area, because “there is only one house that has been reported for nuisance, out of the 44 dwellings in the whole courtyard”, she told. According to Xenia, there are no youngsters hanging around there either. According to her, this related to the fact that there is not much opportunity to hang around in the area, since the inner garden is fenced off and the area is very controllable (Heemskerk, 2014).

According to a resident, Yvonne Liew-on (42) some minor nuisance was present in the courtyard around 2010. “Things were going less well in the courtyard. There was nuisance sometimes. This was not nice; it spoilt the pleasure of living here. Previously you could leave the front door open when you were just making a chat somewhere, but then this was not the case anymore.” Nowadays the opposite seems to be true, since several front doors were found open during observations. Yvonne did see the area improving back in 2010, she told: “When I came here in 1994, the setting was really awful. Weed plantations, an illegal immigrant who committed suicide, nuisance, crime.” The situation improved on the square and in the direct surroundings of the square. “The nuisance of youngsters hanging around on the street is reduced and new owner-occupied homes were built in the neighbourhood. That worked out well. I expect that it will be even better in ten years”, Yvonne tells. (Lucas, 2010, p. 54)

The story as told by Yvonne is confirmed by the memories of Jan Hartmans, a 70-year old resident who has lived on the square since 1989. But according to him, “Not everything was better back in the old days, but the people were more economical with their belongings.” Overall he is really enthusiastic about living in the courtyard. After having lived in the neighbourhood for all his life, he was really happy to move to the courtyard in 1989. He describes, “When I came

here I thought it was a relief. No hectic, no situations, no crowds. Children can still just play here on the street, there's hardly any traffic. But also strange things have happened here though. Once a miss was thrown out the window close by in a quarrel. I also once had a hassle with the neighbours myself." (Lucas, 2010)

Jan tells that social control used to be much stronger: "Many years ago, long before my time, there was a bell at eleven o'clock, I've been told. Those who had nothing to do here then knew they had to leave." Off course, this is not something of our days and times anymore, but according to Jan, "Social control stayed. I know everyone here, the contact in such a courtyard is much better than in a long street. You live differently here. I keep an eye on everyone in the courtyard. I live near the entrance gate. Everybody looks after each other here." According to both Jan and Yvonne, the main issue is not the courtyard, but the neighbourhood in which it is located. "As visitors see the courtyard for the first time, they like it. And it is also nice, but the area that could be better." (Lucas, 2010, p. 50)

This opinion is shared with Luc Jonker who is housing officer at Vestia and responsible for the Patrimoniumshof. He knows the area as a nice and quiet place to live. Not only the housing corporation is proud to own it, also the residents are proud to live here and stay on an average twice as long compared to other houses in the stock of the social housing corporation. To maintain the peaceful and quiet nature of the area, only people aged 40+ are allowed to rent a house at the courtyard with maximum one child. This decision was made to reduce noise relate nuisance (Jonker, 2014).

When looking at data on safety, it is clear that the Patrimoniumshof has less crime reported. Between January 2013 and June 2014 only 11 incidents were reported by the police. These reports refer to 2 stolen bikes, 6 reports on nuisance in public space and 3 reports on conflicts in public space. When calculating the number of reports per household in a year as shown in the formula below, the ratio of 11 reports in 1,5 year in a courtyard with 44 households results in a report ratio of 0,1667 report per household per year. Compared to surrounding streets, this is a rather low number. In the adjacent Jasmijnstraat this number is 0,268 report per household per year. In the Egelantierstraat, which is opposite of the passage this rate is even as high as 0,305, meaning that a household reports an incident to the police once every 3 years. Also the nature of crimes is rather different in the surrounding streets. Some things are to be expected, for example, the Patrimoniumshof scores well when it comes to traffic safety, since there is little traffic. Other things are more peculiar. In the other streets abuse, street robberies and threatening's are reported, which category is not even present in the data on Patrimoniumshof. In whole neighbourhood of Bloemhof a total of 2561 crimes were reported over 1,5 year, in an area with

6585 households. This results in a report per household per year rate of 0,259 (Police Rotterdam, 2014) (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012).

$$Report\ ratio_{Area} = \left(\frac{Police\ reports\ per\ area}{Number\ of\ households} \right) / years$$

These statistics prove the feelings of the residents, civil servants and the housing corporation; the Patrimoniumshof can be seen as a safe haven within the neighbourhood, it truly has relatively few crimes reported.

Neighbourhood

The neighbourhood Bloemhof is suffering from a bad image. Politicians and media reinforce this image. According to the manager of the social housing corporation in Bloemhof, Luc Jonker, incidents in Bloemhof gain way more attention than incidents in surrounding neighbourhoods. Research shows that the external image of the neighbourhood is rather low. A word cloud made for a research conducted by the “Grote woontest”(Big living test) shows that the area is mainly negatively associated with words as crime, unsafe, foreigners, busy, old and shabby. Positive associations are cosy, shops, social and multicultural. The graph below shows the image of the neighbourhood, intern versus extern. In both cases the area is among the lowest of Rotterdam-Zuid (De Grote Woontest, 2012).



Figure 18 Internal versus external image of neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, Bloemhof is visible on the left side, Source: De grote Woontest, 2013

To monitor safety in the municipality, the city made a yearly safety index between 2002 and 2012. This safety-index was used to measure safety, to analyse progression and to adjust policies if needed. The safety index is generated with information from different sources. There are two main groups of sources: registration data (or objective data) and survey data (or subjective data). These two sources are combined to get an integral perspective on safety, but also to overcome wrong assumptions. For example, there are neighbourhoods where residents are reluctant to make a declaration. If only objective data was taken into account, these neighbourhoods might be considered safe. The record data is originates from the police, the fire department and municipal services. The survey data is based on a large survey conducted among 16000 residents in 2011. In this survey, topics like satisfaction in the neighbourhood, avoidance of problems and if one has been victim of a crime last year are discussed. Of each neighbourhood, an average of 225 residents joined in the survey. The survey takes place twice a year to avoid influences of seasons and incidents. The result of the survey is a grade, given to each neighbourhood. In 2011 there were no neighbourhoods which were considered unsafe, but there were still two deprived neighbourhoods: Bloemhof and Hillesluis.

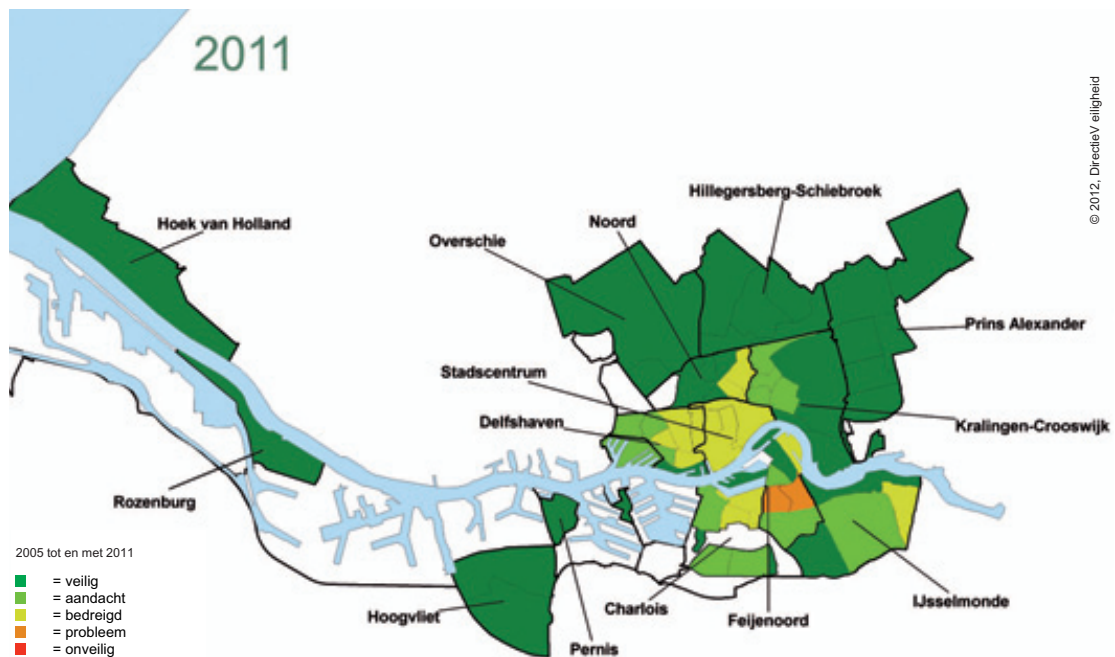


Figure 19 Safety in Rotterdam: orange means unsafe. The two orange neighbourhoods on the map are Bloemhof and Hillesluis. Source: Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012

Bloemhof scores a 4,5 on a scale of 10, which means that it is a problematic area. Since 2009 the area has gone backwards, from a 4,9 to 4,5. The decrease is in particular visible in these 4 elements: nuisance, drug related nuisance, burglary and theft. Some other elements like violence, maintenance and traffic remain the same, while vandalism seems to be less of an issue (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012).

