

DEMANDING CERTAINTY

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF SWEDISH
SPATIAL PLANNING FOR SAFETY

Lina Berglund-Snodgrass

Blekinge Institute of Technology
Doctoral Dissertation Series No. 2016:02
Department of Spatial Planning



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Spatial Planning



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Abstract

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Spatial planning for safety rests on a number of assumptions about the desired order of the world. These assumptions appear as given and unproblematic, making the formulation of alternatives appear unnecessary. This dissertation provides an account of how, and on what basis a spatial planning problem such as ‘fear and insecurity’ is formulated and acted upon. It is an account of how and what conceptions of knowledge operate to legitimise ideological representations of spatial planning problems. And furthermore, what these ideological representations of spatial planning problems substantially entail, so as to allow for a political spatial planning practice that formulates and deliberates alternatives. This is carried out by analysing assumptions of public life and knowledge within Swedish spatial planning for safety.

This dissertation finds that Swedish spatial planning for safety constitutes ‘certainty’ as a hegemonic criterion for participating in public life, which operates to limit the articulation of alternative discourses in spatial planning for safety. The desired for safe public life is organised based on visual certainty, where the urban fabric should be configured in such ways as to allow for stereotypical visual identifications of one another. Such a public life reflects an individualised practice, where perceptions of fear should be governed by individuals themselves, by independently assessing situations and environments in terms of risks. This individualised conduct is coupled with the fostering of active subjects, which encompasses being engaged in the local residential areas as well as in one another. Such substantial content of ‘planning for safety’ brings about tensions in terms of its ideological legitimating basis, by moving from principles of ‘rights’, where the individual constitutes the first ethical planning subject, to unitary principles of ‘collective values’, in which the ‘community’ constitutes the first ethical planning subject.

These presuppositions are further enabled through the ways in which knowledge is conceptualised in spatial planning. This dissertation argues that a hegemonic instrumental emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning prevails. Having such a hegemonic emphasis on knowledge has the implication that even though spatial

planning adopts different assumptions, or moves between alternative assumptions of knowledge, the knowledge becomes meaningful only in its instrumental implementation. The instrumental emphasis on knowledge should be regarded in light of the rational and goal-oriented nature of project-based planning, which constitutes a logic that constrains the emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning. This dissertation argues further that if spatial planning should be considered a political practice that debates its goals and values, a politicisation of the emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning is imperative.

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Lina Berglund Snodgrass

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1 Introduction

1.1 Demanding Certainty

It is important to feel secure, both in the immediate surroundings around the home as well as the city centre and when carrying out activities.¹ Security has to do with feelings– which are very difficult to affect and alter, but are often linked to places. By altering these places, it might be possible to affect some of the feelings that are strongly associated with insecurity. [...] With this publication, we would like to show how security can be considered from a gender-equality perspective in community planning. By including these issues when designing and altering the physical environment, it is possible to create places that feel more secure – places where men, women, boys and girls can all exist on equal terms.²

Changing the standards that in many ways control how men and women are expected to behave in different contexts is no easy task, and it takes time. On the other hand, it is not so difficult to work with measures to improve security. It involves thinking a little extra, thinking a little differently. Being able to move around freely and securely is a democratic right for both men and women. Working from a gender-equality perspective allows us to make cities and urban areas more secure places for everyone³.

These quotes, which are taken from a guidebook published by the National Board for Housing, Building and Planning, express a necessity to take into consideration both safety and gender equality in the planning and design of the built environment. In working with these aspects, it is considered possible to create opportunities for men, women, boys and girls to exist in our built environment on equal terms. The view that safety is a desirable experience appears in these quotes as an obvious starting point, and is presented as a kind of given democratic right. Feeling safe reads in short as something good, a quality that spatial planning should strive for and also one that the profession is considered as able to provide for.

¹ Boverket translates the Swedish concept ‘trygghet’ to ‘security’ in their official documents. In this dissertation I have chose to translate ‘trygghet’ to ‘safety’. See chapter 3.4 for further discussion.

² Boverket. *Places to feel secure in. Inspiration for urban development*. Boverket. 2011. p. foreword.

³ Boverket. *Places to feel secure in. Inspiration for urban development*. Boverket. 2011. p. 9.

Planning for safety is organised by wanting to do ‘good’ and by defending ‘democratic rights’.⁴ Today, almost every municipality is involved in various forms of safety planning, and almost every major development project take notions of safety into account. Behind such initiatives of planning lies a specific representation of an urban problem, one in which people are regularly characterised as not feeling safe to the extent that they feel able to freely and independently use the public realm and participate in public life. Crime levels are statistically decreasing at the same time as society is portrayed as being global and inherently governed by uncertainties and ‘risk’. People fear. But what, or whom do they fear? And in what ways can claims about ‘rights’ - which the above quotes express - legitimise that it is the ‘right’ planning that is carried out? A question that arises then is whether we become safer or more gender equal through this planning? And how are we supposed to become safer, or in what ways are we expected to feel safe?

‘Safety’ is not a neutral concept with a given definition. In the same publication that the previous quotes are taken from, it is repeatedly suggested how individualised and contextualised experiences of safety are. What is safe for you is, in other words, not necessarily safe for me. Some experience existential unease, others express fear of sexual violence, and still others express uncertainty about the future. What ‘safety’ can mean based on these different positions will of course vary. So if a starting point for planning is that experiences of safety are individual and contextual, one naturally might be curious about as to what spatial planning practice considers itself able to do. The National Board for Housing, Building and Planning gives various examples of what planning for safety concretely could entail, such as specific lighting design, layout and design of parking lots, and management strategies. One can say that configurations of space constitute a key factor in these suggestions. One example given is of how a ‘safe’ bus stop can be built.⁵ It is recommended that a safe bus stop include a high level of visibility through its being surrounded by open areas with no secluded corners. The bus stop should also be located adjacent to buildings and close to important destinations. It should have good accessibility and be free from scantily clad advertising campaigns. It is furthermore suggested that there shouldn't be any shrubbery in which individuals can hide behind. The stops should also have lighting that provides good visibility for those who are standing and waiting. They should furthermore be free of vandalism and graffiti. Based on these descriptions it is possible to raise the question as to whether this planning works? Do we feel ‘safer’? Or rather, how are we expected to feel safe here? This quite detailed description reflects a certain view of safety, but also expresses a certain

⁴ In this dissertation, single citations marks ‘xxx’ are used to highlight specific concepts in the text. Double citations marks “xxx” represents a quote in the bread text.

⁵ Boverket. *Places to feel secure in. Inspiration for urban development*. Boverket. 2011. p. 23.

organisation of public life. To put it differently, we are expected to live and behave in specific ways on this particular bus stop, and this particular example provides one expression of an organisation of public life. In the previous quote, it was suggested that it is not an easy task to control how individuals are expected to behave in different contexts, and that changes in behaviours take time. But certain behaviours and attitudes appear to be particularly desirable in planning for safety. A specific character of public life constitutes a basis for experiences of safety, and a specific character of public life is considered to enable gender equal living terms. There is reasonably not one given idea about what we should do, or how we should be and behave in public life, but several approaches and points of view that are possible to consider in spatial planning. In the same way, it is not obvious that safety in of itself should constitute a given desirable basis for experiencing public life, just as it is not obvious that planning for safety can enable equal opportunities for participation in public life. Based on other assumptions than what the examples provide, planning for safety could be considered as preventing participation in public life, or that the planning may be reproducing specific gender stereotypes and thereby not be nearly so emancipating as it presents itself. Planning for safety, through its representation of a problem, starts from certain conceptions of how public life should be organised, conceptions that appear to not be made visible, debated or questioned. Spatial planning also carries out its activities by organising knowledge in specific ways, which in turn enables and legitimises the planning for safety as the 'right' or 'good' course of action. Municipalities are, for example, organising so called safety walks for obtaining knowledge about how fear is manifested in space. Knowledge, similarly to the concept of safety, is not a neutral category that can straightforwardly be made and used in spatial planning. What, then, is the knowledge that is considered meaningful and is made use of in planning for safety, and what other knowledge might it be possible to conceptualise?

This dissertation takes as its starting point the intriguing 'goodness' that appears to surround spatial planning for safety. A planning that presents this notion of goodness and the work to be done as self-evident, so much so that it becomes difficult to substantially grasp what exactly such a notion of goodness represents and what it wants to do beyond emptied out concepts of 'safe public realms'. To plan for safety appears as something good per se, something that is desirable in itself, regardless of not really knowing what assumptions of public life it is based on. It is perceived as something inherently good, or at least something that *wants* to do 'good'. Such planning often refers to principles of human rights by claiming that everyone has the universal human right to feel safe in the public realm. Planning for safety appears thereby as the morally correct course of action, representing the good planning that defends universal human rights. The consensus around the goodness of acknowledging safety in spatial planning is difficult to criticise or challenge since the alternatives appear as either irresponsible or

immoral, such as leaving individuals in anger and isolation or threatened by dreadful fears. Planning for safety appears thereby not only good in a general sense, it also appears as an inevitable imperative if we want to be good planners, politicians or citizens, and not be categorised as moral evils. This dissertation is interested in transferring this moral antagonistic type of discussion into an agonistic political debate. It seeks to do so by illuminating political alternatives to what appears as a given organisation of public life. When spatial planning fixes concepts such as 'safety' according specific beliefs and assumptions, or is carried out by given understandings of the world, it hides alternative understandings and ways of thinking about phenomena and alternative courses of action.

This is then a question about power, since these assumptions become established norms that govern the way we think about phenomena and the world. Taken for granted positions hide, for example, alternative ways of organising public life and alternative ways of organising knowledge. Being able to make choices between competing understandings can be described as constituting preconditions to political debate, which is an assumption that this dissertation takes a foothold within. By enabling and making visible conceptual choices in spatial planning it becomes possible to debate and criticise notions of public life and knowledge that are reflected in planning for safety. In other words, principles for organising public life and knowledge can be consciously 'chosen', but also 'not chosen'. Politicising public life can open up fruitful negotiations and discussions about how we want public life to be organised and carried out. This can be considered especially relevant in times of rapid social change and global movements, as a way for spatial planning to manage what may be perceived as an inevitable change without ending up in a moral conflict about one right way of pursuing public life and what identities should constitute its ideal basis.

This dissertation constitutes a critical examination of planning for safety. It seeks to illuminate how discursive fixations of concepts and phenomena in spatial planning are normative, by reproducing and organising the world in particular ways, as well as governing how we are expected to live and behave. The present study is thereby positioned in poststructural spatial planning research that, amongst other things and in different ways, seeks to make visible ideological positions inherent to spatial planning. This dissertation is not only about criticising but also as much about bringing forward political dimensions to spatial planning for safety, bringing forward lines of conceptual conflict. With this in mind it should be clear that the intent is not to examine what assumptions should normatively inform spatial planning, but rather to investigate those assumptions of public life and knowledge that *do* but also *can* inform spatial planning. The dissertation can also be viewed as an examination of spatial planning in itself, where those assumptions of knowledge and public life that prevail in planning for safety also tells us something about spatial planning at large.

1.2 Aim and research questions

It has been made visible in the introduction that spatial planning for safety rests on a number of assumptions about the desired order of the world. These assumptions appear as given and unproblematic, making the formulation of alternatives appear unnecessary. But upon what normative ideals is ‘planning for safety’ based, and what might the alternatives consist of? Furthermore, on what basis are these ideals formulated, that is, what knowledge legitimises this planning as ‘good’ and unproblematic? In other words, do specific conceptions of knowledge contribute to the ways in which the planning is carried out? The research problem that emerges from these rhetorical questions points towards a need for better understanding of how, and on what basis, a spatial planning problem is formulated and acted upon. The aim is, in other words, to understand how and what conceptions of knowledge operate to legitimise ideological representations of spatial planning problems and subsequent actions. And also to further understand what these ideological representations of spatial planning problems substantially entail, so as to allow for a political spatial planning practice in which alternatives are formulated and choices deliberated upon. Such a research problem will be examined in the present study by analysing assumptions of public life and knowledge in Swedish planning for safety. The research problem is formulated as two research questions that also operate to structure the dissertation at large.

(RQ1) What assumptions of public life prevail in Swedish spatial planning for safety?

The first research question (RQ1) will methodologically be examined by situating planning for safety in a conceptual context, a so-called discursive field, of public life. By drawing from this conceptual context, lines of conceptual conflicts will be delineated. These lines of conflict constitute analytical categories for examining both the literature on urban fear and insecurity, and spatial planning’s responses to the same. Furthermore, the analytical categories will be made use of empirically through an study of the collection of project applications constituting the Swedish spatial planning policy ‘Safe and Gender Equal 2008-2010’.

(RQ2) What assumptions of knowledge prevail in Swedish spatial planning for safety?

The second research question will be explored from the same overall methodological starting point as the first question. Planning for safety will first be situated in two conceptual contexts, or ‘discursive fields’. The first discursive field takes its starting point in the planning theoretical discussion concerning different conceptual stances for legitimising spatial planning actions, seeking to illuminate

conceptually different positions for legitimising spatial planning actions. The second discursive field takes its starting point in the various conceptions of knowledge that prevail in different approaches to spatial planning. From this conceptual context, lines of conflict will be developed both in terms of general conceptions of knowledge and in terms of what knowledge is supposed to do in spatial planning. These lines of conflict constitute analytical categories for analysing the empirical material. Assumptions of knowledge in spatial planning will be empirically examined in the same policy project applications mentioned above.

This dissertation includes phenomena in the practice of spatial planning as its points of departure and is consequently empirically informed. It is the *spatial planning practice* that is sought to be made sense of, specifically with an interest in substantialising the preconditions of public life and knowledge as they are conceived in spatial planning for safety. To clarify, it is not the subject of ‘the spatial planner’ that is in focus, but the practice of spatial planning, in which a range of different subjects are organised within.

1. 3 Disposition

The following section is a reading guide and outline of how the dissertation is structured. The dissertation is comprised of seven chapters. This introductory chapter introduces the overall phenomenon that the dissertation is interested in, and outlines the aim and two research questions.

Chapter 2, ‘Theoretical Positioning’, introduces the poststructural epistemological context that this dissertation is aligned with, and the Mouffean agonistic political theory which the dissertation makes use of. The chapter brings forward key concepts that will be operationalised in the dissertation; agonism/antagonism, hegemony and discursive field. The chapter also establishes a theoretical positioning on power, identities and space.

Chapter 3, ‘Research Design and Methodological Approach’, outlines how the research is organised and designed with an explanation of how the key concepts will be operationalised, and discussion on the analytical process in general. The chapter also introduces the empirical material that is comprised of 127 project applications within the national policy ‘Safe and Gender Equal’ 2008-2010. The chapter ends by discussing the translation, limitation, and use of the Swedish terms ‘trygghet’ and ‘otrygghet’.

Chapter 4, ‘Discursive Fields’, encompasses the analytical frameworks employed in this dissertation. The analytical frameworks comprise a series of discursive

fields, which are constituted as theoretical examinations of conceptual possibilities in constructing phenomena. One series of discursive fields are organised in a funnel-like manner and focused upon public life (in line with the first research question). A second series is focused on legitimating principles and knowledge (in line with the second research question). The discursive fields have been analysed by identifying lines of agonistic conflict, which in turn constitute the analytical categories for analysing the empirical material.

Chapter 5 and 6 constitute empirical analyses that are organised by the two research questions. Chapter 5, 'Safe and Gender Equal and Assumptions of Public Life', analyses assumptions of public life that are manifested in the empirical material. Chapter 6, 'Safe and Gender Equal and Assumptions of Knowledge', analyses assumptions of knowledge that are manifested in the empirical material. The analyses are carried out in accordance with the conflicting dimensions.

Chapter 7, 'Demanding Certainty and Instrumental Uses of Knowledge', constitutes the conclusive chapter in which the research questions are answered. This is carried out by taking chapter 5 and 6 as starting points and by focusing the discussion on articulations of the conflicting dimensions of public life and knowledge in spatial planning for safety.

Chapter 'References' is organised by first outlining the bibliography, policy documents, and thereafter the empirical references.

Chapter 'Appendix' constitutes lists of references to the empirical material. References are listed in the appendix when referring to more than 20 applications.

2 Theoretical positioning

The main aim of this chapter is to introduce the dissertation's theoretical points of departure. The dissertation takes as its starting point Chantal Mouffe's agonistic political theory, with the aim of examining underlying assumptions in planning for safety. Mouffe offers conceptual tools for analysing phenomena that build upon consensus and 'taken for granted' knowledge. This theory constitutes the overarching theoretical perspective that in turn determines the ontological and epistemological standing points. The key analytical concepts that will be introduced here and further made use of throughout the dissertation are 'antagonism/agonism' (Ch. 2.2.1), 'hegemony' (Ch. 2.2.2) and 'the discursive field' (Ch. 2.2.3). This chapter will also outline this dissertation's position on power (Ch. 2.3), on identity (Ch. 2.4), and on space (Ch. 2.5).

2.1 Introduction

This dissertation uses Chantal Mouffe's agonistic political theory as its theoretical point of departure. It has been chosen because it offers conceptual tools for analysing questions and phenomena which the dissertation is interested in, such as consensus and taken for granted positions in planning for safety. What research context can the present study thereby be placed within? The study forms part of a tradition that broadly can be described as 'poststructuralist', which encompass a rather diverse set of theories and methods but has in common that it is interested in how ideas structure and organise society, and seeks in different ways to destabilise these and their assumed values of 'truths'.⁶ A poststructuralist approach should therefore not be mistaken (which is common) for what can be described as a postmodernist approach that is characterised by a research interest in deconstructing and relativising phenomena. A poststructural approach uses critique as its main methodology, but not only in a pure negative way, the critique is considered a necessity for creating space for new possibilities.⁷ The research tradition emphasises ideas in policy, for understanding the relationship between

⁶ See overview: Herz, M. & Johansson, T. *Poststrukturalism. Metodologi, teori och kritik*. Liber AB Stockholm. 2013.

⁷ Koch, A. M. *Poststructuralism and the politics of method*. Lexington Books. Plymouth. UK. 2007. p. 1-2.

social structures and individual subjects, by suggesting that ideas that get a foothold in policy impact social structures which in turn influence individual subjects' possibilities to act.⁸ For example, ideas about safety in spatial planning are considered to impact how individual subjects are able to act and live, and ideas about knowledge in spatial planning are considered as acting to organise spatial planning and its activities.

A common criticism that is directed towards the poststructuralist approach is that it 'reduces' the world to discourses of texts and ideas.⁹ This dissertation's conception of discourse is not derived from such narrow and flat understanding of discourses, but is rather considered as a practice that systematically organises identities, subjects and objects. Discourses of safety are, for example, organising and eliciting specific identities of public life, and discourses of knowledge contribute to organising spatial planning practice. Discourses are understood as systems which are inherently political and intertwined with power, that through mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion steer and organise.¹⁰ Certain ideas and values get included and are able to dominate policy, whereas subjects and practices are socialised into specific systems of beliefs and values.¹¹ Having a poststructural research approach helps one to investigate such phenomena and to examine ideas and values inherent to spatial planning.

As the title of the present study suggests, this dissertation is specifically interested in the discursive preconditions within *Swedish* planning for safety. It is based on an assumption that the Swedish context differentiates in content (both in terms of organisation of spatial planning and operationalisation of the concept of safety) from the Anglo-American context that dominates the literature about this phenomenon. The Anglo-American context is understood to constitute the starting point to the transnational trend of planning for safety.¹² Planning for safety is interconnected with a broad field of research on fear of crime which mainly emerged in the US in the 1990s, and in many respects takes the concept of fear of crime as a given starting point.¹³ Having such a starting point is something that can also be described to characterise the Swedish field of research on this subject

⁸ Griggs, S & Howarth, D. The work of Ideas and Interests in Public Policy. In: Finlayson, A & Valentine, J. (eds) *Politics and Post-structuralism. An Introduction*. p. 97-111. Edinburgh University Press. 2002. p. 97.

⁹ Griggs, S & Howarth, D. 2002. p. 101.

¹⁰ Griggs, S & Howarth, D. 2002. p. 102.

¹¹ Griggs, S & Howarth, D. 2002. p. 105.

¹² Persson, M. *The Dynamics of Policy Formation. Making Sense of Public Unsafety*. PhD dissertation. Örebro Studies in Political Science. Örebro University. 2014. p. 22.

¹³ See Swedish example: Heber, A. *Var rädd om dig: rädsla för brott enligt forskning, intervjupersoner och dagspress*. PhD dissertation. Kriminologiska Institutionen. Stockholm University. 2007.

matter at large. See for example Vania Ceccato who has, amongst other things, examined how safety can be organised in transit environments.¹⁴ In her PhD dissertation, Carina Listerborn examined how safety discourses in research and policy are organised, as well as arguing for perspectives and knowledge that should be taken into account for achieving the best results in safety works.¹⁵ One study that challenges the fear of crime as a basis for researching safety policies is Monica Persson. Her PhD dissertation examined the mechanisms that shape and constrain the ways in which safety policies are constituted, and has, for example, examined how ideas of fear and safety have travelled and spread transnationally.¹⁶ The present study seeks to contribute to this thematic field of research with knowledge about ideas and values inherent to Swedish spatial planning for safety, by specifically being interested in its assumptions of public life and knowledge.

There is Swedish research on spatial planning that is epistemologically similar to the present study, specifically in their interests in similar research questions, but these are focused on other thematics than Swedish spatial planning for safety. This research is quite broad in its various methodological approaches but is similar in terms of attributing importance to ideas and values for understanding spatial planning. Dalia Mukhtar Landgren provides one example that analyses two core substantial preconditions internal to planning- community and progress- that functions to both enable and limit planning.¹⁷ Mukhtar Landgren further examined how tensions in these conceptual preconditions are expressed in Malmö City's municipal planning during a period of rapid changes in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Other examples are focused on how discourses and ideas are organised in spatial planning and how these shape spatial planning's abilities to act. Karin Bradley's PhD dissertation politicised the taken for grantedness that surrounds the 'sustainability' concept in planning, and empirically illustrated how discourses of sustainability are organised in English and Swedish spatial planning respectively.¹⁸ She illuminated in turn how these discourses are both enabled and limited by respective countries middle class norms of nurturing the 'well-behaving' citizen. Another example is Moa Tunström who examined how discourses of the 'good

¹⁴ Ceccato, V. Safety on the move: Crime and perceived safety in transit environments. In: *Security journal* no.27 p. 127-131. 2014.

¹⁵ Listerborn, C. *Trygg stad. Diskurser om kvinnors rädsla i forskning, policyutveckling och lokal praktik*. PhD dissertation. Tema Stadsbyggnad, Sektionen för Arkitektur. Chalmers Institute of Technology. 2002. p 243-263

¹⁶ Persson, M. 2014.

¹⁷ Mukhtar Landgren, D. *Planering för framsteg och gemenskap. Om den kommunala utvecklingsplaneringens idémässiga förutsättningar*. PhD dissertation. Department of Political Science, Lund University. 2012.

¹⁸ Bradley, K. *Just Environments. Politicising Sustainable Urban Development*. PhD dissertation. Department of Urban Planning and Environment, Royal Institute of Technology. 2009.

city' is organised in Swedish spatial planning.¹⁹ Other examples focus on the subject position 'planner' and how the identity and acting space is elicited in spatial planning. Kristina Grange has analysed how planners' construction of their acting space hinges upon specific assumptions about their capacity; how they construct their identity, authority and ability.²⁰ Research interests such as these is what the present study considers itself epistemologically aligned with, although recognising that each one of these draw from different theoretical and methodological approaches.

After now having positioned the research approach in relation to its overall epistemological context, and in relation to the theme of the dissertation (Swedish planning for safety), the next section aims to introduce key concepts in Mouffe's political theory as well as to theoretically position the dissertation.

2.2 Agonistic Theory

2.2.1 Introduction

As highlighted in the previous section, this doctoral dissertation includes so called poststructural discourse theory as a theoretical point of departure. Having a discourse theoretical approach includes having specific perspectives or basic assumptions on how the social world is constituted. Discourse theory draws from social constructivist theories where knowledge is considered a social construct, representing the way we currently categorise and organise the world.²¹ According to this logic there is no objective reality, as social relations and interactions constitute reality. The way we perceive the world is thereby considered historically and culturally contingent, mainly articulated through language and further derived and maintained in a process of social interaction, whereby we continuously (re)produce common truths.²² The particular way of speaking and attributing meaning to the world can be described as a discourse.²³ As the meaning of any phenomenon is constituted by the discourse and is a social and political

¹⁹ Tunström, M. *På spaning efter den goda staden- om konstruktioner av ideal och problem i svensk stadsbyggnadsdiskussion*. PhD dissertation. Örebro studies in Human Geography. Örebro University. 2009.

²⁰ Grange, K. Shaping acting space: In search of a new political awareness among local authority planners. In: *Planning Theory* vol. 12 issue 3 p. 225 –243. 2013.

²¹ Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. *Diskursanalys som Teori och Metod*. Swedish edition. Studentlitteratur AB Lund Sweden. 2000. p.7.

²² Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. 2000. p.11-12.

²³ Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. 2000. p.7.

construction, the theory, consequently, rejects any form of essentialism. Discourses should furthermore be understood as producing power relations that are always connected to these specific forms of knowledge and views of the world. As the discourse is space-time contingent it includes the possibility of reformation and change. Changes of discourses are however very slow as they are persistent in character due to being bound by intersubjective norms and values.

2.2.2 Agonism/antagonism

This dissertation draws specifically from agonistic political theory of Chantal Mouffe. This dissertation's interest in Mouffeian theory doesn't derive from the theory's normative ideals of how society best should be organised, but rather from the conceptual tools the theory offers for analysing phenomena that build upon consensus and taken for granted knowledge. What this dissertation particularly draws from is the theory's recognition of conflicts as key to understanding the formation and development of society. Agonistic political theory sets out society as being unpredictable and contingent in character, thereby being inherently political.²⁴ This means that any order is conceived of as being hegemonic in nature, meaning that it could be articulated differently.²⁵ Any order is thereby derived from a choice between conflicting alternatives where decisions have been made on terms of the inclusion and exclusion of possibilities. What however is articulated as something given or 'true' is based on settled hegemonic practices that disguise the original positioning or choice between conflicting alternatives.²⁶ Conflicts can furthermore be understood either on the terms of *antagonisms* or *agonies*. Antagonisms are defined based on enemy-friend relations where the conflicting parties share no common ground and as such the enemy is conceived to be illegitimate and ought to be eliminated.²⁷ An antagonistic planning conflict can entail a struggle between what planning measure is conceived as *right or good*, which makes the conflict a moral discourse between right and wrong, or between good and bad, as opposed to a political struggle of how to interpret and implement principles informing planning. A conflict will readily take the antagonistic form if it appears that no political choices are at hand, where the only choice is a perceived given, the natural 'right' one, or the 'good'. The conflicting parties in a context of agony instead perceive each other as legitimate, though, incapable of finding a

²⁴ Mouffe, C. *On the Political*. Routledge. 2005a.p.17.

²⁵ Mouffe, C. *Agonistics*. Verso London Brooklyn. 2013.p.XI.; Mouffe, C. 2005a. p.17.

²⁶ Mouffe, C. 2013. p.2.

²⁷ Mouffe, C. 2005a. p.20; Mouffe, C. *The Return of the Political*. Verso London and Brooklyn. 2005b. p.4.

rational solution to their conflict.²⁸ They are construed as ‘adversaries’ whose existence must be tolerated.²⁹

Approaching ‘spatial planning for safety’ from a Mouffean perspective challenges the ‘given-ness’ of any order including legitimating planning interventions in terms of ‘rightness’ and ‘goodness’. By, for example, including principles of human rights as legitimating principles, ‘planning for safety’ can be considered as the right thing to do since everyone has the morally justified right to feel safe in the public realm. It could consequently be considered morally reprehensible to challenge the principles behind such order. It is however different agreeing to principles of human rights to, for example, identify that someone’s rights have been violated against, than suggest what course of action would follow. In other words, it is different answering the question what spatial planning can do about it, since “there is difference between ‘having a right’ and ‘doing right’”.³⁰ This means that it is difficult having principles such as ‘human rights’ as a norm for guiding practice as it doesn’t advise spatial planning on what to do, or what the good thing is to do, but rather that spatial planning ethically ought to do something. Using the rights based principles for legitimating spatial planning readily disguises the ideological premises that the suggested course of action rests on, which makes the question a matter of right and wrong, where the conflict readily takes an antagonistic form.³¹

In spatial planning for safety, particular alteration or configurations of the urban fabric are sometimes suggested through an argument which states that everyone has an equal right to feel safe. The ideological foundation, the system of belief, for making such an interpretation of the rights based principles are here obscured, as there is no such thing as a given answer or solution to the identified problem nor in how to interpret the notion of human rights. The ethical principles of human rights advising spatial planning to act and do something can as such consensually be agreed upon, but the planning actions that would follow them can, or rather should according to the agonistic theory, be subject to political struggle and contestation. These ethical principles of human rights informing the political society can be referred to as being of an ethico-political character.³² This means that society may consensually agree upon having ethical principles informing the political, where the political dimension sits in the interpretation and implementation of the

²⁸ Mouffe, C. 2005a. p.20.

²⁹ Mouffe, C. 2005b. p.4.

³⁰ Alexander, E.R. ‘The Public Interest in Planning: From Legitimation to Substantive Plan Evaluation’. In *Planning Theory* no 1 2002 p.226-249. p.237; Dworkin, 1978 cited in Campbell, H and Marshall, R, “Utilitarianism’s Bad Breath? A Re-evaluation of The Public Interest Justification for Planning”. *Planning Theory* no 1. 2002. p. 163-174. p. 179.

³¹ Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.233.

³² Mouffe, C. 2005a. p.121.

principles, as there is not one correct or given interpretation of any phenomenon.³³ The interpretation and implementation should instead be subject to agonistic closure, whereupon alternative political possibilities continue to be present and challenging the order in an agonistic form.

In a democratic system such as spatial planning, formulation of alternatives constitutes an essential component for enabling choice makings in specific questions and subject matters. In this dissertation, a question that is constructed with no available choices and thereby appeals to morals is referred to as a depoliticised question. A question that is constructed with available choices is referred to as a politicised question. A depoliticisation of one question in one context could however mean that the question is politicised in another context or at another level.

2.2.3 Hegemony

Ideological and taken for granted understanding of phenomenon can be understood by referring to the concept of hegemony. Hegemony constitutes something that exercises domination and influence as a result of a discursive formation. A hegemonic intervention includes an active expansion and fixation of specific norms, values and views about the world that comes to represent an objective truth.³⁴ A hegemonic intervention can be understood to represent a stabilised system of meaning and differs from the concept of discourse in the sense that it transcends the discourses that antagonistically stand in opposition. Hegemony is thus reached if the antagonism is dissolved through the creation of an understanding that goes beyond the discursive field of understandings, by “forcefully” or “willfully” forming consensus.³⁵ If a taken for granted understanding of public life underpins and dominates planning for safety, the question can then be raised as to whether it represents a hegemonic order.

One can understand the Cartesian appreciation of space as a possible hegemonic intervention in spatial planning, by constituting a foundational principle to spatial planning practice. This discourse understands, represents and limits space to a three dimensional Euclidian grid. Space has to be able to be captured on ‘the plan’ (which is furthermore considered to be one of the most important tools in the profession). This understanding of space could be described to transcend antagonistic understandings of representing space (such as topological plans based on a relational understanding of space) and is considered a stabilised system of

³³ Mouffe, C in Hirsch, N. and Miessen, M. (eds) *The Space of Agonism. Markus Miessen in Conversation with Chantal Mouffe*. Sternberg Press. Berlin. 2012. p.11.

³⁴ Torfing, J. *New Theories of Discourse*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd. Oxford UK. 1999. p.302.

³⁵ Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. 2000. p.55.

meaning. This hegemonic way of speaking of and understanding space can be interpreted as a foundational within the practice and one that ends up dictating much of the conditions under which the profession operates, and can further be understood to represent an objective and stable ‘truth’ and a form of ideology.³⁶ An ‘objective truth’ is considered to be reached when a discourse has become naturalised and unquestioned through hegemonic interventions. *Objectivity* thus signifies something that is taken for granted and doesn’t appear to be subject to discursive signifying sequences even though it is. Objectivity is thereby equated with ideology, as the notion of objectivity hides alternative possible meanings.³⁷

Agonistic political theory is particularly interested in the antagonistic nature of the social world, where the antagonisms reveal political formations and the boundaries of the social; in other words, they show the borders for the current governing order, what is possible to raise and say, and what is not. Such an analysis of ‘spatial planning for safety’ is interested in identifying and making visible conflicting constructions of public life implicitly present in the practice, although potentially politically and temporarily disguised through hegemonic interventions. The nature of any social phenomenon including spatial planning is that ‘it continuously makes choices’ between competing understandings of phenomenon, and ‘the choices it makes’ suggests something about the values and norms that are governing the practice. Spatial planning is however not always openly aware of the explicit ‘choice making’ as it is governed by settled and naturalised hegemonic social practices that conceals the original political positioning.

2.2.4 The discursive field

The borders of discourses are fluid and can, due to their contingent character, be re-articulated at any time. This means that meaning can only partially be fixed and as a result additional meaning exist which is not considered as being included within the discourse. This field of alternative additional understandings and meanings is termed “*the discursive field*”.³⁸ Or “*field of discursivity*”.³⁹ The discursive field forms the abstract field of the negotiation of meaning. Laclau and Mouffe understands this field as a “theoretical horizon for the constitution of the being of every object”.⁴⁰ This, in turn, determines the “impossibility of any given discourse

³⁶ See for example: Söderström, O. ‘Paper Thinking’. In *Cultural Geographies* vol 3. 1996. p. 249-281

³⁷ Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. 2000. p.44.

³⁸ Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. 1987. p 86. cited in Torfing, J.1999. p.92.

³⁹ Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. Verso. London New York. 2014 [1985].p. 98.

⁴⁰ Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. 1987. p 86. cited in Torfing, J.1999. p.92.

to implement a final suture”.⁴¹ The discursive field represents a conceptual context for constructing phenomena that in turn can be understood to constitute the conceptual space of discursive 'negotiations'. Establishing the discursive field or the theoretical horizon can be considered a necessity for establishing the political positioning behind conceived consensus, and can function to illuminate borders of what is possible within current discourses. This dissertation will, amongst other things, establish a discursive field of public life. Such a discursive field entails a conceptual context for constructing or asserting meaning to public life.

2.3 Power and knowledge

Spatial planning can be described as being based on specific knowledges of the world. Knowledges that, in turn, are constituted through processes of power. Knowledge in poststructural theories are not conceived as neutral entities that can be ‘produced’ through a process of validation and thereby claim to represent ‘the truth’, but rather as socially constructed temporal and contestable products that are political in character, focusing on ‘knowledges’ as opposed to ‘knowledge’.⁴² The concept of power in agonistic political theory is closely connected to objectivity and politics as “all social relations are power relations [and] objectivity...is not nothing but sedimented forms of power”.⁴³ Power thus constitutes the processes that defines a social world, give it meaning and “cannot be viewed as a causal effect of either structure or agency since these are constructed in and through power”.⁴⁴ The conceptualisation of power in Mouffean agonistic theory is largely drawn from Michel Foucault’s notions of power in his so called genealogical works, where he makes the intrinsic connection between power and knowledge.

We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of knowledge.⁴⁵

Knowledge hence equates experiences and constructs of how the world is constituted. The way the world is being presented becomes, through causal acceptance, the knowledge of the world, and the way the world is being presented represents in turn an exercise of power. This Foucauldian conception of power consequently contributes to forming spatial planning’s sense of reality, by shaping

⁴¹ Lacalau, E. and Mouffe, C. 2014. p.98.

⁴² Bacchi, C. *Analysing Policy: What is the Problem Represented be?* Pearson Australia. 2009. p.35, 234.

⁴³ Torfing, J. 1999. p.161.

⁴⁴ Mouffe, C. 1994 cited in Torfing, J. 1999. p.162.

⁴⁵ Foucault, 1986 cited in Torfing, J. 1999. p.162.

the “sense of ‘what counts as self-evident, universal and necessary’”.⁴⁶ Knowledge should however be conceived as necessary for governing, since spatial planning must have some knowledge about the world for being able to carry out its activities.⁴⁷ With this in mind, the question for poststructural analysis is to enquire as to what kinds of knowledges are considered to be useful or meaningful in spatial planning and thereby qualify for representing ‘the truth’, as this suggests something about the conceptual logic in which spatial planning operates from, which in turn suggests something about how society at large is organised and governed.⁴⁸ How spatial planning conceptualises knowledge can therefore be understood to make up the internal logic for approaching social phenomena and thereby its conceptual logic for acting. Different ontological positions represents different ‘empirical’ understandings of the world, in other words, what the world is described to be constituted of.⁴⁹ When, for example, ‘gendered safety’ was formulated as a policy for spatial planning to act, specific knowledge informed how spatial planning came to understand ‘the problem of gendered fear’, that in turn paved the way for how spatial planning thereby acted. Certain knowledges were prioritised to the disadvantage of others. The way knowledges are conceptualised is, according to poststructural theories, considered to enable specific actions and consequently prevent others. There are consequently knowledge that make some actions and events thinkable, and others not. Knowledge is also able to construct specific subjectivities, by making specific subject positions available.⁵⁰ We become subjects “of a particular kind partly through the ways in which policies organises social relationships and our place (positions) in them”.⁵¹ It is, for example, common to set groups in opposition to one another, what Foucault refers to as ‘dividing practices’, where for example ‘women’ are set out in opposition to ‘men’, or ‘immigrants’ versus ‘natives’ or ‘employed’ and so forth.⁵² This ‘dividing practice’ can be understood as a practice that encourages certain behaviours among the majority while also stigmatising others.⁵³ The way knowledge is conceptualised in planning for safety can, in other words, inform what subject positions are made available

⁴⁶ Davoudi, S. ‘Planning as Practice of Knowing’ In *Planning Theory* no. 14(3) 2015. p.316-331. p.325.

⁴⁷ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.234.

⁴⁸ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.234, 240.

⁴⁹ Linehan, C and Kavanagh, D. “From Project Ontologies to Communities of Virtue”. In: Cicmil,S and Hodgson, D (eds) *Making Projects Critical*. pp: 51-67. Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke and New York. 2006. p.52.

⁵⁰ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.16.

⁵¹ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.16.

⁵² Bacchi, C. 2009. p.16.

⁵³ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.16.

when participating in public life. Conceptions of knowledge are intertwined with the way that spatial planning conceptualise public life.

2.4 Constructing identities

The Mouffean conception of gender and identities can be described as being congruent with Judith Butler's theory of gender and identity constructions.⁵⁴ Such a conception rejects any form of essentialism associated to subject and identity construction. There are consequently no natural or 'essential' categories (based on ideas of, for example, sex and ethnicity) that define subjects pre-discursively. There are no natural, uncoded differences between men and women; they are instead continuously in the making and performed.⁵⁵ The language fixes and constructs identities based on mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, which in turn contributes towards eliciting possible identities to identify oneself with. Gender is thereby created by repetition of language and social actions, forming the "normalising machinery of femininity and masculinity".⁵⁶ Butler stresses how gender is not only *normative* which address ways of being in terms what it means "being a woman or being a man", it is in itself a *norm*, a standard for *normalisation*, as the only ontological way to *be*.⁵⁷ Gender categories are thereby not voluntary, but socially compulsory.⁵⁸ Based on such an understanding of identity construction, relevant analytical questions to pursue are how identities and gender categories are constructed in different discursive political and social contexts, and not in 'whether' the interest of different groups are reflected or recognised in different contexts.⁵⁹ Having such a Butlerian conception of gender and identities as a point of departure in the context of planning for safety means that the focus is not on whether, for example, 'women's' perspectives have been 'properly' addressed or not in spatial planning, but in *how* the identity 'woman' is constructed and discursively organised within spatial planning practices. It could be worth pointing out that this doesn't contradict that 'woman' is a real category that people identify themselves with and judge others by. The category 'woman' is a construction, but it doesn't mean it is not made use of politically and contributes to

⁵⁴ Mouffe, C. 2005a. p. 87.; Butler, J. *Genustrubbel*. Daidalos Göteborg. 2007

⁵⁵ Rosenberg, Tiina. *Queerfeministisk Agenda*. Bokförlaget Atlas. Stockholm. 2002. p.70.

⁵⁶ Butler, J. 2007. p. 60.

⁵⁷ Butler, J. 2007. p. 59.

⁵⁸ Rosenberg, T. 2002. p. 71.

⁵⁹ Mouffe, C. 2005b. p.88.

real consequences for living subjects.⁶⁰ The political struggle for equality is from this perspective, a struggle against the different ways the category ‘woman’ is constructed in subordination, as this function to reveal different forms of power relations, and also reveal the exclusionary element (what is and can not be included) present in all attempts to universalism (what a woman is and can be).⁶¹

2.5 Material expressions of the discourse and the production of space

Mouffe’s particular ontological understanding of discourse draws from the perspective that both objects and actions are considered discursively meaningful and doesn’t separate discursive from non-discursive phenomena. The notion that all social phenomena are viewed as discursive brings about consequences for how space is conceptualised. Discourses are considered to be material in the sense that the discourse also forms materially in space.⁶² Traffic lights or traffic bumps are examples of material expressions of a spatial planning road security discourse, or the fence surrounding a park could constitute a material expression of a spatial planning safety discourse. These physical objects constitute no meaning on their own, as the meaning of these objects is what we ascribe to them within the discourse in question. Objects can include a multitude of meanings, depending on the context of articulation. The fence described above could be a material expression of a spatial planning safety discourse, but it could also form a material expression of a spatial planning landownership discourse (that of course could be tied to the safety discourse). An object may pre-exist the discourse, but it is through the discourse that it will be understood and made use of.⁶³ The fence is, for example, not a new intervention particular to the spatial planning discourse, but the way it is made use of and ascribed meaning to within this context can be new. In this doctoral dissertation, conceptualisations of space will consequently be considered as material expressions of specific discourses. Artefacts and spatial configurations are thereby discursively produced, where their meaning becomes prevalent and maintained through social interactions. Space is continuously produced and socially constructed. Artefacts and spatial configuration do therefore not exist as objective and stable entities ‘out there’, but are rather interactively

⁶⁰ Herz, M. and Johansson, T. *Postrukturalism. Metodologi, Teori, Kritik*. Liber AB. 2013. p.52-53.

⁶¹ Mouffe, C. 2005b. p.88.

⁶² Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. 2000. p.42.

⁶³ Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. 2000. p.42.

formed and produced, contributing to the production and meaning of the social world.

This chapter has set out the theoretical points of departure in this dissertation, by having explicated Mouffeian agonistic theory and the key analytical concepts that will be utilised (agonism/antagonism, hegemony and discursive field). It has also set out this dissertation's conception of power, space and identity. The next chapter will introduce how this theory will be made operational and includes an outline of the research design and methodological procedure. It will also include an outline and discussion of the empirical material that will be analysed.