In 2014, the safety index has been replaced by the neighbourhood profile (wijkprofiel), which combines data on safety with social and physical data. In this profile again objective and subjective data are combined to get an integral perspective on the individual neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoodprofiel contains information on the following themes:

Safety	Social	Physical
- Perceived safety - Theft - Violence - Burglary - Vandalism - Nuisance	- Experienced quality of life - Capacities - Participation - Living environment - Social binding	- Living Experience - Real Estate - Public space - Facilities - Milieu

(Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014)

The graph below shows the results of the neighbourhood profile for Bloemhof. The colours are a bit misleading, green is not meaning that the area is doing well; it means that it is around the average of Rotterdam. Also most results are relative, compared to the Rotterdam average. (Rotterdam, 2014)



Figure 20 Outcome of the neighbourhood profile. The middle part shows safety(objective, subjective and general) on the topics of theft, violence, burglary, vandalism and nuisance. Green is the average of Rotterdam. Source: Wijkprofiel, 2014

The overall perceived safety for Bloemhof is indexed on 57(with the average of Rotterdam being 100). Only 60% of the residents are satisfied with their neighbourhood, which is well below the Rotterdam average of 76%. Residents estimate their chance to become a victim of crime relatively high and are also more prone to avoid certain actions or situations, because of perceived low safety. Numbers on theft are rather low. Pickpocketing, bike theft and other property crimes occur less often than in other Rotterdam neighbourhoods, but the residents perceive this different: they feel like these crimes happen more often This can mean two things: that these events take place more, but are not reported, or that the perceived safety is lower than it should be due to other reasons. Objectively, violence reports are around the Rotterdam average, only threatening is more reported. Subjectively, violence seems to be a larger problem. Residents estimate their chance of becoming a victim of violence twice as high as in other neighbourhoods of Rotterdam and twice as many residents claim to have been victim of violent purse snatching or violent abuse. In contrary to property crimes, violence seems to be less

reported, since there is no direct incentive to do this. With property crime one could receive money from insurance, while there is no gain when reporting violence: this might be the explanation for the large gap between objective and subjective data on violence. Objective burglary data looks rather positive for Bloemhof, but this can be explained by the fact that this is the average of burglaries from houses and from garden sheds, and garages. The first, burglaries from houses occur well above average, but the second, burglaries from garden sheds and garages occur only as much as 25% of the Rotterdam average. This can be explained by the fact that there aren't many garden sheds and garages in the area: the area is dense and pre-WOII with little to no garages. Perceived burglary is therefore way lower: the number of residents that claim to have been a victim of burglaries is double of the Rotterdam average. Vandalism is the only element that scores objectively lower than perceived. Still, vandalism is also perceived as a problem: especially cars do not seem to be safe in this neighbourhood. Nuisance scores both objective and subjective below average: there are more conflicts, more nuisances reported and more drug related nuisances. Residents seem especially to be bothered by youngsters hanging around and by drug addicts (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014).

To summarize, the perceived safety is low on all topics. When looking at objective data some things seem to do ok at first sight, but this could have to do with errors in methodology and report culture.

6.2 Antwerp

Vincent van Goghplein

Already 2 years after the inauguration of the housing project, the square reaches local news because of the nuisance experienced from other users by the inhabitants. Inhabitants state that they are "living in hell". Newspapers describe the housing project as a well-maintained, modern and cosy island in a difficult neighbourhood. According to the inhabitants vandals are ravaging the square. Due to noise at night and persistent vandalism of some 'gangs', no one seems to feel safe anymore. During daytime, the square is mostly vacant, but at night this changes. "First they empty their bottles and then they throw the violently against the walls. Often they sit here until six o'clock in the morning, making noise." According to the newspaper article, the residents are rather reluctant to even talk about the problems, being afraid for repercussions (Bergh, 2009).

Residents found signs of drug use on the square and kept their children inside, despite the fact that there is a new playground on a pedestrianized plot right in front of their houses. Also the kids claimed to be too afraid to play outside. The violence and the nuisance on the square is claimed to be related to gangs. Some families moved out of the area because of the numerous

burglaries in their houses, on another house of a Belgian family someone wrote 'racist' (Bergh, 2009).

The police confirmed the problems on the square and is keeping a close eye on the case. "If our surveillance is only skipped one day, you can directly see that the situation on the square escalates." According to the police, the vandals are not only residents of the neighbourhood; even youngsters from other districts of the city come especially to this square (Bergh, 2009).

Reaction of the municipality

Ilse Rossou is "buurtregiseur"(neighbourhood-director) in Stuivenberg. In consultation with the local associations and official instances, buurtregisseurs search for solutions to nuisance and liveability. She thinks that these reactions of the inhabitants are exaggerated. It is true that there were some problems when the square just opened. According to her, the youngsters of the neighbourhood were testing out this new situation and were looking how far they could go. The presence of gangs is also not acknowledged by her, it was just a group hanging around, smoking weed, making noise and being outside until early in the morning. Alcohol abuse and the presence on the square till 6am seems unlikely to her, since the group of youngsters hanging around was mostly from Moroccan background and not drinking alcohol. Staying outside that late is not assumable to her either, since they all had to go to work or school the next day (Rossou, 2014).

In the heydays of the nuisance, the square had two accesses; one from the Duinstraat, which is still there, and one under the apartment blocks leading to the Lange Beeldekenstraat. This passage was made as a shortcut for the inhabitants, but in practice it was mainly used by the youngsters, which were hanging around on the square to flee for the police. This made surveillance for the police harder, since it was not easy to catch them if they would misbehave on the square. Next to this the nuisance itself was often hard to be penalized, since the acts that caused the nuisance were often not criminal facts (Rossou, 2014).

The four older houses that have been there before the square was implemented are a special case. These houses used to be connected to the street by a small alley in between the vacant houses that used to be on the spot of the square; right in front of these houses was an unused plot of land. These vacant houses were used by drug addicts. After the construction of the new project, these houses were at once adjacent to the new square, which could be seen as an improvement. However, since their front façade is facing a public space now, they lost a lot of privacy and felt exposed. As a result, all the residents of these houses moved out (Rossou, 2014).

As a reaction, the municipality took several different measures; these are physical, technological, preventive, social or repressive:

- Physical:
 - The municipality kept on investing in the square; demolitions are consequently repaired.
 - The passage under the houses is closed off with a gate. With no escape-rout the square is less interesting to make trouble.
 - Technological:
 - A camera has been installed, which keeps an eye on the activities on the square at all times.
 - Social:
 - Activities for little kids living in the neighbourhood were organized on the square on Wednesday and Saturday afternoon for 1,5 year. Recently this project has stopped due to financial reasons.
 - Repressive:
 - More surveillance of police and neighbourhood supervision
- (Rossou, 2014)

Nowadays, the situation at the Vincent Van Gogh Square is well. This is partly due to the physical measures taken in the square. Occasionally there are additional reports about cleanliness and maintenance of the square, but these are nothing special, and comparable to the reports from other plazas nearby (Rossou, 2014).

Objective data on Stuivenberg

The neighbourhood of Stuivenberg as a whole shows a different, calmer image. The general trend is that criminality in the neighbourhood is more or less decreasing since 2009. The decrease in crime is faster and longer present than in the rest of the city although recently there has been a small increase, as shown in figure 21. The statistics used by the municipality are based on index numbers, making it hard to compare the actual crime since only growth is visible compared to the neighbourhood level. The number of criminal facts in 2004 might have been extremely high in Stuivenberg making decrease less of an effort (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2014).

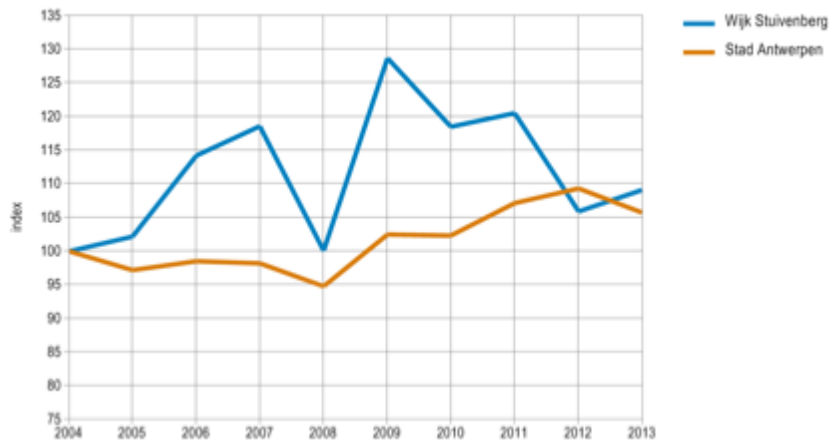


Figure 21 Total number of criminal facts in Stuivenberg, index numbers compared to 2004, Source: police Antwerp

Compared to the Antwerp context, Stuivenberg is scoring mediocre on registered crimes (see graph 22). Home-burglary and theft are decreasing steadily (see graph 23), while drug abuse is more reported and more common as well as violence. Drug related nuisance in all different forms is an issue in the neighbourhood: drug-use, drug-possession, drug-production and drugs-trade. However, this is not a problem that is unique: in whole Antwerp an increase in drug related nuisance and crimes is noticed or gained more attention. The increase in drug related nuisance in Stuivenberg is comparable to the increase that is noticed all over town, although in percentage of the total crimes conducted in the area, drug abuse is relatively large in Stuivenberg as is visible in figure 24 (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2014). According to the police, this can be explained by the fact that they catch more

crimes in total. The 'war on drugs' is the top priority of the current city council. Last year a lot of different actions were undertaken and therefore more people were arrested. The increase was enormous, showing a distinctive change in mentality: in 2012 only 565 persons were arrested, while in 2013 1400 persons were

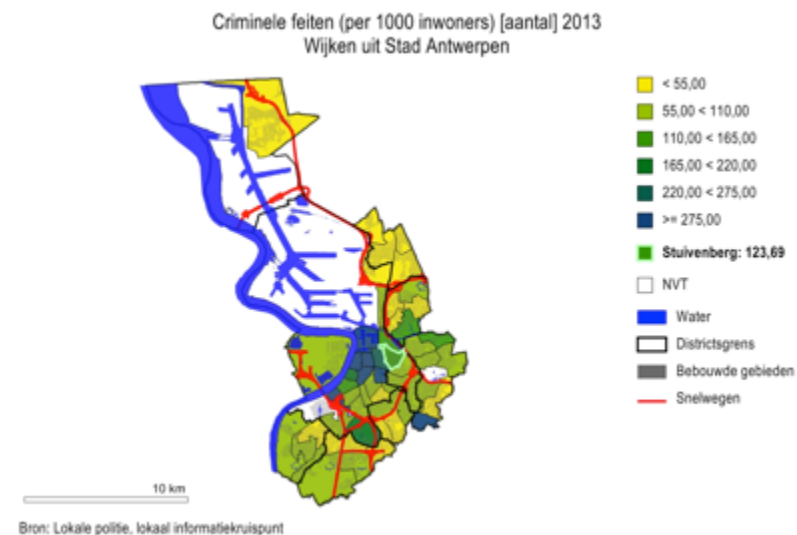


Figure 22 Criminal factes per 1000 inhabitants(2013) in Antwerp and Stuivenberg, Source: Buurtmonitor Antwerp

arrested. Next to these police actions, there are numerous cameras taken in to use all over town, which help catching perpetrators in the middle of the act (Borgers, 2014)

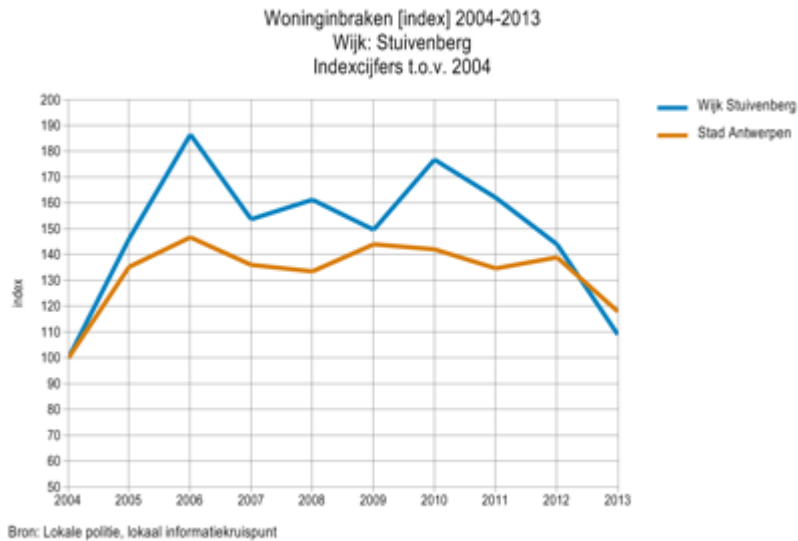


Figure 23 Burglaries in Antwerp, indexnumbers compared to 2004, Source: police Antwerp

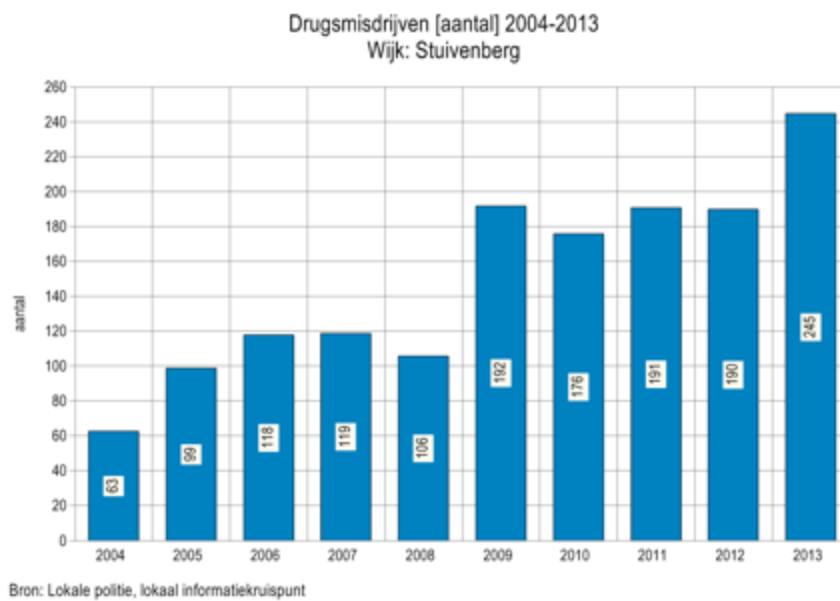


Figure 24 Drug related crimes in Stuivenberg, 2004-2013, Source: police Antwerp

6.3 Rotterdam versus Antwerp

The general image of safety is confirming the assumptions based upon the results of the analysis of chapter 5. The Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp is attracting crime in higher concentrations

than the average place in the neighbourhood, while Patrimoniumshof is a true safe haven within Bloemhof. The areal pictures below show the different environment of the case studies. While the case study in Antwerp is one of the few open spaces amidst a very dense neighbourhood, the case study in Rotterdam is surrounded by larger open spaces.



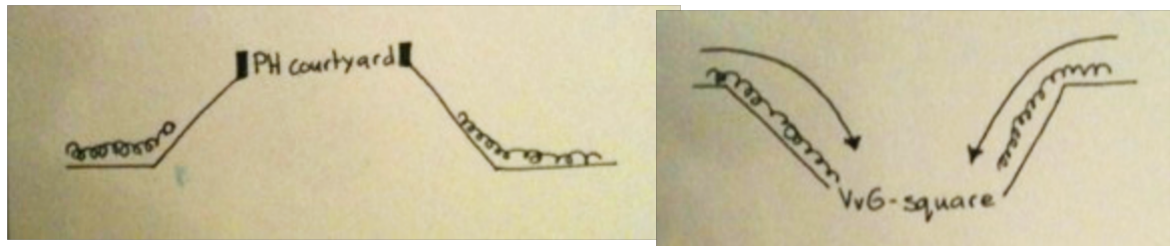
Figure 25 Aerial picture of Patrimoniumshof, Source: Google Maps, 2014



Figure 26 Aerial picture of Vincent van Goghplein, Source: Bing, 2014

This difference can explain the higher pressure on the space in Antwerp. Both neighbourhoods are suffering from high crime rates, although the nature of the crimes seems to be different. In Antwerp especially drugs-related crimes are conducted, while in Rotterdam the main issues are property-crimes and violence. While the issues of the neighbourhood seem to be magnified on the square in Antwerp, in Rotterdam the area seems to be closed off from many crimes. For the

past 1,5 year there have been no burglaries or violent related crimes reported in the courtyard, which is unique in the neighbourhood (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2014).



Patrimoniumshof seems to be elevated above crime and manages to keep it outside of its courtyard, while the Vincent van Goghplein seems to attract it like a drainage point.

When zooming in on the level of the case studies, in both cases an improvement in safety was found after closing the fences of the extra exit (the passage) permanently. In both cases this meant that there was no possible escape route any longer, but there was also no need for strangers to visit the square spontaneously, since it would not be part of a route leading between two destinations outside of the square. This made the situation more controllable, but also the users of the square more known by the residents, since those became mostly the inhabitants.

On one hand, the Rotterdam case with no couches or other places to reside longer than necessary in public space seems to do better. Next to this, there are also limited outsiders on the square, since the entrance is small and manageable, there are no mixed functions attracting people and no thoroughfare roads. Also the social cohesion seems strong. The neighbours know each other and look after each other, something that is not happening in Antwerp.

On the other hand, the public space in Rotterdam is not public since it is fenced. One could question what this means: the green area is designed not to be used. Is this because of esthetical reasons or is this because this place can't handle usage? So far no one has asked the municipality for keys to the park in the middle. The general assumption among the municipality is that when the residents get the key, they won't be able to handle the responsibility. The housing corporation likes to keep it as it is right now; because they are afraid that opening the square will lead to nuisance, vandalism and youngsters hanging around (Jonker, 2014). It is apparently perceived too unsafe to give this space to the public. On the other hand, it is also remarkable that no one asked for the keys so far. This can be seen as a sign of low expectations: the residents are happy when everything is going ok and when there is no nuisance, but they are not thinking any further. The inner park would be a great spot for their kids to play or to read a book next to the fountain, but no one seems to bother. According to Afke, this is displaying the mode of life of the inhabitants: they don't have the capacity to imagine a different, potentially better situation; they don't seem to be able to think further than their day-day hassles (Besselink, 2014).