3 Research design and methodological approach

This chapter aims to set out the research design and the overall methodological approach, including an outline and discussion of the empirical material. The analysis will be carried out based upon agonistic theory, as introduced in the previous chapter, and can be explained as taking a free and independent form of Mouffeian inspired discourse analysis. As there isn't one conclusive method for conducting discourse analysis but rather a series of styles and research approaches that are compatible with its ontology and epistemology, one has to independently make use of and form the concepts and tools in each specific research case to suit the identified research problem.⁶⁴ This chapter will outline how Mouffeian discourse theory will be operationalised in this doctoral dissertation by outlining the methodological approach for conducting the analysis.

This chapter is organised accordingly: (3.1) Main analytical concepts; (3.2) Procedure for analysis; (3.3) The analytical process and (3.4) Outline of empirical material.

3.1 Main analytical concepts

3.1.1 The discursive field(s) and lines of agonistic conflict

One of the key analytical challenges for having a Mouffeian agonistic theoretical approach lies in delineating and making visible the suppressed conflicts and alternatives behind the illusion of consensus, breaking up the apparent closed discourses.⁶⁵ In order to establish political positions and possibilities for choice requires an inquiry into the interconnecting discourses that the particular discourse forms a part of. In this particular study, in order to be able to establish conflicting positions in the spatial planning safety discourse, the discourse is going to be

⁶⁴ Howarth, D. *Discourse*. Marston Book Services Ltd. Oxford UK. 2001. p.134.

⁶⁵ Alvesson, M. och Deetz, S. *Kritisk Samhällsvetenskaplig Metod*. Studentlitteratur. Lund Sweden. 2000. p.197.

positioned in its greater conceptual context.⁶⁶ Safety is a concept that represents one specific (desired) experience of public life. The greater conceptual context of safety is here argued to sit in ‘the discursive field of public life’, as this is where the consensus of safety is produced and reproduced, and this is where the political alternatives to the desired urban experience of safety are situated. ‘The discursive field of public life’ constitutes the conceptual and discursive preconditions for the spatial planning safety discourse. The concept of ‘the discursive field’ is referred to as the theoretical space of possible outcomes. It functions so as to open up the different ways a phenomenon (for example public life and knowledge) can be conceptually construed. It seeks to make evident discursive positions by illuminating what notions are included and what notions are excluded.

The discursive field of public life will methodologically be established by analysing literature and identifying discourses of public life. This dissertation is interested in identifying discourses of public life for re-establishing choices in spatial planning for safety, and making visible the political positioning behind what appears as a conceived consensus. The focus is not on establishing the tensions in how spatial planning practice currently construes public life, but to move beyond current conceptualisations. Turning to the literature provides the best way of establishing the conceptual possibilities of public life, in which the spatial planning safety discourse can be positioned. It can however be important to stress that the discursive field is not a literature review in a traditional sense and is not in any way fully exhaustive. It aims to establish conceptual positions from which a field of tensions can be delineated. This field of tensions, or lines of conflicts, constitute different aspects of public life that requires discursive positioning. The lines of conflict comprise of (1) criterion for partaking, (2) purpose as well as (3) character of public life, and (4) identity construction. These dimensions are key to understanding how notions of public life are manifested in spatial planning. They raise questions such as, what is required in order to access it, what purpose public life is considered to fill, views of its envisaged character and also how different subjectivities are constructed. These dimensions allow for identifying discursive positions and ruptures by analysing if and what dimensions of public life are, or are not, subject to agonistic conflict and politicisation. The discursive field of public life will be further introduced in chapter 4.

In order to answer research question one (RQ1), these conflicting dimensions operate as an analytical framework and will structure additional discursive fields and empirical analysis. The additional discursive fields are organised like a funnel (from the general to the particular) where discursive fields of conceptualisations of urban fear and safety, as well as spatial planning’s different responses to the same will be established. The analytical framework of public life structures in turn the discursive fields, where the lines of conflict frame the conceptualisations of urban

⁶⁶ Alvesson, M. och Deetz, S. 2000. p.200.

fear and safety as well as spatial planning's responses to the same. The agonistic dimensions, i.e. the analytical framework, will furthermore structure the empirical analysis.

The second research question (RQ2) that addresses assumptions of knowledge that prevail in planning for safety will be addressed by using the same theory and methodology as above. First a discursive field of different principles for legitimating spatial planning action is established, thereafter a discursive field of knowledge in planning will be organised from which a series of (agonistic) conflicting dimensions will be unfolded. These make up the analytical framework that in turn will structure the empirical analysis.

3.2 The analytical process

This section aims to outline the procedure for carrying out the study, including a discussion about the interpretative process, this study's knowledge claims and a brief discussion about the role of the researcher.

3.2.1 Overall procedure for analysis

The procedure for analysis can be summarised in six analytical steps. This schemata has initially been informed by Howarth and Wodak but has been independently merged and developed it to a form unrecognisable from the original source.⁶⁷

(1) There is nothing but the discourse

After having formulated research questions and selected relevant empirical material, the first step includes treating all data as text data as discourse theory treats all linguistic and non-linguistic data as text, or statements about social phenomena contributing to discursive formations. This means that the images and plans contained in my empirical material is approached discursively as statements, and is not considered representing anything else but the discourse(s). The same goes for identity construction; there is no pre-discursive essential identity such as woman that is considered to exist outside the discourse. The safety discourse contributes to reproducing this identity category.

(2) Agonistic dimensions and discursive field(s)

⁶⁷ Howarth, D. 2001. p.141; Wodak, R. 'Critical Discourse Analysis' In Seale, C. et al. *Qualitative Research Practice*. p.185-201. SAGE Publications. 2004. p.198.

The second step involves applying a theoretical framework onto the material. This framework is set out in chapter 2 and allows for the articulation and application of specific concepts and logics onto the material, enabling the development of an interpretation of the data that goes beyond the conventional reading of the text and opening up for a possibly 'new' interpretation. The Mouffeian agonistic theory forms the main theoretical point of departure, including agonism and discursive field(s) as main analytical concepts.

(3) Establishing the discursive fields of public life and knowledge

As there are two research questions with separate thematic means there will be two analytical frameworks. Research question one opens up for a discursive field of public life, which is established through a literature study. Research question two opens up for a discursive field of knowledge in spatial planning and is also established through a literature study.

(4) Delineating lines of political conflict (agonistic dimensions), i.e. establish the analytical concepts for the two empirical analyses

It should be pointed out the agonistic dimensions do not in any way represent delimited realms. They very much feed into one another and overlap. They have been constructed and delimited purely for analytical purposes.

(5) Situate literature on urban fear and insecurity and spatial planning responses to urban fear and insecurity in the analytical framework of public life.

(6) Analyse the empirical material in accordance with the analytical frameworks.

The last step includes analysing the empirical material based on the agonistic dimensions that were established in chapter 4.

It is worth clarifying that the first, second, third and fourth steps form in the sense a limitation of the study and what is possible to read and interpret in the material. It is these particular lines of conflict that this dissertation is interested in. The theoretical framework cannot be separated from the methodology, as it sets the foundational logics for interpreting.⁶⁸ This procedure forms the overall set up for conducting the analysis.

3.2.2 The analytical process

This section aims to discuss the process of analysing the empirical material. The analytical process can be described as being in the borderland between qualitative content analysis and what is generally referred to as discourse analysis. The main tools that have assisted and structured the analytical process are the lines of conflict that are referred to as agonistic dimensions. Each dimension can be described as

⁶⁸ Alvesson, M and Sköldböck, K. *Tolkning och Reflektion*. Studentlitteratur Lund Sweden. 1994. p.14.

constituting a question (such as how are identities constructed, or how is the purpose of public life constructed etc.) that is subject to analysis and methodological focus when going through the material. The dimensions make it possible to methodologically identify discursive positions in the material.

The empirical material has firstly been manually digitised with the help of a hand scanner. The scanning process enabled a first reading of the corpus and a first overview of the material as a whole. The corpus was thereafter analysed and coded in accordance with the conflicting dimensions and associated questions, ‘can for example this statement be understood to reflect an assumption of the phenomenon in focus?’ After having critically read and coded the material according to the analytical frameworks, specific concepts emerge as being particularly important for how the discourses appear to be articulated. Since the material has been digitised, it is possible to make specific text searches on variations of these concepts in the corpus as a whole, allowing for a relatively structured overview of what discursive contexts the concepts in question were contained within. Through such a process it is possible to move between a critical reading of the material in a specific order and actively searching for key concepts and their contexts in the whole corpus.

For example, in regards to the conflicting dimension of identity construction, the question for analysis has first been what subject positions and categories are referred to in the corpus, and thereafter (in accordance with the analytical framework) inquired as to how their identities subsequently have been constructed. This involved reading and coding, re-reading and re-coding. In this process, as stated previously, some concepts emerged as particularly important in how these identities were constructed and appeared to be important in the articulation of the discourse. These concepts can be understood as meaning carrying elements to how the discourses are articulated.

After having identified key concepts, trying to identify ruptures through counter images or concepts was the next step in the analytical process. These counter images could illuminate possible conflicting conceptions in the material.

Constructing discourses

After having identified elements that appear to carry meaning in how discourses are articulated, constructing discourses forms the following analytical step. Torfing defines a discourse as:

[A] relational totality of signifying sequences that together constitute a more or less coherent framework for what can be said and done.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Torfing, J. *New Theories of Discourse*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd. Oxford UK. 1999. p.300.

A discourse is constituted as a series of signifiers carrying specific meanings that only make sense when considered in relation to one another by being fixated in a specific differential position to one another. These relations could be described as a chain of equivalence (positive-what the discourse is) or chain of differentials (negative-what the discourse is not).⁷⁰ The meaning of a phenomenon thus only makes sense in relation to other elements of meaning.

In the analytical process of the empirical material in this dissertation, a focus has been on connecting elements of meaning through chains of equivalences or chains of differentials. In regards to the example of how identities are constructed in the material, chains of equivalences or differentials are constructed in regards to how, for example, 'women' or 'safety' is articulated meaning through equivalence or differential.

3.2.3 Knowledge claims

Having a poststructural epistemology as a point of departure, suggests that this study doesn't have any intention of making any claims of 'true' knowledge. What is conceived as true is only a reflection of the system it was created in. What spatial planning, for example, conceives of as 'true' represents its system of beliefs.⁷¹ As any claim of knowledge is interpretative and imposed by some form of 'closure', what this study can do is instead to give an interpretative arrangement, a discursive context, of a given phenomenon.⁷² A question that is commonly being addressed to poststructural research is whether it can say anything about a phenomenon that is being denied or existing outside the discourse in the first place.⁷³ It should then be pointed out that it is not the phenomenon of the 'real' that is denied, but the impossibility to understand it in a discursive vacuum.⁷⁴ What this dissertation tries to do is to interpret a phenomenon through the ways in which it is constructed in the empirical material and by analysing its discursive preconditions. It seeks to make visible the discursive preconditions by pointing towards their representations of particular constructions of reality. In line with what Herz and Johansson claim, this dissertation doesn't try to make evident that one construction is better or 'more true' than another, but seeks to analyse how spatial planning practice constructs

⁷⁰ Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. Verso. London New York. 2014[1985]. p.113; Dyrberg, T.B. *The Circular Structure of Power*. Verso. London New York. 1997. p.119; Torfing, J. 1999. p.125.

⁷¹ Koch, A.M. *Poststructuralism and the Politics of Method*. Lexington Books. 2007.p.121.

⁷² Koch, A.M. 2007. p.9.

⁷³ Herz, M. and Johansson, T. *Postrukturalism. Metodologi, Teori, Kritik*. Liber AB. 2013. p.37.

⁷⁴ Herz, M and Johansson, T. 2013. p.37.

reality and thereby also creates and fixes particular subject positions and power relations.⁷⁵ What this dissertation aims to do then is to make visible or unfold truth claims, but not to assert any ‘truths’ itself.

3.2.4 The role of the researcher

Another important aspect for consideration when interacting with the material concerns the role of the researcher. There is always the risk in qualitative research that the researcher embraces the values of the study subject and is conveying something as ‘real’ and/or ‘true’. In analysing discourses it is of particular relevance to be aware of the role as a researcher in relation to the study subject, as such study aims to delineate discursive formations not as something real and true, but something that can and could have been articulated differently. Distancing and estranging oneself from the social phenomena in focus is thus required in order to go beyond the conventional reading of a text, especially if the researcher stands close to the study subject.⁷⁶ On the other side of embracing a phenomenon as something ‘true’ sits the criticising of a phenomenon as something ‘bad’. Conducting critical discourse analysis includes a balancing line between being critical but *not* being normatively critical.⁷⁷ This means that one viewpoint should not be advocated to the advantage of another. The purpose of critical discourse analysis is not to assert that one understanding is better or should act as ideological norm; the purpose is rather to illuminate the discursive landscape in which truths are asserted. This is a very difficult balancing act, where it is rather hard to ‘walk straight’ and illustrate assumptions without making any ideological positioning. This also highlights the importance of transparency in the analytical process. Illuminating what values and assumptions that govern spatial planning for safety is as such *not* carried out to say that those values and assumptions are ideologically *bad*, but to say that those assumptions are constructs and should be recognised as a logic that can be articulated differently. The researcher will, however, always have values and pre-understandings of phenomena that will inform the analysis to a certain degree, where the only way of dealing with such values is by explicitly making an effort of outlining the theoretical points of departure for the study in question as thoroughly as possible, and in the analytical process to continuously be challenged by supervisors and peers.

⁷⁵ Herz, M and Johansson, T. 2013. p.37.

⁷⁶ Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. *Diskursanalys som Teori och Metod*. Swedish edition. Studentlitteratur AB Lund Sweden. 2000. p.28.

⁷⁷ How the concept 'critical' is used here should not be confused with ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’ and Norman Fairclough that constitutes a different research pathway in discourse analysis that is not congruent with the Mouffeian theoretical perspective.

3.3 Introducing the empirical material

This section aims to introduce the empirical material that is subject for analysis in this dissertation, which comprises the project applications within the national policy ‘Safe and Gender Equal’. Organising policies through spatial planning projects constitutes a particular way of steering and organising knowledge that also will be a subject for discussion in this chapter.

3.3.1 Spatial planning subjects in the safety discourse

Following this dissertation’s theoretical points of departure, spatial planning constitutes one subject among others (such as the police, schools, women, researchers) in the planning for safety discourse. In any discursive structure, there are always specific positions that subjects can take, and consequently act from.⁷⁸ From the different subject positions there are expectations of what can be said and done, and consequently, what can’t be said and done.⁷⁹ Spatial planning acts thereby in accordance with specific discursive logics. Spatial planning simultaneously constitutes subjects in other parallel discourses, such as transport, tourism, health discourses and so on. There is consequently not only one discursive logic that governs spatial planning, but multiple logics that also sometimes stand in contradiction and in conflict with one another. This dissertation explores spatial planning as one subject in the planning for safety discourse, and is interested in how it organises knowledge and reproduces itself within the limits of the discourse. Spatial planning organises its space for acting on three different levels: the national, the county and the municipal level. The national level through The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (*Boverket*), which, to put it in simple terms, participates in the discourse through providing guidelines and recommendations regarding the use of space and space development to both county administrative boards and municipalities. It also participates in wider discussions with the general public through seminars and the like. The county administrative boards have the mandate to control and advise municipalities, and the municipality is in turn is engaged in regulating the use of land and water.

3.3.2 Selection of empirical material

This dissertation is interested in analysing logics that govern spatial planning in the safety discourse, such as assumptions of public life and knowledge. Empirical

⁷⁸ Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. 2000. p.48.

⁷⁹ Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. 2000. p. 48.

material has consequently been chosen facilitating the carrying out of such an analysis in a reasonable way. The empirical material in this dissertation comprises the approved project funding applications in the first phase (2008-2010) of a national policy popularly referred to as ‘Safe and Gender Equal’, which the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning facilitated in conjunction with the County Administrative boards.⁸⁰ These project applications constitute a good empirical base for studying the spatial planning safety discourse since organisations and municipalities across Sweden (across the three different levels) are engaged to in text specifically express, in written texts, conceptions of the social phenomenon in focus as well as how the conceived social phenomenon is considered to be managed. The selected material does not only represent an example of a safety discourse, it also constitutes a coherent discourse of spatial planning. Since the empirical material is delimited to the funding applications within the policy, it makes a naturally constrained and delimited source of data.

This program is, furthermore, considered a policy that has been introduced by political authorities as a response to a conceived social problem, and for justifying some form of intervention.⁸¹ This policy thereby includes a specific understanding of society and representation of a particular social problem.⁸² The ‘problem’ is not considered to exist out there, separated from the context it has been produced within.⁸³ The way policies construct representations of problems has the implication that they “take lives on their own because they affect materially and symbolically how we are governed and how we live”.⁸⁴ The way problems of urban insecurity are represented inform, for example, how we conceptualise what we do and can do in public life, and elicits specific subject positions to which we identify ourselves with. It can, in other words, be considered that we as individuals are governed by how problems are conceptualised in policy.⁸⁵

3.3.3 “Safe and Gender Equal 2008-2010”

The Governmental decision M2008-3813/H

This section aims to introduce the policy ‘Safe and Gender Equal 2008-1010’ and how The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning organised and

⁸⁰ ‘Safe and Gender Equal’ is a translation of ‘Tryggt och jämställt 2008-2010’ in Swedish

⁸¹ Colomb, C. *Staging the New Berlin*. Routledge London and New York. 2012. p.28-29.; Persson, M. *The Dynamics of Policy Formation. Making Sense of Public Unsafety*. Phd Thesis. Örebro University. Sweden. 2014. p.73.

⁸² Bacchi, C. *Analysing Policy: What is the Problem Represented be?* Pearson Australia. 2009. p.263.

⁸³ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.266.

⁸⁴ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.263.

⁸⁵ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.263.

facilitated the process of implementing the policy as spatial planning action, including the (re)production of values and norms. Following a governmental action plan that sought to combat men's violence against women, violence and oppression in the name of honour and violence in same-sex relationships, the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning was commissioned by the government to:

1. survey and compile existing knowledge about how safety can be improved from a gender equality perspective in city and urban environments as well as spread knowledge about this,
2. in collaboration with the County Administrative Boards develop practical methods based on experiences from municipal practice and projects,
3. in collaboration with the County Administrative Boards organise regional seminars with the aim to spread knowledge and reach out to municipalities, managers and other key actors, as well as,
4. during 2008 allocate and disburse funds allocated to the County Administrative Boards for above mentioned purposes as well as enabling the County Administrative Boards to support municipal activities and other projects for integrating a gender equality perspective in the operative work.⁸⁶

By drawing from Bacchi, the problem can first of all be represented to be about what is understood as men's violence against women.⁸⁷ Men's violence against women appears furthermore to be connected to how spatial planning is *lacking* knowledge and methods about specific phenomena, and how spatial planning practice is *not* integrating such knowledge in the operative work. It is furthermore stated in the governmental communication "how environments can through their design contribute to perceptions of insecurity and fear of crime, which constrain people's and in particular girls and women's possibilities for a good life". The conceptualisation of the problem includes as such an explicit assumption that there is a correlation between phenomena such as design and spatial configurations, and particularly 'female' emotional experiences such as fear. This assumption opens up the possibility of addressing or solving these conceived social problems through spatial planning. The lack of knowledge can be interpreted to be of two kinds, both 'normative operative knowledge' that supposedly is considered to be drawn from 'research', but also so called lay knowledge based on experiences from the practice. The Governmental decision allocates a significant 45 000 000 SEK for this commission, which also includes an extension of the assignment from 2008 to

⁸⁶ (Governmental Communication) Regeringens Skrivelse 2007/08:39 *Handlingsplan för att bekämpa mäns våld mot kvinnor, hedersrelaterat våld, förtryck samt våld i samkönade relationer.*

⁸⁷ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.2.

2009-2010 with the same aims as outlined above. This governmental commission has furthermore become popularly known as ‘Safe and Gender Equal’.⁸⁸

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning made their own interpretation of the governmental decision where they set out the anticipated outcomes of the program to include:

1. improved perception of safety in city and urban environments,
2. to apply known methods to improve the safety from a gender equality perspective in city and urban environments in the spatial planning practice, construction and housing, as well as the management, and
3. that the relevant professional groups have an increased knowledge of safe and gender equal city and urban environments to be reflected in future work.⁸⁹

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning’s representation of the problem is reflected to be about a *lack* of perception of safety in city and urban environments, which in turn is dependent on *not* applying known methods in spatial planning practice and other adjacent realms of work, or dependent on *not* having enough operative knowledge about the social phenomenon in focus among, what is referred to as, ‘relevant professional groups’. The knowledge is of the two kinds referred to previously, both ‘normative operative knowledge’ (knowledge to be reflected in future work) that supposedly is considered to be drawn from ‘research’, but also so called lay knowledge based on experiences from the practice. The program is as such at large understood to be *normative* as it explicitly aims (see quote above) to organise “...knowledge of safe and gender equal city- and urban environments to be reflected in future work”, i.e. organise and communicate values and norms for how to go about planning for safety, including the belief that it is possible to improve perceptions of safety through spatial planning.

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning is furthermore understood to have organised the assignment in broad terms in three different parallel albeit integral realms of work; (1) building and communicating knowledge, (2) financial support to projects, and (3) publishing publications.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ The Swedish word ‘jämställdhet’ is in this dissertation interpreted to ‘gender equality’. The Swedish word ‘jämställdhet’ implies specifically ‘equality between gender’, and more specifically equality between gender regarding rights, obligations and opportunities in all spheres of life, as opposed to the Swedish word ‘jämlighet’ which has much broader definition and relates to equality between human beings. (National Encyklopedin <http://www.ne.se/jämställdhet> 2013-12-08)

⁸⁹ Boverket, *Att Stärka Tryggheten i Stads- och Tätortsmiljöer ur ett jämställdhetsperspektiv-slutrapport*. Karlskrona 2010a. p.12

⁹⁰ Boverket. 2010a. p.4-5.

(1) To build and communicate knowledge

The activities that concern (1) the building and communicating knowledge will first be outlined. The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning is understood to have followed the two trajectories for organising knowledge (operative knowledge drawing from research and lay knowledge drawing from practice). The Board commissioned in 2008 two PM (Program Memorandum) about what the Board itself refers to as ‘basic knowledge about safety from a gender equality perspective’. These have been publicly available during the program period on the Board’s website.⁹¹ These PM reflect what is conceived as ‘general knowledge’ drawing from research, and includes critical accounts of situating fear in the physical fabric.⁹² The Board also gave Nordregio a mandate to first establish an international knowledge base about the topic.⁹³ This commission included a pre study and a continued study that comprised international case studies on how the phenomenon of insecurity and gender inequality has been dealt with in other countries in terms of policy and planning methods.⁹⁴ These studies reflect the lay knowledge, or knowledge rising from practice.

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning also organised regional seminars in 2009, round table discussions with researchers and practitioners in 2010, as well as inspirational days with workshops in 2010. The program has as such established what they consider to be ‘available’ knowledge about the social phenomenon in focus, both in terms of international policy and best practice as well as in terms of a social science oriented research review.⁹⁵ The timing of these seminars in relation to the project application deadlines is interpreted by an independent assessment of the policy to having been poorly managed, where the first round of project applications were carried out before these roundtable discussions had been carried out.⁹⁶ The knowledge that is communicated as important or relevant knowledge for carrying out this assignment contributes to the framing of how, for example, subjects carry out the project applications within the

⁹¹ Boverket.2010a. p.15.

⁹² Forssell, R. et al. *Trygghet som en jämställdhetsfråga. Utvärdering av Boverkets regeringsuppdrag: Att stärka tryggheten i stads- och tätortsmiljöer ur ett jämställdhetsperspektiv*. Malmö Högskola. Nr 5. 2010.p. 54.

⁹³ Nordic Centre for Spatial Development

⁹⁴ Nordregio. *Att stärka tryggheten i stads och tätortsmiljöer ur ett jämställdhetsperspektiv. En förstudie av ett antal länders arbete*. 2009; Nord Regio. *Samhällsplanering för jämställd trygghet. Fallstudier från Finland, Österrike, Storbritannien och Baltikum*. 2010

⁹⁵ Nordregio. *Att stärka tryggheten i stads och tätortsmiljöer ur ett jämställdhetsperspektiv. En förstudie av ett antal länders arbete*. 2009; Nord Regio. *Samhällsplanering för jämställd trygghet. Fallstudier från Finland, Österrike, Storbritannien och Baltikum*. 2010; Andersson, B. *PM Trygghet i stads och tätortsmiljöer ur ett jämställdhetsperspektiv*. Karlskrona Boverket. 2008.

⁹⁶ Forssell, R. et al. 2010. p.73.

program, which in turn contributes (in a feed back loop) the reassertion of particular understandings of phenomena.⁹⁷ What knowledge the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning communicates, or does not communicate, to the regional and local level are as such considered being of direct importance for how the spatial planning safety discourse came to be articulated.

(2) Financial support to local projects

In regards to the second part of the programme and the financial support to local projects (2), 67 projects received funds in 2009 and 64 projects in 2010. Altogether 127 projects were granted funding.⁹⁸ The funded projects make up an important part of the program since these were supposed to integrate knowledge into the practice. The issue can be raised as to whether this way of organising projects as part of policies can be understood as an effort to establish a specific culture and way of approaching a perceived phenomena as a norm within the spatial planning practice. Organising policies through funding projects constitutes a particular mode of steering. Projects could be granted funds either (1) based on change or maintenance of the built structure (so called physical measures), or (2) strategic or methodological development (so called strategic and methodological development) or (3) a combination of both. The aim of ‘strategic development’ projects was to integrate safety and gender equality perspectives in spatial planning at large.⁹⁹ The aim of ‘method development’ projects was to fund projects that sought to develop methods for managing questions of safety and gender equality in, for example, comprehensive planning or so called detailed planning.¹⁰⁰ The aim of ‘physical measures’ projects was to strengthen perceptions of safety from a gender equality perspective through concrete spatial planning measures.¹⁰¹ These different streams of funding reflect different aspirations for integrating knowledge into the practice. On a strategic level (for establishing ways of organising the perceived problem gender inequality and fear in spatial planning), methodological level (for establishing ways to operationalise the perceived problem of gender inequality and fear in spatial planning) and on a physical level (for establishing ways of spatially configuring the environment for changing the perceived problem gender inequality and fear). Different companies, associations, organisations and municipalities and such could apply for funds to their respective County Administrative Board, which assessed the applications based on guidance developed by the National Board of

⁹⁷ Persson, M. 2014. p.77.

⁹⁸ 131 projects were granted funds originally but the number has been revised as some projects have for different reasons not continued throughout the process.

⁹⁹ Boverket. 2010a. p.23.

¹⁰⁰ Boverket. 2010a. p.23.

¹⁰¹ Boverket. 2010a. p.24.

Housing, Building and Planning. A total of 269 applications were subject for assessment by the various County Administrative Boards. The normative stance of the program is further expressed through the guidance document that also includes a check list, seeking as the document does to guide the County Administrative Boards in assessing applications and approving what should be included in the discourse, in other words, setting the parameters for how the conceived problem should be thought about, tackled and approached by spatial planning, and how gender equality and safety are considered to be improved through spatial planning.¹⁰² The tiebreaker question or main criterion for funding was a satisfying answer to whether or how safety in city and urban environments will be strengthened from a gender equality perspective following the suggested activities.¹⁰³ If the applicants could not respond to this particular question in a satisfactory way, the applicants would get the opportunity to provide supplementary answers, and if the response was yet not satisfactory, projects would not be funded.

The guidance document also sets out examples of typical projects within each realm of funding streams (strategic, method developments and physical measures). The strategic measures are suggested to, for example, include policy development, knowledge building or changing organisational structures.¹⁰⁴ The methodological measures are described to, for example, include development of methods that address gender and safety issues in comprehensive planning, detailed planning or guidelines for housing, or development of planning documents in the form of analyses on the suggested thematic.¹⁰⁵ The guidance for the physical measures include, for example, how the suggested measures should be grounded in analysis, statistics or similar descriptions that should illustrate how the intended measures fits a 'well considered larger picture'. This could be interpreted to suggest that changes to the built fabric should be grounded in knowledge that appears reasonable for justifying the changes. Typical examples given of projects that could get funding included, for example, projects that seek to enable for transparent solutions and materials in parking garages, public elevators, stair wells and the like, or projects which allow for alternative movement routes, or projects which seek to enable to safer movement from A to B by improving lighting and sign posting. These suggestions are very specific and leaves very little space to alternatively consider what 'physical measures' might conceptually entail.

¹⁰² Boverket. PM Tryggt och jämnt"- vägledning till stöd för länsstyrelsernas bedömning inklusive checklista för övergripande kriterier till grund för bedömning. Karlskrona. 2009.

¹⁰³ Boverket. 2009. p.13.

¹⁰⁴ Boverket. 2009. p.8.

¹⁰⁵ Boveket. 2009. p.8.

The guidance document also emphasises how projects will be denied funding if they do not embrace a gender equality perspective, or if they are taking the form of regular maintenance operations or whether the measures in any way contributes to closing or restricting public areas.¹⁰⁶ This reflects an inclusion of values that considers it ‘good’ that public space is open for free usage and is not restricted in any way. Guidance on what it means to include a gender equality perspective is not further elaborated on, which in turn reflects that a large space is open for interpretation.

How to apply for project funding

The guidance document, furthermore, sets out what documents and project descriptions should be included in each application. First of all, a project idea (*projektidé*) should be included that describes the project aim and how it forms part of a ‘considered bigger picture’.¹⁰⁷ It is recommended that the goals are clearly stated, and that they also should be possible to follow up and monitor. What ‘follow up and monitor’ means is less explicit, but reflects an understanding that the suggested goals should be measurable in some way.

Thereafter, a kind of status report should be included (*nulägesbeskrivning*), which comprises a description of the current situation and why there needs to be a change.¹⁰⁸ The situation is described as having to be mapped and analysed. It is furthermore stated that the project idea should build from the mapping and analysis. These criteria suggest in themselves a specific method for carrying out spatial planning, one which renders similar to a positivist scientific method; to first survey (and identify a problem) and then plan (for addressing the problem), or what Patrick Geddes famously described in the beginning of the 20th Century about urban planning: ‘diagnos before treatment’, or ‘survey before plan’.¹⁰⁹

Following this status report, proposed activities and suggested processes and methodologies should be outlined. It is emphasised how the applications should state as to whether *new* methods will be included or whether *existing* methods will be utilised. The choice of methods should be explained and appear reasonable.¹¹⁰ This reflects an emphasis on new methods, that there is an implicit aspiration for developing new methods for approaching the phenomena in focus.

¹⁰⁶ Boverket. 2009. p.9.

¹⁰⁷ Boverket. 2009. p.10.

¹⁰⁸ Boverket. 2009. p.11.

¹⁰⁹ Davoudi, S. ‘Evidence based policy’ In *disP - The Planning Review*. vol. 42 no. 165. p.14-24. 2006. p.16.

¹¹⁰ Boverket. 2009. p.13.

Thereafter participants in the project should be outlined, where cross sectorial participation is suggested in the check list, which represents an understanding of a problem that sectors are not collaborating to the extent that is desired.¹¹¹ The applications should finally provide an answer to what is in this dissertation referred to as the ‘tie breaking question’, namely whether the project strengthens safety from a gender equality perspective in city and urban environments. The applications should also comprise descriptions on how they seek to follow-up and monitor the project, which emphasises a focus on measurable knowledge. The applications should further include a statement about how the results from the project will be spread both internally and externally, emphasising the program's focus on distributing knowledge and establishing this new knowledge as a base and norm within spatial planning practice. On top of this, calculations and costs should be included as well as documentation of authorisation for decisions suggested in the applications. The applications include either only text, or both text and images such as plans and rendered drawings of proposals or photos from the status report.

127 projects in total were in the end granted funds and followed throughout the process in municipalities across Sweden, from which 61 were strategic and methodological development and 24 physical measures and 42 a combination of both. In other words, 127 projects were accepted to be framed, and in themselves frame the planning for safety discourse. These 127 ‘approved’ or accepted grant applications constitute the main empirical material for analysis in this dissertation. By analysing these applications it will be possible to identify assumptions of public life and knowledge in spatial planning for safety, which can be considered as constituting a logic for how the problem of fear and safety is conceptualised and thereby acted upon.

The empirical material was copied and collected at the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning on the 8th of March 2012. The material was only available in hard copies and no digital versions were available. The material has been made digital by both having manually typed text in a word processing software, and by having used a hand scanning device. One application has not been found.

(3) Publications

In regards to the publishing of publications within the program (3), the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning published three publications on the topic such as “Gender Equality on the Agenda”, “Broaden your Outlook”, “Places to feel secure in”, as well as two guidance documents for carrying out ‘safety walks’¹¹².

¹¹¹ Boverket. 2009. p.13.

¹¹² Boverket. ‘*Gender Equality on the Agenda*’. Karlskrona. 2011c (English edition); Boverket. ‘*Broaden Your Outlook*’. Karlskrona. 2011a (English edition); Boverket. ‘*Places to Feel Secure in*’. Karlskrona. 2011b (English edition). Boverket. ‘*Trygghetsvandring - tankar på vägen*’. Karlskrona 2010b; Boverket. ‘*Trygghetsvandring - en vägledning*’. Karlskrona. 2010c.

These publications represent what the board perceives to be the substantial outcomes in response to the Governmental assignment. The publications include, for example, summaries of the conceived outcomes of the funded projects. These publications reflect the normative ideals for carrying out so called gender equal safety improving planning as interpreted by the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning.

3.3.4 Steering through projects

As has been introduced above, the policy ‘Safe and Gender Equal 2008-2010’ has been operationalised partly by funding local projects. Steering spatial planning through projects constitutes one significant point of departure for achieving the aspired policy outcomes. Projects, in turn, represent a common form of organising changes to the built environment, and constitute a common steering mode in the context of spatial planning at large. Through projects, it is considered possible to rationally and efficiently govern “outcomes”.¹¹³ What counts as outcomes in spatial planning can include all kinds of things, such as everything from new housing development, new infrastructure, public spaces that enables improved well being and health, or, what this doctoral dissertation constitutes an example of, perceived ‘safe’ and gender equal public realms. This steering is based on setting up goals that are considered to be achieved through observing, measuring and monitoring outcomes.¹¹⁴ The ways in which projects were supposed to be carried out within the policy ‘Safe and Gender Equal 2008-2010’ were outlined in the guidance document. It was, for example, suggested that different forms of mappings and analyses should constitute the basis for an identification of a problem, whereupon methods should be developed for managing the identified problem, and whereby the results or outcomes should be able to be followed up and monitored. Following these suggestions, the ways in which the projects were envisaged to be carried out are similar to mainstream project management. Mainstream project management can be described to conventionally focus on objects and events that can be measured, where the world is perceived in an objectivist manner, in differentiation from more critical accounts that emphasise processes and the active construction of entities, where the world is perceived as contingent and constantly negotiable.¹¹⁵ These different epistemological points of departure can be described as manifesting different ‘empirical’ understandings of the world, in other words, what the world is

¹¹³ Cicmil, S and Hodgson, D. Making Projects Critical: An Introduction. In: Cicmil, S and Hodgson, D.(eds) *Making Projects Critical*. pp. 1-25. Palgrave MacMillan. Basingstoke and New York. 2006. p.11.

¹¹⁴ Cicmil, S and Hodgson, D. 2006. p.11.

¹¹⁵ Linehan, C and Kavanagh, D. “From Project Ontologies to Communities of Virtue”. In: Cicmil,S and Hodgson, D (eds) *Making Projects Critical*. pp: 51-67. Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke and New York. 2006. p.52.

described to be constituted of.¹¹⁶ Basing projects on predominantly one view of the world privileges certain issues and methods, which in turn represents the framework for interpretation. Thus, for example, by starting from a strong belief in instrumental rationalism one consequently makes such an understanding of the world dominant when it comes to interpreting the world. Alternative emphasises or understandings are excluded to the advantage of those that affirm the project's rationality and conceived goals. Basing projects on such rationality can be described to enable project management and instrumental action, but fails to recognise the problems that arise when embracing such strong belief to one logic and way of looking upon the world. It fails to recognise that by including other world views, other questions could have been raised which could steer projects in other directions. Organising safety through spatial planning projects constitutes a mode of steering that organise knowledge in particular ways. The ways in which knowledge is organised within the project applications in the 'Safe and Gender Equal' policy will be empirically examined in this dissertation.

3.3.5 Limitations

The limitations which the material possesses should, of course, be discussed. One concerns the limitation of the format of the project applications. As the application form includes a specific format for writing with specific questions needed to be answered, it limits how and why text is formulated. This means that the material has been produced for a specific purpose. One should also be aware that the municipalities, companies or organisations may have drafted applications in the sole hope to obtaining funding for their local projects, and thus they may have intentionally framed their project within the realm of the objectives of the policy. Regardless of what the intentions are or have been with the individual applications, they still represent examples of safety and spatial planning discourses; they still articulate and reproduce specific understandings of the world, and according to specific logics. It is precisely these understandings and logics that this dissertation is interested in. Another constraint of the empirical material is that safety in this context is specifically addressed from a gender equality perspective, which needs to be taken into consideration when interpreting the data set.

3.3.6 How will the material be presented in the dissertation?

In the two empirical analytical chapters (Ch 5 and 6), the applications made within the Governmental program 'Safe and Gender Equal' (2008-2010) will be referred to by County and type of applicant as footnotes in the text. For improving the readability of the dissertation, reference to more than 20 grant applications will be

¹¹⁶ Linehan, C. and Kavanagh, D. 2006. p.52.

referred to as a number in appendices in the end of the dissertation. In the reference chapter, the grant applications are organised according to County, applicants, type of project and title. Illustrative quotes from the empirical material will continuously be referred to through out chapter 5 and 6, for better communicating the understanding of the material. The quotes will be commented upon by bringing forward the elements which constitute basis for constructions of phenomena, or be commented upon in terms of how arguments are brought forward.

See section 3.4 for how quotes have been translated from Swedish to English in this dissertation and how key concepts have been delimited in terms of the signified intent.

3.4 Limitation and use of concepts

This dissertation has been written in English, while the author's native language is Swedish and the empirical material and object of study is in Swedish. This has required engagement in translating activities. To translate has proven to be a difficult task, where meanings appear to easily shift or transfer when moving between languages which in turn impacts the way the phenomenon in focus is understood. In this dissertation, the Swedish concept of 'trygghet' is translated into English as the term 'safety', which might generate some problems in terms of the signified intent, which briefly will be addressed here. The following section will address the different lexical descriptions of the concepts, in differentiation from the meaning and discursive content that is subject to be examined in this dissertation.

The Swedish term 'trygghet' has four lexical meanings according to the Swedish Academic Dictionary, which first (1) sets out safety as something that is offering security, protection and help, including the ability of an individual or institution to be reliable and believable.¹¹⁷ The church can for example offer 'safety', which is considered a reliable institution that offers "safety", protection and help. The second (2) meaning is the 'premise' of being more or less free from danger or threatening occurrences. A three months old baby in the arms of its mother can be considered being more or less free from danger; it is protected and 'safe'. The third (3) meaning embodies the condition of being or feeling calm and peaceful, which predominantly embodies an existential dimension of feeling 'safe', in English it would be best translated as emotional or existential security. The fourth (4) meaning includes the aspect of certainty. An example of this premise is that something can be 'safely' stated, when having been certain of what was said.

¹¹⁷ 'trygghet, n' SAOB Online. September 2014. Svenska Akademiens Ordbok. <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/> (accessed May 14, 2015).

The concept of planning for '*trygghet*' (safety) can in summary imply the planning which either offers (1) security, protection and help, (2) the premise of being more or less free from danger, (3) a sense of existential security, or fourthly (4) contribute to a sense of certainty. The British English word "safety" is, on the other hand, set out to predominantly have one meaning which includes "the condition of being protected from or unlikely to cause danger, risk, or injury" or denoting an instrument, something which is designed to prevent from injury or damage - a safety device, such as a helmet.¹¹⁸ It is as such predominantly a more general concept and is interpreted to be focused on the first premise of the Swedish word '*trygghet*'.

The existential dimension of the Swedish word '*trygghet*' is equivalent to the English term 'security' which signifies the state of feeling stable, free from fear or anxiety.¹¹⁹ "To not doubt, to be certain" is also denoted by the term 'secure', and not the word 'safe'.¹²⁰ This would suggest that the word 'security' would be the better word to use when translating the Swedish word '*trygghet*' to English. However, 'security' represents other meanings that have become important signifiers in other spatial planning discourses, such as 'security discourses' that focuses on for example road security (*trafiksäkerhet*), or measures that seeks to reduce criminal activities. These denotations include for example the state "of being free from danger or threat", "protected against criminal activity such as terrorism, theft or espionage", and "the procedures followed or measures taken to ensure the security of a state or an organisation"¹²¹. The concept of 'security' denoted according to the above is mostly translated to Swedish by the word '*säkerhet*', which also, amongst other things, signifies "the state of being protected from danger", in terms of either (1) a state's security from internal or external threats or (2) in terms of a society and/or citizens's freedom from violence and danger¹²². This means that the word 'security' is often used as an important signifier in other spatial planning discourses that include or are focused on 'identifiable' societal threats or dangers. 'The safety discourse' differs from 'the security discourse' in the sense that it specifically includes a general appreciation of 'fear' as point of departure, a fear which is not based on 'identifiable and real

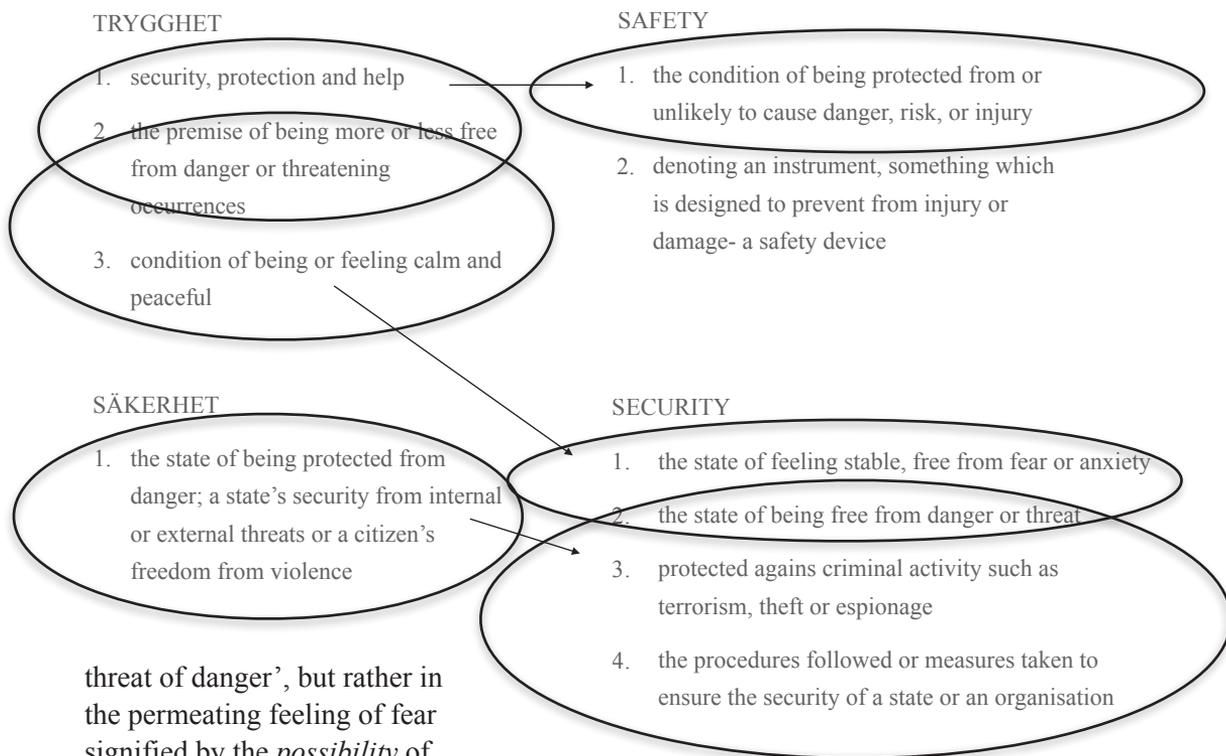
¹¹⁸ 'safety, n.' OED Online. March 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/169687?rskey=tTPfnZ&result=1> (accessed May 14, 2015).

¹¹⁹ 'security, n' OED Online. March 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/174661?redirectedFrom=security> (accessed May 14, 2015)

¹²⁰ 'secure, n' OED Online. March 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/174647?rskey=tZDpul&result=2QisAdvanced=false> (accessed May 14, 2015).

¹²¹ 'security, n' OED Online. March 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/174661?redirectedFrom=security> (accessed May 14, 2015)

¹²² 'säkerhet, n' SAOB Online. September 2014. Svenska Akademiens Ordbok. <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/> (accessed May 14, 2015).



threat of danger’, but rather in the permeating feeling of fear signified by the *possibility* of becoming victims of crime, for example

of sexual offences. The safety discourse is focused on general appreciations of fear that can be described as also including a dimension of existential insecurity, which is not grounded in actual risk of being subject to criminal offences, but about ‘the being in this world’.

The general concept ‘safety’ is used in this doctoral dissertation to signify the multitude of lexical meaning of the Swedish word ‘trygghet’ including the existential dimension, but also as a means to differentiate this research from research on ‘security discourses’. Other Swedish scholars within this thematic realm of research also use this translation.¹²³ Furthermore, ‘otrygghet’ is specifically translated to ‘insecurity’, as there is no such English word as ‘unsafety’ (which would be the literal translation) in the Oxford English Dictionary.¹²⁴ Insecurity has the following meaning according the English Oxford Dictionary: ‘The quality or condition of being insecure; the opposite of security’, and ‘The condition of not being sure; want of assurance or confidence; (subjective)

¹²³ See for example Listerborn, C. ‘Safe City. Discourse on women's fear in safer cities programmes’. In Cortesi, G, et al. (eds) *Gendered Cities: Identities, Activities, Networks*. IGU/UGI, Societa Geografica Italiana, Rome. The Home of Geography Publication Series. 2004 p.69-82. ; Persson, M. *The Dynamics of Policy Formation. Making Sense of Public Unsafety*. PhD dissertation. Örebro University Sweden. 2014.

¹²⁴ Although Persson, M. 2014 uses this translation.

uncertainty'.¹²⁵ This suggested meaning renders similar to the Swedish word 'otrygghet', which focuses on the existential dimension of the word. 'Otrygghet' could also be translated as "a condition of feeling unsafe", but is in this dissertation translated to 'insecurity'. The word "(känna sig) otrygg" is translated to both "(feeling) unsafe" and "(feeling) insecure".

It should be pointed out that when the terms 'security' and 'insecurity' are referred to in this dissertation, they are not used in Giddens' existential phenomenological sense about 'ontological security' or 'ontological insecurity', that refers to transcendental states of possessing, or not possessing, answers to fundamental existential questions about human life.¹²⁶

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning translates 'trygghet' to 'security' in all their officially translated documents and publications. This translation will have to stand for them, but it may however cause some confusion when citing their publications, as 'trygghet' is then referred to 'security' and not 'safety'.

Quotes from the empirical material have been translated by having applied the principle of 'staying close to text', in the sense, staying close to the ways in which the text was formulated in Swedish. This is difficult since the Swedish grammar is not always correct and sometimes reads awkwardly, which one easily wants to 'correct' and change when translating. The translation has however been informed by this ambition, and thereby making visible grammatical mistakes, awkwardly constructed sentences and the like, but translating as suggested in this section, is not an exact science or activity and changes to meaning will undoubtedly, but hopefully in relatively minor manner, take place.

¹²⁵ 'insecurity, n' OED Online March 2015. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/96718?redirectedFrom=insecurity> (accessed May 14, 2015).

¹²⁶ Giddens, A. *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity Press. Cambridge. UK. 1991a. p.47, 54.

4 Discursive fields

After having set out the theoretical points of departure as well as the methodology and choice of empirical basis for analysing ‘planning for safety’, this chapter will establish analytical frameworks for carrying out empirical analyses. As there are two research questions focused on different thematics, there will consequently be two separate discursive fields and analytical frameworks that in turn are outlined in two separate sections. Establishing the analytical frameworks draws from the methodology of first establishing the discursive field from the literature, thereafter, unfold agonistic dimensions. Section 4.1 includes the establishment of the discursive field of public life from which four agonistic dimensions are unfolded, and section 4.2 includes the establishment of the discursive field of knowledge in spatial planning from which two agonistic dimensions are unfolded. The agonistic dimensions constitute the analytical categories for analysing the empirical material in chapter five and six. As stated in the previous chapter, the discursive fields do not include any normative positioning. They should be understood as examinations of conceptual possibilities for constructing phenomena such as public life and knowledge. The discursive field of public life is furthermore organised like a funnel (from the general to the particular), where the agonistic dimensions of public life in turn structure, inform and constrain a discursive field of urban fear and insecurity (Ch 4.2) and a discursive field of spatial planning responses to the same (Ch 4.3). Assumptions of public life are in other words suggested to implicitly underpin the ways in which we speak about urban fear and insecurity and in the same way implicitly underpin different spatial planning responses to the same.

4.1 The discursive field of public life

In approaching the phenomenon ‘planning for safety’ from an agonistic political perspective, the planning practice is treated here as resting on ideological constructions of public life that include certain norms and values for how it is envisaged to be carried out. ‘Public life’ is here referred to as the ways in which individuals go about living their lives together in the public. ‘Public life’ should be understood to represent an empty signifier that gets filled with meaning in different socio-cultural contexts. How ‘public life’ more specifically and conceptually *can*

be defined will be examined in the following section on the discursive field of public life.

Spatial planning, through its different policies and projects, reflects the inclusion of certain normative ideals of how public life should be executed. How public life is conceptualised in spatial planning frames how the conceived problem of fear is understood, and frames what spatial planning outcomes that are possible. If, for example, public life is characterised, envisaged and represented as a silent order, then spatial planning interventions will be suggested that reassert that understanding of public life and uphold that particular order. By illuminating that planning for safety rests on specific assumptions of public life, one opens up the possibility for political deliberation of what ideas should constitute the basis for public life.

The following discursive field of public life constitutes the result from an extensive literature study, where discourses of public life have been identified as representing different conceptual approaches for constructing public life, i.e. different approaches for filling 'public life' with meaning. The literature study has been carried out both from urban sociological and political theory points of departure. One difficulty has been to delimit the literature study in a reasonable way. What has informed this literature selection has been how the literature fits the purpose of the study, and also what writers come across as significant voices in the literature as a whole. The writings of Georg Simmel have, for example, been chosen to represent ideas of modern public life, to the disadvantage of, for example, Norbert Elias.¹²⁷ Since Simmel's work is focused on how individuals operate everyday public life within modern societies, this work is considered to be the most suitable to the purpose of this study. Richard Sennett provides another example of a theorist that has been chosen to the disadvantage of, for example, Erving Goffman.¹²⁸ Sennett has been chosen to represent this perspective of public life since he more clearly adopts a normative perspective in his work, which better fits the purpose of this study. The focus in the selection process has been on principal ideas about public life at large, and thus not about specific social groups' specific perspectives or visions of public life.

The different discourses of public life have been analysed and organised around specific key concepts. These key concepts have been selected to also constitute the title, or the name, for each discourse. The identified discourses comprise of 'the rational public life', 'the dramaturgical public life', 'the plural public life' and 'the consensual public life'.

¹²⁷ See for example Elias, N. *The Civilizing Process*. Blackwell Publishing. 2000.

¹²⁸ See for example, Goffman, E. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Penguin Books. 1959.

The general characteristics of contemporary public life are analysed as being organised around notions of 'rational behaviour', which is represented by the Simmelian depiction of the urban experience at the turn of the twentieth century. The modern urbanite is conceptualised as a rational and private individual who explores his emotional self in public rather than engaging in 'the Other'. 'The Other' is here conceptualised as the non familiar subject, the stranger. As a contrast to the idea of 'rational' public life, alternative ideas and constructions of public life are presented. These are analysed so as to be organised around different principles. 'Dramaturgical' public life is represented by the writing of Richard Sennett, 'plural' public life is represented by the writing of Hannah Arendt, and the idea of 'consensual' public life is represented by the writing of Jürgen Habermas. These different constructions all share an idea of an envisaged public life to be situated in the 'exterior', which constitutes a life with others without rendering experiences through the self. These conceptualisations can be interpreted to share a critique towards the rational contemporary public life and its interior refuge and focus on the self. Although these discourses are based on a common criticism, they express different normative articulations of how public life should be organised. The plural construction considers public life to ideally consist of interpersonal encounters and self exposure, where the urbanite is someone who accepts agony and other mind sets as opposed to being self-affirmed by others. In contrast to the plural conception stands the consensual construction of public life that argues for consensus making through reasoned discourse. The dramaturgical conception construes public life to be dependent on a 'theatrical' ability to act and engage with one another. A general note, it should be appreciated that the discursive field doesn't advocate one position to the disadvantage of another, it operates as a conceptual terrain in constructing notions of public life.

The Sennettian, Habermasian and Arendtian methodological approaches are based on a Weberian methodology of setting out 'ideal types' or 'original states' for delineating change.¹²⁹ All three authors have to different degrees been dismissed as romanticists, idealists or elitist. This study does however appreciate 'the ideal type' or 'the original state' as a methodological approach for being able to discuss societal phenomena on the terms of change, and does hence not represent an ideal but rather an idea construct from which it is possible to compare and discuss changes to its key characteristics. The works of Arendt and Habermas simultaneously embody critical social theories and normative political theories of public life.¹³⁰ The criticism of Habermas and Arendt as anti-modernist and elitist

¹²⁹ Benhabib, S. 'Models of Public Space'. In Calhoun, C. (ed) *Habermas and the Public sphere*. p. 73-98. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England. 1992. p.77.

¹³⁰ Howell, P. 'Public Space and the Public Sphere: Political Theory and the Historical Geography' In *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. no 11. 1993. p.314.

can be dismissed by relating to their normative ideals of promoting ‘public life’ within an idea of modernity.¹³¹

These discourses have also been analysed to identify dimensions, or common lines of conflict that organise ideas of public life. These dimensions constitute different aspects of public life that requires discursive positioning. One such dimension is represented by how the ‘purpose’ of public life is envisaged, that is, what are the different discourses’ ideas as to why we should participate in public life. Another dimension is represented by ideas of what the ‘criteria’ constitute of for being able to partake in such public life. The envisaged character of public life is analysed to constitute another dimension that organises ideas of public life. The final dimension that was identified concerned envisaged principles for how individuals should view each other in public life, namely what constitutes the basis for constructing ‘identities’. These four dimensions constitute lines of conflict in which the discourses of public life can be placed within, but also in which the planning for safety practices can be analysed and discursively positioned within. The lines of conflict are represented as agonistic dimensions that emphasise ‘positions in’, rather than polarised or antagonistic ‘either or’ approaches. These dimensions should furthermore be conceptualised as dimensions of a discourse of public life, and can operate to identify where ruptures or openings in a discourse is, or is not, ‘situated’.

The following section will outline the identified discourses of public life and unfold the agonistic dimensions- the lines of conflict. The agonistic dimensions will in turn structure, inform and constrain a discursive field of urban fear and insecurity (Ch 4.2) and a discursive field of spatial planning responses to the same (Ch 4.3). Assumptions of public life are in other words suggested to implicitly underpin the ways in which we speak about urban fear and insecurity and in the same way implicitly underpin different spatial planning responses to the same.

4.1.2 Discourse of rational public life

The sociologist Georg Simmel was one of the first to describe modern urban life around the turn of the 20th century. In his famous essay ‘The metropolis and mental life’, Simmel constructs the modern urbanite as being forced into becoming a rational and calculating individual due to the repressive forces of overstimulation in modern city life.¹³² Simmel suggests how the modern urbanite develops a strategy for sustaining *change* and threatening occurrences by reacting with his

¹³¹ Howell, P. 1993. p.314.

¹³² Simmel, G. ‘The Metropolis and Mental Life’. In Wolff, K.H. (ed)*The Sociology of Simmel*. p. 409-424. Free Press Paperback. New York USA. 1964a. [originally published in 1903]

intellect as opposed to his emotions, as this is the most insensitive organ.¹³³ The Simmelian urban individual is as such insensitive and reacts with indifference to individuals in the public realm. Such rational behaviour is constructed as contributing to a notion of certainty in a complex modern urban life. The irrational counterpart forms the opposition and threat to the order and coherency of modern urban life and is embodied in the idea of the Simmelian ‘stranger’ as outlined in the essay with the same name.¹³⁴ The stranger is not construed as an individual but rather as a character of a specific type determined by differentiation from “what is generally in common”.¹³⁵ And, as what is generally in common evolves, everyone can potentially become the stranger.¹³⁶ According to the logic of rational public life, the fearful insight of potentiality becoming the stranger contributes to an anxious striving to conform to societal community norms. The theme of what identities constitute the ideal basis in the discourse of rational public life is reflected in the discourse as individuals in relation to social group formations. An individual in the public realm is in this discourse not more than its social group identity, which is defined based on inclusion and exclusion of ‘what it *is* or *is not*’.

Reacting intellectually with indifference to the surrounding is considered as contributing to preserving the inner subjective life.¹³⁷ Modern man retreats to his emotional self for managing the changing nature of city life. Frisby suggests that the escape to the inner self should be discursively rendered against the at the time wider bourgeois emphasis on separating the individual from the world.¹³⁸ The emotional inner self, now separated from the damaging aspects of ‘the real world’, should subjectively be stimulated, for example through the arts. The theme that concerns what purpose public life has is reflected in the rational discourse by an emphasis on stimulating the emotional self, in a public life characterised by having to protect the self by becoming quiet and consequently passive. The character of the rational public life is reflected as a passive and inward oriented order. Frisby argues how the perspective of the interior forms a dominant feature in the German *jugend art* movement.¹³⁹ Man is believed to become ‘whole’ and fulfilled by

¹³³ Simmel, G. 1964a. p. 410-411.

¹³⁴ Simmel, G. ‘The Stranger’ In: Wolff, Kurt H (ed) *The Sociology of Simmel*. p. 402-408. Free Press Paperback. New York USA 1964b. [originally published in 1908]

¹³⁵ Simmel, G. 1964b.p. 407.

¹³⁶ ‘The stranger’ represents simultaneously a notion of ‘freedom’ and ‘fear’, freedom of being able to escape from community bound norms and fear of escaping from the same.

¹³⁷ Simmel, G. 1964a. p. 411.

¹³⁸ Frisby, D. ‘Georg Simmel. Modernity as an Eternal Present’ In Frisby, D. *Fragments of Modernity* p.38-108. MIT Press Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1986. p.82.

¹³⁹ Frisby, D. 1986. p.82.

turning to aesthetics and the ‘beauty’ in life. The English arts and craft movement is another example that argued for ‘beauty’, decorative arts and ‘aesthetics’ as a way for a better society.

The Simmelian defence mechanism, the rational yet inward oriented way of being, should discursively be set against the overall societal changes of modernity, and can in this context be interpreted as an escape and a response to *fear* of overwhelming societal change. The escape to the ‘interior’ and the increased subjectivity should be understood in parallel to the rise of modernity. Simmel’s constructions of the modern urban life that surrounded him in the beginning of the 20th century can be associated with negativity, the idea that the current order of rational public life is bad for the modern man, that it is self-repressive.¹⁴⁰ Urban rationality can also be conceived as positive, as a facilitator of communication, although limited to its community, by providing acceptance in the public realm and to anticipate responses and actions by the other. In other words, urban rationality contributes to a notion of certainty in the urban public. This is a position which the Chicago school of urban sociology takes.¹⁴¹ Bridge defines this understanding of urban rationality as an “operationalisation of community norms”.¹⁴² Urban rationalism contributes to the formation of communities of us and them and the defining of the stranger. Demanding a notion of certainty and being able to rationally foresee and expect events and actions constitute the criterion for partaking in rational public life.

The criticism towards the Chicago school of positive urban rationalism is embodied in the general appreciation of the ‘community’ and ‘community norms’ as a mere positive, not acknowledging its part in wider structural societal exclusion. Urban rationality could be rendered against structural exclusion and self-repression, which could be interpreted as negative both for the society and the individual. Negative because the individual is at large unreflectively governed by societal community conventions and norms, unable to emotionally develop his individual senses of selfhood, his own wills and actions. This negativity is explored in political theory as a question of defining ‘freedom’, which is discussed in terms of being negative or positive. It is for example argued that an idea of individual liberation based on ‘following the desire’ constitutes a ‘negative freedom’, where the so called ‘positive freedom’ is embodied in an idea of self-determination.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Sennett, R. ‘Reflections on the Public realm’. In: Bridge, G. and Watson, S. (eds) *A Companion to the City*. p. 380-387. Blackwell Publishing. 2000.p.381.

¹⁴¹ Bridge, G. *Reasons in the City of Difference*. Routledge. London and New York. 2005. p.67.

¹⁴² Bridge, G. 2005. p. 67.

¹⁴³ Taylor, C. ‘Politics and the Public Sphere. In Etzioni, A. (ed) *New communitarian thinking. Persons, virtues, institutions and communities*. p.183-217. The University press of Virginia. USA. 1995. p. 184.; Berlin, I. ‘Two Concepts of Liberty’ In Carter, I. (ed) *Freedom. A Philosophical Anthology*. Blackwell Publishing. Oxford UK. 2007. p.39, 44.

Developing an ability to be self governing would form an alternative conflicting purpose to public life, an alternative to emotionally stimulate the self through the arts or immediate fulfilment of desires.

4.1.2 Discourse of dramaturgical public life

The dramaturgical discourse's reading of the Simmelian construction of modern urban life can be summarised in what Sennett refers to as the "mask of rationality", addressing the prevalent rational and visual order of modern urban public life.¹⁴⁴ Emphasising how through such a mask of rationality the urbanite turns inwards to rationally signifying to others that he is harmless, as a way of settling the fearfulness associated with encountering strangers. The Sennettian conception of the Simmelian encounters is about self-representation, where the modern man reveals as much about himself for the other to identify himself with him, for the other to know that he is not going to do anything that will surprise him, not going to approach him, nor speak to him, giving consent to certainty as the given order and criterion for partaking. The dramaturgical discourse consequently challenges the discursive position of certainty as a criterion for partaking in public life. According to Sennett, the prevalent urban life is a visual culture as opposed to an oral one.¹⁴⁵ The modern man gives clues based on his appearance for the other to know that he is like him. Being silent in the public is the norm.¹⁴⁶ The mask of rationality functions as a means to decrease the amount of communication needed whilst out in the public.¹⁴⁷ Identities are constructed visually, based on *what* someone is, or is not. This also frames the silent and visual character of public life. The dramaturgical discourse consequently challenges the silent and visual character of rational public life.

Sennett outlines an explanatory model for this change to a visual urban public culture, based on the rise of modernity and the general revelation of the self.¹⁴⁸ He sets out how secularisation has contributed to making man and things subject to mystification, as opposed to being comprehensible as part of a pre-determined all mighty order of nature.¹⁴⁹ When man is mystified by having a personality, he also fears revealing himself to strangers and as such turns inwards and becomes self

¹⁴⁴ Sennett, R. 2000. p.382.

¹⁴⁵ Sennett, R. 2000. p.382.

¹⁴⁶ The 'silent public life' should be recognised as European and North American norm, that also can be seen to be challenged today by an increasing presence of other cultures in public life.

¹⁴⁷ Sennett, R. 2000. p.382.

¹⁴⁸ Sennett, R. *The Fall of Public Man*. Penguin Books. London. 2002. [originally published in 1977]

¹⁴⁹ Sennett, R. 2002. p.21.

focused. The rise of personality in the public realm contributed to a change of looking upon the Other and the stranger, who now is defined based on its deviant character.¹⁵⁰ The personality forms the focus and purpose for participating in public life, as all experience includes the self as point of departure.

The purpose of partaking in public life is also challenged by the dramaturgical discourse. As encounters between individuals are carried out by having rendered the meetings through the self, the 'self focused' public is carried out through strategic avoidance. By visually decoding and placing one another in categories in relation to the self, man does not have to involuntarily reveal oneself to anyone. The Sennettian reading of modern urban public life suggests an underlying, specifically modern, *fear* of being seen through or of being seen into, and being involuntarily revealed. A criterion for partaking in public life is constructed as a notion of certainty, by visually being in control to not be exposed or revealed, characterised by a fear of exposing the self. The idea of the dramaturgical public life is instead based on a life among strangers on the terms of being strangers. The main principle of how the notion of the public can be evoked is through dramatisation, claiming how strangers can meet and engage each other by entering the public on different terms than the self focused- in a sense putting on a different 'coat' that can be perceived as 'artificial' in comparison to the private self.¹⁵¹ The purpose of dramaturgical public life is consequently about getting engaged in the Other, also with an objective to developing the self, and in an aspiration of becoming self governing. The dramaturgical conception characterises public life as an active oral and bodily order. This discourse suggests that one enters the public realm with specific 'public skills' that contribute to transcending social inequalities, enabling encounters on the terms of social difference. The character of public life is envisaged as an active order in the dramaturgical discourse. Identities are also constructed beyond visually determined social categories, by having moved away from 'decoding what you see' to instead being sensitive to 'what you hear'. Identities are constructed politically as opposed to socially. This conception relies on daring to expose the self and being open for the unexpected. A notion of uncertainty thereby constitutes a criterion for partaking in dramaturgical public life.

The dramaturgical discourse does not rule out that this notion of the public exist in contemporary cities, and refers to border zones as the areas where such public life is considered to take place, where people have to get engaged in each other to master the fact of 'being there' where rational visual decoding is not enough because people do not know where and how to place each other.¹⁵² These border zones can be characterised as incomplete, imperfect and, in a sense, uncertain

¹⁵⁰ Sennett, R. 2002. p.191.

¹⁵¹ Sennett, R. 2000. p.384-385.

¹⁵² Sennett, R. 2000. p.386.

where individuals are bodily, visually and orally are forced to enact their relative differences.

4.1.3 Discourse of plural public life

Plural public life, as here represented in the writing of Hannah Arendt, conceptualises public life as political life. This discourse conceives human beings to be pluralist in nature, and believes that all human beings are capable of taking on new perspectives and actions and that “they will not fit a tidy and ordered society unless their political capacities are crushed”.¹⁵³ The plural perspective conceives the self-repressive aspects of modern public life as hindering people to realising their potential as political human beings, where political is understood as “an ability to act”, an ability to initiate new beginnings.¹⁵⁴ Society is considered as imposing rules and systems for “normalising” and conforming man, making him unable to spontaneously act, controlling him insofar that he is unable to hear and see the Other; to the extent he is “imprisoned” in the subjective self.¹⁵⁵ It is argued that the consequences of the rise of the social and modern public space generates “a pseudo space of interaction in which individuals no longer “act” but “merely behave” as economic consumers, producers and urban city dwellers”.¹⁵⁶ Arendt can be understood as arguing that man is unable to lead a free, and real self-determined life with others, which represents the positive notion of freedom.¹⁵⁷

The plural discourse divorces the public from that of the social and the intimate, and speaks of ‘public’ as the space where man doesn’t have to speak through his societal position or a predetermined identity, but rather through a political identity which is free and equal.¹⁵⁸ Identities could be interpreted as not being defined a priori based on what social group one ‘belongs’ to, but instead performed and intersubjectively negotiated through the appearance of a unique *who*.¹⁵⁹ The notion of the *who* is also connected to Arendt’s notion of plurality. Bickford conditions Arendt’s concept of plurality in two ways; first, it is *who* you are which is unique,

¹⁵³ Canovan, M. ‘Introduction’ In: Arendt, H. *The Human condition*. p. vii-xx. The University of Chicago Press. 1988. p. xii.

¹⁵⁴ Arendt, H. *The Human Condition*. The University of Chicago Press. 1988.

¹⁵⁵ Arendt, H. 1988. p. 40-41, 58.

¹⁵⁶ Benhabib, S. 1992. p.75.

¹⁵⁷ Taylor, C. 1995. p. 185.

¹⁵⁸ Arendt, H. 1988. p. 32.

¹⁵⁹ Bickford, S. ‘In the Presence of Others: Arendt and Anzaldúa on the paradox of public appearance’. In: Honig, B. (ed) *Feminist interpretations of Hannah Arendt*. p. 313-335. The Pennsylvania State University Press. USA.1995. p. 316.

not what you are; second, all human beings share this uniqueness.¹⁶⁰ Plurality is interpreted existentially not essentially, meaning that plurality is a human condition, but should not be taken for granted as it can disappear with, for example, tyranny or mass society.¹⁶¹ The plural construction of public life reflects a focus on principles of phenomena, rather than partial perspectives. Partial perspectives of phenomena are upheld through static identities, such as ethnicity, gender or race, contributing to the formation or sedimentation of unequal power relations. It is discussions based on principles that are considered as evoking real action and change, understanding identity as active and interactive. Identities are constructed politically rather than socially in the plural discourse of public life. Thus, speaking about safety particularly from the perspective of women, can be considered as contributing to consolidating a notion of women as a particularly vulnerable group in society, rather than politically empowering them as equal human beings. The condition for plural public life is hence blocked by having reduced the unique “who” to a stereotypical “representation of others who look and sound like [yourself]”.¹⁶²

The plural discourse, furthermore, reflects a focus on the presence of multiple perspectives, different mindsets and views, comprising conflicting positions and agonism, including the impossibility of a common denominator.¹⁶³ The character of plural public life is an orally active order, as opposed to the visual passiveness that was seen to reflect rational public life. The plural conception of public life includes first a notion of seeing each other as equals of the human race.¹⁶⁴ Second, it includes an ability to exist in uncertainty, to accept alienation and the differentiation of experiences and views.¹⁶⁵ These conditions reflect the criteria for partaking in plural public life. The public is conceived as the space where it is possible to move beyond self interest and not being biased with emotional private relationships and views, and to accept the plurality of things and ideas where identities are interactive and constantly negotiable. To live a life only in the private and social sphere of certainty is not considered a “full life”, as it is through uncertainty and alienation that man is open to the world around him.¹⁶⁶ By having equally encountered and spatially faced the Other, it is deemed possible to

¹⁶⁰ Bickford, S. 1995. p.316.

¹⁶¹ Bickford, S. 1995. p.316.

¹⁶² Bickford, S. 1995. p.318.

¹⁶³ Arendt, H. 1988. p.57.

¹⁶⁴ Arendt, H. p.32.

¹⁶⁵ Arendt, H. p.57, 181.

¹⁶⁶ Arendt, H. 1988. p.57.

rationally think and speak, and most importantly *act*. Being able to independently act and be political, reflects the purpose of plural public life. Arendt suggests that human beings can only be fully realised in the public, as in the private realm man is tied and governed by partialities. The practice of organising, separating and upholding avoidance of the Other and the unwanted constitutes in many ways a threat to the plural public life as it contributes to an interior refuge and settlement of a fear. Plural public space does not lend itself to rationally and spatially ‘be planned for’, as public space can be anywhere and everywhere and at anytime, and does not require any specific spatial characteristics or attributes. Instead, the possibility to partake in public life sits with the individuals themselves and their interactions with one another.

4.1.4 Discourse of consensual public life

Another way of thinking about the negativity associated with the rationally constructed public life is thinking of public life as an activity that privileges rational speech and common action, as outlined in the writings of Jürgen Habermas.¹⁶⁷ Similar to the plural model, the consensual approach shares an idea of the public based on the ability to rationally speak beyond the self in the forming of public consensus. The character of consensual public is represented by an orally active order. Rational conversation is furthermore characterised to be about principles of phenomena. In a rational conversation about safety, it is not the emotional self and one’s private fears that should be in focus, but rather the principles ‘safety’ is founded upon- in other words, discussion on what safety is or can be? It is considered to draw from an ability to detach oneself from the self and engage in critical discussion. The Habermasian consensual public life does not, unlike the plural model, rule out the private or the social sphere as possible spheres for the public, believing in man’s capacity of detaching himself from his self and engaging in rational conversation regardless what spheres of life one is engaged in. Public life is as such understood democratically that everyone affected by “societal norms and collective political decisions” should be able to engage in reasoned discourse striving towards consensual agreements.¹⁶⁸ The ability to engage in rational conversation thus constitute the criterion for partaking in consensual public life. The purpose of public life is reflected to be about consensual driven action, which is conditioned by the ability to partake in reasoned discourse outside the self. Identities are envisaged as political human beings by emphasising that rational conversation forms a constituting factor to identity construction.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Habermas, J. *The structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. 2006. [originally published in 1962]

¹⁶⁸ Benhabib, S. 1992. p.87.

¹⁶⁹ Taylor, C. 1995. p. 214.

The consensual discourse suggests that the prevalent modern public life has been reduced to the realm of the intimate, where 'the self' has become the focus and the realisation of 'the self' as an ideal for experiencing freedom.¹⁷⁰ Dahlkvist reading of Habermas suggests that the explanatory model for this change relates to the rise of mass society, where 'the system' started to intervene in the 'private sphere' through for example social politics and financial regulations, a kind of "colonisation of the life world".¹⁷¹ He further points out that in parallel to this, the system started to intervene in the life world, where so called private matters became questions of state politics.¹⁷² Following this, the private and public interests have merged into one large pot, where the new public consists of "one consuming public" as opposed to "a reasoning and critical public", where public opinion is 'produced' as opposed to 'formed'.¹⁷³ Produced as in unreflected, unmediated by discussion and critique, and passively internalised throughout generations.¹⁷⁴ The formed public opinion as present in the consensual public life, is on the other hand a product of reflection arising from rational conversations and results from an actively produced consensus.¹⁷⁵

In Summary

The discourse of what is referred to as an intimate and interior-led rational public life can in summary be said to be challenged from three different perspectives, which in turn represent alternative conceptions and discourses of public life.

- (1) The dramaturgical conception of public life criticises 'the mask of rationalism' that reduces 'being' in the public to visually 'appearing' in front of others. By establishing a public way of being, it is believed to enable a public life that is different from the private, enabling an exterior life with others.
- (2) The plural conception criticises 'the passivity' in the individualised and privatised public. The privatised public is considered to hinder people from meeting each other on terms of difference. The plural approach constructs the meaning of public life in the spatial presence of multiple perspectives, mindsets and views, where a common denominator is an impossibility. Conflicts and agonies are constituent to political public life. Trying to impose an order of consensus or a notion of common good is considered an act of exclusion as

¹⁷⁰ Dahlkvist, M. 'Jürgen Habermas' Teori om "Privat" och "Offentligt" In Habermas, J. *Den Borgerliga Offentligheten*. p.i-xxxvii. Studentlitteratur. Lund Sweden.1988. p.xx.

¹⁷¹ Dahlkvist, M. 1988: xix

¹⁷² Dahlkvist, M. 1988: xix

¹⁷³ Dahlkvist, M. 1988: xxxii.

¹⁷⁴ Taylor, C. 1995. p. 187.

¹⁷⁵ Taylor, C. 1995. p. 187.

there is always a constitutive outside for every attempt to include. The plural discourse suggests that by accepting uncertainties and differences without the need for consensus making, man is able to live an exterior and political life with others.

- (3) The consensual discourse of public life criticises, like the plural discourse, the passivity of modern public life, the consumption of ideals, norms and values as opposed to the formation of them. The discourse sets out by establishing a meta space of publicly reasoned discourse, and the modern individual is considered able to become a public and communal individual, including being able to fully realise and fulfil the subjective self and ultimately become a self-governing man. Through reasoned public deliberation, a notion of a common good and consensus is considered as possible to achieve.

After having established a series of discourses of public life, the next section aims to explicate lines of political conflict by drawing from the dimensions and themes that were outlined in the introduction to this chapter. These lines of conflict will serve as analytical categories in both the delineation of the discursive field of urban fear and insecurity, and the discursive field of spatial planning responses to the same, in addition to analysis of the empirical material.

4.1.5 Agonistic conceptions of public life

This section aims to explicate lines of political conflict and instrument for analysis based on the previous establishment of the discursive field of public life. As outlined in chapter two, the overall theoretical approach to this study is Mouffeian agonistic theory, which sets out hegemony and antagonism as key concepts for understanding the constitution of society.¹⁷⁶ This means that the point of departure for this analysis is that spatial planning practice is governed by conflicts and tensions, which are overcome by hegemonic interventions and informal institutionalisation of specific governing ideals, norms and values.

Based on the established discourses of public life, it is possible to discern different approaches to the introduced themes, regarding purpose and character of public life, as well as criterion for partaking and conception of identities. The dimensions of public life are constructed differently in all discourses, but it is possible to recognise shared principles in conceptualising phenomena. These common principles will be outlined as lines of conflict. These conflicts should not be approached as dichotomies, but rather as dimensions in which spatial planning can be discursively positioned. The dimensions are also intertwined and feed into one another. These dimensions will serve as lines of conflict in spatial planning, and more specifically in the 'planning for safety'. How, for example, the purpose of

¹⁷⁶ Mouffe, C. *On the Political*. Routledge. 2005a.

public life is constructed, will thus inform the basis for how the problem of perceptions of fear is framed and represented, and furthermore what solutions may be considered possible. The conflicting notions represent alternative understandings of ideals, norms and values, and represent the *possibilities* of different outcomes of spatial planning practice. They constitute the basis for developing agonistic conflict in the planning for safety discourse. The dimensions should, furthermore, be conceived as dimensions of how discourses of public life are articulated and function to identify what aspects of discourses are subject to ruptures, and what aspects are not.

Criteria: Certainty- Uncertainty

The first line of conflict concerns the constructed criteria for being able to partake in public life. The rational public life sets out a fundamental criterion for taking part in the public life based on expectations of certainty, by being able to interpret how people at large are going to react and behave, by being able to visually decode and categorise people based on appearance. Certainty constitutes the envisaged criterion for partaking, and relates ultimately to protecting and safeguarding the self. This should be set against the plural and dramaturgical conceptions, where uncertainty is comprehended as a pre-requisite for partaking in public life and where exposing the self could be considered a criterion for enabling interpersonal and oral interaction. The question for spatial planning in relation to this dimension concerns as to whether visual certainty should constitute a criterion for participating in public life, or as to whether an uncertainty and exposure should constitute criterion for participating in public life?

Purpose: Emotional self- Self governing¹⁷⁷

The second line of conflict includes the dimension of the conceived purpose of public life, which can on the one hand be conceptualised as stimulating and fulfilling the emotional self. The rational public life sets out how the subjective and emotional self should be protected against ‘the dangers’ in the world and yet be stimulated through emotional arousals, for example, through art or emotional excitement. On the other hand lies the purpose of the public life as a means for becoming a self-governing individual through interpersonal communication as present in both the plural and consensual public life, or as a means to *get by* in the dramaturgical conception. This interpersonal encounter represents meeting the Other on the terms of the public, rather than the terms set by the self. These interpersonal encounters and the notion of the self-governing individual do on the other hand have different ends depending on what discourse of public life one is drawing from. The consensual logic is that through interpersonal communication a

¹⁷⁷ Note that the concept ‘self governing’ does not reflect the Foucauldian use of the term, in terms of representing a disciplinary subject who is being governed through different self-disciplinary mechanisms. The use of the concept refers to what the literature has been analysed to reflect, in simplistic terms, an ability to think freely and independently.

notion of consensus can and should be achieved, which ultimately leads to active communal action. The plural logic is that there is no desired or predicted 'end' to the interpersonal communication, which consensus provides an example of. The aim is instead the action forward itself, which is considered inherent to interpersonal political discourse between conflicting parts. The question for spatial planning in regards to this dimension concerns as to whether there is a desire to include the emotional self or interpersonal encounters as the purpose and point of departure for experiencing public life?

Character: Passive- Active

The third line of conflict includes the dimension of the conceived character of public life. The plural and consensual discourses critique the passive character of rational public life, where individuals are unable to form decisions of their own and passively consume values and ideas. This stands in conflict to the plural conception characterised by the active subject and the desired action forward. The rational public life is also critiqued for being passive in terms of how people act in the public. The dramaturgical conception sets out how people 'appear' as opposed to actively 'be' in the public, to passively appear as one among many people in a congregation of people, but yet hidden in the subjective self. This difference in character can also be explicated by on the one side representing a visual order and on the other side an oral order. The dramaturgical public life outlines how visual judgement of the other, quietness and the silent agreement of the right not to be spoken to is governing the self focused passive public life. The active public life is, on the other hand, primarily an oral order, where judgement and decisions are based on interaction and discourse with one another. The question for spatial planning that relates to this dimension concerns whether public should be characterised by a passive and silence order or an active and oral order?

Identities: Social- Political

The fourth line of conflict includes conception of identities. The plural public life advocates how social categories, such as gender and ethnicity, are not valid political identities. Political identities are considered to be actively produced or performed. Constructions of identities relate to how we perceive communities and ultimately the stranger. Communities based on stable or fixed identities and where the stranger is constructed based on deviating from community norms and visual appearance could be considered a consequence of passive public life. The stranger who is, on the other hand, constructed based on possibilities of what we can be and do is considered a consequence of active public life. The stranger is constructed beyond social differences, and ultimately epitomises political public life. The question for spatial planning in regards to this dimension concerns as to whether individuals in public life are recognised stereotypically or politically?

Summary

These established dimensions raise lines of political conflict and serve as a conceptual arena of choice making. Choice making in terms of *choices made* within specific planning discourses such as safety planning; what stances on public life are embodied and produced when proclaiming safety, and what notions are rejected? But also, choice making in terms of *choosing* what conception of public life (“we” believe) should ideologically govern the development of (“our”) cities? As this choice is not given, it should according to the Mouffean logic be subject to political deliberation and struggle in striving to reach agonistic consensus, where alternatives continue to remain present and vividly challenge the order. This is crucial since depending on how public life is conceptualised according to the lines of conflict brings about different consequences for spatial planning.

This section has outlined four agonistic dimensions that represent divergent understandings in conceptualising public life. These dimensions will constitute the analytical categories for analysing assumptions of public life, both in the literature about urban fear and insecurity and spatial planning responses to the same in chapter 5, as well as in the empirical analysis in chapter 6.

After having established the analytical framework for being able to analyse the first research question, the next section includes an establishment of the discursive field of urban fear and insecurity.

4.2 Public life and discursive field of urban fear and insecurity

The following section aims to establish two theoretical horizons of urban fear based on interrelated conceptions of public life. The lines of conflict presented in the previous section inform the thematic structure. The section serves to reveal the political boundaries for conceptualising fear and insecurity through the lenses of public life. The section is organised to first establish the discursive field of urban fear and insecurity (Ch 4.2), and thereafter to establish the discursive field of spatial planning responses to the same (Ch 4.3).

The section examines how urban fear is constructed in the literature by drawing from conceptualisations of public life. The literature has been chosen based on its relevance to conceptualisations of public life.

4.2.1 Existential notion of fear and the Self as the purpose of public life

Fear can from an existentialist perspective be interpreted as a 'constant', as something that is bound to human kind and relates to what it means to be in the world.¹⁷⁸ Fear can consequently be understood to have existed since the beginning of human interactions and changed character and extent over time from fear of nature, disease, witches, ghosts and violence to urban fear of the Other and environmental disasters.¹⁷⁹ It is argued that current feelings of fear must be rendered against historical notions of fear, realising that uncertainty is an inevitable part of existential human life, it is a condition of humanity.¹⁸⁰ Modern fear can however be differentiated from the premodern fear, by being found in processes of civilisation. The internal and external civilisation processes of man (internal self control and external state regulation) can be understood to have contributed to an increased inner insecurity of being in the world, which in turn makes individuals more sensitive for encountering one another.¹⁸¹ This argument is similar to the claims that modernity's revelation of the self contributes to fearing the Other which results in community formations and inward oriented and anxious ways of being in the world, as the dramaturgical and plural discourses asserted. This understanding of modern fear can be conceived as inevitable, existential and relating to aspects of emotionally being in the world, and as such constitutes part of the human condition. Urban fear can be understood to form one such anxiety.

Despite the fear associated with the urban public, there is still a desire among us to enter the public realm. This desire relates to how the purpose of public life has been framed in modern times, in other words, why we are entering and participating in public life.¹⁸² One way of conceptualising the purpose for at all entering the public (despite the fear) is the desire to emotionally stimulate the self.¹⁸³ This argument is one way of understanding why there still is a general will to enter the public realm and why people do not stay in the conceived 'safe' sphere of the home, and instead choose to enter the envisaged uncertainty of the public. The public is conceived as the only sphere where individuals can build the personal character and be emotionally 'excited'.

4.2.2 Late modern fear in the context of risk, reflecting a passive character of public life

¹⁷⁸ Tuan, Y.F. *Landscapes of Fear*. University of Minnesota Press. 1979.

¹⁷⁹ Tuan, Y.F. 1979.

¹⁸⁰ Tuan, Y.F. 1979. p.217.

¹⁸¹ Lidskog, R. *Staten, Samhället och Våldet*. no 46. Centrum för Stadsmiljöforsknings skriftserie. Örebro University. 2000. p.21-22.

¹⁸² Sennett, R. *The Fall of Public Man*. Penguin Books. London. 2002. p.195.

¹⁸³ Sennett, R. 2002. p.219.