7 Analysis: Policy reactions

When places are designed, cities have the best expectations for these places. However, as shown in the previous chapter, reality is often different and expectations are sometimes met with disappointing outcomes. This chapter deals with the responds of municipalities. How are they adjusting their policies when areas are considered less safe than desired? First the context of both cities is described. This part tries to give an overview of the context in which the events take place. For Rotterdam there is a strong focus on the description and the attitude of the municipality, since it is considered to be very particular and explanatory for the development of certain policies according to several interviews (Besselink, 2014) (Heemskerk, 2014) (Jonker, 2014) (Schweitzer, 2014) (Klaassen). For Antwerp, there is an overview given of the historical planning context, since this was considered the basis for the current policies by several interviewees (Rossou, 2014) (Bruininck, 2014) (Rombaut, 2014). After both cities' cultural, historical and political contexts are portrayed, the different policies developed are presented for each city. The last paragraph compares the two different practises. This chapter is based on information gathered via different interviews, media sources, policy documents and other forms of municipal communication.

7.1 Rotterdam

The status of Rotterdam being on top of all 'bad-lists', combined with a strong attention in media and politics led to different, innovative policies. Next to this it is important to understand the attitude of the municipality of Rotterdam, which is considered unique in the Netherlands. This can be described as a very hands on mentality or as they describe it themselves as a 'Kendoe-mentality' (this is the Dutch phonetic version for can do..). In Vers Beton, an online magazine this attitude is described as follows:

"As we all know there is a high appreciation for action in Rotterdam. Not too much thinking of talking, but doing. Intellectuals seem to be seen with slight suspicion. Rotterdam doesn't have too many of them; or they know how to hide themselves very well. In Rotterdam, there is no place for thinkers, so is the image. For decades, this mentality has been named with slogans like "no words, but deeds", but our new the executive board of the municipality found a new word: Kendoe-mentality. What this Kendoe-mentality means is not really clear, it seems that Kendoe

mainly focuses on handling. Handling new style. Once again more vigour and more tackling (Kraaij, 2014).²

This description has a strong negative focus. It is too easy to think that this proactive approach happens at the expense of thinking: it is not simply one or the other. This hands-on mentality might not seem very sensitive or intellectual at first sight, but it does reflect an admirable ambition to get things done and to make things better. Therefore, the municipality doesn't write policies. Policy is considered as a bad word within the municipality. Policies are protocols to guide decisions and to achieve rational outcomes, Instead of guiding decisions, the municipality prefers to make them. Therefore, there are no policies, but approaches (although the Dutch translation, 'aanpak' sounds even more firm and hands on) (Besselink, 2014). The vocabulary used by the municipality is crammed with almost military terms. It is not only to be seen in the avoidance of the word policy but also in, for example, the way how some special civil servants are called: city marines. The municipality likes to be seen that way: hands on and not to be messed with.

The municipality of Rotterdam is special within the Dutch context by their strong believe in the malleable nature of society, in social engineering. This makes Rotterdam a very ambitious municipality. Things are not taken for granted; they can always be changed according to the municipality. For example, the municipality of Rotterdam is one of the few municipalities with an own program on education, while this is actually a concern of the national government. Rotterdam truly believes that the city is able to elevate the residents socially, economically and on the level of education (Besselink, 2014).

But it is not only the society that is considered to be malleable; in the Netherlands in general is a strong tradition of urban planning based on the idea that the urban environment is malleable and should be managed and designed. A Rotterdam alderman, J.G. van der Ploeg said in 1982: "Cities do not come naturally and do not continue to be there automatically. They are built and not created spontaneously by nature. We cannot leave cities on their 'natural' fate. If we would do

² Own translation of Dutch, original text: In Rotterdam is er zoals we weten een hoge waardering voor actie. Niet te veel te praten of nadenken, maar vooral doen. Intellectuelen lijken met lichte argwaan te worden bekeken. Rotterdam heeft er daar dan ook niet zo veel van; of zij weten dat goed geheim te houden. Rotterdam is geen plek voor denkers, zo is het beeld. Decennialang duiden we deze Rotterdamse houding aan met slogans als Niet lullen, maar poetsen of Geen woorden, maar daden, maar ons nieuwe college heeft een nieuw woord bedacht: de Kendoementaliteit. Wat die Kendoementaliteit inhoudt is niet helemaal duidelijk, het lijkt erop alsof Kendoe vooral gericht is op handelen. Handelen nieuwe stijl. Op andermaal meer daadkracht en aanpakken.

that, most likely decline and impoverishment and perhaps eventually even demise will be a serious threat. The idea that nature would restore itself may be applicable to plants and animals, but people and society are rarely capable of natural rebalancing (J. G. van der Ploeg, 1982).³ Therefore since the second part of the 19th century whole neighbourhoods were erected at once, instead of letting the city grow organically.

This mentality and vocabulary finds its origins in the politics of the municipality. The city council consists of a large amount of populist parties. These parties have a strong focus on safety and are aggravating people's perceptions of danger. During the elections in 2014, throughout the city election posters appeared with texts like: "Rotterdam belongs to you and not to criminals" and "Cameras give a face to criminals".

The ambitiousness of the municipality on the scope of crime, urbanism and overall societal development of its citizens, together with the demands from local and national politics led to a large amount of different policies, although they are of course not officially called policies. It is an illusion to think that one could be complete in giving an overview of policies in Rotterdam: sometimes it seems that there are 8 different policies for each paving stone, especially on the south shore of the Meuse. The main policies that are influencing safety and liveability in Rotterdam South however, are the following:

- National Program Rotterdam South (NPRZ)
- Rotterdam-law (formal known as the Wet bijzondere maatregelen grootstedelijke problematiek, the law special measures for large urban problematic)
- City measures
- Safety-index

National Program Rotterdam South NPRZ

With the national programme Rotterdam South the government, municipality, education institutes, healthcare organizations and the local business community are cooperating to form a new perspective for Rotterdam South. The National Programme of Rotterdam Zuid (NPRZ) focuses on eliminating the backlog of residents and to improve life on the Southside of the city. This should result in Rotterdam Zuid doing things equally good as the other three major cities in

³ Own translation of Dutch, original tekst: Steden komen niet vanzelf en blijven niet vanzelf. Ze zijn gebouwd en niet spontaan door de natuur geschapen. We kunnen niet steden aan hun 'natuurlijke' lot overlaten. Doen we dat wel dan dreigen verval en verpaupering en misschien op den duur zelfs ondergang. De gedachte dat de natuur zichzelf zou herstellen, mag opgaan voor het planten- en dierenrijk, maar voor de mens en voor de samenleving is er zelden natuurlijk evenwichtsherstel.

the Netherlands in twenty years. The NPRZ wants to ensure that people in the South reach a higher level of education, that more people will get employed and that the houses and their surroundings will be better, more safe and more attractive. Therefore, the NPRZ focuses on those three areas: school, work and housing. These three themes are the pillars of the National Programme. Within the last pillar 'housing' the topic of safety can be found. The results and actions of the project in Bloemhof on the topic of safety so far can be divided between a neighbourhood-approach and a personalized approach.

Neighbourhood approach:

- More public participation
- More specific approaches to neighbourhoods and squares
- Tackling nuisance: both between neighbours and between youngsters on the street
- Improve lighting
- Control of residency to municipal administration

Personal approach:

- Approach to domestic violence

A lot of tasks of the personal approach hasn't been started on so far, like:

- Drugs policy: shoulder to shoulder project
- Visiting café, bars and restaurants
- Extra visits to those with a suspicious high income
- Approach to the perpetrators of high impact crimes

The national program Rotterdam Zuid (NPRZ) is effective in Bloemhof, but “to achieve the set goals, more input is necessary, financially” tells Maurice Schweitzer, the neighbourhood manager of Bloemhof. According to him the present corporations are in need of more financial support, but there also has to be more attention for private ownership to fulfil the goals on housing (Schweitzer, 2014).

City marines

For the most insecure neighbourhoods an experiment with a new instrument has been decided on, namely, the appointment of so-called city marines, high-status personalities with a wide mandate. The underlying philosophy is that, since the worst problems occur in the neighbourhoods, it is there where the best people need to be put to work. In total there are 7 city marines. The city marines' task is to motivate the departments, district officials and other stakeholders to achieve the targets in the most efficient manner. They have to be actually on the

spot, communicate with all those involved, signal problems and persistently call the responsible actors to account for any deficiencies. The appointment of the city marines must be seen as a temporary measure to enhance the effectiveness of the districts. In the long term, the local networks should be structurally strengthened to consolidate that effectiveness. That means allocation of more means to the area, appointment of more and better staff and reinforcement of the organization. After 10 years, positive comments about the role of the city marines in the local safety approach have been heard. The success of the city marine is related to the fact that they have a large authority, they have an independent position in the area and that they have a large budget (Berg, 2006). This gives them a position in which they can be very creative and proactive. On one hand it is special that a municipality puts so much trust in one civil servant, on the other hand it is sad that it has apparently that little trust in the remaining civil service.

One of those city marines is Marcel van de Ven, he worked for a while in Bloemhof and in the adjacent Hillesluis. In his work he had a special focus on youngsters. To improve safety he started a project in which he asked the known troublemakers of the area to become paid security guards at New Years Eve. This turned out to be a great success. Another project is the “college Hillesluis”. This is an employment trajectory with a strong local focus.