Fear is also constructed, presented and mediated in the context of risk. The 'risk society' is a popular narrative suggesting that conception of risk forms a condition of late modernity.¹⁸⁴ 'Risk' is defined by Ulrich Beck as "a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernity itself".¹⁸⁵ Science and technology are not only considered to 'advance knowledge' as in modernity, but also offer new parameters of risk and danger.¹⁸⁶ Virilio symbolically reasserts that "when you invent the ship, you also invent the shipwreck".¹⁸⁷ Awareness of catastrophes and dangers is understood to permeate everyday experiences. The discourse of 'risk' constitutes an idea that society now is permeated by conceptions of danger, risk and uncertainty on a global level that extends well beyond personal risks, which in turn reflects a reinforcement of an inevitable insecurity among human beings.¹⁸⁸ Danger is characterised in such a way that it becomes impossible or very difficult to anticipate the unpredicted, impossible to anticipate what is coming and where society is headed.¹⁸⁹ Awareness of threats and danger is argued relating to everything from threats to our bodies and possessions; threats to one's place in the world, which relates to social identity; and threats to our homes, workplaces and bodies, which environmental and political disasters are examples of.¹⁹⁰ From a Foucauldian perspective, thinking in terms of 'risk' reflects an ontological conception of reality that renders it in calculable form, by making events in the world governable.¹⁹¹ Risk is represented by a series of practices and knowledges that make 'risk' thinkable, such as statistics, sociology, management studies, political rational, crime prevention and so forth.¹⁹² This knowledge is considered to contribute to elicit such risk based discourses. The discourse of 'risk' should furthermore be rendered against its political construction, narration and framing. The narrative of risk in late modernity could be considered as being construed through the individualisation of society.¹⁹³ The sociologist

¹⁸⁴ See for example: Giddens, A. *The Consequence of Modernity*. Polity Press. Cambridge UK. 1991b; Beck, U. *The Risk Society*. Sage Publications 1992 ; Bauman, Z. *Liquid Modernity*. Polity Press. 2000.

¹⁸⁵ Beck, U. 1992. p.21.

¹⁸⁶ Giddens, A. 1991. p.28.

¹⁸⁷ Virilio, P. 1993 in Skrimshire, S. *Politics of Fear, Practices of Hopes*. Continuum International Publishing Group. 2008. p.47.

¹⁸⁸ Beck, U. 1992. p.21.

¹⁸⁹ Bauman, Z. *Liquid Fear*. Polity Press. 2006. p.11.

¹⁹⁰ Bauman, Z. 2006. p. 3-5.

¹⁹¹ Dean, M. 'Risk, Calculable and Incalculable' In: *Soziale Welt* n. 1. vol. 49. p. 25-42. 1998. p.25.

¹⁹² Dean, M. 1998. p. 25.

¹⁹³ Bauman, Z. 2006. p.36.

Zygmundt Bauman suggests that the individualisation of society is characterised by a lack of belief in a collective society and by the striving for the realisation of the self, by having shifted focus from the notion of the just society to that of human rights; to let everyone be what they want to be, and that of safeguarding and protecting man's ability to do so in peace by guarding his body and possessions.¹⁹⁴ The uncertainties of late modernity are framed by not knowing what is coming as opposed to not knowing the means of 'how to become'. There is "no solid end result", but rather a state of unfinished-ness and incompleteness characterised by risk and anxieties.¹⁹⁵ This reflects an understanding that there are no alternatives to the governing order, whereby individuals readily 'wait' for society to change and alter in which they will have to adapt and respond to, and do not believe themselves to have the capacity to independently or collectively choose (alternative) ways of life. The late modern construed fear in the context of risk can be understood as existential but reinforced through modernity itself and a product of a political order. The fear being explicated suggests that the character of public life is constructed as a passive order where individuals are unable to participate in rational discussion in the creation of narratives but rather consume and internalise what is 'given' to them.

4.2.3 The dualism between political and everyday life constructions of fear-reflecting a passive character of public life

Fear can furthermore be constructed through an interplay between so called bottom-up and top-down constructions of fear.¹⁹⁶ Rachel Pain and Susan Smith outlines how top-down construction of fear (which builds on notions of fear in the context and narrative of risk as introduced in the previous section) forms part of a global-political construction of fear, which is used primarily as a tool of governance in public policy, to legitimise spatial interventions, or restrict immigration and so called "nation building".¹⁹⁷ This fear reflects a popular and political fear discourse, as it is not primarily derived from individual experiences, but rather from top-down grand narratives. Pain and Smith suggest that the bottom-up approach differs from the top-down in the sense that is connected to everyday-life experiences and the socio-spatial constitution of fear.¹⁹⁸ Such fear is not dependent on existential unease or concerns or fear of a more general character, but

¹⁹⁴ Bauman, Z. 2006. p. 36.

¹⁹⁵ Bauman, Z. 2006. p.61

¹⁹⁶ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 'Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life' In: Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. (eds) *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*. p. 1-19. Ashgate Publishing Limited. England. 2008. p.3

¹⁹⁷ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.4.

¹⁹⁸ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.4.

dependent on being exposed to what is referred to as ‘real’ exposure of threats and violence. The bottom-up everyday-life fear is argued, on the one hand, to be domestic and includes individuals who have been exposed to domestic violence or child abuse.¹⁹⁹ This fear is also, on the other hand, political, where there is a political intent to expose the fear of those who, for example, mostly are constructed as fear provoking in popular fear discourses, including those who have been subjected to Islamophobia or police brutality.²⁰⁰ Top-down and bottom-up constructions of fear do interplay in various ways. Carina Listerborn’s study about the everyday violence that is directed towards women who wears veils in Malmö can be understood to provide one example of such interplay.²⁰¹ These women experience violence and consequently fear on an everyday life basis by being stereotypically identified, not only as the Other, but also as symbols of threats towards Western norms and values.²⁰² The practice of stereotypically identifying women who wear veils as symbols of global threats towards the continuity of the Western order, should consequently be understood to be interlinked with global-political grand narratives of fear. Bottom-up constructions of fear consequently comprise local individual experiences as opposed to grand narratives of fear, and can be said to form hidden constructions of fear that exist in the shade of the dominant popular fear discourses. Top-down and bottom-up constructions of fear interplay in yet another sense, which relates to the materiality of popular fear discourses.²⁰³ Surveillance cameras, community watch signposts, specific building typologies and other attributes are examples of materialisations of popular and political fear discourses, which are argued to function as daily reminders of the surrounding ‘fear’ and ‘risk’ that eventually will become bodily internalised.²⁰⁴ Through such internalisation, fear becomes a real everyday life experience even though one has never been subjected to violence, which in turn makes the experience qualify for so called bottom-up constructions of fear. Aligned with the late modern constructions of fear, these popular political fear discourses reflect a passive character of public life. Such public life consists of passive subjects who consume and internalise meta narratives of fear, where general feelings of fear not necessarily are connected to exposure of direct violence, but can result in the directing of violence towards those individuals that stereotypically and symbolically are identified as threats.

¹⁹⁹ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.4.

²⁰⁰ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.4.

²⁰¹ Listerborn, C. ‘Geographies of the Veil : Violent Encounters in Urban Public Spaces in Malmö’. In: *Social and Cultural Geography*. no 1. vol 16. p. 95-115. 2015.

²⁰² Listerborn, C. 2015.p.110.

²⁰³ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.12.

²⁰⁴ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.12.

4.2.4 Spatial constructions of fear and stereotypical identities in public life

Popularly and politically constructed fear also tends to spatialise fear, primarily by locating fear in specific neighbourhoods and not in others, such as immigrant areas. Spatialising fear is thereby argued by some to contribute to vicious circles of reproducing stereotypical, fearful environments and in turn stereotypical identities, where fear is ‘wrongly’ associated with the public realm and strangers rather than the domestic sphere of the home and people one is acquainted with.²⁰⁵ Emphasising aspects of place to feelings of fear has been an important focus in spatial planning and architectural research on urban fear and safety.²⁰⁶ It is, for example, argued that fear is embedded in physical and social characteristics of place, where the environment provides visual ‘evidence’ of risks.²⁰⁷ Although place provides a common focus in research on fear, it is argued that it has become more evident how the physical aspect of the built environment plays a minor role to experiences of fear.²⁰⁸ The spatialisation of fear also tends to include the belief that violence happens to others who are not like us, which in turn contributes to social and geographical avoidance.²⁰⁹ This behaviour of avoidance is argued to be in conflict with the fact that most violent crimes happen around the home by people which whom one is intimate with rather than a context among strangers.²¹⁰ It is the anonymous town centres that instead are put forward as threatening in popular fear discourses, or the public parks or ‘empty’ urban districts, or the ‘immigrant suburbia’ where the stranger is someone who is not like ‘us’. Tackling what is referred to as ‘the wrong kind of fear’ is considered to persist due to the logics of the materiality of the popular fear discourses.²¹¹ Material reminders such as fences, surveillance cameras, sign posts, etc. contribute to continuously (re)construct the idea that the urban public realm is fearful, and consequently (re)construct the idea that the familiar and the known is ‘safe’.²¹² The community and the private sphere can, according to this logic, epitomise the notion of the safe sphere, where the stranger can easily be identified and excluded based on appearance. The re-assertion of the public realm as being dangerous consequently constitutes the basis

²⁰⁵ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.12.

²⁰⁶ Pain, R. 2000. p.369.

²⁰⁷ Bannister, J and Fyfe, N. ‘Introduction: Fear in the City’ In: *Urban Studies* vol 38. nos. 5-6. p. 807-813. 2001 p.809.

²⁰⁸ Pain, R. 2000. p.372.

²⁰⁹ Pain, R. ‘Place, Social Relations and the Fear of Crime: a Review’. In *Progress in Human Geography*. no.20. p. 365-387. 2000. p.373.

²¹⁰ Pain, R.2000. p.373.

²¹¹ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.12.

²¹² Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.12.

for urban planning strategies and public policies with community watch schemes or Jane Jacobs' principles of natural surveillance as examples, or governmental public policy programs of 'community safety'.²¹³ Through such policies it can be argued that fixed identities form the basis for experiencing the public realm, which is based upon an 'us' that is non-threatening and familiar, and a 'them' which is threatening and non familiar.

4.2.5 Constructions of fearing subjects and conflicting identity constructions

Women are commonly set out as primary subjects of fear, both in research (particularly in the field of 'fear of crime') and in the different forms of national crime and safety surveys.²¹⁴ This has paved the way for a gendered approach to fear (both in research and in policy) that advocates women's right to the urban public realm on the same terms as men. Researching gendered fear has largely been about women, where research on the male perspective or male fear is rather limited in comparison.²¹⁵ A gendered, particularly, female approach to fear has since Gill Valentine formed a research realm of its own right.²¹⁶ Valentine is recognised as having carried out seminal work on how women use and relate to the public urban realm differently than men because of fear of male violence and implements strategies for avoidance as they go about in the city.²¹⁷ Male fear is, in differentiation from the female fear, argued to be dependent of being challenged on their 'masculinity' and the masculine identity.²¹⁸ A traditional masculine identity is argued to comprise attributes such as 'being in control' and embodied in 'physical strength'.²¹⁹ This body of research has later developed from focusing on 'an essential identity', for example the 'female' or 'male', to an 'intersectional' understanding of identity, where subjects experience fear based on different subject

²¹³ Jacobs, J. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. 1994. Penguin Books; Raco, M. 'Securing Sustainable Communities: Citizenship, Safety and Sustainability in the New Urban Planning'. In *European Urban and Regional Studies* vol. 14. no.4. 2007. p. 305-320.

²¹⁴ See for example Pain, R. 2000. for a research overview

²¹⁵ Lee, M. *Inventing Fear of Crime*. Taylor and Francis. E-book. 2013.p.117; Day.K. et al. 'Confrontation and loss of control: Masculinity and men's fear in public space' In *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. vol. 23 no. 3.. p. 311-322. 2003. p.311.

²¹⁶ Valentine, G. 'The Geography of Women's Fear' In *Area* vol.21 no.4. p.385-390. 1989.

²¹⁷ Listerborn, C. 'Understanding the Geography of Women's Fear' In Bondi, L.(ed) *Subjectivities, Knowledges, and Feminist Geographies: The Subject and Ethics of Social Research*. p.34-43. 2002b. p.37.

²¹⁸ Day, K. et al. 2003. p. 311.

²¹⁹ Day, K. et al. 2003. p.312.

positions and social categories.²²⁰ In one specific social and cultural context, an individual's identity may be construed as a 'woman' and experience fear from that particular subject positions, and in another context the same individual's identity is construed and experience fear in a different way. Perception of fear is recognised in this research realm to also be dependent on other subject positions than gender. Although the intersectional understanding of identity construction is important and appreciates that an individual may speak from more than one subject position, and the category 'gender' is interconnected to other social categories of oppression, it does not deal with how the female and male identities are construed at large. The construction of female and male identities constitutes an important question to raise in this body of research, and forms a relevant question in feminist thought at large.²²¹

The gendered understanding of fear also comes with a paradox that levels of fear are not connected to levels of crime. Women are, in other words, constructed as fearful although statistically not likely to be exposed to violent crimes, and men are constructed as fearless, although statistically constituting the most vulnerable category for being exposed to violent crime. This paradox is referred to by Murray Lee as a "fear-of-crime-feedback loop" which emphasises that this specific research on fear of crime and interconnected policy produce and maintain certain imagined fearing subjects, such as women and elderly.²²² Including women as a primary category to perceptions of fear is challenged by Monica Persson's study that indicates that gender along with elderly and socioeconomically weaker groups do not show significant impact on perceptions of fear that commonly is advocated in research and policy, instead factors such as institutional trust, trust in the police and general trust indicates to have unique effect on feelings of insecurity.²²³ This study, although only presenting indicative results, challenges those assumptions of the fearing subject that prevail both in research and policy.

The queer theorist Judith Butler criticises feminist theories that set out the gendered identity of 'woman' to be 'situated' in the universal and 'natural' subject of 'the female sex'.²²⁴ Butler argues that both categories are discursive phenomena that

²²⁰ Valentine, G. 'Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography' In *The Professional Geographer*. vol 59. no 1. 2007.

²²¹ Bickford, S. 'In the Presence of Others: Arendt and Anzaldúa on the paradox of public appearance' In Honig, B. *Feminist Interpretations of Hannah Arendt*. p.213.335. 1995. The Pennsylvania State University Press. USA. p.313; Butler, J. *Genstrubbel*. Daidalos. Sweden. 2007.

²²² Lee, M, 2001, in Persson, M.' Paper III: A Policy Problem that cannot escape its past- Constraints on the reformation of safety policy' p. 1-31. 2014, In Persson, M. *The Dynamics of Policy Formation, Makings Sense of Public Unsafety*. Phd dissertation. Örebro University. Sweden. 2014. p.3.

²²³ Persson, M. 2014. p.69.

²²⁴ Butler, J. 2007. p.53.

serves to 'normalise' ways of being put into categories, in which subjects have to conform and subordinate to, serving to include and exclude; control and regulate, and ultimately operates to restrict and frame the way individuals can act and be within society. It is considered that the categories 'woman' and 'men' based on such an understanding constitute a community of us and them, a community that individuals have to define themselves against based on inclusion and exclusion, which does not contribute to the emancipation that is aspired, but rather contributes to sediment these very naturalised discursive and hegemonic identities. The following quote by Diana Taylor summarises Butler's argument that (re)construction and (re)articulation of identity categories, such as women, men and ethnic groups, contributes to re-articulating the oppression, although practiced with hopefully the best intentions of emancipation:

As Butler points out, insofar as identity categories are always normative and therefore exclusionary, if groups uncritically deploy identity they run the risk of rearticulating their own oppressed and devalued identities.²²⁵

The problem is not conceived to be the identity categories existing per se, but how these categories are being deployed and used in practice, such as discursively framing women as 'weak' or 'vulnerable' in public life, and men as 'fearless' and 'in control'. A gendered identity captures an idea of a gendered essential self, and leaves little room to conceptualise differences, and can, aligned with the quote above, be interpreted to sediment power relations rather than actively contributing to structural political changes.²²⁶ The notions of 'female fear' and 'male fearlessness' contribute, in other words, to the performance of stereotypical gendered differences.²²⁷ In line with this way of thinking, Pain and Smith raises the question whether naming particular groups as fearful, such as women, is a convenient way for constraining participation in public life, and as to whether it contributes to fix marginality and oppression of different societal groups, by settling a specific power relation between the Muslim world and the West, or between men and women?²²⁸ On the other hand, other scholars suggest that deploying social identities contributes to making visible social oppression that forms the basis for structural political action, and that a discursive understanding such as Butler's dwells at the level of individuals.²²⁹ This research realm argues that

²²⁵ Taylor, D. 'Arendt, Foucault, and Feminist Politics: A Critical Reappraisal' In Orr, D. et al. (eds) *Feminist Politics: Identity, Difference and Agency*. p.243-264. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers INC. USA. 2007.p. 251.

²²⁶ Bickford, S. 1995.p.314.

²²⁷ Day, K. et al. 2003. p. 313.

²²⁸ Pain, R. and Smith, S. 2008. p.11.

²²⁹ Bradley, H. *Gender*. 2nd ed. Polity Press. Cambridge. UK. 2013.p.82.

not seeing women as a coherent identity makes it impossible for women to unite in political action for feminist aims.²³⁰ Moya Lloyd asserts that:

Feminist politics cannot exist it seems, without a stable subject. It alone gives substance to the feminism that functions in its name. It provides the justification for political intervention, for woman, as a coherent (collective) entity, is the one who has suffered from discrimination/ oppression, and who can recall this suffering and act to remedy it.²³¹

There appears as such to be a dividing line among researchers about identity construction and the political project of gender equality. On the one hand, constructing women essentially as primarily fearing subjects is considered to contribute to reconstructing women as a vulnerable group in society, which in turn is viewed as preventing female emancipation. On the other hand, it is argued, that recognition of the cohesive identity of women as a primarily fearing subject is the only way for women or other groups to unite in political action.

4.2.6 Constructing feared subjects and criterion for participating in public life

Experiences of being feared, or be seen as fear provoking in public life represents another dimension to experiences of fear. Female fear is argued to be based upon fear of sexual violence in public life, where ‘men’ represents the potential perpetrator. Whilst men are generally set out as feared subjects, it is argued that they are to a great extent unaware of being feared by women in the public realm, or assert to not having any experiences of being feared.²³² ‘White men’ are considered to rationalise why they conceive of themselves as not being feared due to their individual personalities (they perceive themselves as being good guys), which can be understood to be interlinked with the notion that they constitute the norm in public life.²³³ Kristen Day et al. argue that to ‘not fear’ or ‘not experiencing as being feared’ can be understood as a symptom of enacting privilege in public life, where groups in society do not have to experience any resistance in the public life since social, political and economic contexts are constructed around these groups’ values and norms.²³⁴ Men, who however directly experience ‘being feared’ in public life, conceive that it rather has to do with their racial identities and social

²³⁰ Lloyd, M. *Beyond Identity Politics: Feminism, Power and Politics*. SAGE Publications Inc. (US). ProQuest ebrary. 2005. p. 5.

²³¹ Lloyd, M. 2005.p. 5

²³² Day, K. ‘Being Feared: Masculinity and Race in Public Space’. in Lee, M. and Farrall, S. (eds) *Fear of Crime: Critical Voices in an Age of Anxiety*. p. 82-107. Routledge Abingdon. 2009. p.89.

²³³ Day, K. 2009. p. 92.

²³⁴ Day, K. et al. 2003. p. 312. with reference to Hill, 2001.

economic position, than their gender alone.²³⁵ This suggests that ‘a man’ is not a subject position that constitutes the feared one in the discourse of fear, but rather the subject position that relates to the individual’s racial identity and social-economic position. These specific men and feared subjects, consequently, participate in public life on different terms than those who identify with the so called ‘white male norm’. They constitute the ‘objects’, ‘the visual what’, that are sought to be visually identified by the fearing subjects as a means to avoid them. Lee argues how these feared subjects are often represented by a series of stereotypical categorisations that often are represented as ‘faceless’ and being ‘identityless’ and furthermore projected onto ‘the bad object’ in the fear of crime literature.²³⁶ Lee sets out how the idea of the fearful Other is embodied by being opposite of the law-abiding citizen.²³⁷ Some social groups are outlined and idealised as the imaginary feared other, represented by an idea of dangerous classes including the unemployed, the criminal, the homeless, Muslims etc.²³⁸ The most recent construction of the feared subject is represented by the notion of ‘the terrorist’.²³⁹ Experiences of being stereotypically feared represent, in turn, another dimension to the struggle of an equal right to partake in urban public life, the same struggle the fearing (female) subjects participate in.²⁴⁰ Both the fearing and the feared subject can be understood as struggling for equal right to partake in urban public life, but are participating in the struggle from different positions. The way identities are analysed to be constructed in the above mentioned logics of public life represent social categories, where the individual behind ‘the visual what’ is unable to be recognised.

4.2.7 Re-imagining fear by politicising the subject

Other research contests the ‘inevitability’ of the modern conditioned existential fear or popular fear discourses, by inquiring how fear can be challenged and resisted, and by raising questions aimed to evoke hope, re-imagination, empowerment and

²³⁵ Day, K. 2009. p.96

²³⁶ Lee, M. 2013. p.154-155.

²³⁷ Lee, M.2013. p.95.

²³⁸ Lee, M. 2013. p.152.

²³⁹ Lee, M. 2013. p.156.

²⁴⁰ Mitchell, D. *Right to the City : Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. Guilford Publications New York. 2012. p. 19.

political agency.²⁴¹ This strand of research can be positioned in the discourses of public life that advocate for the rise of the active and self governing subject in public life, active in the sense of being able to independently or collectively choose ways of life beyond community bound norms and values. This realm of research of ‘resisting fear’ aims to leave space for individual agency and communal action. It should be read as an alternative to the popular fear discourses and the materialisation of fear in which spatial planning practice can be considered to form an intrinsic part of. So, rather than accepting an increasingly popular desire to control and regulate fear, this research tradition argues in part how one should turn to individuals themselves and see how they can empower themselves through negotiating and re-imagining fear in their everyday life. Skrimshire suggests that to “resist a culture of fear is to demand access to the political and economic processes of everyday life, to *reclaim* those processes”, which reflects an understanding of a need to claim access to active participation in society rather being subjected to passive consumptions of a given- and what may be perceived as an inevitable, ideology.²⁴² This mode of resistance reflects on one level an individualist response to fear, and frames the problem of fear within the individual and not with society at large. One example of individual counter responses to popular fear discourses is given by Hille Koskela, whom illustrates how Finnish women approached fear of male violence through individual empowerment as opposed to avoidance.²⁴³ Other alternatives put forward collective action. One example stresses how fear and hope exist in tension, where meeting fear with action is a political strategy that would require collective efforts as opposed to individual atomic responses.²⁴⁴ Examples of this type of empowerment are argued to be found in the Philippines, where people, whose lives at large are governed by notions of ‘fear’ (of violence, hunger and landlessness, etc.), are capable of imagining alternatives and collective futures.²⁴⁵ Another example suggests that fear is interconnected with general trust in society (police, institutions) and where policy initiatives should be directed to building up collective trust in our societal institutions rather than locally addressing them.²⁴⁶ Re-imagining fear includes active subjects as a point of departure for public life.

²⁴¹ See for example: Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 2008. p.7. ; Pain, R. ‘Whose Fear Is It Anyway? Resisting Terror Fear and Fear for Children’ In Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. (eds) *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*. p.211-222. Ashgate Publishing Limited. England.2008. ; Wright, S. ‘Practicing Hope: Learning from Social Movement Strategies in the Philippines’ In Pain, R. and Smith, S. (eds) *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*. p.223-234. Ashgate Publishing Limited. England. 2008.; Skrimshire, S. *Politics of Fear, Practices of Hopes*. Continuum International Publishing Group. London New York. 2008.

²⁴² Skrimshire, S. 2008. p.75.

²⁴³ Koskela, H. 1999.

²⁴⁴ Wright, S. 2008. p. 229, 232.

²⁴⁵ Wright, S. 2008. p.223.

²⁴⁶ Persson, M. 2014. p.69.

Active in the sense of not being dominated by a system, where there is space for individuals to develop agency, have trust in society and themselves and to actively and together with others *form* responses.

This section has established a discursive field of urban fear and insecurity, the next section aims to establish the discursive field of spatial planning's normative responses to the same.

4.3 Public life and discursive field of spatial planning responses to fear and insecurity

This section is an examination of different spatial planning and architectural responses to urban fear by drawing from conceptualisations of fear and public life.

4.3.1 Modernity and the certainty of the future

Nan Ellin makes evident how notions of fear have governed town building since the beginning of settlements and characterises fear as being connected to changes in societal structures and ideals.²⁴⁷ The most significant societal change from this respect, from feudalism to capitalism, or from ancient times to modernity, involved a bourgeoisie fear of the masses, which consequently dealt with the change through an obsession with internal control and discipline as a means to distinguish their superiority to the masses. This phenomenon included material implications in space, in particular regarding the spatial organisation of the home such as different realms of privacy.²⁴⁸ The same insecurities contributed to the development of Bentham's conceptualisation of the panopticon, forms of governance in which the masses can be controlled by not knowing whether they are seen or not. The people will consequently control themselves, becoming passively self governing out of fear of deviating from the norms of the civilised culture, or fear of the reprimands and punishments of not following regulations.

Modernity also represented a powerful belief in the civilised ideal man and in the controlled, ideal, homogenous and harmonious society. In Sweden, Gunnar and Alva Myrdal personified this civilising process by depicting everything from how to decorate your home to how to spend your leisure time. This ideal harmonious society can be summarised by the new controlled utopian and re-imagined city

²⁴⁷ Ellin, N. 'Shelter From the Storm or Form Follows Fear and Vice Versa' In Ellin, N (ed.) *Architecture of Fear*. p. 13-45. Princeton Architectural Press. USA. 1997.

²⁴⁸ Madanipour, A. *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. Routledge. New York. 2000.p.86-87.

which turns its back to history and looks to the future with certainty. Such visions are characterised by an overall belief in rational spatial planning, and particularly in specific spatial objects and configurations, as a means to achieve the ideal harmonious, clean and ordered city that is not characterised by chaos and ad hoc experiences as the historical city was considered to do. Through ‘good’ social engineering the cities will become good places to live, nurturing ‘civil’ members of the society. European examples are the English Ebenezer Howard’s ‘Garden cities of tomorrow’ (1902) and the French Le Corbusier’s ‘The radiant city’ (1935). The corresponding American version is ‘The city beautiful movement’ that flourished at the turn of the twentieth century.²⁴⁹ Although the modernist architectural projects collapsed in legitimacy, the search for the notion of the good city continued, but now with less certainty about the future and as such a changing shape and content.

4.3.2 The making of the familiar city

Corresponding to conceived societal uncertainties of late modernity where risk and uncertainty form popular narratives and the conceived impossibility of one coherent homogeneous city, different architectural and spatial planning responses pop up. The idea of the ‘stable’ city that sustains rapid societal change is discussed from different logics, whether characterised by ‘identity and tradition’ or ‘surveillance and control’. The search for an identity can be discerned in the architectural movements of ‘neo-rationalism’ (‘neo-traditionalism’) and ‘regionalism’. They are broadly characterised by a desire for the familiar and the roots to our existence, a desire for something that makes the city feel less alienated, and more like ‘home’, a return to traditional values represented by ‘nostalgia’ and ‘sentimentality’. Neo-rationalism includes an essentialist aesthetic based on classical absolute geometrical shapes mostly found in Enlightenment architecture, and includes a return to a belief in the authentic architect as an artist (as opposed to for example a social engineer) who stands above and beyond the masses, who knows of rational universal ‘true’ beauty.²⁵⁰ In contrast to the rational and universal claims for the architecture stands the ‘regional’. ‘Regionalism’ includes the notion of the local as a point of departure, both in terms of material references, climate and specific local and cultural traditions, and includes a return to the ideals of pre-modern city making, a search for creating a local story of the development that can legitimise the spatial interventions, one that creates a unique local place where

²⁴⁹ “The American City Beautiful Movement embodied the belief that architecture and planning can change human behaviour and society. The movement was architecturally inspired by the work of Haussmann and the famous boulevards in Paris, through which the masses can be controlled” From: Wilson, E. *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles. 1991. p.69.

²⁵⁰ Werne, F. *Arkitekturens ismer*. Arkitektur förlag. AB. Stockholm. 1998. p.191.

people can develop a sense of spatial and communal belonging.²⁵¹ Being sensitive to the ‘local’ represents a search for an ‘authentic’ regional architecture, which includes an idea that there is an essential ‘core’ to our societies that must be discovered and preserved architecturally.²⁵² The international new urbanism movement can also be rendered against these architectural claims. The new urbanism movement is characterised by a return to a (however universalised) traditional and romantic European city with high quality public spaces and a mixture of activities. The new urbanism movement is often translated in a Swedish context into ‘the compact city’ (*den tätta staden*) or ‘the mixed use city’ (*den blandade staden*). Moa Tunström has made visible the romanticism and nostalgia that characterise this Swedish architectural and spatial planning discourse.²⁵³ The urban planner and architect Gordon Cullen and Kevin Lynch represent other important voices in this ‘nostalgic’ architectural discourse.²⁵⁴ The analytical method provided by Lynch emphasises particularly visual legibility as an important value dimension in experiencing cities. This normative analytical method is commonly adapted by contemporary planners and architects as a means for organising the built environment in accordance with such principles.

Another contemporary ‘regional’ response to uncertainties lies within the realm of landscape and natural resources. If everything man made is perceived to be contingent, natural resources epitomises the notion of the ‘solid’. The contemporary ‘landscape urbanism’ movement includes the understanding that the stability of the future should sit with the landscape. It is on the terms of the local landscape that the city should evolve. In other words, the landscape should provide the infrastructure of the city in which buildings should subsume; the landscape should organise and structure buildings rather than the other way around.²⁵⁵ Ellin speaks alternatively, but seemingly similarly about the ‘new good urbanism’ that comprises the ‘gifts of nature’ as its point of departure, as opposed to the ‘needs of the people’.²⁵⁶ The stability of the city is hence believed to sit with an adaption to natural resources and the living of a local and ecological urban life.

²⁵¹ Werne, F. 1998. p.264; Colquhoun, A. ‘*The Concept of Regionalism*’. In Canizaro, V.B.(ed) *Architectural Regionalism*. p.147-155. Princeton Architectural Press. New York. USA. 2007. p.147.

²⁵² Colquhoun, A. 2007. p.149-150.

²⁵³ Tunström, M. *På spaning efter den goda staden*. PhD dissertation. Örebro University. Sweden. 2009.

²⁵⁴ Cullen, G. *The concise townscape*. Butterworth-Heinemann. Oxford Boston. 1996.[originally published in 1966]; Lynch, K. *The Image of the City*. MIT Press. Cambridge. 1960.

²⁵⁵ See for example Waldheim, C. (ed) *The landscape urbanism reader*. Princeton Architectural Press. New York USA. 2006.

²⁵⁶ Ellin, N. ‘What is Good Urbanism?’ In *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism*. vol 36 no.4 2012. p.247-251.

4.3.3 The making of the certain city

On the other side of the traditional and identity based claims for the urban development sits the logic of surveillance and control. Examples of this development have been outlined by Taner Oc and Steve Tiesdell and encompass: (1) the fortress approach based on formal exclusion with walls and gates as attributes, (2) the panoptic approach based on exclusion through, for example, surveillance cameras, (3) spatially regulating the public realm based on exclusion and (4) the animated approach based on making the urban public realm accessible and active so people will have a reason to enter it.²⁵⁷ The logic for the animated approach is that the presence of people will make the urban public realm feel safer. All four approaches can be said to make up different strategies for improving perceptions of safety. Whilst the first three approaches have been widely criticised for contributing to segregated and exclusive landscapes, the latter approach of animating the city has become particularly prevalent in the Swedish discourse through the notion of the ‘compact city’ or ‘the mixed use city’. Oc and Tiesdell proclaim themselves the animated approach and the need to provide “sufficient density of people to ensure safety” based on natural surveillance.²⁵⁸ This approach largely follows the logic of Jane Jacobs, who advocated the notion of the safe city through natural informal control via a return to the traditional mixed use and small scale city.²⁵⁹ This ideal can be questioned on the same logic as the formal surveillance ones, as natural surveillance also operates on the basis of exclusion.²⁶⁰ It is easy to be persuaded as this idea is based on a positive and seemingly naive idea of a ‘welcoming of everyone’, in which ‘everyone’ is conditioned into behaving correctly and following the societal and community norms. In other words, being the ideal rational and community embracing Simmelian urbanite. The notion of the traditional and the controlled goes, as such, hand in hand.

The animated approach reflects also a strive to design and organise ‘attractive’ spaces, which has been referred to by Sharon Zukin as a way of democratically securing spaces for the “desirable cappuccino loving middle class”.²⁶¹ Zukin suggests that a discourse of aestheticization comprises yet another strategy for keeping the undesirables away.²⁶² The famous New York ‘zero tolerance’ or

²⁵⁷ Oc, T. and Tiesdell, S. ‘The Fortress, The Panoptic, The Regulatory and The Animated: Planning and Urban Design Approaches to Safer City Centres. In *Landscape Research*. vol 24. no 3. p. 265-286. 1999. p.270.

²⁵⁸ Oc, T. and Tiesdell, S. 1999. p.277.

²⁵⁹ Jacobs. J. 1994.

²⁶⁰ Koskela, H. 1999.

²⁶¹ Zukin, S. *The Cultures of Cities*. Blackwell Publishing. USA. 1995. p.39.

²⁶² Zukin, S. 1995. p.39.

'broken windows' crime prevention model could be considered an example of such practice. These practices operate on the assumption that deteriorating communities correlate with perceptions of fear.²⁶³ The urban conditions for living are consequently considered to impact perceptions of fear, and by aesthetically and socially improving the local community, it is argued that it leads to improved perceptions of safety.

Other spatial planning responses to urban insecurity include Oscar Newman's 'defensible space' approach to urban development, where the notion of the secure city through informal control can be achieved through physical changes and electronic technology.²⁶⁴ Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) is another example within the space deterministic approach to safe and secure city building. The foundational rationale behind both the CPTED and the defensible space approach is the development of semi-private space where people will have a sense of ownership to and the ability to 'informally' control who belongs where. These developments are also examples of control based on natural surveillance and a return to the idea of the traditional local village and the notion of strong local communities. On top of these approaches for safety lie various situational physical planning approaches, aiming "to design out opportunities for crime and features that provoke fear".²⁶⁵ Examples of situational measures include community watch schemes and improved street lighting.

So far, discursive fields have been established that help answering the first research question about assumptions of public life. The next section aims to establish the discursive field of knowledge in spatial planning.

4.4 The discursive field of knowledge in spatial planning

In approaching the phenomenon 'spatial planning for safety' from an agonistic political perspective, it should be recognised that it draws from specific knowledges that have paved the way for conceptualising approaches of planning as the 'right' planning, or the 'good' planning, or however it currently is brought forward. Different ontological positions represent different 'empirical' understandings of the world, in other words, what the world is described to be

²⁶³ Bannister, J and Fyfe, N. 'Introduction: Fear in the City' In: *Urban Studies* vol 38. nos. 5-6. p. 807-813. 2001. p.809.

²⁶⁴ Newman, O. *Defensible Space- Crime Prevention Through Urban Design*. Macmillan. New York. 1972.

²⁶⁵ Pain, R. et al. 'When, Where, If and But: Qualifying GIS and the Effect of Street Lighting on Crime and Fear'. In *Environment and Planning A* no 38. 2006. p. 2055-2074. p.2057.

constituted of.²⁶⁶ What counts as knowledge can thus be considered a reflection of the discursive system it was created in and its assumptions about the world.²⁶⁷ What spatial planning considers as ‘true’ or valid knowledge represents thereby its system of beliefs. How spatial planning conceptualises knowledge is understood to make up its internal logic for approaching the social phenomenon in focus and its conceptual logic for acting. Spatial planning consequently makes use of knowledge for legitimating its activities, arguing, for example, that specific spatial planning interventions are to the benefit of the ‘collective good’ or constituting the ‘public interest’. The knowledge that substantially constitutes ‘the collective good’ or ‘the public interest’ can be described as being ideological, and constitutes normative principles that spatial planning action are judged by, and judges itself by. In line with this dissertation’s theoretical points of departure, there is not one true or right ideological position that spatial planning can make use of for legitimising its activities, but rather different ideological assumptions about the desired ‘good order of the world’. This section seeks to first establish a discursive field of conceptually different ideological premises for legitimating spatial planning activities, as conceptualised in planning theory (Ch 4.4.1). These different positions of legitimating spatial planning will be used as analytical categories in analysing the empirical material. Thereafter, a discursive field of conceptualisations of knowledge in spatial planning will be established (Ch 4.4.2). This is carried out by first analysing how knowledge is conceptualised in different approaches to spatial planning as identified in planning theory, and secondly by analysing where the emphasis lies on within the knowledge in spatial planning, what the knowledge is supposed to do. Following this discursive field, lines of political conflict will be delineated (Ch 4.4.3), which in turn will be made use of as analytical categories for analysing the empirical material.

In the same way that the discursive field of public life illuminated conceptual possibilities of public life, this discursive field aims to illuminate conceptual possibilities for conceptualising knowledge and legitimating principles in spatial planning.

4.4.1 Legitimising planning for safety

The concept ‘public interest’ has many functions in spatial planning. It is, for example, considered to legitimise planning as a state activity, to serve as a norm and criterion for planning practice, as well as to evaluate plans and policies, in other words, to function as guiding principles for deciding what spatial planning

²⁶⁶ Linehan, C and Kavanagh, D. “From Project Ontologies to Communities of Virtue”. In: Cicmil, S and Hodgson, D (eds) *Making Projects Critical*. pp: 51-67. Palgrave Macmillan. Basingstoke and New York. 2006. p.52.

²⁶⁷ Koch, A.M. *Poststructuralism and the Politics of Method*. Lexington Books. 2007. p.121.

practice is to the benefit of the ‘collective good’.²⁶⁸ ‘The public interest’ can be legitimised either procedurally or substantially.²⁶⁹ Procedural legitimisation refers to the quality of political decision making or planning processes.²⁷⁰ Implementing spatial planning policy through projects can be considered to constitute one outcome of such a procedural legitimising principle. Substantial claims are subject to academic deliberation, or even subject to fundamental questioning as to whether a consensual notion of substantial claims of public interest can exist in an acknowledged heterogeneous and pluralist society.²⁷¹ However, as Ernest Alexander suggests, regardless of whether the concept is labeled ‘public interest’ or something else, or whether it should be abandoned or not, what it places focus upon is the principle(s) that inform and guide planning, and the principle(s) that “the goodness” of policies and plans are evaluated by.²⁷² In the advent of an identified problem or uncertainty, the concept draws attention to “what planning can do about it”.²⁷³ So when ‘fear’ has been represented as a planning problem (based on, for example, ethical principles of human rights), the question arises: what principles inform spatial planning in regards to what it believes it can or should do about the problem? The substantive notion of the public interest is openly ideological and value informed, and can consequently draw from different ideological positions.

Different normative interpretations of public interest in planning thought can be outlined where a differentiation can be made between substantial principles such as utilitarian and unitary, from procedural focused principles, which can either be rights based or dialogical.²⁷⁴ The utilitarian approach sets out the public interest to include the aggregation of individual preferences, desires and interests that have repeatedly been proven infeasible, partly because of inherent conflicts between the personal interests and those of the common good or general welfare.²⁷⁵ It is, in other words, considered impossible to aggregate personal preferences into collective preferences. Legitimising planning for safety based on utilitarian

²⁶⁸ Alexander, E.R. ‘The Public Interest in Planning: From Legitimation to Substantive Plan Evaluation’. In *Planning Theory* no 1 2002 p.226-249. p.227.

²⁶⁹ Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.234; Campbell, H and Marshall, R, ‘Utilitarianism’s Bad Breath? A Re-evaluation of The Public Interest Justification for Planning’ In *Planning Theory* no.1 2002. p. 163-187. p. 174.

²⁷⁰ Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.234

²⁷¹ Campbell, H and Marshall, R. 2002. p. 164. ; Moroni, S. ‘Towards a Reconstruction of the Public Interest Criterion’ In *Planning Theory* no 3 2004. p.151-171. p.153.

²⁷² Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.234. ; Campbell, H and Marshall, R. 2002. p. 164

²⁷³ Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.237.

²⁷⁴ Campbell, H and Marshall, R. 2002. p. 174.

²⁷⁵ Campbell, H and Marshall, R. 2002. p. 175. Alexander, 2002. p. 230.; Moroni, S. 2004. p.156.

principles would consequently be how ‘safety’ forms the aggregated version of personal interests and preferences.

The unitary concept on the other hand includes a moral claim that acknowledges the existence of collective values and principles that transcends private interests. The unitary, redistributive, moral principle is frequently argued for as a legitimating principle for planning practice.²⁷⁶ Planning for safety would according to this tradition be legitimised by arguing that some individuals might benefit from it (for example the fearful individuals) whereas some might not (for example those individuals identified as the object of fear and subject to increased control), but the planning intervention as a whole is greater than, *it transcends*, the individual interest. The community, and not the individual, is considered the first ethical subject.²⁷⁷ Planning for safety is as such considered as being to the benefit of the greater good of the ‘community’.

Deontological principles means that the planning practice/policy/plan should be judged/assessed based on what is considered ethically right.²⁷⁸ Rights based principles, drawing either from Rawl’s theory of justice or libertarian individualism, are primarily concerned with the protection of rights.²⁷⁹ Rawl’s main argument includes that everyone should be free to pursue their lives as long as they don’t prevent anyone else from doing the same.²⁸⁰ The role of the state is as such to facilitate individuals’ own perceived ‘good’ lives whilst ensuring principles of distributive justice are upheld. Libertarian individualism emphasises individual rights to the exclusion of almost everything else.²⁸¹ The principle of ‘rights’ is however difficult having as a norm or principle for evaluating or informing practice, as “there is a difference between “having right” and “doing right””.²⁸² The right based norm can as such serve as an instrument for identifying individuals having rights or when someone’s rights have been violated against, but is not helpful in informing what planning can do about it. It can only refer back to the notion that one ‘ethically’ ought to ‘do something’. Spatial planning practice can as such use ‘rights based’ principles in identifying the problem of ‘fear’ as a potential cause for violating the right of ‘having the freedom to move’, but the principle can’t normatively guide planning practice in suggesting ‘what’ it ought to do about

²⁷⁶ Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.230.

²⁷⁷ Moroni, S. 2004. p.155.

²⁷⁸ Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.232. ; Moroni, S. 2004. p.154.

²⁷⁹ Campbell, H and Marshall, R. 2002. p. 178.

²⁸⁰ Campbell, H and Marshall, R. 2002. p. 178.

²⁸¹ Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.232.

²⁸² Dworkin, 1978 cited in Campbell, H and Marshall, R. 2002. p. 179.

it. 'Planning for safety' can as such be perceived as the ethically right thing to do (given the identified condition of fearing individuals), but it doesn't help answer the question of whether it is the 'good' thing to do.

The dialogical approach can be found in the Habermasian principles of communicative rationality, which is a moral discourse for intersubjectively reaching consensus concerning 'the collective good'. This model has informed communicative and collaborative planning schools.²⁸³ Alexander argues that the dialogical approach gives the public interest a substantive content, but only *ex post facto*.²⁸⁴ The deliberative approach thus gives little guidance a priori for the planners to know how to approach and go about planning. In other words, the dialogical approach doesn't suggest how planners ought to approach the identified problem of fear until after the different parties have intersubjectively deliberated upon the issue. Following the ethical principles of this logic, the planners should not either 'frame' the possible solution for action, such as situating the problem in the urban fabric, before the issue has been openly deliberated upon, as it is otherwise disguises its ideological framing.

The public interest is as such ideological and value informed, making it hard to define what the substantial content of the public interest includes a priori. So, even though neither of these substantial criteria for the public interest provide substantial guidance of what spatial planning ought to or should do, spatial planning still does something. But is this doing completely arbitrary and subjectively carried out, or are there any substantial values intrinsic to the spatial planning practice that inform the doing?

Mukhtar-Landgren suggests two principles that constitute discursive preconditions to spatial planning, namely a conception of 'progress' and the aim to 'improve' something, including the belief that improvement is continuously possible, and that there is a 'community' which to plan for.²⁸⁵ This community can, in turn, be considered to form the basis for a unitary defined public interest. From this perspective, by having constructed 'fear' as a planning problem, spatial planning believes it is capable to change these feelings in a specific community, for example among women, by utilising its tools and knowledge where the spatial planning intervention fits the logic of linear progress and increased betterment, i.e. the project contributes to the perceived continuous advancement of life. It is however possible to raise the question as to how the envisioned 'better' or more advanced future is defined, 'to not fear' or 'fear less'? These improvements can be interpreted to serve to uphold the status-quo and the current order of who fears

²⁸³ See for example Healey, P. *Collaborative Planning*. Palgrave MacMillan UK. 2006.

²⁸⁴ Alexander, E.R. 2002. p.233.

²⁸⁵ Mukhtar-Landgren, D. *Planering för Framsteg och Gemenskap*. PhD dissertation. Lund University. Sweden. 2012. p. 55.

who, or whether it aims to challenge the basis for how we go about living our lives together as human beings ‘accept fear and transform status quo and current order’? How improvement is defined is as previously suggested openly value based and includes particular conceptions on how we should live a life together as public individuals. In other words, it is based on specific ideological assumptions of public life.

Following this brief overview of how spatial planning discursively can legitimise the practice, planning for safety can be construed and legitimised in terms of being the ethically right thing to do given the identified violation of individual rights, and by believing spatial planning practice can do something about it which will be ‘better’ for the individual in a linear progress sense. Planning for safety can also be construed and legitimised in a unitary sense, acknowledging it might not be to the benefit of all individuals, but the project as a whole is considered as being morally to the benefit of the greater good of the community. It can also be dialogically legitimised, suggesting that this planning is ‘good’ by constituting the result following non-framed intersubjective dialogues.

However, neither of these claims, with the exception of the dialogical (although it is rather difficult to achieve) can help spatial planning in judging what the ‘good’ planning solution is, or what the envisioned better future holds. So, what conceptions of knowledge inform spatial planning for safety in regards to what the ‘improved’ safe experience substantially embodies? What conceptions of knowledge inform the guiding principles and interrelated planning actions? This question relates to how spatial planning practice conceives and organises knowledge, which will be turned to now.

4.4.2 Conceptualising knowledge in spatial planning

What conception of knowledge does spatial planning practice use in making ethical judgements of ‘the right’ or ‘the good’ planning intervention?

Modern technocratic, expert based planning, includes a conception of value neutral knowledge as its point of departure, which is considered able to be balanced by neutral professional subjects in the search for identifying (the most) rational or good planning solution. This approach to planning represents a ‘comprehensive rational’ approach to policy, where emphasis is placed on the capacity of addressing ‘identified’ problems through technical expertise.²⁸⁶ This mode of planning comprises the conceiving knowledge from a positivist point of departure, where a differentiation between ‘knowledge’ and ‘subject’ is believed to enable

²⁸⁶ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.251.

objectivity.²⁸⁷ Space is similarly approached in an objectivist fashion and the future is unfolded in a singular (rational) form.

The modernist, apolitical and technocratic spatial planning that neutrally balances value-neutral and positivist scientifically based alternatives is widely criticised in planning theory and practice, particularly by the postmodern critique that raises issues concerning power and heterogeneity.²⁸⁸ The postmodern conception proclaims that there is no such thing as value-neutral knowledge, instead knowledge is embedded in sets of social relations.²⁸⁹ The subjects of and in planning (the planning subjects and the participatory subjects) have values and norms, or residing on different experiences and knowledge. The postmodern critique generates thereby a pluralistic understanding of the subjects in planning, which has been embraced by different planning ideals. Both the collaborative and the radical planning ideal aim, to different extents and with different desired ends, to make visible and include heterogeneous every day life experiences in spatial planning, including multiple voices, experiences and knowledge, embodying a relational epistemology as its point of departure.²⁹⁰ Postmodern planning theory is as such predominantly focused on the 'knowledge' external to spatial planning practice, so called 'exogenous' knowledge, by focusing on managing and enabling heterogeneous experiences and knowledges as the basis for planning change.²⁹¹

This conception of knowledge is also apparent in the spatial planning safety discourse in its aim to include individual everyday-life experiences of fear. Individuals are considered as having knowledge of fear and safety that in turn are believed to inform 'good' planning change. The values and knowledge guiding planning for safety are as such legitimised as having arisen external to the practice. A significant body of research on 'fear of crime' is also focused on making visible the heterogeneity of everyday-life experience of fear, also with an aim of informing politics and spatial planning practice.²⁹² Spatial planning is as such substantially considered as value-free or neutral, but carried out-, or informed by different

²⁸⁷ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.242.

²⁸⁸ Davoudi, S.2011. p. 436. ; Innes, J. 'Information in Communicative Planning' In *Journal of the American Planning Association*. vol 64 no. 1. 2007. p.52-63. p.53. ; Rydin, Y.'Re-examining the Role of Knowledge Within Planning Theory'. In *Planning Theory* vol.6 n.1 2007. p.52-68. p.52.; Sandercock, L. 1999. p.535.; Sandercock, L. 1999. p.535. ; Campbell, H and Marshall, R, 2002. p. 172.

²⁸⁹ Rydin, Y. 2007.p.52; Hillier, J. 'What Values? Whose Values?' In *Philosophy & Geography* vol.2 no.2 1999. p. 179-199.p.179.

²⁹⁰ Healey, P. *Collaborative Planning*. 2006. Palgrave MacMillan UK; Sandercock, L. *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities*. John Wiley & Sons.1997; Sandercock, L. 2000 ; Healey, P. 2006.

²⁹¹ Rydin, Y. 2007. p.55.

²⁹² For an overview of the research field 'Fear of crime', see Pain, R. 'Place, Social Relations and the Fear of Crime: A Review' In *Progress in Human Geography*. no.20 2000. p. 365-387.

political subjects.²⁹³ The aim of spatial planning practice in this discursive context is to seek to understand the self-interest of all possible groups (to the extent it is possible) and furthermore to satisfy them through planning interventions by objectives of distributive justice and fairness.²⁹⁴ ‘Political’ is here understood as negotiations between interest groups, where the political struggle for planning theory and practice is to balance the different interests in a just and fair way.

Communicative/collaborative postmodern conceptions of planning aim to employ intersubjective dialogue between different political subjects so as to reach a consensual closure that was considered able to benefit all parties. ‘Subjugated’ knowledges are also acknowledged in this mode of planning as in the radical conception, but where the emphasis here is placed in using knowledge for ‘solving’ or addressing identified problems in finding a rational solution. This conception of planning can be understood to reflect what is referred to as a ‘political rationalist’ approach to policy.²⁹⁵ This approach differs from the modern rational approach in that it acknowledges the value dimension in knowledge construction, but considers it possible to work through disagreements (in value) through rational discourse.²⁹⁶ In differentiation from the communicative and collaborative approaches, radical postmodern conception of planning seeks specifically to pluralise the knowledge base in planning so as to allow for alternative conceptions of the future, by not aspiring for the one good solution, but instead focusing on unfolding the future in multiple forms. This conception of planning reflects a ‘post positivist interpretative’ approach to policy, where emphasis is placed on the different ways a phenomenon can be conceptualised.²⁹⁷ Space is similarly approached in a relational way, where there is not one space to be studied but multiple forms.

In differentiation from the different postmodern planning schools, the poststructural approach focuses less on exogenous knowledge, and emphasises instead endogenous knowledge that is internal to spatial planning practice.²⁹⁸ Endogenous knowledge reflects silent assumptions and knowledge created within the practice. Knowledge is here described to be discursively constructed in specific socio-cultural contexts, where what is considered as true or right should be regarded as consequence of settled hegemonic practices.

²⁹³ Paden, R. ‘Values and Planning: The Argument from Renaissance Utopianism’. In *Ethics, Place and Environment: A Journal of Philosophy and Geography*. vol 4 no 1 2001. p.5-30. p.6.

²⁹⁴ Paden, R. 2001. p.24.

²⁹⁵ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.251.

²⁹⁶ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.251,

²⁹⁷ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.252.

²⁹⁸ Paden, R. 2001. p.6.

‘What planning is’ and how it is carried out, and what ‘good planning’ embodies, is reflected to not be dependent on, or influenced by the different planning subject’s individually possessed knowledge, values and experiences, but is limited/enabled by assumptions that are internal to the practice itself. Following this position, planning for safety could be argued to not predominantly be informed by the different planning subjects, such as the identified experiences of the fearful individuals, but rather by those silent assumption(s) that constitute the basis for recognising ‘fear’ as a planning problem in the first place, and furthermore by those silent assumptions that constitute basis for formulating ‘safety’ as an object and desired outcome of planning.²⁹⁹ From such a perspective, certain knowledge has become naturalised and taken for granted “without any moment of conscious decision”.³⁰⁰ This naturalised knowledge constitutes an ideology, a system of belief in planning practice that contributes to defining the ideals of a desired ‘better’ future.³⁰¹ ‘Political’ in this poststructural context is understood as the sphere of the (re)production of norms and values that organise society and spatial planning practice, which in turn inform conceptions of ‘the good’.³⁰² The poststructural political struggle for planning theory and practice is hence to make visible how knowledge is organised and unfold those assumptions that form the basis for how spatial planning conceives what is the ‘good’ and desired ‘better’ future.³⁰³ In the planning for safety context, such an approach aims to make visible conceptions and values that are endogenous to the safety discourse, which inform decisions of good and bad. The aim from such a perspective is to politicise issues that previously have been morally and ideologically legitimised in terms of ‘justness’, ‘rightness’ or ‘the ethical thing to do’ based on redistributive principles of social justice. In other words, politicising by reconstructing the disguised political alternatives for spatial planning practice. Assumptions of public life constitute examples of endogenous knowledge in planning that is subject to politicisation in this dissertation. By moving away from perceptions of ‘truth’ and ‘the future’ perceived in a singular form, it will possible to open up for a critique of a governing order and to conceptually unfold multiple conceptions of the future (in line with the radical planning approach). This conception of planning reflects a ‘post positivist social constructionist’ approach to policy, which is focused less on giving policy

²⁹⁹ Innes, J. 2007. p.53.

³⁰⁰ Innes, J. 2007. p.53.

³⁰¹ Gunder, M. ‘Planning as the Ideology of (Neoliberal) Space’. In *Planning Theory* no. 9 2010. p.298-315. p.298.

³⁰² Paden, R. 2001. p.24.

³⁰³ Allmendinger, P. *Planning Theory*. 2009. 2nd ed. Palgrave Macmillan. p.186.

advise for actions but rather on identifying conceptual logics that shape understandings of policy.³⁰⁴

It is suggested that planning theory has been good at ‘opening up’ questions and ways of thinking where it is proclaimed that planning also must ‘close’ knowledge, and make choices between experiences and types of knowledge as the basis for action.³⁰⁵ But for ‘closing’ knowledge, one may think that there should be recognition of what knowledge is being excluded in the closure. This requires consciousness of how knowledge is organised and presented in the specific socio-cultural context. One problem in planning theory and practice arises when knowledge becomes ideology and naturalised without conscious decision-making, which informs decisions and directions of change when closure of knowledge has been carried out without political deliberation.³⁰⁶ ‘Opening up’ ways of thinking enables us to think of possible alternatives for solving or managing identified problems, or even for representing the problem somewhat differently.

4.4.3 Agonistic dimensions in constructing knowledges

Following the theoretical and methodological point of departure in this dissertation, these different approaches to planning and policy will be analysed in terms of their different positions on knowledge. These different positions will be represented as dimensions or lines of political conflict. Such lines of conflict enable an analysing of assumptions and discursive positioning about the ways in which the world is conceptualised and understood in spatial planning.

Assumptions of knowledges in spatial planning: Neutral-Political

One line of political conflict is construed based on assumptions of knowledge that prevail in these different modes of approaching planning and policy. Knowledge is, on the one hand, constructed from a positivist perspective (such as the comprehensive rationalist approach to planning and policy), which includes a conception of knowledge as being value neutral and absolute. Knowledge is, on the other hand, constructed from a discursive and political perspective (such as the post positivist interpretative and social constructionist approaches to planning and policy), which considers knowledges to be value based and embedded in social relations that in turn make up specific representations of the world.

The political rationalist approach to planning and policy is understood to sit in this line of conflict, by acknowledging the value dimension in planning (which would

³⁰⁴ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.252.

³⁰⁵ Rydin, Y. 2007. p.58.

³⁰⁶ Paden, R. 2001; Gunder, M. 2010.

qualify for the second conception of knowledge) but at the same time considers being able to accommodate values in a rational positivist fashion, by treating values in an objectivist way (which would qualify for the first conception of knowledge).

Emphasis of knowledge in spatial planning: Instrumental-Identify Conceptual Logics

Another dimension can be construed based on the emphasis placed on knowledge in spatial planning, in other words what knowledges are supposed to do in these modes of approaching planning and policy. On the one hand, an emphasis is placed on the knowledge in terms of its perceived use for outlining the most rational solution, in an instrumental 'a means to an end' fashion, unfolding the future in one way (such as the comprehensive rationalist and political rationalist approach to planning and policy). Conceptions of futures are based on a positivist epistemology including an assumption of linear progress. On the other hand, an emphasis is placed on knowledge in terms of its capacity to identify conceptual logics and multiple narratives for being able to identify alternative solutions and modes of governing, unfolding the future in multiple forms (such as the post positivist interpretative and social constructionist approaches to planning and policy). Conceptions of futures are based on a relational epistemology where an assumption of linear progress is denied.

These two lines of conflict outlined above will make up the analytical categories for analysing the empirical material in answering the second research question about assumptions of knowledge(s) in spatial planning. These lines of political conflict constitute constructs for analytical purposes, and cannot be interpreted to represent separate realms but are intertwined and interdependent on one another. These analytical categories allow for analysing discursive positions about the ways in which the world is conceptualised and understood in planning and represented through knowledge. Chapter six will carry out an empirical analysis by drawing from these established dimensions in analysing assumptions of knowledge in Swedish spatial planning for safety.

5 ‘Safe and Gender Equal’ and Assumptions of Public Life

Having set out the theoretical points of departures and the methodology for procedure, as well as developing the discursive fields and analytical categories, this chapter aims now to empirically analyse assumptions of public life in the project applications within the ‘Safe and Gender Equal’ policy that was introduced in chapter 3. It is the first research question (RQ1) that constitutes the basis for this analysis. The analysis is carried out in accordance with the analytical framework that was set out in section 4.1. The analytical framework consists of four dimensions of constructing public life. These dimensions consist of four analytical conceptual pairs including, (1) criterion for participating (certainty-uncertainty), (2) purpose (emotional self-self governing), (3) character (passive-active), (4) identities (social-political). Although these dimensions are constructed as separate categories for analytical purposes, they should be read as intertwined and overlapping. For example, the manner in which the criterion for participating in public life is constructed feeds into what the purpose of public life is envisaged to be and so on. It could however be that one dimension is politicised to a certain extent whereas another dimension is not, which would illuminate what dimensions of public life are subject to discursive ruptures and openings, and what dimensions are not.

This chapter is organised according to the following set up: section 5.1 includes analysis of the constructed criteria for partaking as well as purpose of public life, section 5.2 of the constructed purpose and character, and section 5.3 of the constructed identities. Section 5.1 and 5.2 can be understood as feeding into one another.

5.1 The freedom to follow the desire, by including certainty as the criterion for public life

The criterion for partaking in public life was constructed as a conflicting dimension of public life in the analytical framework. This line of conflict is constructed as a

conceptual analytical pair that on the one hand constructs the criterion in terms of a notion of certainty and, on the other hand, in terms of notions of uncertainty. This dimension relates to how spatial planning practice constructs what the conditions are for being able to participate in public life, and furthermore, how and with what measures these conditions are considered to be fulfilled. The conflicting dimensions of purpose of public life will also be considered (emotional self on the one hand and self governing on the other hand), which concerns the question as to why we are engaging in public life.

5.1.1 Safety as a criterion for partaking in public life and warrantee of freedom

Many of the grant applications argue that perceptions of insecurity amongst women impact their overall quality of life by, for example, contributing to reduced mobility in the public realm.³⁰⁷ It is, for example, argued that no-one should have to restrict their movements due to perceived insecurity, or that everyone should have equal access to the public realm and partake in public life.³⁰⁸ Or that access to ‘safe’ public space constitutes a human or citizen right, and thus constitutes a question of democratic concern.³⁰⁹ ‘Feeling safe’ is furthermore considered a natural human demand in one application:

Being able to feel safe and being able to move freely in one’s immediate environment and in public places is a basic human need (Västmanland County, Västerås City).

This quote reflects an emphasis on how feelings of safety should characterise experiences of public life, and that everyone should experience unconstrained freedom to move. On the basis of the statements above, ‘insecurity contributing to reduced mobility in the public realm’ and ‘access to safe public space’ constitute elements in a chain of equivalence that gives the criterion for partaking in public life meaning. ‘To feel safe’ reflects, consequently, the criterion for partaking in public life. Elements such as ‘unrestricted movements in’, or ‘free movements in’ and ‘equal access to’ the public realm, and ‘access to safe public space’ construct, in turn, the purpose of public life, reflecting a desire for individuals to have the ability to freely follow their subjective desire in the public realm.

³⁰⁷ See Appendix 1A

³⁰⁸ Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Other; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:3; Halland County, Laholm Municipality; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Kalmar County, Public Housing Cooperation; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Jönköping County, Jönköping Municipality; Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Uppsala County, Movium; Stockholm County, HSB Tallen Housing Association

³⁰⁹ Värmland County, Non profit Organisation; Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1; Dalarna County, Leksand Municipality;

Some grant applications discuss further how women in comparison to men are statistically least vulnerable to violent crime in the public environment, yet perceptions of insecurity limit women's freedom of movement to a greater extent than men. This can be rephrased as an assumption that women are unable to use the public realm on equal terms with men due to perceived insecurity. As aforementioned, 'to feel safe' reflects a criterion for accessing and partaking in public life, which in turn could be read as guaranteeing this understanding of 'freedom'. Freedom understood in the sense of 'being able to do what you want', or 'being able to follow the emotional desire'. 'Everyone's right to freely move in the public realm' appears as such to be one focus in the grant applications, by explicitly pointing out how 'no-one' should have to experience fear or feel constrained from public life because of fear.

5.1.2 Representing the problem of insecurity in space

In the grant applications, feeling safe is represented as forming a condition or criterion for partaking in public life, but with what measures are perceptions of safety considered to be established? Configurations of space can be identified in the material as a major conceived enabling factor for increasing perceptions of safety and allowing for a more gender equal participation in public life. The focus on configurations of space are already established in the governmental communication.

The surveys also show that women feel more insecure than men. Vingåkers municipality therefore assess it to be essential to identify and analyse what places in the central town that are perceived unsafe for taking it into account in planning (Södermanland County, Vingåker Municipality).

Most of the grant applications discuss the need to make different forms of place surveys in order to establish why a place is perceived as unsafe or is being avoided, where the method of 'safety walks' is commonly referred to.³¹⁰ Women are conceived as important stakeholders for these analyses. Different kinds of questions can be raised but identifying spatially unsafe 'phenomena', 'elements', 'problems' and 'solutions' are the focus in such analyses. With the elements above, insecurity is constructed as a spatial or spatial maintenance problem that can to some extent be solved through spatial interventions.

Some applications discuss however that place is not the only determinant to perceptions of insecurity.³¹¹ It is, for example, stressed that media contributes to

³¹⁰ See Appendix 1B

³¹¹ Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:2; Hallands County, Falkenberg Municipality:1; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2

negative perceptions of places.³¹² Another application suggests how segregation and the unfamiliar contribute to perceptions of insecurity.³¹³ Yet other grant applications suggest how fear is individually experienced.³¹⁴ Or, that fear is connected to not actively participating in society.³¹⁵ Or, how alterations to place do not change the long term perceptions of insecurity.³¹⁶ The focus on space appears still to constitute a common denominator in many of the grant applications. Following such statements, insecurity is also constructed with elements such as 'segregation', 'the unfamiliar', 'media', or 'is individual' in chains of equivalences, or 'not actively participating in society', or is 'not space determined' in chains of differentials.

This suggests that there is a desire to construct a nuanced understanding of perceptions of insecurity by, for example, considering media discourses, questions of segregation, participation in society as well as individual life experiences, but where the format of the project applications as drafted by the National Board for Housing, Building and Planning constrains spatial planning in acting from such understandings. When place constitutes an element to constructions of insecurity and safety, with what discursive elements is an unsafe and safe place constructed?

5.1.3 Enabling certainty

Recognising the familiar and identification of the unknown

Lighting is a frequently referred to element in constructions of safety. It is, for example, stressed that lighting enables good visibility.³¹⁷ Darkness, poor visibility and bad lighting are consequently put forward as major causes for experiences of

³¹² Västra Götaland County, Borås Municipality

³¹³ Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2

³¹⁴ Stockholm County, Construction company; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:1; Uppsala County; Public Housing Cooperation

³¹⁵ Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Västra Götalands County, Public housing cooperation: 2; Västra Götaland County, non profit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Borås Municipality; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:3; Skåne County, Kävlinge Municipality

³¹⁶ Västra Götaland County, Non profit Organisation:2

³¹⁷ See appendix 1C

insecurity.³¹⁸ ‘Darkness’, ‘poor visibility’ and ‘bad lighting’ represent key elements in constructions of insecurity. The following quotes represent examples of how such construction is emphasised in the project applications:

Åkersberga changes character once the darkness falls in the evening: the darkness makes the city more difficult to orient in and feels insecure. Women and girls often choose to stay inside (Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality).

The project idea and purpose is to create safer and more secure walking paths in central Falun by, among other things, densifying the lighting points. [...] The safety will be strengthened as the physical environment will become brighter and more open (Dalarna County, Falun Municipality).

The sight lines around the bus shelters are good for those who sit and wait for the buses. One can identify if someone is coming closer but have no chance in identifying whether you know the person who is coming or whether it is a stranger due to poor lighting conditions which are experienced as unsafe (Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality).

These quotes highlight how darkness and poor sight lines contribute to perceptions of insecurity, and by how acting upon this issue and making the urban environment brighter can in turn contribute to an increased perceived sense of safety. The last quote also emphasises how poor lighting makes it difficult to recognise approaching people and whether they are known or not. On the basis of these statements, one of the aims for improving the lighting is to enable visual recognition of the familiar but also visual identification of the unknown. ‘Visual recognition of the familiar and the unknown’ constitute elements for constructing safety. The activity of visually de-coding people based on appearance reflects, in turn, a visual character of public life. The lighting itself should furthermore be *right*, by, for example, relating to a “human scale” and contributing to “defining the space”.³¹⁹ It is alternatively suggested that the lighting should comprise of a “combination of a basic lighting, decorative lighting and also additional lighting to illuminate dark portions at the side of walkways”.³²⁰ Another application suggests the lighting should be designed based on “the latest findings and methods in the

³¹⁸ Stockholm County, Upplands Väsby Municipality; Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Stockholm County, HSB Tallen Housing Association; Uppsala County, Housing Cooperation; Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Västerbotten County, Västerbotten County Council; Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Halland County, Kungsbacka Municipality; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Kalmar County, Public Housing Cooperation; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:1

³¹⁹ Stockholm County, HSB Tallen Housing Association; Skåne County, Malmö City; Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality; Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Örebro County, Non profit organisation

³²⁰ Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1

field”.³²¹ Or, designed by experts to avoid “light pollution”.³²² The type of lighting is expressed with a great level of detail in the project applications. Based on the statements above, a specific lighting design constitutes an element in constructions of safety. Safety is, consequently, filled with meaning through elements such as ‘visual recognition of the familiar and the unknown’ and ‘specific lighting design’.

In summary, lighting constitutes a frequently referred to and thus an important discursive element in constructing safety. The grant applications appear to suggest that an environment that is illuminated according to specific principles can contribute towards enabling visual recognition of the familiar and the unknown, which in turn is considered to make individuals feel safe and thereby in a position to partake in public life.

Ability to see and notions of positive perceptions

Dense and dark plantings in parks and residential areas pose a substantial insecurity for women who walk and bike, since you cannot see what is in or next to the planting and because they cut off escape routes making the environment more insecure (Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:1).

Shrubbery, not illuminated parks and high edge vegetation contribute to uncertainty in the urban environment (Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality).

These quotes emphasise that parks and shrubs can contribute to perceptions of insecurity, especially if the planting is dense and is constituted of a mix of shrubs and trees, or if it is a particularly high edge vegetation. Parks, green grounds and forests appear to constitute other significant discursive elements in constructions of insecurity, and are mainly referred to in the ways in which they have been designed and managed.³²³ Other applications bring forward problems associated with lack of contact with, or control from, surrounding built structures or residential housing.³²⁴ Other problems raised are connected to a general lack of opportunity for visual control.³²⁵

³²¹ Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:2

³²² Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2

³²³ See appendix 1D

³²⁴ Skåne County, Lund Municipality; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Norrbotten County, construction company

³²⁵ Stockholm County, HSB Brf Tallen Housing Association; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:1; Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality; Norrbotten County, construction company; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:2

The park will through good lighting and through clearance of shrubbery and other vegetation become more transparent. As a visitor one can see well what is happening at the same time as one can feel safe that people would notice should anything unexpected happen. Overseeing a place instills safety since it contributes to control. Knowing that one is seen also exerts social pressure on the individual. A good and clear orientation increases the feeling of safety (Värmlands län, Grums kommun).

For keeping people from standing and hiding behind the building and the wooden fence respectively, we want to put up a gate that is locked every night. [...] In the current situation there are 4 large Rhododendron bushes that we want to clear out so that no one is able to hide in or behind. [...] (Blekinge län, Karlskrona kommun).

These quotes construct safety through elements such as 'good lighting', 'clearance of shrubbery', 'transparency', 'can see and oversee', 'knowing that one is seen', and 'clear orientation'. These elements constructs safety as being based on an ability to see and be seen, which in turn makes up a condition for partaking in public life. The inability to see and be seen is furthermore a quality that is represented as being inherent to parks, by, for example, being referred to as being dark, empty and desolated places at night.³²⁶ Sometimes it is brought forward how specific parks have served as locations for rapes.³²⁷ Parks, but also other green areas, are furthermore considered to comprise elements such as shrubs that, amongst other things, contribute to "poor orientation", elements that, for example, should be "thinned out" or "removed".³²⁸ These shrubberies should consequently be replaced with grass or other "low planting", or with a more "functional plant choice", contributing to a more "open" and "light" park character.³²⁹ Insecurity is constructed with elements such as 'dark and empty places' and 'poor orientation'. What is perceived as 'the safe park' is, for example, described like this:

The aim is that the park routes will serve as meeting places for the Gottsunda inhabitants and arenas for positive experiences. They should be more open, lighter, easier to navigate within and to, and as well as experienced as more cared for and safe (Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality).

³²⁶ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality

³²⁷ Norrbotten County, Kiruna Municipality; Norrbotten County, real estate company; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality

³²⁸ Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:1; Norrbotten County, real estate company; Uppsala County, Public Housing Cooperation; Västmanland County, Norberg Municipality

³²⁹ Skåne County, Housing Company:1; Örebro County, Nonprofit organisation; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:1

This quote suggests how routes through parks should be subject to positive experiences by being more open and light and appearing cared for. Safety appears here, furthermore, to be connected to ‘cared for’ as an element in a chain of equivalence. Shrubs, which represent an important element to constructions of insecurity, are also brought forward as a conflictual object. Shrubs are suggested to contribute to “biodiversity”, or by comprising important “aesthetic” elements in parks, which are argued to stand in direct conflict with perceptions of insecurity.³³⁰ It is stated that these different qualities to the shrubs must be delicately balanced in planning for safety.

Specific maintenance and lighting of parks and shrubbery are put forward as enabling factors to increased perceptions of safety, since such measures allow for a more transparent park character with better visibility. ‘The ability to see and be seen’ is constructed as a condition for partaking in public life, allowing for an aspired certainty in public life.

Being visually in control in subway environments³³¹

Another element in constructions of insecurity are pedestrian subways.³³² Problems that are associated with subways are primarily raised as relating to elements such as ‘poor lighting’, ‘age’ and ‘vandalism’. One application describes the problems with the subway as follows:

The subways are scrawled, dark without lights and the entrances are obscured by bushes and shrubbery. [...] The subway and the stage are also known by the social authorities as being hangouts for criminals [...] By painting the subways in various motifs one creates a pleasant, cozy atmosphere that feels safer. New lighting makes the subways feel safer after dark. [...] The decoration is carried out with a special theme for each subway and will have local ties to the village (Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2).

The quote constitutes of elements that connect ‘poor planning’, ‘lighting’, ‘maintenance’ and ‘vandalism’ to experiences of insecurity. It furthermore states that by acting upon these problems, feelings of safety are considered to be improved. Examples of such actions are to ‘decorate them nicely’, or to ‘redesign

³³⁰ Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:2; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality

³³¹ I have translated the Swedish word “tunnlar” to “subways”, since they are pedestrian underpasses and not tunnels at large.

³³² Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:1; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2; Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:1; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:3; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Tyresö Municipality;

them according to other planning principles'.³³³ The element 'to decorate them nicely' can be considered in a chain of equivalence with previous mentioned elements in constructions of safety, such as 'the cared for [parks]' and 'the familiar [place]'. One application sets out a detailed proposal in how to come to terms with the problems of perceived insecurity in subway environments:

-Generous dimensions of the subway section especially at openings. Wide passages are preferable, in our opinion. -To broaden wall sections at entrances and exits and connecting flights of stairs can provide better visibility and transparency of the tunnel environment. -Open for natural light and sound in the subway/ passage. -Work with surface material and the use of exquisite materials can provide the opportunity for a refined design of the subway environment and the entrances/exits and ramp area. (Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:1).

This quote emphasises particularly how an 'open character with better visibility' should inform the design of subway environments for making them experienced as being safer and thereby spatially organised for enabling participation in public life. 'Open and light subways' form yet another element in constructions of safety, which can be connected to the desired spatial configurations of 'safe parks'. 'To see and be seen' reflects again a criterion for partaking in public life, which would allow for the aspired certainty in participating in public life.

The spatial configurations that have been suggested in this section, including 'a particular lighting design', 'open and light and cared for parks', and 'provision for open and light subways', constitute elements for constructing safety. All of these spatial configurations reflect an emphasis on the ability to visually be in control, which manifests an understanding of certainty as a criterion for partaking in public life.

5.1.4 Enabling safety by allowing for 'the cared for' and the familiar

There is a tendency in some applications to construct insecurity as a product of physical neglect, where certain places are constructed with elements such as "secluded", or "un-cared for" characterised by graffiti and vandalism, which also is considered to attract specific groups of people such as criminals and addicts.³³⁴ The subway that was highlighted in the previous section constitutes one such environment. Consequently, safety is constructed in a chain of differentials to comprise urban environments that are 'cared for' and 'don't attract specific groups

³³³ Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1, Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Tyresö Municipality; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:1; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:3

³³⁴ Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2 ; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1 ; Västra Götaland County, Göteborgs City:1; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3; Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality

of people'. The project applications also suggest specific residential areas to constitute qualities that contribute to perceptions of insecurity. These housing areas are primarily built during a particular time period (1960-1970s) in Sweden and are popularly referred to the 'Million Home Investment Program'.³³⁵ These housing areas are constructed in different ways in the grant applications. It is, for example, raised that the areas suffer from segregation by being significantly populated by immigrants or with people "born outside Sweden".³³⁶ The areas are furthermore constructed with 'deprivation', 'having social problems or generally low status' as elements.³³⁷ Or, as the quote below emphasises, comprising "Million Home Program elements":

The area is adjacent to a transport hub for public transport (bus and tram). The geographical location is partially exposed with elements of segregation, a high proportion of immigrants, to some extent unemployment and "Million Home Program" elements. Increasing safety is positive for Swedish and foreign female immigrants (Västra Götaland County, real estate company)

Today the Alby park is worn out but still represents an important green oasis in the otherwise very large and rough suburban environment (Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1).

The area is a Million Home Program area with a reputation of being unsafe. Most of those who seek accommodation with us does not want to live in the area due to insecurity and a general bad reputation (Uppsala County, Housing Cooperation).

Northern Biskopsgården [...] has several problems associated with exclusion, such as recruitment to criminal gangs, violent crime, high sickness rate etc. (Västra Götaland, Public Housing Cooperation:1).

These quotes emphasise both the roughness associated with these residential areas, and as being characterised as having a reputation of being unsafe and rough, but

³³⁵ Stockholm County, HSB Brf Tallen Housing Association; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality; Stockholm County, Stockholm City; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Västra Götaland County, real estate company; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2; Kalmar County, Public Housing Cooperation; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Skåne County, Malmö City; Skåne County, Housing cooperation:2; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Uppsala County, Housing Cooperation; Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality

The 'Million Programme' is the everyday term for the Swedish housing development that took place between 1965 and 1974, which included the political ambition to build 1 million home within a decade, and was a political ambition to manage the, at the time, current housing crises and poor living conditions in Sweden.

³³⁶ Stockholm County, Stockholm City; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Västra Götaland County, real estate company; Kalmar County, Public Housing Cooperation; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing

³³⁷ Uppsala County, Enköpings Rental Housing; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1

also how they suffer from segregation, exclusion and violence, and are populated with socio-economically disadvantaged groups. Following these statements, insecurity is constructed to be located in specific areas that are constructed in chains of equivalences with ‘exclusion’, ‘segregation’ ‘deprivation’, ‘unemployment’, ‘immigration’, ‘bad reputation’ and ‘violence’ as elements. Such constructions of insecurity construct societally disadvantaged groups as not only being exposed to fear but also being contributors to perceptions of fear. It is the segregated, the unemployed and the deprived subject and so on that contributes to general perceptions of insecurity, and consequently is being reproduced as threats or feared subjects, in a chain of differentials, *not* the familiar, the wealthy or the integrated subject. One application raises a counter image to this general appreciation of these areas and of those who reside there.³³⁸ This application emphasises instead the social cohesion that characterises the area. People are constructed to be participating in integration projects and collaborating with the Swedish society. The identity of ‘immigrant’ is not used here, but instead elements such as ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘social cohesion across religious borders’, which suggests that ‘the immigrants’ is constructed to include those individuals who are not integrated with the Swedish society.

The physical places developed within the ‘million-home-investment program’ are in themselves constructed as sources for insecurity by, for example, having “anonymous” yards.³³⁹ Or “inappropriate” design of green areas.³⁴⁰ Or “large scale structures impacting perceptions of safety”.³⁴¹ Or structures not “adapted to today’s needs”.³⁴² By drawing from these statements, an unsafe public life is considered to be carried out in environments that are constructed with elements such as ‘anonymous,’ ‘inappropriate,’ and ‘large scale’ in a chain of equivalences. One application presents a counter image to such constructions, by instead emphasising how the yards are “inviting” with tall pine and birch trees and “exposed rock”.³⁴³ Another application suggests that these large scale areas have been developed with ‘previous era’s design ideals’ which didn’t focus on gender equality or safety.³⁴⁴ Such a construction connects ‘previous era’s design ideals’ to contemporary perceptions of insecurity, and since other ideals now prevail it can be rectified. By

³³⁸ Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality

³³⁹ Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality

³⁴⁰ Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:2

³⁴¹ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1

³⁴² Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1

³⁴³ Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing

³⁴⁴ Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1

drawing from the statements, ‘safe’ public life is consequently constructed in a chain of differentials to best be carried out in specifically *not* ‘anonymous’, ‘inappropriate’ and ‘large scale’ environments.

In summary, the project applications construct ‘safe public life’ as public life carried out in environments that are constructed to be ‘cared for’, and furthermore in a chain of differentials, such as ‘small scale’, ‘personal’ and ‘appropriate’. ‘Safe public life’ is also constructed to be carried out in a chain of differentials by subjects that are *not* ‘segregated’, ‘unemployed’ and ‘immigrants’, thus dividing individuals from the desired ‘collaborative’, ‘employed’ and ‘integrated’ individual. The criterion for safe public life can be reformulated ‘as having to be carried out in accordance with specific desired identities, in particular spatially configured and cared for spatial structures’. These constructions are put forward in parallel with a desire of populating places as a means to allow for a greater perception of safety. This will be turned to next.

5.1.5 Mere passive presence of people

Another recurrent construction of why predominantly women perceive fear in urban environments is that there are ‘too few eyes’ on the street, arguing that non-populated places contribute to perceived insecurity or that populated places contribute to increased perceived safety.³⁴⁵

The safety problem is rooted in the physical as well as the social environment. The measures that are planned for have largely an indirect impact by aiming to make the unsafe places more populated. The most important factor for a place to feel safe is the presence of other people (Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality).

This quote emphasises that ‘people’ should populate places, which reflects a neutral non specified category. The mere presence of people represents in turn an understanding of safe public realms, which could according to the analytical framework be connected to a passive character of public life. When ‘people appear’ in the public realm, it is constructed to contribute to perceptions of safety. One application suggests that spatial planning practice should always strive to populate places at all times of day as a means for establishing perceptions of safety.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ Gävleborg County, Sandviken Municipality; Norrbotten County, Kiruna Municipality; Norrbotten County, real estate company; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality; Värmland County, Association; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:2; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Örebro County, Karlskoga Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Halland County, Laholm Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Västra Götaland County, Borås Municipality; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1

³⁴⁶ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1

What we want is of course that there should be more people who are out and thus more eyes - which creates safety and increased presence prevents crimes from being committed (Kronoberg County, Väckjö Municipality).

The quote emphasises the importance of the presence of ‘people’, but particularly that their eyes are important. It is furthermore suggested in the grant applications that ‘people’ can identify and possibly also prevent crimes from being committed. Some applications define more specifically whom such ‘people’ are by suggesting that volunteering adults and young people should populate public places for making them perceived more safe.³⁴⁷ Or how the presence of members from sport clubs can enable women to dare to use jogging tracks.³⁴⁸ Or how people of all ages congregating in shared spaces contributes to improved safety.³⁴⁹ ‘Volunteering adults and young people’, ‘members of sports clubs’, or ‘people of all ages’ constitute subject positions that are constructed to contribute to perceptions of safety. This should also be read in connection with the subject positions comprising of, for example, the unemployed, or the immigrant, that in the previous section were constructed to contribute to perceptions of insecurity. The presence of people, comprising of the subject positions above, is considered to allow for social control, including the belief that crimes are carried out in calculation, and can be diminished if the potential offender feels he/she can be seen, or the belief that the general public will ‘help’, if one is in need. The ‘presence of people’ constitutes an important element in spatial planning constructions of safety and reflects a criterion for participating in public life. What has already been discussed and will be discussed further under the heading ‘identities’ is how not everyone’s presence qualifies as contributing to safety within such discursive constructions.

5.1.6 The search for certainty

In summary, this section has analysed that ‘certainty’ reflects a criterion and condition for partaking in public life. Insecurity appears to be connected with elements such as ‘darkness’ and ‘poor lighting’, ‘poorly maintained shrubs’ and ‘subways’, and is constructed to take place in environments that, for example, do not allow for clear visibility. Other perceived insecure environments are constructed with elements such as ‘anonymous’ and ‘large scale’. Elements that are further connected to perceptions of insecurity are ‘unpopulated places’, or places that are populated by individuals who, for example, are ‘unemployed’ and ‘segregated’. Consequently, establishment of safety appears to be connected with elements such as ‘good lighting’, ‘well maintained shrubs and subways’ and is

³⁴⁷ Värmland County, Association

³⁴⁸ Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:1

³⁴⁹ Hallands County, Halmstad Municipality:1

constructed to take place in environments that allow for clear visibility, or are ‘not anonymous’ and ‘not large scale’. ‘Populated places’ are furthermore constructed to contribute to perceptions of safety, or places that are populated by individuals who are ‘employed’ and ‘integrated’.

Based on such constructions, ‘to perceive safety’, or to ‘feel safe’ reflects the ability to be in visual control, which can be read as representing a visual order of public life. Such public life is understood to be carried out based on the ability to interpret how people at large are going to react and behave, on being able to visually decode and categorise people stereotypically based on appearance. By categorising people based on appearance and ‘what is generally in common’, the stranger can easily be identified to not be like us. The aspired to order reflects the certainty of knowing ‘what’ the threat is, which is someone who is not like me. Such certainty reflects an explicit criterion for partaking in public life.

At the same time, there appeared to be a desire to construct insecurity as more complex experiences than only relating to the character and quality of place, by for example being influenced by media discourses as well as through individual experiences. These constructs can be interpreted to represent ruptures in an otherwise coherent discourse. Insecurity appeared in these applications to still be a problem of being able to partake in public life, but the means on how to address the conceived problems would potentially be different should such discursive understandings dominate.

5.2 Purpose & Character: An attractive and pleasant city with active and engaged citizens?

The purpose and character of public life were constructed as another two conflicting dimensions of public life in the analytical framework. One dimension brings forward the envisaged purpose of public life in terms of either stimulating the emotional self, or about becoming self governing. This dimension relates to how spatial planning constructs what the perceived purpose is for participating in public life, in other words, as to why one chooses to partake in public life. The dimension concerning the character of public life is, on the one hand, constructed in terms of an active character and, on the other hand, in terms of a passive character. This dimension relates to how spatial planning constructs how public life is supposed to be carried out, such as through oral engagements or visual decoding.

5.2.1 Safety as something solely good and pleasant

The project applications reflect an understanding of safety as something generally ‘good’. This is visible through its construction of safety with elements ‘that characterises places where people want to be’, ‘that contributes to integration’, ‘better contact between people’, and ‘gender equality’. Safety is exclusively constructed in positive terms. A safe place tends to be collocated with elements such as a ‘pleasant’ place, or an ‘attractive’ place, a ‘harmonious’ or an ‘aesthetically beautified’ place’.³⁵⁰ In these cases, perceptions of safety are constructed by ‘generally feeling good’, ‘comfortable’ or ‘pleasant’, thereby connecting insecurity through a chain of differentials to ‘generally not feel good’.³⁵¹

The need emerged amongst other things to make the common and public parks and green areas safer, more pleasant, more gender equal and more functional for various activities for a living Vallås (Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1).

The lighting will also serve as a comfort-building element and will help to increase the park’s attractiveness, and an increased attractiveness and human presence is a strong safety-enhancing factor (Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1).

‘Safety’ is in these quotes constructed in connection with ‘perceptions of comfortableness’, ‘pleasantness’ and ‘general positiveness’. ‘Safe public life’ is consequently equated with and constructed as ‘pleasant public life’. By drawing from the statements above, a pleasant public life is construed as a life that is ‘comfortable’ to carry out but also ‘attractive’ and ‘aesthetically pleasant’ for the eye.

The involvement of the dialogue groups and “young people’s subway paintings” becomes a way to acting proactively against vandalism by decorating the subway surfaces with aesthetically pleasing content and by putting a personal touch to a place in town (Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1).