Rotterdamwet

In 2003 the city of Rotterdam stated that it was unable to cope any longer with the continuous flow of underprivileged people to the city. The city's social and economic system, as well as the capacity of its residents to support the large groups of underprivileged people entering Rotterdam (and for some specific neighbourhoods in particular) is limited. For many years, the flow of under privileged people exceeds the city's capacity to absorb these groups properly (Erik Braun, 2012). In 2006, after a long process, the city selected six areas for the Rotterdam Law to be put in practice. The Rotterdamwet, which is formal known as the Wet Bijzondere Maatregelen Grootstedelijke Problematiek or translated the law special measures for large urban problems requires a minimum income of residents who want to settle in a certain neighbourhood. Among the used indicators to select areas for the Rotterdamwet were the percentage of immigrants, the percentage of cheap private rented dwellings, the percentage of households on social security and reports on disturbance and violence. The city of Rotterdam saw no harm in pointing out the problematic areas. On the contrary, the city saw their position on top of every 'wrong list' with the 'worst' neighbourhoods as an opportunity to gain more subsidies and support for unconventional approaches such as the Rotterdam law. Ironically the Rotterdam Law seems to have had very few material effects so far and appears to be most of all impression management. In a period of two years only a tiny number of unemployed households was refused accommodation in a poor area (Jan Willem Duyvendak, 2010). The only real result it seems to have, is that areas are labelled as being problematic. The general view in the municipality is that

it is justified to reject underprivileged people, because the will probably be better of anywhere else and this will stop the further degradation of certain neighbourhoods (Besselink, 2014). In Bloemhof, the results are limited. The Rotterdamwet has been active there since 2010, but according to the neighbourhood manager, Maurice Schweitzer this is hardly noticeable. According to him, the Rotterdamwet is lacking in its narrow view. The Rotterdamwet has social aims, but only looks at income. Maurice would recommend expanding the law by making also other factors counting, such as antecedents involving police and earlier contacts with justice (Schweitzer, 2014).

Besides the National Program Rotterdam South, the city marines and the Rotterdamwet the earlier mentioned safety-index (veiligheidsindex) can also be seen as a policy. It is not just seen as a tool to monitor safety, it is also used to set safety goals. The publication receives yearly a lot of attention by politics and media and makes progression really transparent. All these actions have to be seen within the mentality as described, but also within a Dutch planning culture, which is very strong and in which the government is relatively powerful.

Rotterdam is not a city waiting for residents to initiate projects; they want to be one step ahead. This does not mean that the city is not open for public participation; the city is really trying to involve residents in local development, but especially in the south side of Rotterdam the city has an initiating role, while on the north side the city is more facilitating.

7.2 Antwerp

Antwerp's planning context

Urban renewal gained new attention in the last 2 decades in Flanders, just like in many other European cities, but the practise in Flanders differs fundamentally from other European practices. It cannot be described as large-scaled or prestigious and there are no massive socio-spatial redevelopment projects, which are common in their neighbouring countries; France and the Netherlands. Urban renewal in Flanders can best be described by its atomized, layered and fragmented city-structure. This means that cities can be large as a whole, but the individual units that together make up the city are rather small scaled, ownership structures are dismembered and the building and real estate sector is small-scaled. This all emerged within an historical policy context which is very rural-urban centred, with little to no attention to the city, while there is at the same time a lack of all-encompassing governance (Loeckx & Vervloesem, 2012).

Within Europe, Belgium is known for its sprawl: the urbanization of rural areas. The detriments of urban sprawl are notorious; the dispersion of open spaces, the high dependency on cars, the depletion of service provision etc. This can be seen as an unwanted development or as a problem to be solved, but in the case of Flanders it is perceived as an insurmountable basic condition. The planning basis lying underneath this phenomenon is very ambiguous: on one hand there is a lack of spatial planning, while at the same time Flanders' sprawl is a result of spatial policies based on implicit planning visions. Ever since Belgium's independence in 1830, there has been a strong focus on expanding the infrastructural framework throughout the whole country. The reasons for doing this were to enforce the territoriality of the country as well as economic expansion. This form of spatial development can be seen as anti-urban: it distributed the development potential of a number of cities over a larger area, leaving the Flemish city stagnated. These policies enforced the flight to the countryside of the middle class, suburbanisation. Besides Brussels, no large urban renewal projects were undertaken in Flanders. Projects were mainly undertaken in a parcel-by-parcel modus, keeping progress rather small-scaled (Loeckx & Vervloesem, 2012).

Due to the northwards expansion of the harbour in Antwerp, there was a strong focus on traffic. New roads emerged during this period of prioritizing accessibility and transportation. This focus on traffic enforced the process of suburbanisation even more, resulting in growing vacancy rates in the city centre. Therefore, in the beginning of the eighties, so called 'reevaluation areas' (herwaarderingsbieden) were assigned. These areas were mostly located in the 19C ring. In these areas subsidies were given to renovations of facades, to the maintenance of parks and to the replacement of several housing projects in bad shape by social housing complexes. In 1983 and 1993 attempts were made to develop structural plans for the development of the city, but these did not lead to a political breakthrough. Only in the mid-nineties progress was made when combined funds of the EU, the federal government, the Flemish region and the municipality led to accelerated urban development. Since then several different impulse projects were undertaken (Thuis in de stad, 2012). The location of investments is a strong point of focus in spatial policies in Antwerp. Four area-oriented programmes were initiated: the Central Station area, the Scheldt Quays, het Eilandje and Green Singel. Stuivenberg is in this definition a part of the Central station area. Here the De Coninckplein, a square, gained special focus. It suffered from crime and nuisance and the public space was in a bad shape. Therefore, measures such as police visibility in the streets, regulation of opening hours for pubs and restaurants and a prohibition of public gathering were implemented together with several spatial projects. One of them is the Permeke-building complex. This old car garage next to the square was transformed under architecture to house the central library of Antwerp. At the same time the De Coninckplein itself was completely renovated while the municipal land and property development department AG VESPA was redeveloping adjacent corner plots under architecture. This is not the only impulse project that was realized in the area. Other examples are the design centre Winkelhaak, the centre for

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integration and diversity Atlas, the replacement of 18 dilapidated buildings in Schaafstraat by the Arboretum housing complex and the renovation of several single family houses. These impulse-projects were all done by AG VESPA. This is a company of the municipality responsible for land and property development. All these projects were conducted under architecture; several different famous and less famous offices were involved. Next to this, a more general spatial implementation plan was made, called RUP2060. This RUP specifies a number of requirements with a vision to preserve the quality of the houses and the residential streets, but also allows for creative commercial activities. The RUP supports an active land and property policy with necessary investments in community facilities (Stad Antwerpen, 2012).

Safety

Safety is one of the main focuses of the current mayor of Antwerp, Bart de Weever. However, safety has had since the mid nineties a renewed attention in the city. Several different policies on safety started to emerge around the time of the instalment of urban renewal plans in the nineties. Again, it is an illusion to think that one could give a complete overview of all different policies, so therefore again only the main, predominant and most defining policies are described as recommended by the interviewees (Bruininck, 2014) (Rossou, 2014). The main policies that are influencing safety and live ability in Antwerp North are according to the interviewees the following:

- The area safety plan (Zonaal Veiligheidsplan, ZVP)
- The deprived neighbourhood approach (DNA)
- The municipal administrative sanctions (GAS-boetes)
- Camera-policies
- War on drugs

The area safety plan (Zonaal Veiligheidsplan, ZVP)

In contrary to Rotterdam, safety is the responsibility of the police in Antwerp, while in Rotterdam the mayor is ultimately responsible for safety in the municipality. Therefore in Rotterdam the municipal department ' Safety' makes safety-strategies, while in Antwerp this is done by the police. The points of focus of their zone safety plan, the Zonaal Veiligheidsplan (ZVP) 2013-2017 are:

- Burglaries
- Aggressive thefts and street violence
- Drug trafficking and related nuisance
- Domestic violence
- Traffic safety
- Liveability

- Nuisance (Politie Antwerpen, 2014)

The Deprived neighbourhood approach, DNA

DNA stands for deprived neighbourhood approach and is a program that is initiated by the EU. The project takes place in 4 different European cities: Antwerp and Kortrijk in Belgium, Breda in the Netherlands and Medway in the UK. The project has three main elements:

- Neighbourhood safety: because when people feel safe in their neighbourhood, they often are more willing to participate in events beneficial for their neighbourhood.
- Health and welfare, because healthy inhabitants are important for the neighbourhood life: they are more prone to participate and will influence others by doing this.
- Public domain, because if the public domain fulfils the needs of the residents, the visitors and other users, they will be more likely to connect to the place.

The DNA-project's goal is to stimulate the inhabitants to get active in their own neighbourhood, to get them involved. Therefore groups of inhabitants are formed, suitable for each resident. These groups are focused on one or more of the 3 themes mentioned. Like this, residents will be closely involved in projects that are changing their neighbourhood. The DNA project in Antwerp takes place mainly on the de Coninckplein, which is 650m from the Vincent van Goghplein.

The project is a bottom up project, all the input has to come from the neighbourhood. So far this soft approach led to projects like a neighbourhood kitchen, a neighbourhood anthem and urban farming. According to Birgitte Bruininck, safety will be improved by the appropriation of the public space by the residents. They will perceive the place as a safer place, while at the same time the area gains positive attention by the media.

The municipal administrative sanctions

Tens of thousands of people, predominantly youths, have been issued with 'municipal administrative sanctions' (Gemeentelijke Administratieve Sancties, GAS, or SAC in Wallonia) over the last few years in Belgium. These fines are issued by special civil servants, so called GAS-ambtenaren, against people they judge to be causing a "public nuisance." The definition of what constitutes a public nuisance is decided by the municipality itself and is described in the municipal law, as well as the amount of the fine. The fine has led to growing public disagreement over its use, since it is often given to innocent infringements (Hudig, 2013). Also the municipal bylaws are not well known or communicated, making it difficult to know what is legal to do and what not. The municipal fines system was launched in 1999. It permitted local authorities to issue (and collect) fines for minor violations that are described by municipal bylaws. Initially the fines were only applied to adults, but in 2012 the minimum age was lowered to 14 years. In Antwerp, the fines are used by the municipality differently: one often gets to choose between

paying the fine and doing a community service or getting into a suiting trajectory on for example employment. Therefore the municipality sees GAS-fines not only as repressive, but also as preventive and social, since they use it as an invitation to residents to use municipal care provision (Bruininck, 2014).

Camera policy

The city government wants to increase the liveability in the city and make the deployment of police and city services more efficient by installing cameras.

The CCTV-policy aims to:

- Prevent or note crime and disorder prevention
- Improve the detection of criminal and administrative offenses
- Increase the chance of catching offenders
- Optimizing the police actions at interventions
- Optimize urban preventive measures

More than a hundred cameras have been installed since 2004. Most of them can be found in the north east of Antwerp (Antwerpen, Gemeente, 2012). This is peculiar, because crimes are conducted all over town, while the cameras are only in this small area.

War on drugs

The increased fight against drug nuisance led by Mayor Bart de Wever was launched in September last year and focuses not only on the dealers but also on the users of soft drugs. The Antwerp police deploys alongside regular fines also the Onmiddellijke Minnelijke Schikking (OMS) an instant settlement: it is a 75-euro fine for the possession of cannabis and 150 euros for the possession of hard drugs. Already in 2011 searching for drugs was punished in some areas with a GAS-boete, but with the renewed policy it has become illegal all over town.

Professor criminology Tom Decorte is very critical about the drug policy of the municipality of Antwerp. "Antwerp opts for a" war on drugs," says Decorte. "That's odd, because in the whole world realization grows that the war on drugs is lost. The war on drugs has had a devastating impact on the health, quality of life in cities and the democratic process in some countries. " Decorte says that an integrated drug policy should be determined in consultation with all the stakeholders such as the police, social services, prevention and health services. "In Antwerp drawing up the drug policy is fully in the hands of the police," says Decorte. 'Real bottom-up participation is not existent; it was just top down communicated what was going to happen. " (Aa, 2013) Despite this, the policy seems to be very effective. In the first six months of 2013 1580 people received an official report, 864 of them were fined. This is an increase of 500 compared to the previous six months. According to the police officer of Antwerp, Serge Muyters, fight against drugs also reduces other crimes: "Mayor Bart De Wever immediately said we should

intensify tackling drugs. We have noticed in northern Antwerp that the fight against drugs has a major impact on other forms of crime. Now that the drug problem has become more manageable robberies with violence decreased by thirty per cent and burglaries even forty per cent." he says. (Justaert, 2013) This can be explained by the growing number of police controls, making other crimes also less likely to happen. Repression should be equally well organized as care and prevention, but in that field, there seems to be no proportionate investment done. Therefore drug abuse may become more unnoticed and addicts won't receive the healthcare as easy.

7.3 Comparison

Next to general policies, Antwerp has a lot of tailored, specific policies for specific locations or situations. When it comes to urban development, Antwerp has a lot of small-scaled projects. As an example, the municipality of Antwerp buys old, run down houses in problematic neighbourhoods and converts them with the help of Ag Vespa in to architectural gems like the library, but also for different private houses. This would be unthinkable in Rotterdam. The municipality of Rotterdam is hardly ever working on the scale of one house and won't renovate anything under architecture for private housing. In Rotterdam projects are undertaken on a larger scale, sometimes with even the national government involved. This is unthinkable in Antwerp with the federal government. Another example is the impulse projects. In Rotterdam there are places every now and then that will be renovated, but in Antwerp this seems to be the backbone of urban renewal. Great moves like the installation of the municipal library at the De Coninckplein and the transformation of a former railway area into Park Spoor Noord helped to improve the image of the neighbourhood. In Bloemhof events like this never took place. While Stuivenberg is very centrally located between the station, the harbour and the city centre, Bloemhof has a less strategically position on the less visited South bank of the Meuse, far away from the city centre. This makes relocating urban facilities to this area of the city less attractive. At the moment there are no facilities in the neighbourhood that are attracting inhabitants of other neighbourhoods. It would be good for Bloemhof to have a positive place, a facility that will be used by other residents as well, for example an institute like the Dutch architecture institute. When that would happen, the residents of Bloemhof will have a place to be proud of and outsiders will get to know Bloemhof better and might change their views on this area. The investment in the city has gradually been expanding from the city centre outwards. The movement of the investments is generally to the south. First in 1999 the Erasmus Bridge was constructed, then the Kop van Zuid was developed as well as the Entrepot-harbour and Katendrecht. These are all projects on the south shore of the Meuse and although it is not directly adjacent to Bloemhof, the real big investments in urban projects are getting closer and closer.

The small-scale approach of Antwerp is also visible in its crime policies. In Antwerp the use of GAS-fines is very common. This is a very specific measurement, used to adjust certain forms of unwanted behaviour. These fines can be given for anything that is included in the municipal policy, making it a perfect tool to adjust to certain situations, since municipal policies are easy to change. This way of correcting behaviour is rather repressive and faces a lot of criticism. In Rotterdam there is the same possibility to give fines, but it is hardly ever used.

The large scale that can be found more in policies in Rotterdam can be explained by the larger power that the municipality of Rotterdam has, making it easier to achieve goals on a large scale. For example, the amount of social rent is in Bloemhof around 80 per cent while in Stuivenberg it is only 15 per cent. This means that the number of house owners involved when for example the municipality wants to renovate a street is rather low in Rotterdam. In Antwerp the share of social housing is smaller, meaning that there is a larger variety of house owners involved in different projects, making it harder to improve the appearance of a neighbourhood. Therefore the option chosen by the municipality of Antwerp, to give special attention to one particular house at the time is comprehensible. Sometimes there is chosen to focus on one house and renovate it into the finest detail under architecture, instead of going in to the struggle of renovating a whole street with a multitude of house owners. The philosophy behind this is that this new eye catcher will improve the image of the whole neighbourhood (Bruininck, 2014).

Crime prevention in Rotterdam seems to be more comprehensive and less repressive than in Antwerp. The use of fines is very widespread in Antwerp, while in Rotterdam this is done less. In Rotterdam there are more multidisciplinary projects and the role of the police is less predominant in the policies. This can be explained by the fact that the safety department in Rotterdam is part of the municipal governing body, while in Antwerp, the responsibility for safety belongs to the police. As a result, other departments such as youth and family welfare, employment and income are more involved in the consultations in Rotterdam than in Antwerp.

Antwerp is doing much effort to put Stuivenberg in a positive light and tries to attract users from outside to the district. In Bloemhof this is not the case. This is also related to the location of Stuivenberg. Stuivenberg is directly opposite the railway station and the city centre and lies between the station and the ports. Therefore the area is very well accessible, but also really visible. This makes it important for the city as a business card for new visitors, but also more feasible to place facilities like the library. Stuivenberg is despite its density almost suburban due to its location, although this is relevant and under constant change since there is a lot of development and investment coming in southwards direction from the city centre.

8 Conclusion

Between the two case studies some main distinctions were found in the design, safety and policy reactions. First answers will be given to the research questions then a general conclusion is given in which the theoretical framework will be critically assessed and recommendations will be given for both case studies.

8.1 Design

The first research question dealt with the topic of the design of the built environment. The research question for this part is formulated as follows:

"To what extent is building according to the chosen framework of Crime prevention through environmental design the case in Patrimoniumshof Rotterdam and Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp?"

After analysing the case studies, it became clear that the Patrimoniumshof in Rotterdam is built largely according to the theoretical framework set by Jane Jacobs and Jan Gehl, while this is not the case at the Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp. The Patrimoniumshof follows all the requirements as set in the theoretical framework besides the concept of mixed functions, while in Antwerp only a few requirements are met.

8.2 Safety

The second research question dealt with the safety in the case study areas. It is important to not only look at whether or not a place is built to foster safety, but also what the actual result concerning safety is. Therefore the second research question is formulated as follows:

"Is this built environment perceived as safe and is it objectively safe?"

The residents of the Patrimoniumshof feel safe at their own courtyard, but have their doubts about the broader neighbourhood. In Antwerp, the square used to be a crime hot spot so residents were specifically feeling unsafe in their direct surroundings. While the Patrimoniumshof seems to be successful in staying free from crimes and nuisances. In Antwerp the square seems to attract this. These feelings are in both cases proven by statistics: the number

of police reports is extremely low in the Patrimoniumshof compared to the rest of the neighbourhood, while the Vincent van Goghplein is known as a crime hotspot by the police. The reasons for this are the closed nature of the square in Rotterdam. The composition, the fenced garden and the high level of social control make it almost a gated community, while the square in Antwerp is the opposite. There the square is one large public space while at the same time the pressure on the square is way higher: it is one of the few open spots in the neighbourhoods and therefore used by many different groups. At the same time, the area is not well surveyed, leading to insecurity.