Safety in the outdoor environment is created by getting a clear overall picture of the city and urban spaces. Illuminated details are highlighted and contributes to a sense of identity that along with an understanding of the whole supports orientation [...] The aesthetic experience is largely about beauty. Here lighting is often crucial to how beautiful a city or town appears in the eyes of the beholder. Light that manages scale, sense of space and proportions helps to develop ambiance and harmony (Örebro County, Non profit organisation).

³⁵⁰ See appendix 1E

³⁵¹ Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:2; Halland County, Laholm Municipality; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality;

These quotes emphasise the importance of aesthetics for both counteracting vandalism and to help develop harmony. Aesthetics is constructed as a means for encouraging feelings of pleasantness whilst partaking in public life. It is for example suggested that spaces should appear ‘cared for’ by for example “beautifying places”.³⁵² Beautifying is constructed to comprise: “beautiful perennial planting with flowering plants and decorative effect lighting”.³⁵³ Other suggestions include “attractive design” or “improved, increased, good or appealing aesthetics”.³⁵⁴ Or “pleasantly designed outdoor environments”.³⁵⁵ Or by “making it cozy or nice”.³⁵⁶ Or by installing decorative art works.³⁵⁷ One application suggests a theme week on the topic “Complete- Clean- Neat-Safe”, which connects cleanliness and neatness with safety.³⁵⁸ These proposals can be said to all be drawing from the assumption that deteriorating communities contribute to increased perceptions of insecurity.³⁵⁹ One application explicitly makes such a claim:

Today there are a large number of public places in the municipality that are not occupied by residents of different reasons. One of the reasons, and an important one, is that the environments are neglected and perceived as being insecure (Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3).

Focus is consequently on making spaces not deteriorate and instead appear to be cared for. One application emphasises how safety characterises places that are associated with positive memories, pride and senses of belonging.³⁶⁰ Attractiveness is also spoken about in the scale of a whole city or town centre, whereby the comfortable feeling is constructed to characterise the overall town experience. Safety is also used as an element to place competitiveness, where a perceived safe town is considered to better attract potential residents and employers.³⁶¹ The

³⁵² Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Örebro County, Non profit organisation

³⁵³ Värmland County, Grums Municipality

³⁵⁴ Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1

³⁵⁵ Västmanland County, Köping Municipality

³⁵⁶ Västra Götaland County, Kungälv Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2

³⁵⁷ Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2

³⁵⁸ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4

³⁵⁹ Bannister, J and Fyfe, N. ‘Introduction: Fear in the City’ In: *Urban Studies* vol 38. nos. 5-6. p. 807-813. 2001. p.809.

³⁶⁰ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1

³⁶¹ Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality

construction of public life with elements such as 'beautiful', 'pleasant' and 'comprising of appealing aesthetics' reflect a passive, emotionally governed public life. Public life is constructed to take the form of a passive character, whereby the purpose of public life is about stimulating the emotional self. The self is constructed to feel at ease but also subjected to inner fulfilment. These arguments can according to the analytical framework reflect a rational construction of public life where aesthetics and beauty are considered a means for stimulating the emotional inner self, which is being separated from the dangerous exterior world. According to this logic it is possible to experience passive yet emotional fulfilment in the public realm by being subjected to beauty and pleasantness.

5.2.2 Lively cities but passive appearance of people?

It has been previously raised how the presence of people is constructed to increase perceptions of safety, where people should visually appear in the public realm as a means to render it safe.

The planned measures have largely an indirect effect in that they aim to make the most insecure places more populated. The most important factor for making a place feel safe is the presence of other people. Therefore, we want to convert some of Växjö's most insecure places. The ambition is to add exciting content so that the places become natural and popular meeting places in the city (Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality).

Other applications raise the problems of mischief and how street life functions as a measure to improve the social control.³⁶² The quote however nuances the notion of the presence of people, by suggesting that it also has to do with providing meeting places in the city. Other applications make similar claims of encouraging contacts or interactions between people:³⁶³

The walk can also investigate what people themselves can and want to do together (cultivate, build sofas, create dog areas, dance courts, art, etc.) so that urban spaces are becoming more populated and consequently safer [...] People outdoors provide safety for one another -one wants to move where there are other people (Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City: 3).

'Places that are organised to stimulate interactions between people', and 'when individuals do things together' are constructed to contribute to an increased sense

³⁶² Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality

³⁶³ Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:3

of safety.³⁶⁴ It is sometimes argued that the specific design of places can allow for meetings and interactions between people. The grant applications suggest that these ‘meeting places’ are to be carefully planned, allowing for spontaneous ‘natural’ and/or planned meetings.³⁶⁵

In the investigation of the town centre, among other things, a number of venues for spontaneous and /or arranged meetings have been outlined. It is important already in the beginning of this work to reflect on how these venues will work during different times of day so that one early on plans for adequate safety even during the dark hours (Värmland County, Säffle Municipality).

Great emphasis will be placed on creating a safe environment with the help of lighting and design that promotes natural encounters between visitors (Värmland County, Grums Municipality).

The quotes above emphasise the importance of planning these meeting places, configuring them so that they will be safe at all times. What are referred to as ‘spontaneous’ or ‘natural’ encounters are, for example, suggested to take place in safe meeting places that have been designed and organised according to specific principles. Meetings in other places are suggested in one application to be less welcome:

Natural meeting places in the areas creates safety since people do not sit in stairwells, basements etc. (Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation).

According to the quote, ‘meetings’ in stairwells and basements constitute elements towards perceptions of insecurity, whereas ‘natural meeting places’ instead make up desired configurations for such activities. ‘Meetings’ in station areas appear neither to be encouraged, especially if the people meeting one another are young people during weekends or in evenings.³⁶⁶ Other ‘meeting venues’ are considered as not being adapted for women or being located too dispersedly.³⁶⁷ Such statements reflect an understanding that women require specific design for meeting and interacting with people and that people should congregate in one place for improving perceptions of safety. Similarly, another application raises the importance of creating ‘natural’ yet ‘safe’ meeting places for people of all ages, where the project idea is to design a park with designated functions and areas for

³⁶⁴Värmland County, Grums kommun; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Skåne County, Malmö City; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2

³⁶⁵ Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1

³⁶⁶ Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality

³⁶⁷ Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1

different ages, including children and family playgrounds, skateboard parks for young people and activity places for the elderly, which resonates with the idea of having something for everyone in one place.³⁶⁸ If the designated places will be congregated with the intended people, positive ‘meetings’ take place. Following these statements, positive meetings that contribute to ‘safety’ are constructed with elements such as ‘takings place in designed and designated areas’, ‘adapted for women’ and when ‘individuals interact and do things together’. Such construction of safe meeting places reflect a desire for a controlled and organised urban environment that is divided by function and intended use. To put it bluntly; in stairwells we climb the stairs and in meeting places we meet: in boule sports grounds elderly meet and in skate parks youngsters hang out. Organising encounters such as these reflects a desire to avoid conflicts, which relates back to the desirable pleasantness that is encouraged to be associated with these places and public life at large. These grant applications consequently reflect a desire for primarily including pleasantly carried out meetings in public life, which do not disturb order nor what the spatial planning’s intentions are with the places. In other words, the meetings that are desired are the non-conflictual and ‘safe’ ones, which reflects, according to the analytical framework, a passive understanding of the character of public life. It is the appearance of people that contributes to the public life; people using space simultaneously and doing things together, which can furthermore be read as congruent with the rational discourse of public life. These planned for meeting places are furthermore argued in two applications as having an aim to integrate generations and cultures:

The project is intended for all ages and nationalities as well as both genders. The meeting place that is created form a natural part of the integration between generations and cultures (Halland County, Laholm Municipality).

An important part of these measures is to create attractive meeting places that attract residents not only from the area but also from other parts of Malmö. Each meeting place is planned with its special lighting [...] The park will serve as an integrating meeting place, a catalyst for the new attractive and safe Hyllie comprising these three areas (Skåne County, Malmö City).

The quotes emphasise the importance of meetings across generations, gender categories and cultures. Positive meetings that are connected with safety are here also constructed with ‘integration’ (of people, generations, cultures, nationalities and gender)’ as an additional element. Such construction reflects an understanding of places where prejudices and stereotypical thinking are supposed to be abandoned, so as to allow for intercultural and possibly conflictual meetings (aligned with an active character of public life). At the

³⁶⁸ Värmland County, Grums Municipality

same time, these planned for meeting places have been designed for increased safety through a logic of visual control which would resonate with a passive character of public life. This reflects a desire to allow for differences and new cultures and ways of appropriating space, but the differences and modes of carrying out public life are also reflected as having to be accommodated within the logic of visually-oriented public life. Public life is consequently represented by conflicting constructions, as simultaneously being an oral active order as well as a visual passive order. According to the analytical framework, spatial planning is reflected to entail conflicting constructions of the desired character of public life, by including a simultaneous ambition to construct the character of public life in terms of active interpersonal encounters where 'the who' is in focus, as well as in terms of passive encounters based on stereotyping one another.

5.2.3 Active and engaged citizens

The material at large sets out engaged citizens as also being safe citizens, with the assumption that being engaged in society at large contributes to increased feelings of safety.³⁶⁹

Safety is greater in areas where the residents are involved in society. It shows that not only are the inhabitants' financial resources important in this context, but also a lack of social resources is essential for explaining human insecurity (Stockholm County, Huddinge municipality).

Safety is about influence, involvement and visibility. We want to create a method for increasing women's influence and participation in planning processes, and making visible their experiences (Halland County, Halmstad:3).

These quotes suggest how engaging individuals in society can enable perceived safety. Different forms of engagement are repeatedly suggested in the grant applications as a process for improving perceptions of insecurity, which also includes an aspiration of making visible alternative voices in planning processes at large, here specifically women's.³⁷⁰ To engage the public is sometimes legitimised as a means to enhance democracy.³⁷¹ Safety is thus constructed with 'engagement' as an element. Such construction reflects a desire for involving and enabling active

³⁶⁹ Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Västra Götalands County, Public housing cooperation: 2; Västra Götaland County, non profit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Borås Municipality; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:3; Skåne County, Kävlinge Municipality

³⁷⁰ See appendix 1F

³⁷¹ Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:1; Halland County, Laholm Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1

individuals that are able to independently think and act, what is conceptualised as being ‘self governing’ in the analytical framework. However, often the framework for the suggested engagement is set and limited to participating in so called ‘safety walks’ (which are walks carried out in groups aiming at identifying ‘fearful’ aspects/attributes of the physical environment), or participation in focus groups or dialogue meetings, which also to a large extent focus on assessing specific places or residential areas. Other engagement is about including individuals in design processes by making young people “select places” for personal artistic decorations.³⁷² Or, participating in the designing of particular environments.³⁷³ Other suggested forms of engagement have more educative aims including participating in educational workshops for “children and women” in lighting technology for them to be able to make future demands in planning.³⁷⁴ One application states how the primary objective is to make the citizens feel like they can be part of, influence and have a say in planning discourse.³⁷⁵ Following these statements, ‘safety’ is constructed with ‘engagement’ as an element, which in turn is filled with meaning with ‘to be involved in society’, ‘feel part of society’, ‘for women to influence and make demands in planning’, ‘safety walks’, ‘focus groups’, ‘dialogue meetings’, ‘selecting places’, ‘designing places’ as elements in a chain of equivalences. Such constructions reflects the purpose of public life to be based on being able to be engaged in society.

By referring back to the ‘safety walk’ as a method for engagement, this method has framed the perceived problem of insecurity as a spatial phenomenon, where the ‘walk’ functions to ratify this identified problem. It is the spatial setting that explicitly will be assessed. Insecurity and safety are as such a priori framed as an emotional spatial phenomenon. This means that the ‘ex post facto’ ethical principles that go hand in hand with the dialogical legitimation of spatial planning actions have not been recognised. The ethical principles inherent to the deliberative logic comprise not to a priori ‘frame’ the possible solution for action, such as situating the problem in the urban fabric, before the issue has been openly deliberated upon, as it otherwise disguises the ideological framing. This method for engagement function to limit individuals’ capacity to conceptualise the world by having represented the problems of insecurity as a local and spatial phenomenon. To engage individuals by focusing on local neighbourhoods also means that insecurity is represented as a local problem, which in turn means that potential ‘solutions’ will also be local, as the phrase says: ‘local problems-local

³⁷² Stockholm County, Täby Municipality

³⁷³ Stockholm County, Tyresö Municipality

³⁷⁴ Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality

³⁷⁵ Värmland County, Säffle Municipality

solutions'.³⁷⁶ Such representation of the problem makes it difficult to address problems of fear and insecurity on a higher institutional level to, for example, be about the dismantling of public institutions.³⁷⁷ For participating in these engagements that are constructed in connection with safety, individuals are not able to construct or form alternative causes to perceptions of insecurity, but only confirming or consuming existing narratives. The engagement of individuals in society and planning is as such conditioned by giving spatial planning the mandate in formulating the problems and thereby the possible solutions. According to the analytical framework, this reflects a passive character of public life, where the individuals consume and thereby internalise existing narratives and ways of life, which in turn reflects the purpose of public life in a chain of differentials to *not* be about becoming self governing. The suggested engagement is furthermore argued to be based around the local area:

The activities linked to the places are about making local residents gain better knowledge and commitment *to their place*, where continuous change of the places and increased use of the places are key parameters (Västra Götaland county, non-profit organisation:2 italics added).

The idea is to build networks in the residential areas on the basis of common interests, joys and problems and thereby lay a firm foundation for integration. By getting people to meet, knowledge of and understanding for differences in perceptions and approaches increases (Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2).

People who feel involved in their residential environment also feel safer. Women are less involved. With the help of art as a method, we want to stimulate curiosity and interest in getting more women involved at an early stage in the process. By using new approaches we believe we can achieve an increased contact and dialogue, and gain valuable knowledge (Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2).

These quotes emphasise the importance of particularly being engaged in the local residential area. Other applications make similar arguments.³⁷⁸ The safety walks, dialogue meetings and other forms of engagement appear to focus on the subjects living in a contained area, and making individuals engaged in 'their' areas. It is, for example, stressed in the applications that there is an ambition to develop a sense of belonging or local community.³⁷⁹ Safety is constructed in a chain of equivalences

³⁷⁶ Persson, M. *The Dynamics of Policy Formation. Making Sense of Public Unsafety*. PhD dissertation. Örebro Studies in Political Science. 2014.p. 79-80.

³⁷⁷ Persson, M. 2014. p.80.

³⁷⁸ Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Public housing cooperation:2; Västra Götaland County, Public housing cooperation:2; Västra götaland County, non profit organisation:2; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality;

³⁷⁹ Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1

with elements such as ‘have knowledge and commitment to their place’, ‘involved in the residential area’, ‘developed networks on basis of common interests, joys and problems’, ‘have knowledge of and understanding of difference’. A strong committed and engaged community can according to these elements also reflect a safe community. This construction is particularly emphasised in the following quote:

Developing methods for cooperation between neighbours in apartment buildings aims to strengthen the social control in the residential area by more people caring about and knowing their neighbours. Cooperation between neighbours is a proven method that usually gets more men to become involved which could mean that women can get relief in shaping social stability (Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3).

The quote constructs a safe residential area where residents know their neighbours and exercises social control. The quote furthermore states that cooperation between residents can contribute to ‘releasing’ women from the burden of upholding social stability. This reflects an understanding that spatial planning not only considers community improvement measures good for improving perceptions of safety, but also as a measure for improving gender equality.

Engagement could be summarised as being constructed as an important measure for improving perceptions of safety, where engagement on the one hand is constructed to be based on active individuals who are able to independently think and act, and participate in political decision making processes. The purpose of such public life is connected with elements such as ‘political’ and ‘self governing’. The ambition appears to both give individuals, particularly women, influence in decision making processes, and to create ‘strong’ communities where individuals ‘care’ for their area. An assumption that appears to be made is that social control is good, it is a logic that is considered to benefit society and individuals at large. On the other hand, the engagement is constructed to be based on passive individuals who are invited to ‘passively’ participate and consume ideological narratives and interconnected representations of problems of fear and insecurity. These different ways of conceptualising engagement reflects a conflictual construction of the participatory subjects and character of public life.

5.2.4 Conflicting constructions of character and purpose of public life

In summary, the purpose and character of public life is conflictually constructed in the empirical material. The grant applications construct, on the one hand, the emotional self as its point of departure, where stimulating the self constitutes a purpose of public life. Individuals should, for example, be stimulated by ‘aesthetics’, ‘beauty’ and ‘order’ as a means to manage public life. On the other hand, the grant applications construct the self governing individuals as a purpose in

public life. Individuals are, for example, set out to be ‘orally actively engaged in society’ as a means to manage public life. This reflects also an active character of public life. The independence and action that should characterise active public life are however limited in the grant applications. Active public life is organised in such ways that a prerequisite for participation is to passively accept the ideological representations of what the problem is about. In other words, the participation is conditioned by having to give consent to given constructions of the problems, by situating fear and insecurity in space and the local community. According to the analytical framework, this reflects a passive character of public life. Individuals are unable to independently think and act by having been dominated by ‘the system’ of spatial planning. This suggests that the purpose and character of public life are in themselves politicised in the grant applications.

5.3 Identities and subject positions in public life

The ways in which identities are constructed was referred to in the analytical framework as a conflicting dimension of public life. This line of conflict is constructed as a conceptual analytical pair that constructs identities on the one hand in terms of social identities (the subject is constituted through specific categories of ‘what-ness’, such as women and men), and on the other in terms of political identities (the subject is constituted through the performance of ‘who-ness’). This dimension relates to what subject positions are made available and *how* subjects are constructed in the material. The overarching question for analysis in this section is how and with what categories identities are constructed in the empirical material? How are for example fearful subjects constructed? What identities are set out in opposition.³⁸⁰ With what identities is public life reflected to be based upon?

5.3.1 Women and Men

What subject positions are made available in the material, and furthermore how are they constructed? ‘Women’ and ‘men’ constitute the most apparent subject positions, which should be connected to the program’s aspiration for achieving gender equality in urban environments. The gendered distinction between ‘men’ and ‘women’ consequently become the focus in the project applications. How then are these categories constructed in the material? ‘Women’, constructed as a cohesive social category, can quickly be identified as a prominent subject in

³⁸⁰ Bacchi, C. 2009. p. 16.

perceiving insecurity. ‘Women’ are represented as unsafe.³⁸¹ But also as exposed and directly constrained in their everyday life, such as not daring to use the public realm during darkness or utilising specific spatial strategies for being able to use the public realm.³⁸² These characteristics are predominantly identified through various national or local surveys.

A questionnaire that been sent out to a number of municipal employees shows that women generally experience the urban environment more insecurely than men. Approximately 21% of women feel unsafe whilst all men feel safe (Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality).

It is mainly women who are limited in their patterns of life and refrain from activities that include having to go outdoors during evenings and weekends (Kronoberg County Växjö Municipality).

Today many women experience the city’s green environments as unsafe which limits the ability to move freely in the city (Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1).

The identity of what it means being a woman includes here the experience of insecurity and furthermore being constrained in the everyday spatiality of life. In a chain of equivalences, the identity of ‘women’ is constructed by elements such as ‘unsafe’ and ‘spatially constrained’. Since the applications refer to various quantitative surveys it appears to reflect an evident or ‘factual’ understanding that gendered categories inform experiences of insecurity. This difference in perception between men and women is argued in some applications as mere facts by stating “it is accepted fact”.³⁸³ Or that the phenomenon is considered “common knowledge”.³⁸⁴ Or that “we know” how this is the case.³⁸⁵ Female fear in the public realm reflects a given phenomenon that should be taken into consideration in spatial planning.

Gendered differences

Men and women are furthermore anticipated to experience and use the urban environment differently.³⁸⁶ Some applications are interested in investigating and further identifying these anticipated differences, by for example raising questions about differences between female and male interests and respective leisure times,

³⁸¹ See appendix 1G

³⁸² See appendix 1H

³⁸³ Norrbotten County, real estate company

³⁸⁴ Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality

³⁸⁵ Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality:2

³⁸⁶ Skåne County, Lund Municipality; Blekinge County, real estate company; Örebro County, Lindesberg Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3

how places are experienced differently between women and men, and how different functions of the cities are used by women and men respectively.³⁸⁷

Another gender-related issue is that of places for activity in the parks, where young people often become the target group for the design. There are experiences of having difficulties to design spaces that target young women just as much as young men, whose connection to different types of sports-related activity such as skateboarding, basketball, etc. are easier to take into consideration in the design of parks and public spaces (Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:5).

From an implementation and resource allocation perspective, the municipality has a need for better basic data for decision making that is based on the priorities that women and men ask for. In addition to differing views and a need for safety, women and men can have different opinions on the measures that provide the best target fulfilment (Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1).

The quotes reflect an importance placed on identifying differences between the gender categories in spatial planning. The quotes above reflect an assumption that 'women' and 'men' have different interests that should be taken into account in planning, and also that it is difficult to accommodate specifically women's interests in designs. 'Women' as a social group is constructed to, for example, having alternative aspirations of the public realm than men. Other applications have investigated how these gender differences are played out in the public realm. For example, 'women' and 'girls' are argued to, unlike 'men' and 'boys', not use environments of a specific character such as neglected areas.³⁸⁸ Or, they have different hobbies and interests and therefore pursue different activities than boys and men in the public realm. Boys are, for example, set out to be engaged in sport, whereas "girls hang out".³⁸⁹ Such gendered differences are also constructed to reinforce insecurity, where women essentially fear men:

Children and women in particular choose a longer way to go to the residential area due to insecurity and uncertainty. The footpath is mostly used by men (Kalmar County, Kalmar Municipality).

Today there are a large number of public spaces in the municipality that are not used by the residents for different reasons. One of the reasons, and an important one, is that the spaces are neglected and therefore perceived as insecure. Since boys tend to use these spaces to a greater extent than girls, these spaces will become very single-sex environments, making it experienced as even more insecure by girls/women (Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3).

³⁸⁷ Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3

³⁸⁸ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3

³⁸⁹ Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality

The quote above gives the impression that both gender categories experience certain public spaces as unsafe, but since only boys dare to use these spaces they become more fearful to girls and women. These statements construct women with the element 'fearing boys' in a chain of equivalence, or 'fearing spaces that are not occupied by female users'. 'Boys' are constructed as 'brave' and 'interested in exciting places'. It could be worth pointing out the usage of the category 'boys' here and not 'men'. It is boys who are considered to use these derelict spaces and not men, whereas both girls and women fear boys using these places. The focus on examining gender differences reflects an emphasis on a binary construction of women and men. Women's experiences of insecurity are primarily presented in relation to men's experiences. To understand 'women's' perceptions of insecurity it appears that one must understand them in relation to 'men's'. The construction of 'women' appears to comprise their symmetry or asymmetry with 'men' as a point of departure. 'Women' emerge in relation to 'men' and vice versa. Women are described to perceive greater insecurity *than* men. It is for example women who are constrained in their everyday life (and not men). The category of 'men' appears as such primarily to be used as a reference point to female experiences. Men are consequently constructed in a chain of differentials and thereby fixated as experiencing less insecurity than women and are not constrained in their every day life. The construction of 'men' contributes as such to defining 'women' in chains of differentials i.e. what she's not, and vice versa. According to the theoretical points of departure in this dissertation, it can be raised as to whether this phenomenon reflects an essentialist understanding of female and male identities by its focus on representing inherent gender differences.³⁹⁰

Female and male experiences of violent crimes and interrelated notions of fear

Two grant applications raise how young women in particular have experiences of direct sexual violence in the public realm.³⁹¹ Also young men are constructed as being exposed to direct violent crimes in the public realm.³⁹²

Against the background of attacks on young women in public spaces in Kiruna town over the last 8-10 months, the inhabitants of the municipality have expressed their views and demands both to Kiruna municipality and to the media, that the security and "social control" needs to be improved on a number of sites within the urban area [...] The perceived threat to young women as a group is of such a size that it has given rise to initiatives such as self-defence courses for young women (Norrbotten County, Kiruna Municipality).

³⁹⁰ Mouffe, C. 2005b. p.87.

³⁹¹ Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2; Norrbotten County, Kiruna Municipality

³⁹² Östergötland County, Norrköpings Municipality:1

We also know that young men experience and are exposed to violent crimes, primarily at night in places near the city's entertainment center. Also these groups will be able to get improved safety through a developed lighting (Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1).

Many times it is the women that restrict their freedom of movement to a greater extent than men due to fear of being subjected to, for example, sexual violence, assault or robbery. There is also gender stereotyping that makes the woman herself and society at large blame the woman to a greater extent than the man if she has been subjected to abuse, and that makes the woman responsible, to a higher degree than the man, for her own security and safety (Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1).

The first quote emphasises that some women have direct experience of sexual violence in the public realm, which contributes to general feelings of insecurity among women, making them feel unable to partake in public life. These direct experiences of sexual violence that some women have experience of is reflected to legitimate general spatial planning measures for improved safety. Women are also set out in the third quote to be responsible, as a consequence of gender stereotyping, for their own safety where they have to individually manage their own sense of safety. Women are constructed in a chain of equivalences as 'sexually violated against', 'exposed', and 'insecure'- but also 'individually responsible'. Young men are in the second quote also constructed as victims of violent crimes in the public realm and are also considered to benefit from safety improving measures that primarily targets women. However, men's potential fear or perceived insecurity as a consequence of having been exposed to violent crimes are not brought forward. The third quote also brings forward that men are not constructed to be individually responsible for their own safety to the same degree as women. Young men are consequently constructed in a chain of equivalences 'violated against' and 'do not fear', or as to be 'brave', but also in a chain of differentials as 'not individually responsible'. Some project applications bring forward this as a 'paradoxical phenomenon'; where women are represented as statistically least vulnerable to violent crime in the public environment but still experience the most insecurity. These perceived fears of (male) sexual violence appear to permeate women's and girl's existence to such an extent that women, as expressed in the quote above, want to learn how to defend themselves. The elements that were brought forward in the construction of female fear, 'sexually violated against' and 'exposed' reflect experiences of being sexualised in the public realm. Women are sexualised in the public realm to such an extent that fear of sexual assaults are constructed to permeate women's experiences in the public realm. The way public life is brought forward in the grant applications reflects an understanding of it as a male sphere, where women form sexualised subjects when partaking in public life, and have to be individually responsible for their safety. The female identity constructed to be tied to being 'sexualised', or having a 'sexualised body'. It forms an inherent and essential quality. Being a woman is represented by always having

to consider the risk of being subjected to sexualised violence as a point of departure for participating in public life, and taking responsibility for it through avoidance and control. The female identity is constructed in a chain of equivalences by ‘being sexualised’ as yet another element.

This perceived permeating threat and fear of sexual assaults is suggested to be counteracted by, for example, enabling female assistance at night such as “night-walkers”.³⁹³ Or that women should feel able to manage threatening situations or should be reassured that help is around the corner.³⁹⁴ Such statements construct the female identity as being ‘independent’ as in individually managing situations, but also ‘dependent’, by being reassured that help is around the corner. Such constructions of public life implicitly accept the practice of sexualising female bodies, where women either should feel in control in the public realm, or should feel reassured that others can assist, and consequently unable to participate in the public independent from others. The quote above that introduced self defence as a measure for managing fear of sexual violence reflects a form of female empowerment, by giving women the power and an ability to manage violent situations in the public. Such statement construct women with the element ‘independent’ in chains of equivalences. The female identity is, according to the statements above, constructed conflictually, by both comprising elements such as ‘dependent’ and ‘independent’. However, both of the constructions still produce an idea of a (for women) dangerous public, where women ought to be physically fit in order to participate, or should be in a position of control. Because of the paradoxical statistical phenomenon of fear and experiences of violence, the grant applications tend to bring forward ‘experiences of places’ as opposed to how exposed a place is to violent crimes. As has been discussed previously, most applications set out spatial means to counteract the problem of perceived fear, which aims to empower “women” through for example lighting, enabling women to manage public life by being able to exercise visual control. Such constructions of safety reflect an emphasis on experiences of places and women in isolation from the practice of sexualising female bodies. The sexualisation of female bodies can be considered, according to the theoretical points of departure in this dissertation, as an example of something ‘taken for granted’, something inherently given and consequently unable to be challenged and subject to change. It can be considered as forming a naturalised and essential part of the female identity in public life. Public life is constructed and reproduced as a male domain where women ought to be physically fit, be assisted when in need, and furthermore be in control for partaking.

³⁹³ Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality

³⁹⁴ Stockholm County, District administration

Some grant applications set out how women develop avoidance strategies due to fear and sometimes choose not to participate in activities outside the home, or sometimes don't even go out.³⁹⁵ With elements such as 'not going out' or 'not participating in activities outside the home', the home is constructed as the (female) safe sphere. The home consequently reflects the sphere where, for example, the female body is not being sexualised, where she can lead her life without sexual fear. The notion of the home constitutes an important element in the construction of female identities. In a chain of equivalences, 'women' is constructed with 'feeling safe in the home' as an element. One application challenges the home as the 'safe sphere' and raises the problem of violence in the intimate sphere of the known.³⁹⁶ Here, women is constructed with 'feeling unsafe in the home' as an element. Men, consequently, is constructed to 'not fear' or are 'brave' enough to be in a position to more widely choose how and where to go. This reflects also an understanding that the public realm and the home constitute male spheres. 'The public realm' as well as 'the home' thus form important elements in the construction of male identities.

Men are also put forward to be more actively engaged in planning and consequently society.³⁹⁷ Women are in contrast constructed as responsible for social stability and the main child carer, having the home or the local residential area as her points of departure.³⁹⁸ The men's realm is constructed to be society at large and politics, whereas women's realm is connected to the realm of the home and the family. The quotes below portray this distinction:

In our society women and men often have different patterns in their everyday lives. Generally, more men go by cars and more women go by public transport or walk. Women also handle much more of the home work including shopping and the picking up and leaving of children at the preschool and school (Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3).

We will also modernise and lift up the laundry rooms from the basement and thereby we hope to get a gender balance by making it easier for men to implement previously typical women's duties (Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation).

³⁹⁵ Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2, Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:2;

³⁹⁶ Gotland County, Gotland Municipality

³⁹⁷ Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:3; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2;

³⁹⁸ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2

Women are often mentioned together with children or elderly, such as “women and children experience/are exposed”.³⁹⁹ Such construction manifests women’s connection to the realm of the home and the family, or the idea of women as weak and vulnerable like children, which furthermore reproduces the distinction between female and male realms. Spatial planning appears also to represent a notion of a male realm. It is, for example, argued how planning has been carried out by and for men, and that women’s experiences have not been taken into consideration in spatial planning, which in turn leads to experiences of insecurity.⁴⁰⁰

Over the centuries, many of our neighbourhoods have been designed by men for men. It is therefore not particularly remarkable that the last decades of research on fear of crime and insecurity shows that women generally are more worried than men of being exposed to crime (Stockholm County, Construction Company).

The quote above brings forward that it is not so strange that women perceive insecurity, since town planning has historically been a male activity. The fearing female identity is here silently constructed and rationalised to be interdependent on women’s positions in societal institutions and structures. In the same way the formal processes of planning are set out as being dominated by men which is considered as impacting upon perceptions of insecurity:

[...] generally, consultation meetings are dominated by men, both in terms of space to speak and in number. Women are to a lower degree involved. This means that women’s experiences and points of views are not emphasised in the planning (Hallands County, Halmstad Municipality:3)

Because of the unequal positions between gender categories in the societal institution of spatial planning, some grant applications suggest that knowledge of how to carry out safety planning should be collected from the subjects themselves. It is, for example, argued that by incorporating female experiences in planning, the urban environment will become more gender equal and consequently safe.⁴⁰¹ Thus, by consciously giving women a greater mandate or position in the societal institution of planning, a gender equal urban environment is considered as being

³⁹⁹ Västmanland County, Västerås City; Örebro County, Karlskoga Municipality; Kalmar County, public housing cooperation; Kalmar County, Mönsterås Municipality; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Jönköping County, Jönköping Municipality; Norrbottens County, real estate company; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Tyresö Municipality; Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality

⁴⁰⁰ Västra Götaland County, Göteborgs City:4; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1

⁴⁰¹ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality; Södermanland County, Katrineholm Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:1; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:2; Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Gävleborg County, Söderhamn Municipality

achievable. The identity of women is constructed in a chain of equivalence with elements such as ‘passive’ and ‘not engaged in societal institutions’, whereas ‘men’ are constructed with elements such as ‘active’ and ‘engaged in societal institutions’. These gendered categories can be interpreted as fixing particular dichotomous relations that become inescapable, even when trying to counteract them. Women are elicited as passive, fearing and not engaged in society. The focus on gender categories as a point of departure for determining perceptions of safety are challenged in some applications:⁴⁰²

At the same time it is important to not only work with, albeit a very important, factor of gender. In order to increase safety and reduce crime, it is also necessary to see the individual in their whole social context in which other aspects that affect the safety in living environments are psychological and physical factors, social network, financial resources, residential area, lifestyle, etc. (Stockholm County, construction company).

Of course, safety issues and what influences the perceived safety of each individual is complex and that obviously is not only influenced by the physical environment but it is an important building block in the work (Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:).

These quotes portray counter images to the dominant gendered perceptions of insecurity that have been discussed previously. Even though these applications also include stereotypical gendered categories as a point of departure later in the project applications, they construct the individual and her local context as primary factors in perceptions of insecurity. Here, an individual is constructed as ‘politically’ unable to fit the logic of a coherent, essentially constructed subject. Another application challenges male norms as something given by specifically addressing them as the basis for a project:

In one of our elementary schools [...] we have a project called Human, where we work with the male role and how it affects the way we treat each other. (Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality:1).

This quote highlights the importance of studying male norms for understanding how we treat each other, and recognises that they can change which can lead to other ways of being with one another.

In summary, the way women and men are regularly constructed in the material reflects an understanding of identities as stable social categories including inherent gendered differences. The most significant conceived difference between the gendered categories can be interpreted as relating to conceptions of the body, where the female body is constructed as a differential to the male body by being sexualised in the public realm. There are, however, ruptures in what appears as

⁴⁰² Stockholm län, byggbolag; Stockholm län, Huddinge kommun; Västra Götaland län, allmännyttigt bostadsbolag

coherent gendered constructions, whereby the individual is raised as a primary subject that is considered unable to fit the logic of an inherent social subject.

The way spatial planning constructs public life reflects at large an understanding of stable gendered categories, whereby the male identity is constructed as having a rather uncomplicated relationship towards the public, conquering it by being brave and daring, whereas the female identity is constructed by insecurity and determined by having an inherently sexualised body, and where furthermore the home is constructed to constitute her safe sphere. Even though gendered categories prevail as dominant identities in the material, other categories are also referred to. These include ‘parents’, ‘children’, ‘young adults’ and ‘elderly’ as well as ‘foreign born’ and ‘addicts’. These groups are frequently constructed as coherent groups for being ‘vulnerable within society’.

5.3.2 Parents, adults, people, children, young people and elderly

Parents, adults, people, children, young people and elderly are alternative categories or subject positions from women and men that appear in the project applications. The category ‘adults’ is mainly referred to as a way to differentiate the population from children, by for example stating how both adults and children use or not use a particular space.⁴⁰³ Or, how specifically ‘adults’ highlight certain things in interviews.⁴⁰⁴ ‘People’ constitutes another category for defining individuals generally.

What has been missing is safety work with a focus on the presence of adults and young people, i.e. volunteers who take joint responsibility to ensure safety in public spaces (Värmland County, non profit organisation)

Cultural clashes have created uncertainty for adults in the parental role, and the children are not given necessary boundaries, and are subsequently perceived as threatening to the adult population. [...] Strengthening of the parental role for both men and women through discussion groups (parent education), to increase the safety of being an adult in a new culture and to be able set boundaries for the children (Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1).

As the first quote suggests, adults and people are being referred to as contributing to safety by being present in the public realm, supposedly regardless of ethnicity, gender and age. Adults are also constructed, as the second quote outlines, to be both threatened by boundaryless children and insecure parents. The quote emphasises in particular the problem with the insecure adult parent in terms of

⁴⁰³ Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality; Norrbotten County, real estate company; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:2

⁴⁰⁴ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:2

public safety. 'Parents' are consequently constructed as important subjects for contributing to safer public realms, by for example (better) exercising parental duties through participating in parental education or taking part in lectures about gender equality and safety.⁴⁰⁵ These parents referred to in the second quote are not only 'parents' in a general sense - they are also parents that are newcomers to the Swedish society, which points out another dimension of 'immigrants' in the construction of identities and categories in the material. Parents are also constructed as contributing to increased sense of safety by, for example, participating in parental night walking, which emphasises the importance of adults' presence in the public realm.⁴⁰⁶ The category 'parents' is also constructed in the material as 'insecure', primarily in relation to their children's potential exposure to violence.⁴⁰⁷ 'Families', 'parents and children' and 'young people' also constitute important target groups in spatial planning and intended users of space.⁴⁰⁸

One of the causes of the perceived insecurity is that the area has developed into a meeting place for young people who gather around the station mainly during weekends and evenings and nights. With reference to some of the young people and their behaviour the place is perceived, especially by women, as perhaps the most insecure in the municipality (Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality).

As part of this project, we would now like to offer the young people to participate in a Safe and Gender Equal project. This is for several reasons. First, gender equality is a question ABF [An Adult Education Association] like to work with. Secondly, we want the young people to describe how they perceive the safety in their areas/localities and what they would like to change. Thirdly, we want to offer young people a unique opportunity to learn how to influence in society (Kronoberg County, Adult education).

Children and young people are constructed in the quotes as exposed to insecurity in the public realm, but also as contributing to general perceptions of insecurity. An earlier quote emphasised, for example, the fearful boundaryless children, and the first quote above emphasised the fear associated with young people hanging about in groups. Young people are also constructed as particularly threatening to elderly.⁴⁰⁹ Or constructed as a social group that vandalises and consequently is

⁴⁰⁵ Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:1

⁴⁰⁶ Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality

⁴⁰⁷ Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1

⁴⁰⁸ Örebro County, non-profit organisation; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:2; Skåne County, Malmö City; Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Norrbotten County, real estate company; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:1; Södermanland County, Katrineholm Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3

⁴⁰⁹ Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1

fearsome.⁴¹⁰ The second quote above highlights instead the need to listen to young people and their experiences of fear. They are constructed as political subjects whose opinion should be recognised in decision making processes. The same application continues by making the following statement:

We will meet many young people during the mapping. Simply speaking about the subject contributes to increasing the consciousness among both girls and boys so that one becomes aware of how others think. It may be that during the mapping we encounter young people who have frightened or hurt other people, perhaps without thinking about how the other person experiences the situation. If we in the meetings with one another can create a moment of reflection by all present a lot is gained. For safety today and in the future (Kronoberg County, Adult education).

This quote highlights that some young people don't reflect upon their own behaviours or upon others' points of view. The quote suggests furthermore that some young people may have hurt others but struggle to put themselves in their situations. Thus if young people can start to reflect upon their actions, safety can be achieved. Another application stresses how vandalism is particularly accentuated amongst boys and young men, which is furthermore suggested as relating to their norms and values. Measures that aim to address male attitudes, norms and values are raised as particularly important in this application.⁴¹¹ The focus here is on boys' behaviour and their values. This reflects an understanding that values and norms impact and construct identities, which in turn can be changed if one sheds light on them. Following these statements, 'young people' are constructed in a chain of equivalences of 'hanging out in groups', 'vandalises', 'fearsome', 'unreflective', but also 'not listened to'. Boys and young men are also constructed to possess 'values and norms' that in turn are connected to the elements of 'unruly behaviours' and 'vandalism'. This chain of equivalences suggests a temporal aspect and ability to change by being bound by values and norms rather than by inherent and essential qualities.

[...] young people think that there is nothing to do if you are not involved in organised sports activities (Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality: 3).

This can involve collaborating with associations to carry out evening activities, culture in the form of music and other activities aimed directly at children and young people (Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality: 1).

The first quote emphasise how there is 'nothing to do' if one is not engaged in sports, and the second quote suggests how activities for young people can be

⁴¹⁰ Västra Götaland County, Borås Municipality

⁴¹¹ Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality:1

orchestrated. Engaging young people in meaningful activities in the free time after school is raised as an important measure for counteracting undesirable behaviours.⁴¹² Young people that were constructed as ‘fearsome’ and ‘hanging out in groups’ reflects a risk or threat to an order, whereby being engaged in meaningful activities is considered good. The aspiration for organising public life is to engage young people in meaningful activities, such as sports, music and culture instead of letting them uncontrollably and perhaps aimlessly use space in town, as uncontrolled youngsters hanging out in groups forms as source to insecurity. The desired youth in spatial planning can be constructed in a chain of equivalences to be ‘organised in meaningful activities’ and furthermore in a chain of differentials, does not ‘congregate in groups in town’.

The category ‘elderly’ is used as another social category for stratifying the population by, whereby the elderly is differentiated from the ‘young’, and in which there supposedly is a category in between which is the ‘adult’.

The above-mentioned pathway is used by many, mostly elderly and young citizens without access to a car (Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality).

‘Elderly’ is collocated with the ‘young’ citizens in the sense that they don’t have any access to a car. The ‘elderly’ are furthermore referred to as subjects of fear.⁴¹³ They are, for example, suggested in some applications as ‘not daring to go out’.⁴¹⁴ One application constructs ‘the elderly’ as being particularly scared of threatening young people.⁴¹⁵ The identity of the fearing elderly is for example expressed like this:

In particular, women feel more insecure than men and therefore avoid places with insufficient lighting. Elderly people reason in a similar way (Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2).

Even Grums elderly people often avoid going into the park as they feel insecure and uncertain (Värmland County, Grums Municipality).

⁴¹² Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3; Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality:1

⁴¹³ Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2; Västmanland County, Västerås City; Örebro County, non profit organisation; Örebro County; Lindsberg Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County; Gothenburg City:3; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Karlshamn Municipality; Gävleborg County, Sandviken Municipality; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1;Uppsala County, Enköping rental housing; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality;

⁴¹⁴ Örebro County; Lindsberg Municipality; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1

⁴¹⁵ Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1

One application suggests how the elderly in the particular municipality are increasing, which requires specific planning measures for enabling safe residential areas for this vulnerable social group.⁴¹⁶

However, there is some indication that younger women are more insecure than elderly and that older people have some common experiences of insecurity, but they cannot stay out in the evenings and nights to the same extent as younger people (Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality: 1).

This quote highlights how young women experience potentially more fear than elderly, but the difference between the two social groups is that the elderly experience that they cannot spend time outdoors in the evening and nights to the same extent as young people. This suggests that the 'elderly' are not able to carry out the same avoidance strategies that the young women were set out in the material as able to do. The elderly are consequently constructed to be more constrained to the limits of what is their 'safe sphere'. In summary, the social category of 'elderly' is mainly constructed as a fearful and vulnerable group in society, which is required to be recognised as such in spatial planning.

5.3.3 Foreign-borns or immigrants

Foreign borns, people with foreign backgrounds or immigrants are frequently pointed out as fearing subjects in the grant applications and constructed to be important stakeholders, amongst others, in planning for safety.⁴¹⁷ Often female immigrants are highlighted as particularly vulnerable, especially if they live in deprived neighbourhoods. 'Foreign women' are constructed in the grant applications with elements such as 'generally afraid to go out', 'struggle to integrate with Swedish society', and as 'insecure as parents in a new culture'.