8.3 Policies

"How are the municipalities in Rotterdam and Antwerp adjusting their policies to the crime-related difficulties faced in Patrimoniumshof Rotterdam and Vincent van Goghplein in Antwerp?"

The difference between the approaches of the two municipalities can be found in scale, quality and inclusiveness. Antwerp has a lot of small-scaled projects next to its general policies, which is not the case in Rotterdam. Rotterdam however, has more integrative projects, in which different municipal services are working together.

On the area of urban planning Rotterdam must be seen within the Dutch framework in which planning is strong and social housing has a dominant role. Therefore projects are often large scaled in Rotterdam, where urban renewal means the reconstruction of a whole neighbourhood at once or the renovation of a whole street at once. In Antwerp urban renewal takes more place via smaller projects of higher quality, like the impulse projects of AG VESPA, but also the relocation of the library.

The approach of Antwerp's urban renewal has a positive effect, they may not be able to renovate as many houses as is done in Rotterdam, but they improve the image of the neighbourhood by building projects under architecture. The decisiveness of the municipality of Rotterdam may be explained by the small amount of actors involved, since a large amount of the housing Rotterdam South is owned by housing corporations making it easier to alter situations. Also the investment of public functions in Stuivenberg makes more sense in Antwerp, since it is very central. In Rotterdam the area is far away from the city centre and the central station. In Rotterdam there is a movement of investment going southwards, but this is still far away from Bloemhof.

Crime prevention in Rotterdam seems to be more comprehensive and less repressive than in Antwerp. The use of fines (GAS-boetes) is very widespread in Antwerp, while in Rotterdam this is done less. In Rotterdam there are more multidisciplinary projects (NPRZ, City marines etc.) and the role of the police is less predominant in the policies. This can be explained by the fact that the safety department in Rotterdam is part of the municipal governing body, while in Antwerp, the responsibility for safety belongs to the police. As a result, other departments such as youth and family welfare, employment and income are more involved in the consultations in Rotterdam than in Antwerp.

8.4 Remarks and recommendations

The theory of Jan Jacobs and Jan Gehl seems to work: when looking at the comparison between the Patrimoniumshof and the Vincent van Goghplein it is clear that the built environment in the Patrimoniumshof which is built largely following the framework provides a safer, more pleasant urban environment. What is conflicting with the theory is that when the passages at both squares were closed off and both squares became basically cul-de-sacs, the safety improved. This is conflicting, because it is limiting the use of the area and therefore also limiting the eyes on the street. It seems that eyes from the buildings upon the street is more important and that social cohesion is more important, than unknown users in the public space.

Also, the theory seems to focus on liveliness and mixed functions. Quiet areas with a more suburban and mono-functional nature are not per se bad, which was visible in the case of the Patrimoniumshof. Also you can't have a city, which is all over lively the whole day; there are simply not enough people for this.

After writing this thesis, it is interesting to see how these two countries could learn from each other. Also there are unexploited opportunities for the two municipalities within their cities contexts, derived from this research.

Rotterdam could learn from Antwerp when it comes to the small-scale investments. It would be unthinkable for the municipality of Rotterdam to ask Rem Koolhaas to build a nice single family dwelling in Bloemhof, but the relocation of a public facility might be a good impulse for the neighbourhood. This would give the residents something to be proud of and will also draw other residents of Rotterdam to Bloemhof and might alter their image of the neighbourhood.

The municipality of Antwerp could learn from Rotterdam's integrative approach to safety. This approach is less repressive, but has a more integrative approach and focuses on prevention.

In Antwerp, the situation at the square could improve when the residents that are living around the square will get a small front yard. If this would happen the residents would feel more responsible for what happens on the square and will not just close their doors and not look after it anymore once they are inside. An important condition would be that the front yards are not allowed to be fenced.

In Rotterdam, it would be brave of the municipality and the housing corporation in Rotterdam to start a pilot in which the square will be opened to the public. This might not improve the safety directly, but may be a good thing to improve the quality of life and the living conditions in the area. It would be more democratic if this place could be shared with others, but this requires some social investment.

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10 Appendix

Translated summaries of the interviews can be found below. All interviews were conducted in Dutch. Full transcripts in Dutch are available upon request.

Overview of interviews conducted:

Date	Place	Name	Occupation	Institution	Interest for the research
28/02/14	Antwerp	Michel Gerits	Department of urban design	Municipality of Antwerp	Research project on safety and built environment
12/03/14	Rotterdam	Rien van der Steenoven	City-marine Rotterdam municipality	Municipality of Rotterdam	Policies on safety
14/03/14	Rotterdam	Tjalling de Vries	Employee NPRZ	Municipality of Rotterdam	Polices on safety and urban renewal
17/03/14	Rotterdam	Sander Klaassen	Department of urbanism, Rotterdam municipality	Municipality of Rotterdam	Urban design strategies Rotterdam
01/07/14	Rotterdam	Xenia van Heemskerk	Neighbourhood networker Bloemhof	Municipality of Rotterdam	Expertise Bloemhof
08/07/14	Rotterdam	Maurice Schweitzer	Neighbourhood manager Bloemhof	Municipality of Rotterdam	Expertise Bloemhof
04/08/14	Rotterdam	Luc Jonkers	Manager at the social housing corporation	Vestia	Managing Patrimoniumshof
08/08/14	Antwerp	Mark Rombaut	Architect of the Vincent van Goghplein	Rombaut en Merckx architects	Design Vincent van Goghplein
08/08/14	Antwerp	Ilse Rossou	Safety coach Stuivenberg	Municipality of Antwerp	Safety in Stuivenberg
08/08/14	Antwerp	Birgitte Bruininckx	Manager DNA project	Municipality of Antwerp	Policies in Stuivenberg

10.1 Interview Michel Gerits, February 28th, 2014

Michel is working on a research project on safety and the built environment for the municipality of Antwerp. The project originated out of necessity from the city Council, the N-VA would like to make sure this project is addressed. However, the project is still in the start-up phase. The research should result in a generally applicable conceptual advice, not in an actual design or draft. This is something the department of design and realization is not used to do (both design and execution is not included). Therefore, some part of the research will be outsourced to an external consultancy company. Currently three of these companies are working on a draft for his research package.

Various people with different professional backgrounds are involved in this assignment:

- Reinhard Stoop represents the neighbourhood monitor group, and has a lot of knowledge from the quantitative side of the project. They performed a study to the perception of safety in the city of Antwerp
- Kristof Peeters from SamenLeven (SL) which has a lot of knowledge from the quality side of the project (the people)
- Hans the local police officer
- Kristof Baeyens from neighbourhood watch

Main focal point is not the best practices from other cities, or similar approaches of other cities. This is because of time and budget constraints.

Michel Gerits could not say what the major problems are related to safety in Antwerp: Is this menace, burglaries or street robberies? No idea. Also he could not indicate if there are certain areas that are structurally lacking behind and need more attention.

We agreed upon him e-mailing me the following:

- List of squares from research
- Data of the neighbourhood monitor
- Contact details of the team
- Invitation team day March 28th 2015
- Greater framework of policy which this research is part of.

10.2 Interview Rien van der Steenoven, March 12 2014

Rien van der Steenoven is a city marine in Rotterdam and currently working on the redevelopment of the Tienplein, a square. The new design should make this place a safer place.

About the organization of the Dutch safety policies in Rotterdam he explained the following things:

There is a difference in setting between Antwerp and Rotterdam: Safety and public space is a task of the mayor in the Netherlands, so the mayor is also the head of the police department. The executive committee is the security triangle, consisting of the chief of the police, the head-prosecutor and the Mayor. In Belgium not the mayor is responsible for safety, but the chief of the police.

According to him, safety consists of three aspects:

- Social security and physical security
- Maintenance and Control
- Enforcement and monitoring

Safety is physically (Will I be hit by a care, will the building collapse?) but it is also something that you experience.

About the design of public space:

Rien: "(public) space which is not used as it is intended is a design error."

- Example: elephant tracks around a train station: people walk different than the place is designed.
- Example: Composition of certain shops that do not match the shoppers

Rien is responsible for the reconstruction of the Tiendplein:

This is a square at the West-kruiskade, which will be redeveloped in order to improve safety. In the west-kruiskade area a lot has been done on the physical space but also to buy out "wrong" pubs and other activities. The result is the district, which has always been known to be unsafe and a drug network, now has its place in the lonely planet! Alliance West Kruiskade is a key actor in the redesign of the Tiendplein. The whole project is a coalition of the local community, businesses and woonstad (a social housing corporation) Tiendplein was known for drug-related problems. The physical measures that are already taken are as follows:

- larger transit areas
- Relocation of the flower shop, to the underpass
- Renovation of residential buildings

These measures have yet to be taken:

- Extension of the terraces
- New Grand Cafe
- Removal of parking spaces
- Additional lighting
- Music

Rien also has plans along the west Kruiskade to move the wall of the park at the Kruisplein: he wants to put it back into the park, so it becomes a real square again. This will do the street much good, in his opinion, but the police will most probably not like this (for example, what will be happening there at night?)

10.3 Interview Tjalling de Vries, March 14 2014

Tjanlling de Vries is an employee of the municipality of Rotterdam and responsible for a new integral approach to unsafe spots in Rotterdam South.

His projects are seen as bypasses: when the general policy is not working, special measures like city marines have to be used. His project focuses on certain locations in Rotterdam South and on some more general themes.

10.4 Interview Sander Klaassen, March 17 2014

Sander is senior Landscape architect, public space and housing at the municipality of Rotterdam. He was responsible for the design of the "Rotterdamse stijl" (a style book on how the city should be designed) and for the redevelopment of the old city centre.

What they do with safety:

- They have an active role in the Advisory Committee on Public Space: Acor

This committee involves urban development, urban management, monitoring of buildings and others. In this committee it is decided whether it is possible to deviate from the Rotterdamse stijl.

- Road safety

Cooperation with traffic and transport (Verschuren and Laura Martin Guit)

- Safety Management - permits

Issue of standplaatsen and terraces

- Police Seal - Jan Huyser (predecessor) was doing things with the police label
- Lighting

Participation that the local government is involved in is:

- Classical participation model with 2-3x a meeting
- Neighbourhood control groups

Example of neighbourhood participation in Rotterdam South:

Oleanderplein: participatory design, creative management

Difference between the north and the south: in the northern part the municipality facilitates, in southern the municipality initiates.

10.5 Interview Xenia, July 1st 2014

Xenia is the so-called “gebiedsnetwerker”(area-networker) of Bloemhof; she functions as a connection between the community and organizations within Bloemhof and the municipality.

Xenia knows the Patrimoniumshof well, but for her there is not much to do in the area, “there is only one house that has been reported for nuisance, out of the 44 dwellings in the whole courtyard “she told. According to Xenia, there are no youngsters hanging around there either. This has to do with the fact that there is not much opportunity to hang around in the area, since the inner garden is fenced off and the whole courtyard can be closed in the evening.

The social cohesion in the area is not really overwhelming, or what you would expect, Xenia doesn’t know anything about active neighbourhood committees or activities.

In the area, the Rotterdamwet applies. Xenia doesn't see the effects of this law that clear in the neighbourhood, but she has heard that the borders of where this law applies are very clear to see.

Xenia told that Patrimoniumshof is owned by the social housing corporation Vestia, the rest of the neighbourhood is owned by other social housing corporations called Woonstad and a small percentage of the dwellings are in the private sector.

10.6 Interview Maurice, July 8th 2014

Maurice is working for the municipality of Rotterdam as a "gebiedsmanager" (area-manager) of Bloemhof, the neighbourhood in which Patrimoniumshof is located.

In the neighbourhood Bloemhof, the Rotterdamwet is applicable since 2010. When asked about the effects of the Rotterdamwet, Maurice replies that according to him the Rotterdamwet is lacking in its narrow view. The Rotterdamwet has social aims, but only looks at income. Maurice would recommend expanding the law by making also other factors such as antecedents involving police and earlier contacts with law counting. He told about an example in the left-oriented municipality of Nijmegen where they have been using this as a selection tool for housing in problematic areas for several years.

The national program Rotterdam Zuid (NPRZ) is effective in Bloemhof, but "to achieve the goals set, more input is necessary, financially" tells Maurice. According to him the present corporations are in need of more financial support, but also there has to be more attention for private ownership. As an example, he explains about the Winkelboulevard Zuid, a shopping street close to the Patrimoniumshof. In this street there are 230 shops, owned by 160 different owners. The large amount of owners involved makes it very hard to make improvements in the physical environment in this area. A lot of real estate are seen as a long-term investment and are part of larger investment packages. Therefore they are more profitable being labelled as a retail-space in these investment packages, even though they are not rented out in real life.

When asked about the population of the area, Maurice describes the area as a transition area, where foreigners arrive and leave as soon as they are financially able to do so. He assumes that the Patrimoniumshof is an exception to this, but recommend checking this with the housing corporation who probably has data on this topic. Lately there has been a huge influx of MOE-

landers (immigrants from middle and eastern European countries). These groups are often victims of landlords with questionable motives, making them pay 400 euros a month for a bed in a shared room. These groups are coming only for a short period to the neighbourhood, having little to no connection to their direct surroundings and are often causing nuisance due to their bad housing conditions.

For improvement of the neighbourhood on physical aspects, Maurice would like to see the density of the area decreasing. The density now is rather high XXXXXX Next to this the neighbourhood will be improved by having more larger dwellings, facilitating people who are capable of buying or renting a larger place to stay in the neighbourhood.

10.7 Interview Luc Jonkers, August 4th 2014

Luc Jonkers is manager at Vestia, the social housing corporation that owns the Patrimoniumshof. The social housing corporation cooperates with the municipality, the police and healthcare services to improve the conditions in their neighbourhoods. He knows the Patrimoniumshof as a quiet and nice place, where he doesn't have to go often. There were only some minor incidents last year. The passage way has been closed for 10 years now. The success factor for the area is that the social control is rather high, since residents live here really long; he assumes that residents stay here on an average of 14 year.

The main issues in the neighbourhood are youngsters hanging around. These are several little groups hanging around all over the neighbourhood.

The green space in the Patrimoniumshof is the property of Vestia. They also do the maintenance. They explicitly want to keep it closed, because they are afraid of the nuisance the use might bring and vandalism. They want to keep the square nice and quiet and are therefore also only renting out the houses to person aged 40 years and older with maximum one child.

10.8 Interview Marc Rombaut, August 8th 2014

Mark Rombaut is the architect of the Vincent van Goghplein.

The area used to be occupied by run down houses until it was bought by the municipality of Antwerp as part of a series of impulse projects. The municipality did set some boundary conditions for the design:

- Making a square
- Making a passage, in order to improve use and activity on the square

- Design of the houses in order to foster social safety.

The square itself was already there. Due to expiring subsidies of the European Union, the square had to be built before the houses were even designed.

The task for the architect was to build a housing project, which fosters social security on the square. Therefore the houses were designed with the kitchens towards the square with large windows. These windows however, were well above eye level of the pedestrians outside, to avoid them to see what is happening inside.

10.9 Interview Birgite Bruininckx, August 8th 2014

Birgitte Bruininckx is project manager of the DNA-project. DNA stands for deprived neighbourhood approach and is a program, which is initiated by the EU. The project takes place in 4 different European cities: Antwerp and Kortrijk in Belgium, Breda in the Netherlands and Medway in the UK. The project has three main elements:

- Neighbourhood safety, because when people feel safe in their neighbourhood, they often are more willing to participate in events beneficial for their neighbourhood.
- Health and welfare, because healthy inhabitants are important for the neighbourhood life: they will participate more and will also influence others by doing this.
- Public domain, because if the public domain fulfils the needs of the residents, the visitors and other users, these will be more likely to connect to the place.

The DNA-project's goal is to stimulate the inhabitants to get active in their own neighbourhood, to get them involved. Therefore groups of inhabitants are formed, suitable for each resident. These groups are focused on one or more of the 3 themes mentioned. Like this, residents will be closely involved in projects that are changing their neighbourhood.

The DNA project in Antwerp takes place mainly on the de Coninckplein, which is 650m from the Vincent van Goghplein.

The project is a bottom up project, all the input has to come from the neighbourhood

10.10 Interview Ilse Rousseau, August 8th 2014

Ilse Rousseau is "buurtregisseur"(neighbourhood-director) in Stuivenberg. In consultation with the local associations and official instances, buurtregisseurs search for solutions to nuisance and liveability. She thinks that these reactions of the inhabitants are rather exaggerated. It is true that

there were some problems when the square just opened. According to her, the youngsters of the neighbourhood were testing out this new situation and were looking how far they could go. The presence of gangs is also not acknowledged by her, it was just a group hanging around, smoking weed, making noise and being outside until early in the morning. Alcohol abuse and the presence on the square till 6am seems unlikely to her, since the group of youngsters hanging around was mostly from Moroccan background and not drinking alcohol and they all had to go to work or school the next day, making staying out this late not assumable.

In the heydays of the nuisance, the square had two accesses; one from the Duinstraat, which is still there, and one under the apartment blocks leading to the Lange Beeldekensstraat. This passage was made as a shortcut for the inhabitants, but in practice it was mainly used by the youngsters, which were hanging around on the square to flee for the police. This made surveillance for the police harder, since it was not easy to catch them if they would misbehave on the square. The nuisance was often hard to be penalized, since the acts that caused the nuisance were often not criminal facts.

The four older houses that have been there before the square was implemented are a special case. These houses used to be connected to the street by a small alley in between the vacant houses that used to be on the spot of the square; right in front of these houses was an unused plot of land. Drug addicts used these vacant houses. After the construction of the new project, these houses were at once adjacent to the square, which can be seen as an improvement. Their front façade is facing a public space now, but this meant also that they lost a lot of privacy. As a result, all the residents of these houses moved out.

As a reaction, the municipality took several different measures; these are technological, preventive, social or repressive:

Physical environment:

- The municipality kept on investing in the square; demolitions are consequently repaired.
- The passage under the houses is closed off with a gate. With no escape-route the square is less interesting to make trouble.
- A camera has been installed, which keeps an eye on the activities on the square at all times.
- Activities for little kids living in the neighbourhood were organized on the square on Wednesday and Saturday afternoon for 1,5 year. Recently this project has stopped due to financial reasons.
- More surveillance of police and neighbourhood supervision

The situation at the Vincent Van Gogh Square is today well. This is partly due to the physical measures taken in the square. Occasionally there are additional reports about cleanliness and maintenance of the square. But these are nothing special, they are similar to reports we get from other plazas nearby.