The idea for this project is to investigate how people in the area move across and perceive the field and what they are influenced by, with special attention paid to the differences between men and women as well as differences between ethnic Swedes and people with a non-Swedish background. [...] To what extent do the inhabitants in the area experience that the passage is safe/unsafe? In what way is it unsafe? Do the opinions differ between the sexes? Do the opinions differ between people with different backgrounds or age? (Stockholm County, Stockholm City).

Since the immigration has increased in the municipality, racist elements of the vandalism have occurred, which creates insecurity among

⁴¹⁶ Kalmar County, Municipal limited company

⁴¹⁷Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing; Stockholm County, Stockholm City; Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4

immigrants and then mainly women (Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality).

The first quote highlights the need to survey differences in patterns of movements and experiences of a place between ‘ethnic Swedes’ and those with different backgrounds than a Swede. What constitutes an ‘ethnic Swede’ is not further elaborated upon. What such surveys seek to accomplish is to identify qualities and function in the environment that can enhance perceptions of safety. The identification processes behind the constructions of feared and fearing subjects are consequently not suggested as areas to be acted upon.

The second quote highlights how particularly immigrant women experience fear following racist vandalism. These women are constructed in a chain of equivalences with ‘fearful’ and ‘subject to racism’ as elements. The racism that these women experience is however not followed up as a source of insecurity, or used as a basis and strategy for counteracting the experiences of fear. So even though the ‘immigrant’ or ‘foreigner’ woman is described in a general sense as representing one of the most fearing subjects in the population, the applications seldom take that subject position as a reference point in the safety works. Focus tends to be on the environment and the social category’s experiences of specific places.

The area has a high proportion of tenants of foreign origin. Our assessment is that many women from this group have difficulties to establish contacts within Swedish society, perhaps primarily because of language problems. The women work probably to a lesser extent outside the home than men, which may also contribute to them becoming more isolated [...] In order for these women to dare to go out in public, the lighting must be improved and shrubbery removed [...] (Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality)

In the quote above, female immigrants are constructed as particularly gender unequal, in terms of not working outside the home and by struggling to interact with Swedish society. This group of women are consequently constructed in a chain of equivalences to ‘feel unsafe’ and ‘do not dare to go out’. Women from another ‘ethnic backgrounds’ also represent the category that is most difficult to engage within various civic collaboration processes.⁴¹⁸ In a quote above, ‘immigrants’ were also referred to in the definite article, *the* immigrants.

As alternatives to ‘immigrants’, social groups are defined as being foreign or as representing another ethnic background, which suggests that there is an understanding of one specific and cohesive social group that can be defined in contrast to the norm of ‘Swedes’? Immigrants are also described by simultaneous reference to “unemployment” or “segregation”, both having negative

⁴¹⁸ Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2

connotations.⁴¹⁹ Immigrants are, furthermore, constructed as in need of ‘integration’, where one application particularly emphasises the importance of integrating children, “to counteract the exclusion of several generations”.⁴²⁰ Integration is constructed in this application with elements such as ‘finding friends’ and ‘being able to play’. Another application brings forward the importance of after school clubs for counter acting segregation.⁴²¹ The application emphasises how parents and girls should be encouraged to participate in the after school club. Integration is constructed with ‘after school clubs’ as an element. One application highlights that integration takes place when people are given opportunities to meet and thereby are increasing knowledge about one another.⁴²² Integration is also referred to as a question of direct democracy, where individuals are given opportunities to meet, raise questions and feel that they are part of society.⁴²³ An integrated individual is constructed with elements such as ‘meeting others’ and ‘is interested in others’ and ‘takes an active part in society’. An integrated child is constructed with elements such as ‘plays’, ‘finds friends’ and ‘attends after school clubs’. ‘Immigrant children or young people’ are constructed in differentiation from just ‘children’ or ‘young people’, with ‘integration’ as an element. A public life consisting of integrated immigrant individuals forms an aim. The focus on ‘integration’ can be rendered against the Swedish social engineering project, personified by Gunnar and Alva Myrdal in the 1930-40s, which set out ideals of social family life. In the same way as the perceived Swedish premodern ‘uncivilised’ population was subject to disciplinary societal education in the early 20th Century, corresponding constructed groups can today be considered subjected to similar educative principles.

In summary, ‘immigrant women’ are constructed in a chain of equivalences as ‘unsafe’, ‘gender unequal’ and ‘subjected to racism’ and ‘segregated’, whereas ‘immigrants’ are constructed as ‘unemployed’ and ‘segregated’ and connected to ‘the million home program’.

5.3.4 ‘Addicts’ and the socially marginalised

What is referred to as ‘addicts’ (which may be interpreted as representing those individuals who in different ways are addicted to different forms of drugs) and the

⁴¹⁹ Stockholm County, Stockholm City; Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing; Västra Götaland County, real estate company; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Västernorrland County; Public Housing Cooperation

⁴²⁰ Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation

⁴²¹ Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing

⁴²² Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2;

⁴²³ Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2; Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality

socially marginalised are discussed in six applications.⁴²⁴ These groups are mainly constructed as feared subjects, contributing to general experiences of insecurity.

What can be concluded though is that addicts often withdraw to areas with poor lighting and then mainly parks and green areas. This provides an insecurity around staying in these environments (Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality).

Even the seat itself is free of visibility, which means that the socially excluded in the municipality often stay there and prevent others from utilising the place (Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:1).

The square is used in the daytime to a limited extent, it instead primarily serves as a passage. The few seats that exist are perceived as insecure as they are largely occupied by drunk and loud people. This also applies to the bus shelters to some extent (Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality).

These quotes highlight that places that ‘the drunk and noisy’, ‘the addicts’ and ‘the socially excluded’ use are generally undesirable. The quotes reflect an understanding that their mere presence contributes to perceptions of insecurity or that they through their presence do not let other people use particular areas. The group is also constructed in connection with harassment and disturbance (of an order) to those who pass by.⁴²⁵ An ‘addict’ is here constructed by elements in an equivalences such as ‘disturbing’ and ‘fearsome’. Addicts constitute a social group in the grant applications that are explicitly expressed to be a nuisance in public life, and should preferably, be, stay or congregate ‘somewhere else’ than in the public realm. This social category does not constitute a stakeholder or target group in the planning for safety. One application constructs ‘addicts’ with ‘psychologically ill individuals’ as an element, where such individuals are constructed as having the potential to intimidate people who pass by.⁴²⁶ Such a construction reflects an understanding of ‘psychologically ill’ individuals as representing a social group that do not contribute to the expected certainty in public life, and instead do things unexpected, which in turn is perceived as generally intimidating.

5.3.5 Visitors and residents

‘Visitors’ and ‘residents’ constitute further social categories that are referred to in the grant applications. ‘Visitors’ is primarily constructed as a target group in the

⁴²⁴ Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality; Västmanland County, Norberg Municipality; Stockholms County, District Administration; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Uppsala County, Public Housing Cooperation; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:1

⁴²⁵ Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1

⁴²⁶ Västmanland County, Norberg Municipality

planning for safety.⁴²⁷ A visitor is outlined to be someone who visits a city, place or a residential area, and in doing so should experience safety. ‘Residents’ is constructed both as an important stakeholder, as well as a target group in planning for safety.⁴²⁸ Individuals who reside are consequently desirable stakeholders in planning for safety. Residents are also assumed to prevent crimes from taking place.⁴²⁹

The aim is that all residents in the neighbourhood should experience greater safety when they are outdoors in the area. The goal is that all residents should both feel able to and dare to stay outdoors at any time of day (Kalmar County, Municipal limited company).

[One of the goals is] that the process contributes to a continued greater engagement and participation among the residents in their neighbourhood (Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2).

The quotes reflect a desire for residents to experience safety in their residential areas, but also a desire for active residents who care for their local areas. Active residents who engage in their local areas and who act as stakeholders in spatial planning for safety are constructed to constitute desirable subjects in public life.

5.3.6 Everyone

[...] the ultimate goal is however a neighbourhood that is, and is perceived, as safe and attractive for everyone (Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality).

When both girls and boys, women and men, to a greater extent reside and move around in the area it will also be automatically safer for everyone, but especially for girls and women (Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3).

At the same time as women and children are identified as exposed social categories and recognised as subjects in safety planning, the notion of ‘everyone’ or ‘all’ prevails as a simultaneously occurring planning subject.⁴³⁰ It is, for example, argued in the grant applications that it will become better for ‘everyone’ if it

⁴²⁷ Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Örebro County, Non profit organisation; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:4; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:2; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Halland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Halland County, Laholm Municipality; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:3; Västerbotten County, Västerbotten County District Administration; Västerbotten County, Lycksele Municipality; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:2;

⁴²⁸ See appendix 1J

⁴²⁹ Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3; Västra Götaland County, public housing cooperation:2; Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality

⁴³⁰ See appendix 1K

becomes better for women.⁴³¹ Or, that ‘everyone’ has the universal human right to feel safe. Three applications delimit everyone by referring to ‘all citizens’.⁴³² How a citizen is defined is difficult to interpret in the grant applications. The focus on ‘everyone’ or ‘all’ reflects an assumption of universalism, which comprises ‘all individuals’, all ‘social groups’ thus including ‘addicts’ and ‘young people’. By speaking about a planning that benefits ‘everyone’ as in every individual, conflicts and/or excluding consequences are made invisible. Conflictual constructed identities are understood to exist consensually in the public, where, for example, sexualised bodies should exist concordantly with its determining practices. ‘Immigrants’, ‘addicts’ and ‘the socially disadvantaged’ should benefit as much from the planning proposals as other social groups. This reflects an understanding that there is nothing outside, no element or practice that can’t be incorporated in the universalised ‘everyone’.

5.3.6 Fixing social categories

All identities that are constructed in the material constitute categories with which to stratify or divide the population by, such as women and men, adults and children, young people, the elderly, parents, immigrants and addicts. These subject positions are fixed to varying degrees. Supposedly an addict can be both a woman and parent, but the constituting identity for her in the planning for safety discourse appears as an addict, since it categorises her as a nuisance to public life. Presence of adults or engaged residents are conceived as positive elements to public life, but if it’s a man it will in general be conceived as a source of insecurity for women, but if it’s a young male adult congregating in groups it is particularly fearsome. A child is generally considered exposed to insecurity, whereas an immigrant child is subject to integration as part of safety policies. Adults that also are parents, supposedly including both women and men, are exposed in relation to their children, whereas parents with foreign backgrounds should also better exercise parental responsibilities. Everyone is furthermore considered to benefit from safety planning.

The strangers that set the boundaries of ‘what is generally in common’ are defined by being immigrants, addicts or young people. These make up primary identities that should be subject to (different mechanisms of) control in the public realm. The general male identity forms the norm and the only category that appears to have an uncomplicated relationship towards the public. In many ways the female identity

⁴³¹ Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:5

⁴³² Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality; Södermanland County, Katrineholm Municipality; Stockholm County, Stockholm City

can be understood as a deviator to this norm, and can be conceived as participating in public life on the terms of a stranger.

In the tension between passive construction and active construction of identities, the spatial planning safety discourse tends to construe identities passively, including, for example, the construction of women to be inherently different from men, whereby these identities form a determining variable for experiences. It is however possible to delineate a *desire* to construe the female subject politically by hearing and seeing the individual subject through different forms of engagement. In the dimension between social and political identities, there is a desire in the applications to construe the subject politically, particularly the female subjects that are constructed as the fearing ones (political in terms of hearing and seeing the individual experience), but repeatedly falling into stereotypical and social constructions of inherent differences between men and women.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has carried out an empirical analysis of assumptions of public life in the governmental program ‘Safe and Gender Equal 2008-2010’. The analysis has been carried out based on four analytical categories comprising of ‘criterion’, ‘purpose’, ‘character’ and ‘identities’.

The criterion for partaking in public life is constructed in the empirical material by a notion of certainty. ‘Planning for safety’ seeks to facilitate such criterion and considers it possible to establish a fully inclusive public life that recognises everyone as primary subjects. ‘Safety’ is considered to be reached through different spatial planning measures, where increased and better lighting acts as one such measure. The different spatial planning measures as a whole relate to making the individual sustain control in the public realm by being able to identify one another as a threat or not. Safety is also constructed as a quality of a place.

The purpose and character of public life appeared to a great extent to be conflictually construed, where there appeared to both be a desire to stimulate the emotional self through different forms of aesthetics, as well as a desire to stimulate and enable for active and societally engaged individuals. The desire for active individuals are furthermore limited to specific forms of engagement, where the ability and capacity to conceptualise ways of understandings phenomena is delimited to material space and the immediate environment, which, according to the analytical framework, reflects a passive character of public life.

The subject positions that spatial planning for safety elicit reflect socially fixed categories, where the gendered categories are constructed as inherently different

from one another. When entering public life, these social categories become the determining positions in which experiences are made. Experiences of insecurity among women when participating in public life are inscribed by having a sexualised body, and consequently being inherently afraid of sexual violence.

This chapter has carried out an empirical analysis of assumptions of public life, the next chapter will include an empirical analysis of assumptions of knowledge in spatial planning for safety.

6 ‘Safe and Gender Equal’ and Assumptions of Knowledge

This chapter includes an empirical analysis of assumptions of knowledge in the approved project applications within the governmental program “Safe and Gender Equal” 2008-2010. The analysis is carried out in a similar manner to the previous chapter, where the conflicting dimensions structure the analysis. The analytical framework consists of two conceptual pairs including (1) assumptions of knowledge and (2) emphasis of knowledges in spatial planning. The first conceptual pair that focuses on assumptions of knowledge was constructed as a conflict between on the one hand conceiving knowledge as neutral and absolute entities, and on the other hand knowledge as discursive constructs. The second conceptual pair that focuses on emphasis in knowledge in spatial planning was constructed as a conflict in terms, on the one hand, an emphasis on its perceived use for unfolding one solution and the future in one way, whereas, on the other hand, an emphasis on knowledge on its ability to identify conceptual logics and multitude of narratives for unfolding multiple of solutions and futures.

As stated previously, these dimensions are constructs made for analytical purposes, and do not represent separate realms that clearly can be distinct from one another. These dimensions should be recognised to feed into and interdepend on one another. It could be that one dimension is politicised whereas the other dimension is not, which would illuminate what dimensions of knowledge construction may be subject to discursive ruptures and dissensus, and what dimensions are not.

This chapter is organised to first (6.1) outline the emphasis on knowledge in the grant applications, in other words, what the conceived knowledge is supposed to do and enable for, and secondly (6.2) outline what assumptions of knowledge underpin this emphasis of knowledge in spatial planning and how this knowledge is acquired.

6.1 Increased and new knowledge to be transformed into planning the better and gender equal future

6.1.1 Increasing neutral knowledge and an assumption of progress

The Vallås area is principally a result of the Million Programme and is planned and built based on *knowledge and ideals from earlier times*. Facilities and green areas are not adapted to today's needs and demands for equality, safe and eventful outdoor environments (Halland County, Halmstad municipality:1 italics added).⁴³³

Some grant applications argue that certain places or areas are perceived unsafe because they are developed based on outdated design ideals or now old technology and knowledge.⁴³⁴ The quote above, for example, sets out how some suburban environments have not been planned in respect to contemporary knowledge of, and demands for, gender equality and safety. Such statements construct 'old design ideals and knowledge' to be equated with 'contemporary experiences of insecurity'. Such constructions are understood to include the assumption that we can plan better now because we have more knowledge.

What is reflected in some of the grant applications is the presupposition that planning should be based on 'modern' methods and techniques or 'new' knowledge.⁴³⁵ Planning should focus on 'increasing' knowledge or 'accumulating' knowledge.⁴³⁶ The following quotes are examples of how a focus on increasing knowledge is expressed in the project applications:

The aim of the project is- through new gathered knowledge on how the perceived safety in the area is- to develop Norra Biskopsgården with a focus on physical measures from a clearer gender equality perspective (Västra Götaland County, public housing cooperation:1).

⁴³³ The 'Million Programme' is the everyday term for the Swedish housing development that took place between 1965 and 1974, which included the political ambition to build 1 million home within a decade, and was a political ambition to manage the, at the time, current housing crises and poor living conditions in Sweden.

⁴³⁴ Halland County, Halmstad municipality:1; Halland County, Halmstad municipality:4 ;Östergötland County, Motala municipality:1; Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:2; Östergötland County, Norrköping municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby municipality:2; Hallands County, public housing cooperation

⁴³⁵ Västmanland County, Arboga municipality; Västmanland County, Köping municipality:1; Västmanlands län, Köping kommun:2; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg municipality; Västra Götaland County, public housing cooperation:1; Västerbotten County, Umeå municipality:3; Örebro County, Karlskoga municipality; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Göteborgs City:1

⁴³⁶ Dalarna County, Avesta municipality:2; Dalarna County, Falun municipality:2; Västra Götaland County län, non-profit organisation:1; Halland County, Halmstad municipality:4; Skåne County, Kävlinge municipality; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1; Gävleborg County, Sandviken municipality; Jämtland County, Östersund municipality:1; Örebro County, non-profit organisation; Jämtland County, Östersund municipality:1; Örebro County, Örebro municipality:2

Through increased knowledge and with appropriate tools, pitfalls will be avoided and the possibilities of designing and building areas that are safe and gender equal increases (Östergötland County, Mjölby municipality).

The quotes set out that spatial planning aims to include ‘new’ or ‘increased’ knowledge in order to plan more safe or gender equal spaces. Knowledge is constructed with elements such as ‘new’, ‘increased’, ‘improved’, or even ‘better’, and is further connected to enable the planning of more safe and gender equal urban environments.⁴³⁷ Such constructions reflect an assumption of progress, which includes the belief that through increased knowledge society will improve. Other applications describe how increased knowledge allows for long-term perspectives and more systematic planning, or enables an ability to prioritise ‘rightly’.⁴³⁸ What is further described in the grant applications is the importance of the newly acquired knowledge to be directly applied in different planning contexts, for example, in the development of various planning solutions or policies.⁴³⁹ The following example emphasises this:

The timing is advantageous as new knowledge can be applied directly. The aim is that staff should learn more and get an understanding of how the location of activities and housing as well as the design and furnishing of street space affect safety and gender equality. The project also aims to strengthen ties between the various planning and implementation phases so that knowledge is not lost in between. Besides the knowledge, tools such as checklists will also be developed (Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:2)

Spatial planning is in this quote described as acquiring new knowledge that can be directly transformed into action. ‘New knowledge’ is thus connected in a chain of equivalences with ‘to be applied’ and ‘to be transformed’ as elements. The quote also suggests that planning officials are primarily supposed to acquire knowledge. Other applications suggest, in addition to planning officials, others, including policy makers and politicians, are also considered as having to increase their knowledge.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁷ Västmanland County, Arboga municipality; Västmanlands County, Köping Municipality:2; Halland County, Halmstad municipality:4; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg municipality; Västra Götaland County, public housing cooperation:1; Västerbotten County, Umeå municipality:3; Gävleborg County, Sandviken municipality; Dalarna County, Avesta municipality:1; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå municipality:1

⁴³⁸ Dalarna County, Falun municipality:2; Stockholm County, Botkyrka municipality:4; Västra Götaland County län, non-profit organisation:1; Jämtland County, Östersund municipality:1;

⁴³⁹ Kalmar County, Nybro municipality; Kalmar County, Mönsterås municipality; Kronoberg County, Älmhult municipality; Västmanland County, Västerås municipality; Västra Götaland County, Kungälv municipality; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:2; Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:2

⁴⁴⁰ Västerbotten County, Lycksele municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby municipality:3; Halland County, Halmstad municipality:2; Västerbotten County, Lycksele municipality; Dalarna County, Gägnaf municipality

Action 1 strengthens the increased knowledge in the field among politicians and governmental officials for better decision making/planning and better decisions in the future (Västerbotten County, Lycksele municipality).

The aim of the project is in the first step to increase the knowledge level among concerned politicians and governmental officials about the importance of considering gender equality from a safety perspective. The long-term planning continues thereafter with method development, actively aware of and practical application of knowledge in the daily work. The project involves a common knowledge platform created with current research and practice as a basis. This also lays the foundation for practical use in Halmstad Municipality's urban planning process (Halland County, Halmstad municipality:2).

The quotes manifest that politicians and governmental officials are also in need of new knowledge that spatial planning is represented to possess or is able to accumulate, so that conscious or better decisions can be made when it comes to the development of safe and gender equal urban environments. Such statements connect 'politicians' and 'officials' with 'lacking knowledge' in a chain of equivalences, but also 'spatial planning' with 'possessing knowledge'. These constructions reflect an assumption that politicians are lacking knowledge in this field, and that spatial planning possesses the mandate to educate politicians in making right or better decisions. If only politicians knew more, 'better' decisions would then be able to be made. The statements reflect furthermore an assumption that it is possible to control 'knowledge development' within the realm of the project.

What is further emphasised in some project applications is that residents must also increase their knowledge. One application describes the importance of enabling residents to increase their knowledge about their places.⁴⁴¹ Another application sets out the importance of residents developing knowledge about each other and thereby developing greater understanding for each other's differences, yet another describes how school students, in particular, must gain knowledge of how easily an action may become a crime.⁴⁴² Other applications describe how inhabitants especially children, young people and women need to gain greater knowledge of how to influence society and their situation, or how knowledge of safety and gender equality should be accumulated and brought forth to the population at large through various initiatives.⁴⁴³ This means that also 'residents', 'school students', 'inhabitants' and 'the population' are also constructed with the element 'lacking knowledge', and where 'spatial planning' is constructed as 'possessing knowledge'.

⁴⁴¹ Västra Götaland County, non-profit organisation

⁴⁴² Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2; Hallands County, Falkenberg municipality:1

⁴⁴³ Kronoberg County, adult education; Stockholm County, Österåker municipality; Uppsala County, Uppsala municipality; Skåne County, Kristianstad municipality:1

Through such constructions, society at large can be understood as in need of ‘new’, ‘better’, ‘increased’ or ‘improved’ knowledge. The question of what this knowledge entails is interdependent on how spatial planning constructs the problems of safety and gender equality. Spatial planning can furthermore here be understood as taking on a societal responsibility of educating ‘society’.

A precondition for spatial planning is here represented by ‘new’, ‘better’, ‘increased’ or ‘improved’ knowledge that is able to be directly ‘applied’ or ‘transformed’ within spatial planning projects. Such constructions reflect a positivist assumption of knowledge, in which knowledge can be identified as ‘new’ and ‘better’, as well as reflecting a rational and instrumental emphasis in which knowledge can be ‘applied’ and ‘transformed’ into action. Besides planning officials, politicians and the population at large are considered to be in need of (generally) increasing their knowledge. Such constructions reflect an assumption that if everyone knew more better decisions (on different levels) would be made, which in turn would enable better planning and consequently more safe and gender equal urban environments. Such assumptions are found within a rationalist policy tradition that considers ‘good’ decisions to be made when the policy makers have knowledge (knowledge conceptualised as ‘information’).⁴⁴⁴ What futures this new knowledge is supposed to enable will be discussed next.

6.1.2 Basing planning on accumulated knowledge, *one* better future will unfold

When new or increased knowledge has been acquired, it is considered possible to plan ‘better’, or to achieve ‘better’ outcomes or to design ‘better’ urban outdoor environments. ‘Better’ is referred to in different ways, ranging from how planning enables for ‘better’ local environments to ‘better’ lighting or to how planning can allow for ‘better’ spatial conditions for perceiving safety, or how residents following planning should ‘better’ be able to control one’s perceived insecurity, or how environments will become ‘better’ at large by having emphasised or having carried out specific maintenance of certain park elements, such as shrubs.⁴⁴⁵ Increased knowledge is also considered as enabling more safe and gender equal urban environments, which in turn can be considered to enable ‘better’ urban environments, as it can be assumed that more safe and gender equal urban environments is understood as a betterment. ‘New knowledge’ is consequently

⁴⁴⁴ Bacchi, C. Analyzing policy: What is the problem represented to be? Pearson Australia. 2009. p.251.

⁴⁴⁵ Södermanland County, Flen municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda municipality; Jämtland County, Östersund municipality:1; Södermanland County, Katrineholm municipality; Västmanland County, Köping municipality:2; Västmanland County, Norberg municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå municipality:2; Uppsala County, municipal housing cooperation; Blekinge County, Karlshamn municipality; Blekinge County, Karlskrona municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka municipality:1; Skåne County, Kristianstad municipality:1; Skåne County, housing cooperation: 2; Blekinge County, Ronneby municipality:2

constructed in a chain of equivalences with ‘better outcomes’ or ‘better environments’ as elements.

Other common expressions of what knowledge will do are to ‘strengthen’ something, such as strengthening spatial planning. ‘Strengthening safety’ is an expression commonly utilised in the grant applications, which reflects the format of the project applications, as drafted by the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, and includes the question: “Describe how the project will *strengthen* the safety of the town and urban environments from a gender perspective”(italics added). ‘Strengthening’ reflects reinforcing or enhancing something. To ‘strengthen safety’ through spatial planning reflects enhancing, improving and making perceptions of safety greater. The following quotes provide examples of how safety is considered to be improved through increased knowledge in spatial planning:

Project idea:1: to provide safer urban environments in Avesta through increased knowledge about gender equality (Dalarnas County, Avesta municipality:1).

We strive to give women and children both knowledge and tools for being able to in the future make concrete requests and demands for improvement of their environment with the aim to create better safety and accessibility through an embellished environment (Stockholm County, Österåker municipality).

These quotes manifest how ‘increased knowledge’ about different phenomena, both among planning officials and among the population, can enable one ‘to make demands’ and/or ‘create safer outdoor environments’. The problem of fear and insecurity are consequently constructed in a chain of differentials with ‘little knowledge’ as an element. The quotes emphasises specifically that increased knowledge constitutes an enabling force in the planning for better or safer urban environments. Precisely as Mukhtar-Landgren suggests, it is possible here to also understand spatial planning as having a strong belief in transforming knowledge into action.⁴⁴⁶ Such a rationalist tradition in regards to what counts as ‘knowledge’ depends on knowledge’s usefulness for action.⁴⁴⁷ Knowledge is considered as ‘a means to an end’, by being useful for a particular purpose.⁴⁴⁸ This reflects an assumption that through a planning based on ‘increased’ or ‘new’ knowledge, experiences of insecurity are considered to be capable of being improved upon in respect to that which is currently experienced. To put it bluntly, if everyone through planning knows ‘more’, it is possible to plan better and as a result achieve a better

⁴⁴⁶ Mukhtar-Landgren, D. *Planering för Framsteg och Gemenskap*. PhD dissertation. Lund University. Sweden.2012. p. 101.

⁴⁴⁷ Bacchi, C. *Analysing Policy: What is the Problem Represented to Be?* Pearson Australia.2009. p.240.; Davoudi, S. ‘Evidence based policy’ In *disP- The Planning Review*. vol 42. no 165. p.14-24. 2006

⁴⁴⁸ Bachhi, C. 2009. p.240.

society. Such assumptions reflect a linear perception of the future, that experiences of the world can be improved (through planning), but reflect also a cumulative conception of knowledge. Such conceptions include the belief that increased knowledge paves the way for better planning, which in turn enables a better (which equals a more gender equal and safer) society. The future is represented in a singular form, there is only one conception of the idea of the better future.

The increased knowledge is furthermore described in some applications to form part of a communal interpretative framework of the problems at stake, a common knowledge base for spatial planning. The applications emphasise further the importance of specifically having a consensual point of departure in spatial planning. This is expressed, by for example, emphasising the importance of having a joint and consensual conception (between different parties) of the perceived problem(s).⁴⁴⁹

Through collaboration with women's organisations, sports and immigrant associations, we organise them and create a concerted approach to how the neighbourhood can be improved physically and exteriorly (Värmland County, Association).

The project aims to test the effect of jointly developing knowledge: will gender equality as part of social sustainability have a better impact if there is a common knowledge base about the content of the question? A jointly developed elaborate interpretive framework is here assumed to create better conditions for including gender equality in future planning and development work (Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:5).

These two quotes emphasise the importance of developing a joint conception of the planning problem(s), or how different parties should be brought together in one consensual voice. Knowledge is constructed with elements such as 'concerted approach', 'jointly developed' and 'common base' in a chain of equivalences. Such constructions reflect an understanding that problem(s) should either be drawing from shared platforms of knowledge, or be coordinated for conceptualising it in a joint manner. Having consensual or coordinated ideas about the conceived problem is reflected to enable a straighter path towards solving, or coming to grips with the perceived problem(s), and to allow for 'better' urban experiences or even allow for developing the 'right' planning solution. Some applications emphasise precisely that through increased knowledge spatial planning can not only plan better but also in various ways do 'right' - by building 'right' from the beginning, or identifying and ensuring it is the 'right measures or solutions', or by directing planning measures to the 'right' places, and making 'right priorities', or designing 'right', or

⁴⁴⁹ Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:5; Stockholm County, Botkyrka municipality:2; Värmland County, Association

including the ‘right’ lighting.⁴⁵⁰ Concerning ‘the right lighting’, the applications that particularly emphasise ‘right’ lighting do not always do so as a result of having acquired new knowledge, but rather state it as a matter of common knowledge. There is currently a lighting method that is considered consensually the ‘right’ lighting method, which often is defined in differentiation from ‘old’ lighting methods. ‘The right lighting’ consequently equates ‘the new lighting method’, which replaces old methods. The following two quotes are examples of how such constructions of ‘the right’ are emphasised in the grant applications:

When knowledge is available safety is also increasing. To the personnel engaged in planning for lighting internally within Umeå municipality, it becomes possible to gain knowledge of where places are located and which are perceived unsafe from a lighting point of view, which makes it easier to make efforts in the *right* places (Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality: 2: italics added).

A dialogue shall be conducted with women in the area in all phases of the project to ensure that the *right* measures are taken to increase safety in the area and thereby increase women’s life space (Stockholm County, Nacka municipality: italics added).

These quotes emphasise how knowledge (here acquired from women) ensures that the right measures are taken at the right places. ‘Knowledge’ is constructed with ‘enables one to do right’ as an element. Such a construction reflects an assumption of knowledge to be comprised by a capacity of being made directly operational. To comprise the capacity to validate, such as ‘yes it is the right measures or places’, or ‘no it is the wrong measures or places’. The acquired knowledge is understood as enabling the making of such neutral decisions, in which choices are enlightened and made based on ‘knowledge’. Other applications are less explicit about how knowledge informs the ability to make right decisions, but the focus is nevertheless on the importance of managing planning problems so that they develop towards the right direction.⁴⁵¹

Of course, safety issues and the factors that influence perceptions of safety for each individual are complex and are obviously not only influenced by the physical environment, but *it is an important building block in the work*. It is therefore important in the efforts to combat insecurity to address conditions that affect people’s perceived and actual

⁴⁵⁰ Jönköpings County, Jönköping municipality; Stockholm County, construction company; Jönköping County, Jönköpings municipality; Stockholm County, Nacka municipality; Västra Götaland County, non-profit organisation:1; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:2; Kalmar County, Mönsterås Municipality; Västra Götaland County län, non-profit organisation:1; Jämtland County, Östersund municipality:1; Halland County, Halmstad municipality:1; Halland County, Halmstad municipality:5; Östergötland County, Norrköping municipality:2; Skåne County, Malmö City; Kronoberg County, Växjö municipality; Jämtland County, Östersund municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, public housing cooperation:1; Stockholm County, HSB Brf housing association

⁴⁵¹ Västmanland County, Köping municipality:2; Halland County, Laholm municipality

vulnerability, such as lighting, pruning, refurbishment of walkways, etc.
(Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:1 *italics added*).

This quote connects ‘the consideration of the physical environment’ (lighting, pruning etc.) with ‘an important building block towards increased safety’. Such a construction brings forward how spatial planning should contribute to the overall societal management of the problems of insecurity, and thereby play a part in developing society towards what is conceived as the ideologically right direction. So, although it considers itself to only contribute to a small part in this larger context, spatial planning still acknowledges how it forms part of a larger societal development towards the one better (perceived safer) future. A few other applications situate spatial planning as part of this larger, positive societal improvement work.⁴⁵²

In summary, the project applications construct ‘one desirable future’, a future that is considered ‘better’, and is equated to being ‘safer’ and ‘more gender equal’. The applications also manifest a belief that spatial planning can generate this ‘one better future’ by increasing its ‘knowledge’ so that it can be ‘transformed into action’ and ‘allows one to do right’. Such constructions reflect an assumption of linear progress.⁴⁵³ Knowledge is furthermore constructed to have the capacity to be directly applied within spatial planning for formulating solutions or policies. Progression towards a one and better future is conceived as resulting from having generally increased knowledge that is believed to neutrally inform the right direction, and not as a result from having acquired knowledge that asserts the need for a political choice between substantial alternatives and interconnected futures.

‘Politicians’, ‘officials’, and ‘residents’ as well as ‘the general population’ are furthermore constructed as having to increase their knowledge for having the ability to make right choices in the development towards the better future. This can be connected to so called rational and modern planning. Based on value neutral knowledge, spatial planning can instrumentally carry out its activities. ‘Politicians’ and ‘officials’ are consequently able to rationally decide between ‘good’ and ‘bad’, or ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ directions for spatial change by either having personally accumulated knowledge or by having been advised by knowledge at large.

Such a conception of knowledge raises a series of questions. What knowledge does the assumptions of new, better or increased knowledge comprise of? What is the knowledge that is considered to be put into practice and lead to a better future? What knowledge is acquired and how is it gained? These issues will be discussed in the following section.

⁴⁵² Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå kommun:2;

⁴⁵³ Mukhtar-Landgren, D. 2012. p.101.

6.2 Plural knowledges but one future

What are the knowledges that are ascribed as having to be obtained in spatial planning in planning the one and better future, and how are these knowledges acquired? Different methods for ‘obtaining’ knowledge are suggested in the grant applications. One application sets out its acquisition to comprise of knowledge from (1) planning subjects (women and residents) by engaging them in different types of workshops and safety walks, (2) questionnaires and the like, (3) professional experts in specific fields of study, and (4) knowledge about space through professional and (what may be conceived as) neutral photo surveys and analyses of space.⁴⁵⁴ The wide range of methods that is suggested in this particular application suggests that there is not one knowledge that is obtained, but instead a combination of different knowledges. This multitude of knowledges will, for analytical purposes, now be separately outlined and discussed.

6.2.1 Neutral evidence and instrumental emphasis

Questionnaire surveys have shown where people in Norrköping feel that it is unsafe during the hours of darkness. This insecurity is accentuated among women, which is important knowledge to consider in the planning of lighting (Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality).

The Police’s Safety Survey 2008 shows that one of the areas in the city that are perceived as most insecure is Noltorp / Kvarnbacken, where the neighbourhood Citronen is located (Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:1).

These quotes emphasise how knowledge obtained from questionnaires and surveys facilitates the identification of what categories of the population perceive fear, and also to locate places that these categories perceive as unsafe. Knowledge is constructed with ‘questionnaires’ and ‘surveys’ as elements in a chain of equivalences. The Swedish Crime Survey and other local, municipal or regional surveys are commonly referred to as legitimising planning for safety, or as constituting a form of ‘evidence base’ in planning.⁴⁵⁵ Three applications refer to ‘accepted theories’ or ‘the matters of fact’ that women experience fear to a greater

⁴⁵⁴ Västra Götaland County, non-profit organisation:1

⁴⁵⁵ See appendix 2A. According to The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention’s (BRÅ) website, “The Swedish Crime Survey is an annual survey of the attitudes and experiences of the general population regarding victimisation, fear of crime and public confidence in the justice system” 2015.03.18 <https://www.bra.se/bra/bra-in-english/home/crime-and-statistics/swedish-crime-survey.html> A literal translation of the Swedish title of this survey is: The National Safety Survey (Den nationella Trygghetsundersökningen), where notions of ‘safety’ are emphasised and not crime.

extent than men.⁴⁵⁶ Knowledge is thus also constructed with ‘accepted matter of facts’ and ‘evidence’ as elements. The statistics referred to show different percentages of the population who experience fear in public spaces. The population referred to is mainly aggregated by gender, but also by age and birth origin (national or foreign). The statistics that are referred to in the applications are also geographically defined, making it possible to locate certain geographical areas that are experienced as particularly exposed to fear. By drawing from knowledge acquired from surveys and questionnaires, applications emphasise how young women in particular are fearful and feel spatially constrained within the public realm. Such an understanding of young women refers to the questionnaires and surveys as representing statistical ‘evidence’. Such knowledge cannot be contradicted or relativised, and reflects an assumption of ‘true’ knowledge that represents reality. Illuminating, as one application states, what the “real situation” in the city is.⁴⁵⁷

The aggregation of statistics divided by gender constitutes an evidential knowledge base for accomplishing gender equality through spatial planning in the applications. Two regional administrative boards call specifically for supplementary answers as to whether the applicants had access to gender aggregated statistics as a means for supporting the gender equality perspective in the projects.⁴⁵⁸ The following is an example of one such supplementary answer:

The municipality has, to our knowledge, no basic data of a gender equality perspective with gender aggregated statistics. We have contacted the police regards to the matter and promise to come back to you as soon as we have *developed material that can support* the gender equality perspective regarding the planned project (Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:1 italics added) .

This quote brings forward how knowledge acquired from ‘gender aggregated statistics’ operates to support gender equal spatial planning, which connects ‘gender equality projects’ with ‘aggregated statistical knowledge’. In contrast to the construction of statistics as a form of neutral ‘evidence’, one application instead questions whether statistics represent an accurate picture of reality:

In the general customer survey, it is visible that the perceived safety is relatively high in Romberga. The safety survey shows the direct opposite. This fact is remarkable. [...] All this means that we must find a more accurate way to describe and measure the perceived safety in Romberga. [...] Do we measure the right things, is a representative sample of the residents heard in our surveys? Are questionnaires at all the right tools?

⁴⁵⁶ Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Norrbotten County, real estate company; Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality

⁴⁵⁷ Skåne County, Kristianstads municipality:1

⁴⁵⁸ Dalarna County, Leksand Municipality; Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:1;

Are there cultural differences in how inclined they are to respond? How is the gender distribution among those who responded? Is there a mistrust of surveys? (Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing).

In this application, acquiring 'true' knowledge through questionnaires is challenged, since different representations of perceived safety come through in the different surveys. The method of obtaining knowledge from questionnaires is instead subjected to a series of questions which frame this particular application's planning project as a whole, and can be summarised as how can we (better) obtain knowledge about people's experiences of places? 'Questionnaires' and 'surveys' are thus constructed, in differentiation from the previous and more typical constructions, with 'not true' as an element.

This general trust in statistics and their ability to represent a form of 'true' picture of reality indicates a desire of including some form of 'factual evidence' as a knowledge base in spatial planning. Such desire renders similar to the modern rational spatial planning that is characterised by the balancing of value neutral 'information'. Other applications emphasise this further by setting out how they will collect 'evidence', or 'develop an evidence base' for spatial planning decision makings.⁴⁵⁹ One application states how spatial surveys will be carried out by partly relying on 'evidence'.⁴⁶⁰ Evidence is also considered to constitute an enabling force in making right decisions.⁴⁶¹ The following application emphasises that knowledge will specifically be collected from so called 'evidence based research':

Great emphasis will be placed on the cross-sectorial approach of picking up knowledge from evidence-based research. The City of Helsingborg's membership in WHO's Healthy Cities constitutes a knowledge base to retrieve material from (Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1).

This quote constructs (relevant) 'knowledge' in connection with 'evidence based research', that in turn is connected to 'sourced from an organisation (WHO)' as elements in a chain of equivalences. 'Evidence based research' is generally referred to a particular mode of carrying out research that works similar to a traditional objectivist scientific method, which asserts the possibility of separating the subject from the object being studied, and thereby considers it able to give evidence that represents objective truths of reality.

To summarise, the grant applications make use of 'questionnaires', 'surveys' and 'evidence based research' as sources for obtaining knowledges. Knowledges are here constructed neutrally as 'evidence' or 'truths'. Such a neutral conception of

⁴⁵⁹ Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1; Kalmar County, Mönsterås Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1; Västmanland County, Hallstahammar Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Other; Stockholm County, District Administration

⁴⁶⁰ Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality

⁴⁶¹ Kalmar County, Mönsterås Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4;

knowledge is challenged in the next section, which discusses the acquisition of professional expert knowledge.

6.2.2 Political expert knowledge and instrumental emphasis

Knowledge is also suggested to be acquired by consulting professional expertise. The experts are appointed as project managers, or to offer another perspective on planning within the general desire for ‘increased knowledge’ in planning. Different professional fields of expertise, or ‘disciplines’, are suggested for consultation, for example, architecture, landscape architecture, criminology, human geography, planning, gender equality, art and ethnography- but predominantly the field of lighting.⁴⁶²

We have whilst working with the different groups invited an expert on night lighting in the public environment as well as an environmental controller for increasing the knowledge amongst the participants and thereby improving the quality of the proposals (Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2).

Alingsås is working very actively with lighting and safety issues, and now wants to put extra focus on safety issues from a gender equality perspective by allowing two experts in gender studies and lighting design to jointly look at five locations/paths and thereafter propose lighting principles [...] Gender studies and lighting design are two separate entrances to the safety issues and to allow them to cross-fertilise should give the best result for a safe and gender equal lighting (Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:2).

These quotes construct ‘knowledge’ with ‘expert on night lighting’ and ‘environmental controller’ as elements, or with ‘gender studies’ and ‘lighting design’ as elements. Such constructions indicate that a plurality of expert perspectives is considered in spatial planning. The expert knowledge operates to (within a given representation of a problem) identify new ways of conceptualising phenomena, but also to suggest ways of solving them and ensuring ‘quality’. Such constructions of knowledge are consequently not ‘neutral’ but recognised to adopt different (value) perspectives on the world. Knowledge acquired from the gender specialist is recognised to appreciate different values from what the lighting expert appreciates. The choices of what perspectives should be considered in spatial planning reflect conscious decisions. Such a construction reflects a discursive and

⁴⁶² Stockholm County, District Administration; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality; Gävleborg County, Söderhamn Municipality; Norrbotten County, Umeå Municipality:3; Gävleborg County, Söderhamn Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:2; Västmanland County, Västerås City; Norrbotten County, Umeå Municipality:3; Gävleborg County, Söderhamn Municipality; Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:2; Dalarna County, Leksand Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:5; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2; Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:1; Västmanlands County, Köping Municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:2; Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality

political assumption of knowledge. However, as was raised in chapter 6.1, the knowledge acquired from different disciplinary experts is still considered to be transformed so as to solve the predefined problem and ensure quality of planning proposals. In representing ‘professional’ and ‘by research disciplinary’ knowledge, the acquired knowledge operates to give legitimacy to planning proposals. The following quote emphasises this:

Some 30 specialists will help to develop the right solutions (Västra Götaland County, Non-profit organisation:1).

The ‘specialist knowledges’ are constructed in a chain of equivalences with ‘develop the right solutions’ as an element. Such a construction reflects an instrumental emphasis on knowledge. Another application seeks to appoint a researcher in ethnography for including a critical perspective on how social dimensions are reproduced in different organisational settings in striving to develop a common knowledge base across the different settings.⁴⁶³ Knowledge is here constructed with ‘critical’ as an element, and where the emphasis on knowledge is constructed with ‘develop a common base’ as an element. This example thereby represents an appreciation of critical and political knowledge, which should be used to find a solution to a specific problem. The problem is represented by the assumption that there are different conceptualisations of gender equality and fear in different organisational settings within the municipality, which has the implication that there is not one problem that consensually can be acted upon. The emphasis on the knowledge of the researcher is to recognise how this is the case and how communal representations of the problem can be allowed for, and thereby make space for joint action. Such a construction reflects, like the previous example, an instrumental emphasis on the ‘critical’ knowledge, although seeds to a counter emphasis can be identified within the aspiration to identify alternative conceptual logics within different organisational settings. But, since the conceptualisation of what constitutes the problem precedes the discussion, this means that the knowledge has to be subjugated to a predefined understanding of the problem. Thus, the emphasis on the plural and politically construed knowledges in spatial planning appear to still be conditioned by what the representation of the problem is.

There are also alternative emphasises on the ‘expert knowledge’, which the following quote represents is an example of:

A number of professional artists are invited to a workshop. We meet, we work and we learn together [...] The artist’s task is to become a tool to encourage imagination, desire and participation and to use his experience for realising an art event in cooperation (Dalarna County, Leksand Municipality).

⁴⁶³ Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:5

The quote constructs the emphasis on the artist's knowledge in spatial planning with elements such as 'encourage imagination, desire and participation', where the artist expertise is constructed with elements such as 'work and learning together' and 'enabling and facilitating'. Such a construction reflects a different emphasis of knowledge in spatial planning, in which the knowledge operates to, maybe not identify conceptual logics, but rather establish and communicate multiple narratives.

In summary, the expert knowledge is understood politically and discursively in spatial planning, by recognising the adoption of different disciplinary perspectives and values. The emphasis on the expert knowledge is however 'instrumental', in which it should be directly applied and solve a problem. Seeds to alternative emphasises on the expert knowledge exist, such as, identifying multiple narratives, or identifying conceptual logics within different organisational settings. Such emphasis is represented by the use of artistic and critical knowledge in spatial planning.

6.2.3 Political, experiential knowledge of space and instrumental emphasis

Over the centuries, many of our neighbourhoods have been designed by men for men. It is therefore not particularly remarkable that the the last decades of research on fear of crime and insecurity show that women are generally more worried of being exposed to crime than men (Stockholm County, construction company).

We also know that urban planning has traditionally been based on male experiences and therefore do not accommodate women in their reality (Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City: 4).

The quotes above bring forward that the reason why women experience fear to a greater extent than men is because women have not participated in the decision-making processes about the development and spatial organisation of our cities to the same degree as men. Other applications also make similar arguments.⁴⁶⁴ 'Female fear' is consequently constructed in a chain of equivalence with 'male historical oppression in planning decision making processes' as an element. Such a conception also constructs, in a chain of differentials, 'female safety' with 'female participation in planning decision making processes'. Following such a construction, the knowledge that should better guide planners is argued as needing to be collected from women themselves. By considering female experiences, the city can be planned as gender equal and consequently allow for safe urban

⁴⁶⁴ Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:4; Stockholm County, Botkyrka municipality:4; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå municipality:1; Halland County, Halmstad municipality:3

experiences.⁴⁶⁵ 'Knowledge' is consequently constructed in a chain of equivalences with 'experiences', as well as 'female' and 'male' as elements. Such an experiential construction of knowledge reflects lay knowledge and is recognised to include values. Following the constructions of female fear above, 'spatial planning' is constructed with 'male experiences' and 'male knowledge' as elements. In a chain of differentials, 'spatial planning that considers safety and gender equality' is constructed with 'female experiences' and 'female knowledge' as elements.

In the striving for collecting female experiences, having close dialogues with users of space are frequently suggested, dialogues in which experiences of space constitute the focus.⁴⁶⁶ The dialogues are set out to be carried out through, for example, safety walks, workshops and meetings, but also digitally through the Internet and GIS web based applications.⁴⁶⁷ Experiential based knowledge is thus also constructed with 'safety walks', 'workshops' and 'meetings', as well as 'internet' and 'GIS' as additional elements. This experiential construction of knowledge renders similar to the different postmodern spatial planning approaches that seek to pluralise the knowledge base in spatial planning. One application brings forward the need to repeat engagements with women and interconnected acquired knowledge in order to increase the generalisability.

The exhibition will contain descriptions of women's experience of the given site. It will also contain descriptions of the working process. As such, the exhibition describes the experience, the collaboration and the working process and will be used as a knowledge base for further work. The exhibition will be mobile and used by, for example, municipal personnel in the work with safety enhancing measures. It should also be shown in civic centres and meeting places in libraries. The exhibition should be possible to build upon, based on greater knowledge, and thereby increase its generalisability. The working process must therefore be repeated for creating a knowledge base about what constrains women's freedom of movement based on perceived insecurity, and what measures could improve the situation (Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:1).

This quote emphasises the importance of repeating the process in order to gain a greater base for generalising what it is that constrains women in the public environment and also what can be done to improve these perceptions. 'Experiential

⁴⁶⁵ Stockholm County, Botkyrka municipality; Stockholm County, Österåker municipality; Stockholm County, Nacka municipality; Södermanland County, Katrineholm municipality; Örebro County, Örebro municipality:1; Stockholm County, Södertälje municipality; Kronoberg County, Älmhult municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda municipality; Gävleborg County, Söderhamn municipality

⁴⁶⁶ Kronoberg County, Ljungby municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka municipality:3; Stockholm County, Nacka municipality; Stockholm County, Österåker municipality; Örebro County, non profit organisation; Dalarna County, Gagnef municipality; Södermanland County, Vingåker municipality; Västerbotten County, Umeå municipality:2; Örebro County, Lindesberg municipality; Gävleborg County, Söderhamn municipality; Skåne County, Kristianstad municipality:2; Örebro County, Örebro municipality:1;

⁴⁶⁷ Västerbotten County, Umeå municipality:2; Södermanland County, Vingåker municipality; Skåne Län, Kristianstads kommun:2

knowledge' is constructed 'as able to build upon' and 'able to generalise' as elements.

The 'safety walk' constitutes a common method in the grant applications for specifically obtaining experiences of space.⁴⁶⁸ The female experience is often in focus, but it is commonly also stated that both gender categories should be recognised.

The safety walks can supplement the existing material with comments and ideas on the physical environment from groups that have not previously been well represented in spatial planning, especially women (Jönköpings County, Vetlanda municipality).

We want to work through workshops and dialogues with women of different ages with a concrete site as point of departure, part of a walking and cycling route through Hjärsta forest, based on the question: What is your experience of this particular place, what can change? (Örebro County, Örebro municipality:2)

These quotes bring forward and construct 'knowledge' with 'comments and ideas on the physical environment' and 'experience of a place' as elements, as well as with 'women of different ages' and 'groups that previously have not been represented'. Such constructions of knowledge reflect on the one hand, so called, 'subjugated knowledges', but also, on the other hand, 'experiential knowledge of space'. The last quote also emphasises that the acquired knowledge can inform changes to the built environment, which reflects an instrumental emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning. The acquired knowledges have the capacity to be directly implemented and inform changes. One application expresses such position like this:

The safety is partly strengthened by the working method safety walks where women's knowledge of the urban area is utilised and put into action through the physical measures that are going to be implemented (Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality).

The quote above construct 'women's knowledge' with 'put into action' and 'physical measures' as elements. Such a construction reflects, like as has been said before, an instrumental emphasis in spatial planning, in which the measures are also to a certain degree already decided upon (by comprising physical changes).

Two applications bring forward how including women, but also other social groups, in planning processes is important since only 'the people' knows what is best for society.⁴⁶⁹ 'Experiential knowledge' is thereby equated with 'knowledge of what is best for society'. An example of such a construction is the following quote:

⁴⁶⁸ See appendix 2B

⁴⁶⁹ Södermanland County, Katrineholm municipality; Skåne County, Kristianstad municipality:1

Only the people themselves know what creates insecurity. Safety enhancing measures should therefore be conducted in broad participation with relevant target groups in the population which creates conditions for improved public health (Skåne County, Kristianstad municipality:1).

Such a construction of experiential knowledge reflects an assumption that spatial planning is neutral and only implements or facilitates exogenous knowledge in planning the better future. Spatial planning is thus conceived as operating to (neutrally) facilitate inclusion of experiential knowledges in spatial planning decision making processes. One application states instead that experiential knowledge also functions to sanction planning interventions.⁴⁷⁰ The knowledge is, in other words, used to legitimate and validate spatial planning decisions and proposals.

Some applications set out how the dialogues should be recurrent and not constitute a one time occurrence, which opens up for a consideration of the temporal aspects of perceptions of space.⁴⁷¹ Perception of space is thereby not considered an absolute experience, but subject to change. One example of such appreciation is the following quote:

The crime rate in the municipality is relatively low and the social control good. However, one can not be complacent with it and a constant dialogue must continue so that we are not lulled into believing that everything is safe and secure (Dalarna County, Gagnef municipality).

Here it is emphasised how this particular society appears to currently be quite harmonious, but it acknowledges how it can change and become insecure and therefore must continuously be monitored through dialogues.

To summarise, experiential knowledge is constructed politically and recognised to comprise (different) values. Experiential knowledge is also constructed as ‘female’ or ‘male’. Other elements that fill this conception of knowledge with meaning are ‘experiences of space’ and ‘time’. The knowledge also reflects so called subjugated lay knowledge, knowledge that previously has not been prioritised in planning. This understanding of knowledge can be aligned with a postmodern conception of planning that seeks to politicise and pluralise experiences and knowledge in planning. Spatial planning thus operates to facilitate the incorporation of subjugated experiences of space. At the same time, an instrumental emphasis on knowledge prevails, in which the knowledge should operate to directly inform or sanction spatial planning decisions.

Such experiential knowledge will be further discussed in the next section.

⁴⁷⁰ Örebro County, non profit organisation

⁴⁷¹ Dalarna County, Gagnef municipality; Uppsala County, municipal housing cooperation

6.2.4 Political knowledges of space, and a dominant instrumental emphasis

Acquiring (female) experiences of space makes up a common activity in the applications. As raised in the previous section, ‘safety walks’ constitute a common method in obtaining such a knowledge of space.⁴⁷² The following quote provides one example of how the method is further described within the grant applications:

Safety walks is a method for creating a better local environment by identifying and rectifying places and situations that are perceived unsafe or assessed to be insecure. The method is based on that these discoveries are made in collaboration between different organisations and in dialogue with residents who live in and know the area concerned (Södermanland County, Flen Municipality).

The quote constructs ‘the safety walk’ with elements such as ‘identifying places that are perceived unsafe’, and ‘rectifying places that are perceived unsafe’, as well as ‘residents knowing places’. ‘Feeling unsafe’ is furthermore connected to ‘places’ and ‘situations’. Feelings safe is as such understood to be spatially informed. Such constructions reflects an assumption that by being familiar with places it is possible to have the knowledge that enables spatial planning to correct places that are perceived as unsafe. The acquired knowledge will, in other words, constitute a knowledge base for spatial planning action.

Other alternatives for acquiring knowledge of space that are raised within the grant applications, include conventional ‘site surveys’, in which so called professional subjects assess space. Such surveys represent an idea of a ‘professional’ and ‘neutral’ study of space. The following quote provides an example of how such surveys are carried out:

Questions to pursue in the survey can be of a different character for different places and different parties where some are evidence based whereas others are based on the assessor’s overall assessment of the places in relation to safety, based on questions such as location, design, lighting, maintenance level and upkeep, soft values etc. (Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality).

This quote constructs knowledge as acquired from ‘surveys’ with ‘evidence based’ and ‘assessment of places’ as elements. Experiential knowledge differs from the ‘survey knowledge’ by emphasising ‘assessment of space’ instead of ‘experiences of space’, and ‘evidence’ instead of ‘female or male’. The knowledge acquired from professional surveys reflects an assumption of neutral knowledge, sourced by the professional. However, both knowledges acquired from the ‘site surveys’ and ‘safety walks’ have similar emphasises in spatial planning. Both operate to identify aspects of the physical environment that are perceived as unsafe, and both operate to facilitate physical changes or action plans. The main difference between these

⁴⁷² See appendix 2C

surveys reflects whose experience is being represented, and as to whether the knowledge is ‘neutral’ or ‘value based’. ‘Professional subjects’ carry out the conventional survey, whereas ‘lay subjects’ carry out the safety walks. The ‘safety walks’ also reflects the inclusion of a relational epistemology, by positioning different subjects’ experiences of space as multiple points of references, which is different from the conventional survey, in which *one* space is studied from primarily one point of reference (objectivist epistemology). Both surveys operates to map space and document spatial qualities that are perceived as unsafe. Such focus can be described as being on *what* and *where*.⁴⁷³

Both methods focus thus on identifying and locating environments, in which spatial planning can operate and make a spatial contribution, such as adding to or removing elements from the urban fabric. Through such surveys, safety is constructed as a quality of a given area. This ‘quality’ is constructed with elements such as ‘being able to be measured’, in some instances ‘objectively observed’ and consequently ‘to be found’. Such conceptualisations reflects a positivist approach to knowledge. Such a conception can also be discerned in the following quotes:

All the components in the project intend to find environments/places/ routes with a *lack of safety* from a gender perspective as a basis for the work of a detailed comprehensive plan for Vingåkers main town (Södermanland County, Vingåker municipality, italics added).

As described above, this study will result in a methodology for *analysing the qualities that are perceived as “causing insecurity”* and a method for analysing the qualities or features that are needed and demanded in a specific green area. Since this information will be distinguishable from a gender perspective, one can effectively apply the knowledge to improve the outdoor environment at the site so that it fits the everyday life of both sexes (Stockholm County, Stockholm City, italics added).

These quotes construct ‘space’ with ‘lack of safety’ as an element, and construct ‘fear’ with ‘spatial qualities’ as an element. Such constructions reflect an understanding of space to reside on qualities that either *in themselves* are ‘unsafe’, or contribute to perceptions of insecurity. Such constructions also reflect how the obtained knowledge (of having identified qualities contributing to insecurity) can neutrally be transformed into direct action (by removing or rectifying the qualities) and thereby have the capacity to facilitate the process of creating better outdoor environments. Such a construction reflects an instrumental emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning, it operates in a means to an end logic, there to solve a (pre defined) problem. In other words, the method does *not* have an emphasis on identifying conflicting positions about space and desired alternative futures

⁴⁷³ Östergötland County, Norrköping municipality:1; Stockholm County, Botkyrka municipality: 4; Skåne County, Lund municipality; Södermanland County, Flen municipality; Västra Götaland County, Borås municipality

between individuals, from which spatial planning has to deliberate and make a choice.

One application states how the effect of implemented changes can be measured, as to whether citizens' perceptions of safety have increased "when insecurities" in the city and neighbourhoods "have been eliminated".⁴⁷⁴ Constructing 'space' with 'insecurities' as an element reflects, as the previous quotes suggested, an assumption of neutral qualities of space that in themselves are 'unsafe' or 'safe'. Space can thus consist of 'insecurities' or 'securities'. In line with what Söderström suggests, such reasoning can be understood as being bound by the hegemonic logic of the cartographic tool that is used for representing the acquired knowledge.⁴⁷⁵ By assessing the world through the logic of the cartographic tool, a tool in which the world is understood to consist of objects in a geometrical grid, such a logic contribute to the striving of organising the world according to the same logic. Space is reproduced to consist of such measurable objective qualities. One application recognises how these forms of assessments are not about 'absolute' understandings:

When a project is decided to be implemented, a safety measure will be carried out, which is based on a so called safety walk. It's about to get an estimation of the perceived safety, which is not an absolute concept (Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1).

Here, knowledge (as acquired from safety walks) is constructed with 'measure', 'estimation' and 'not absolute' as elements. Such a construction is thus recognised to change and vary, but is appreciated and used as a form of 'measurement'. Two other applications similarly construct knowledge (as acquired from safety walks) with 'measurement' as an element.⁴⁷⁶

Operationalising and generalising experiential knowledge

Since spatial planning appears to want knowledges that have the capacity to be instrumentally applied and useful for addressing the represented problem, how is the relational assumption (as present in the safety walks method) made operational in spatial planning? How does spatial planning make use of the many different or perhaps even conflicting personal experiences of space? The representation of the experiential knowledge and the knowledge acquired from conventional site surveys are often suggested to be compiled into a cartographic plan, sometimes with the help of cartographic tools such as GIS (Geographical Information Systems) and MapInfo. Some applications set out that GIS can enable the mapping of crime

⁴⁷⁴ Jönköping County, Nässjö municipality

⁴⁷⁵ Söderström, O. 'Paper Cities: Visual Thinking in Urban Planning' In: *Cultural Geographies* vol. 3 1996 3. p. 249-281. p. 275.

⁴⁷⁶ Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:4; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:1

statistics in combination with other documentation from site surveys.⁴⁷⁷ Two applications set out that a time-geographical space can be constructed through the use of GIS, where both experiences and the time of experiences are recorded and represented.⁴⁷⁸ Such representation is described like this:

The goal is to visualise the women's and men's (different?) experiences in GIS maps. The results give an indication of where safety-enhancing measures are needed. The aim is also to implement the physical measures and to evaluate the results with a questionnaire study. With the help of GIS, a time-geographical space will be created. The maps show green (safe) and red (unsafe) areas for women and men respectively for different times of the day. The maps enable an analysis of where, when, how and by whom the district is used, and where critical points for safety are located (Skåne County, Lund Municipality).

This quote highlights that different (categorised as male and female) spatial experiences will be compiled into GIS maps. Space, or perhaps coordinates in space, is constructed with 'a series of gender aggregated socio-spatial attributes', such as 'by women safe' or 'by men unsafe'. The quote furthermore emphasises that these maps will make it possible to identify where 'safety measures' are needed. The representation of knowledge thus facilitates the neutral identification of places that should be subject to various measures.

Furthermore, the safety walk is understood to lend itself to readily aggregate plural experiences when it comes to representation, by for example synthesising a category's aggregated experience of what the most fearful aspects of the physical environments consist of (although it may change over the day). The multiple points of reference can easily disappear to the advantage of the aggregated one that readily can be neutrally referred to. By, for example, synthesising that one place is fearful since x number of individuals from different social groups who know the place have personally experienced it as so. Referring to aggregated experiences thus enables a form of speaking neutrally about the phenomenon in focus, allowing the pronouncing of a general statement about a social phenomenon. It doesn't represent one individual's emotional and engaged experience of a place, but rather a collected neutral representation that can be transformed into spatial planning action. Such operationalisation reflects an instrumental emphasis on the acquired knowledge in spatial planning.

In summary, experiential knowledge is constructed politically and comprises values, whereas knowledge acquired from professional site surveys is constructed as 'objectivist' and is neutral. Both knowledges are constructed with 'space' as an element, although the safety walks brings forward 'experiences of-' and the site

⁴⁷⁷ Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:4; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Other

⁴⁷⁸ Blekinge County, real estate company; Skåne County, Lund Municipality

surveys ‘assessments of-’. Both knowledges are constructed to be limited to qualities of space. These knowledges are further represented and perceived as useful in spatial planning, by having the capacity to inform spatial change, which reflects an instrumental emphasis.

6.2.4 Cumulative neutral knowledge

Another way of acquiring knowledge that is suggested in the grant applications is through the use of best practice (‘good examples’ in Swedish).⁴⁷⁹ Best practice is constructed to include knowledge of how perceived problems have been managed by other municipalities and actors.

Study visits are planned at other housing companies that have made similar projects where we hope to be able to learn from good and bad examples (Uppsala County, housing cooperation).

The goal of the project is to develop proposals for action based on a qualitative and quantitative survey and analysis of safety in the neighbourhood Citronen from a gender equality perspective and to spread the experiences and knowledge that the project has gained within the municipal organisation (Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality: 1).

These quotes construct best practice knowledge with elements such as ‘studying experiences from similar projects’, ‘good’, ‘bad’, as well as ‘spreading experiences’ in a chain of equivalences. Learning from-, but also contributing to-, best practice is thus considered important. Such a construction also reflects a cumulative understanding of knowledge, new projects and current best practice are differentiated from historical best practice, and can be considered to constantly moving forward. ‘Good’ can also be differentiated from ‘bad’. Such constructions of knowledge us further understood to rely on a consensual agreement (among practitioners) about ‘what is considered good’, and what is the general value and usefulness for spatial planning. Cicmil and Hodgson suggest that the cumulative character of best practice assumes in turn “rationality, universality, objectivity and value free decision-making, and the possibility of generating law-like predictions in knowledge”.⁴⁸⁰ Such assumptions render a notion of results as similar to that of natural science scientific method. Obtained knowledge in the specific projects is also suggested, next to best practice, to be summarised and collected in other

⁴⁷⁹ Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:2; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:5; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:4; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:3; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Norrbotten County, Luleå Municipality; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4

⁴⁸⁰ Cicmil, S. and Hodgson, D. 2006. p.11.

forms, such as handbooks, checklists or guidelines.⁴⁸¹ An agreed upon handbook is considered to guide the practice in working systematically about specific issues. This reflects a general striving towards a joint and consensual knowledge base to inform spatial planning.

The seminars will be forward looking and discuss the possible continuation of safety-enhancing projects in Nybro but also help with practical guidelines that can be applied in other municipalities (Kalmar county, Nybro Municipality).

We want to highlight the importance of the social dimension - safety, gender equality and accessibility - in this transformation and thus get a reference area whose experience can be brought to bear in another urban planning (Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:2).

The quotes emphasise that the specific projects will not only result in knowledge about the local area but also ‘produce’ generally applicable knowledge that other municipalities or other planning contexts can make use of. The quotes place importance on ‘new knowledge’ that spatial planning is considered as able to develop through the specific projects. New knowledge is conceived as being able to be reproduced and made use of in planning processes at large, either within the specific municipality but also possibly distributed to other municipalities in their learning processes. Such statements reflect an instrumental emphasis. This emphasis on knowledge is also referred to in the application forms that are formulated by the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, in which one question specifically asks for an explanation of “how results will be spread”. Such conceptions indicates an understanding of knowledge as neutral cumulative and capable of being instrumentally reapplied in any other setting.

In summary, knowledge is constructed neutrally with an instrumental emphasis about its perceived usefulness in spatial planning.

6.3 Summary

How knowledge is represented in spatial planning was described in the theoretical chapter as way of governing and constitutes processes of power. How spatial planning organises the world becomes knowledge of the world, and contributes to

⁴⁸¹ Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Västra Götaland County, Kungälv Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:2; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:2; Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:3; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:2; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Karlshamn Municipality; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Västerbotten County, Lycksele Municipality

perceptions of what is perceived as universal and taken for granted. The project applications outlined how knowledge can enable better planning and allow for a more gender equal society. The knowledge that was sought to enable this was of different kinds, but can be summarised as being instrumentally useful for spatial planning, as able to help solve an identified problem. What counts as ‘useful’ knowledge is of several types, such as neutral statistics and evidence, plural and political expert knowledge, political experiential knowledge and neutral and cumulative best practice. Knowledge is consequently conceptualised ‘politically’ in spatial planning by representing a variety of chosen perspectives on the world. However, when spatial planning considers this knowledge it is dominated by an instrumental emphasis, where knowledge is used in a means to an end logic. The acquired plural and political knowledges appear to be assessed in terms of its potential usefulness for addressing a preconceived problem, where, for example, plural experiential knowledges become aggregated knowledge, or generalised ‘facts’ there to advise planning in identifying possible ‘solutions’ to a preconceived problem.

After having carried out two empirical analyses of assumptions of public life (Ch. 5) and knowledge (Ch.6) in spatial planning for safety, the next chapter (Ch.7) aims to conclude the dissertation by returning to the two research questions and discussing what assumptions of public life and knowledge prevail in spatial planning, which should contribute to illuminating the outset research problem.

7 Demanding certainty and instrumental uses of knowledge

After having carried out empirical analyses in the two previous chapters, this section aims to conclude the doctoral dissertation by returning to the research problem and interconnected research questions. In order to allow for a political spatial planning practice, this dissertation has set out to, contribute with a better understanding of how, and on what basis, a spatial planning problem is formulated and acted upon. In other words, the aim has been to better understand both how and what conceptions of knowledge operate to legitimise ideological representations of spatial planning problems and subsequent actions. This research problem has been illuminated through close examinations of assumptions in Swedish spatial planning for safety. The two research questions consisted of: (RQ1) “What assumptions of public life prevail in the planning for safety?” and (RQ2) “What assumptions of knowledge prevail in planning for safety?”

This concluding chapter is organised as follows: Chapter 7.1 seeks to answer the first research question by focusing the discussion on spatial planning for safety and the conflicting dimensions of public life. Section 7.2 seeks to answer the second research question by focusing the discussion on spatial planning for safety and conflicting dimensions of knowledge. Section 7.3 will discuss the answers to these question in relation to the research problem.

7.1 Enabling certainty for the community

This section aims to answer the first research question that was outlined in the introductory chapter: ‘What assumptions of public life prevail in Swedish planning for safety?’ The question will be answered by taking chapter five as a starting point and further develop the analysis by reconnecting the analysis with the Mouffean theoretical points of departure, and specifically centring the discussion on how the agonistic conflicting dimensions of public life were manifested in the empirical material. The section will thereafter argue what assumptions of public life can be considered to form preconditions to spatial planning for safety, and how the conflicting dimensions relate to one another.

To briefly summarise, this dissertation has included Mouffeian agonistic theory as its theoretical point of departure that considers society as inherently political. This means that spatial planning is governed by ‘making choices’ between conflicting alternatives. Some of these choices are no longer conceived in terms of ‘choices’, as they appear as self evident and natural, and represent a form of ideology or system of belief. Spatial planning for safety is underpinned by such systems of beliefs which makes the activity appear morally right and not subject to questioning. The givenness of such an order can be conceived as exercising hegemonic domination over conflicting alternative conceptions and world views. These conflicting alternatives can furthermore be understood in terms of agonism and antagonism. Conflicts in terms of antagonism was referred to in chapter two as conflicts between two parties, where one is conceived as having to be eliminated as the conflict is constructed morally in terms of right and wrong, good and bad. Conflicts in terms of agonism refer instead to conflicting constructions that challenge the way a phenomenon is conceptualised, and where the presence of the ‘challenge’ is accepted as an adversary, as a legitimate alternative that it is possible to ‘choose’.

In summary, the conceptual alternatives to public life were analysed through the establishment of a discursive field(a conceptual context) of public life. This discursive field was constructed based on four conflicting discourses centred on rationality, dramaturgy, plurality and consensus. With these discourses as points of departure, a series of conflicting dimensions of public life were identified, including criterion for participating in public life, purpose of public life, character and constructions of identities. These lines of conflict constitute analytical categories for analysing how discourses of public life are constructed in the grant applications within the governmental policy ‘Safe and Gender Equal’ 2008-2010.

The following sections will go through how the different dimensions of public life were manifested in the grant applications. This chapter is organised in accordance with the conflicting dimensions (criterion and purpose, character and identities) and will finish with a concluding discussion. The discussions will overlap within the different sections, and the criterion for partaking in public life that are seen as being dominant in spatial planning for safety will be brought forward in all sections.

7.1.1 Demanding certainty - but conflicting purposes of public life and interrelated notions of freedom

Chapter five highlights that spatial planning constructs the purpose of public life through elements such as ‘unrestricted movements in’, or ‘free movements in’ and ‘equal access to’ the public realm, and ‘access to safe public space’ in a chain of equivalences, reflecting a desire for individuals to have the ability to freely follow

their subjective desires in the public realm. The possibility to freely follow the emotional self and one's desires is thereby constructed as one purpose of public life. Such a construction reflects, in turn, a particular conception of freedom. Thus, the ability to freely access public life and to experience the interconnected freedom is constrained by experiences of insecurity and fear. As a means to counteract constraints to such a notion of freedom, spatial planning strives to establish 'safety'. One construction of 'safety' comprises 'visual recognition of the familiar and the unknown' as elements in a chain of equivalences. 'Safety' is consequently constructed to be contingent on visually knowing what the threat is, and by being able to visually foresee actions and behaviour. This safe access to public life was moreover constructed with 'a democratic right' or 'a basic human need' as elements, whereby this 'right' is constructed as having to be secured through spatial planning. Spatial planning for safety reflects consequently an activity that shall guarantee 'the criterion of visual certainty' so that individuals are able to participate in public life, and thereby experience the freedom of being able to follow the emotional desire.

On the other hand, spatial planning also constructs 'safety' with 'engagement' as an element, which in turn is filled with meaning, with 'to be involved in society', 'feel part of society', 'for women to influence and make demands in planning', 'safety walks', 'focus groups', 'dialogue meetings', 'selecting places', 'designing places' as elements in a chain of equivalences. Spatial planning furthermore constructs 'insecurity and fear' with individuals who are described as 'not participating in societal decision making' and are 'not engaged in the local area' or 'not engaged in one another', to the extent that engagement renders society safe. Such a construction connects 'passive and not engaged' public life with 'unsafe public life'. Such constructions reflect an alternative purpose to public life, one in which the ability to be active within society takes precedence together with the striving towards the ideal of the active self governing subject. Such purpose reflects in turn an alternative conception of freedom, comprising the possibilities of being able to rationally think and act. Spatial planning for safety operates thereby to enable a particular notion of freedom geared towards activating and engaging individuals in one another and in societal decision makings.

These different purposes of public life can be situated in the political theoretical context mentioned in chapter four on negative and positive constructions of freedom, which can be conceptualised as a tension between, on the one hand, individual 'negative' liberty, and, on the other hand, 'political', 'positive' liberty.⁴⁸² The conception of freedom that was expressed in terms of following one's desires

⁴⁸² The use of the term 'political' is not congruent with the Mouffean use of the concept. Political is here referred to independence and individual agency.

See for example Berlin, I. 'From Two Concepts of Liberty' In Carter, I. et al (eds). *Freedom: A Philosophical Anthology*. p,39-58. Blackwell Publishing. Oxford. UK. 2007.

represents a so called ‘negative’ individual freedom. Individual freedom can be assessed on the basis of whether individuals are in any way limited to perform acts of will within what is permitted under law.⁴⁸³ Experiences of fear reflect one such constraint that hinders individuals to perform actions of will, such as accessing the town centre when one wants or participating in late night events in a different neighbourhood. From this perspective, individuals who feel unable to participate in public life due to feelings of fear may be characterised as not being individually free. ‘Positive’ or ‘political’ freedom, on the other hand, can be assessed according to what opportunities there are for individual agency and rational thought. From this perspective, free individuals are those who can rationally think and act, and are free from oppressive relations. According to these theories of freedom, individuals who are not directly exposed to violence but feel constrained in their everyday lives due to general feelings of fear do not act of ‘free will’ when deciding not to go out, but rather act as a consequence of how wider society constructs notions of phenomena which, in turn, are passively internalised. From this perspective, individuals who choose not to go out as consequence of superimposed narratives of fear may not be conceived as ‘politically free’. Women that experience sexual oppression and consequent fear in public life are similarly considered to be politically lacking in such an understanding of freedom, since their actions are bound by societal injustices.

How freedom is defined and what notions of freedom are brought forward bring about different consequences for spatial planning by contributing to defining what actions are desirable. How purposes of public life are constructed have bearings on the articulation of the other dimensions of public life. In line with the analytical framework, if spatial planning seeks to aspire for individual freedom, desirable actions might include stimulating individuals’ emotional selves and fulfilling their individual desires, where the unknown constitutes a threat to a harmonious emotional existence. If spatial planning, on the other hand, seeks to aspire for political freedom, desirable actions could include enabling independent and active individuals who can rationally think and act, where encountering one another beyond the fear of the unknown constitutes an important starting point. Criterion for participating in such public life includes having to accept uncertainty, where insecurity is not conceived as limiting the ability to act but rather, from the perspective of the plural discourse of public life, a necessary enabling force for action. Mouffe suggests that both negative and positive liberty should form the basis for democratic pluralistic societies, which means that both understandings should be recognised and permeate society, and thereby also challenge the ways in which conflicting discourses are articulated.⁴⁸⁴ These two constructions of the

⁴⁸³ Skinner, Q. ‘From Liberty Before Liberalism’ In Carter, I. et al (eds). *Freedom: A Philosophical Anthology*. p. 120-122. Blackwell Publishing. Oxford. UK. 2007. p.121.

⁴⁸⁴ Mouffe, C. *The Return of The Political*. Verso. London New York. 2005b. p.38.

purpose of public life are thereby conceived as able to coexist but should also function to challenge one another in terms of their subsequent articulations. As discussed, the grant applications reflect both notions of freedom. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the ways in which spatial planning seeks to allow for active and socially engaged individuals constitute in turn constraints to the desired 'political freedom'. Individuals are engaged based on a given representation of the problem of fear that limits the ability to independently conceptualise the world. The purpose of stimulating active and self governing individuals in public life is thereby conditioned in spatial planning for safety by its demand for a priori knowledge and certainty of what the problem is about. Active and 'self governing' individuals are encouraged - so long as spatial planning can anticipate and foresee outcomes. As described by Arendt, such conditionings can contribute to crushing individuals' political capacities.⁴⁸⁵ There is consequently little space for individuals to be political or 'self governing', as reflected in the analytical framework. The proclaimed ideal of the 'active subject' reflects an 'illusion' of an active self, an ideal that operates to foster individuals to conceptualise social phenomena such as fear and safety in highly delimited and specific ways.

In summary, this section has argued that spatial planning comprises agonistic purposes of public life, which in turn constitute different ideological starting points for spatial planning actions. However, including the self governing subject as a purpose of public life is conditioned by spatial planning's inability of renouncing an a priori demand of knowing what the problem of fear is about.

7.1.2 Demanding certainty- but conflicting characters of public life

Chapter five illuminates furthermore that 'safety' and 'insecurity' are constructed with various spatial organisations. The types of environments that are constructed with 'insecurity' as an element include, for example, the subway, the park and the 'million home programme' residential areas. In these environments, insecurity is recognised to be interdependent on elements such as 'poor planning', 'darkness', 'poor visibility', 'bad lighting', 'maintenance', 'vandalism', 'segregation', 'deprivation', 'unemployment', 'immigration', 'bad reputation' and 'violence', as well as 'not open nor light', 'not cared for', 'anonymous', 'inappropriate' and 'large scale' spatial configurations. Certain environments are thus reproduced as 'fear-invoking'. These types of environments should furthermore be appreciated in connection to what social groups stereotypically inhabit these environments, such as 'the criminals' and 'the addicts' that hang out in the subways, or the 'segregated', 'the unemployed' and 'the immigrants' that hang out in the million home programme areas. Unknown 'men' constitute fearing subjects in parks. 'Insecurity' is thus constructed and aligned with what is the focus within much

⁴⁸⁵ See: Arendt, H. *The Human Condition*. The University of Chicago Press. 1988.

spatial planning and architectural research on this subject matter which constructs insecurity to be embedded in the social and physical characteristics of place.⁴⁸⁶ By reorganising these environments in particular ways, experiences of safety are thus intended to be instilled. Through spatial reorganisations of the public realm, the aforementioned individual freedom of movement can thus also be allowed for. One construction of safe organisations of the public realm comprises configuring it in ways that enable individuals to identify stereotypical threats. Improved lighting constitutes one such example. Other examples take their starting points in management strategies that seek to accomplish transparency and unobstructed views within public spaces. These constructions reflect a striving to improve the possibilities for individuals to feel in control within public life. The physical environment should be organised so that it does not hinder the possibility to visually identify possible threats. So even though the public realm is perceived as an unsafe space where, for example, women are sexualised, the public realm should be configured so as to instil a belief that one can be in control. Such public life reflects a visual order and passive character. Other constructions of organising a safe public realm include elements such as 'aesthetics', 'order' and 'beauty'. To beautify the environment and make it appear cared for is constructed as a technique for improving perceptions of safety. Such suggestions include the emotional self as a primary focus. It is the emotional self that should be stimulated through aesthetics and order. Both of these constructions reflect what Frisby refers to as an active separation between an emotional 'interior' self and the 'exterior' active self.⁴⁸⁷ This separation strives in turn to accomplish a sense of an 'inner safe' self whilst acknowledging an uncertain 'exterior' life. The solution for spatial planning to manage a perceived exterior 'uncertain' or 'insecure' public life is, consequently, to stimulate 'the inner self' in ways that contributes to instilling a sense of an aestheticised order. Individuals should consequently manage feelings of insecurity by either being in a position of control, by being certain of what the threat is and being able to visually identify these in the public realm. Or by being surrounded by an aestheticised public realm that instills inner certainty. The criterion of 'certainty' for partaking in public life steers the organisation of space. The emotional self reflects the primary starting point for experiencing public life. The emotional self should passively be stimulated through an aestheticised built fabric, or passively be reassured by the surrounding environment that threats can be visually identified. According to the analytical framework, such constructions of public life reflect a passive character of public life, and are similar to the rational discourse of public life. Passive public life comprises an order where silence makes up the norm. It is

⁴⁸⁶ Pain, R. and Smith, S.J. 'Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life' In: Pain, R and Smith, S.J. (eds) *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*. p.1-19. Ashgate Publishing Limited. England. 2008. p.12.

⁴⁸⁷ Frisby, D. 'Georg Simmel. Modernity as an Eternal Present' In Frisby, D. *Fragments of Modernity* p.38-104. MIT Press. Cambridge. 1986. p.82.

an inward oriented 'emotional' order where rational 'visual assessment' of one another is carried out based on stereotypical characterisations.

Chapter five illuminates yet another representation of the perceived problem of urban fear and insecurity, one where the problem is constructed with elements in a chain of differentials such as 'people are not active', 'people are not engaging in one another or the residential area' or 'people are not participating in society' to the extent that renders it safe. Or that 'the public realm' is 'not populated enough'. Conceptualising the problem in such a manner includes the construction of the current character of public life as a passive order, one which is conceived to instil perceptions of fear. The problem of fear is consequently represented by an assumption that passive public life is negative and contributes to perceptions of insecurities. The constructed spatial planning actions on the problem of passivity were set out to include 'making space for individuals to participate in society and in spatial planning'. As has been mentioned earlier, while such aspirations were apparent in the material, the ways in which the engagements were suggested to be carried out manifests constraints to the desired active participatory subjects. Spatial planning demands the certainty of knowing what the problem is about. Such engagement builds upon giving consent to the ways problems have been formulated. It presupposes agreement on the understanding of the problem, which in turn contributes to maintaining specific power relations and conceptions of the world.⁴⁸⁸ According to the analytical framework, such a point of departure reflects a passive conception of the participatory subjects and interconnected character of public life.

Other constructions to counteract the problem of passive public life include elements such as 'encouraging active meetings' between people in the public realm, or 'populating the public realm' to a larger extent. Further constructions include 'making individuals engaged in one another and in their local areas'. Meetings between people are seen as enabling a greater trust and also greater knowledge of one another, which in turn would contribute to a greater sense of safety. These 'meetings' are constructed with elements such as 'between different cultures', 'between ages' and 'between gender' in a chain of equivalences. Such a construction reflect an aspiration towards the ideal of meeting one another beyond the fear of unknown, situating the 'who' as its focus and comprising uncertainty as a criterion for partaking. The spatial organisations intended to facilitate these meetings are constructed based on a hegemonic visual logic of public life in which one should be able to visually and passively identify threats, i.e. to encounter one another based on 'whatness'. As suggested previously, such identification of threats draws from stereotypical constructs of ourselves and others, comprising certainty as a criterion for partaking. These interpersonal meetings are as such

⁴⁸⁸ Hirsch, N. & Miessen, M. (eds) *The Space of Agonism. Markus Miessen in Conversation with Chantal Mouffe*. Sternberg Press. Berlin. 2012. p.25.

conditioned by an a priori general demand and affirmation that the other is not a threat. The passive character of public life and its interrelated criterion for participating dominates and constrains the striving for an active character of public life.

In summary, this section has argued that certainty constitutes a dominant hegemonic criterion for partaking in public life, but also that it constitutes a general criterion which contributes to organising spatial planning thinking and activities. Furthermore, spatial planning comprises agonistic characters of public life, but where one character is allowed to dominate the other. Stimulating the emotional self constitutes one ideological basis from which spatial planning acts. Public life is recommended to be organised in such ways as to allow for the stimulation of the emotional self through, for example, a visual and aestheticised organisation of the public realm. This reflects a passive construction of the character of public life. At the same time, active individuals constitute another purpose and ideological basis from which spatial planning acts. Public life is suggested to be organised in such ways as to allow for stimulating active individuals, through various forms of engagements, or through the design of places that stimulates individuals to get engaged in one another. Such spatial planning reflects an active character of public life. In the same way as the purpose of public life was delimited by spatial planning's insistence on formulating the problem for the engagement, so too is the character of public life constrained. Individuals are encouraged to be engaging in one another, but within a passive hegemonic logic of public life, or encouraged to be engaged in societal decision making, but by having to renounce from actively and independently considering the world.

7.1.3 Safe community of public life

Identity Through Difference And What Gender Equality

It has been discussed in the previous sections how spatial planning for safety makes claims of individual human rights as a means for legitimising its activities, whereby 'everyone' is conceptualised as having the 'right' to freely move about in the public realm, drawing from an 'individual' conception of freedom. Having such legitimating principles as points of departure, 'everyone', or 'all individuals' reflects the first ethical planning subject. Following the ethical principles of this logic, no individual should be recognised to the advantage of any other, all individuals should be treated as equal and exercising the same rights. As reflected in the empirical analysis, spatial planning constructed 'women' as the social category that specifically isn't able to exercise the right to freely move on the same terms as others. 'Women' were thereby identified as primary planning subjects within spatial planning for safety. Such a construction reflects a desire to

‘politically’ liberate women from oppressive relations in public life, in a striving for a gender equal public life.⁴⁸⁹

Chapter five further illuminates that ‘women’ is constructed here as inherently different from ‘men’. ‘Men’ are, in turn, analysed to constitute the norm in public life. Women’s experiences of insecurity and oppression in public life are also analysed to be contingent on taken for granted practices of sexualising women in public life. Women are constructed with elements such as ‘exposed’ and ‘constrained’ in public life, ‘not able to access the public realm on the same terms as men’, and thus represented as having a disadvantage when participating in public life. Such a notion of ‘gender equality’ takes its starting point in that women and men are ‘different’, and based on these differences should have ‘equal opportunities’. Such a political project is similar to the feminist projects that require stable and coherent identities for intervening. A question to be raised then is as to whether spatial planning acts on behalf of a coherent pre-defined social subject, or whether spatial planning contributes to producing the subject through its activities? An alternative starting point for a ‘gender equality project’ would be to counteract stereotypical male and female processes of identification, and challenge the norm of sexualising women in public life.

Bacchi suggests that when female insecurity is conceptualised as female ‘disadvantages’ in public life results in there being little space for considering men’s ‘advantages’ or acts of ‘oppression’ in the same space.⁴⁹⁰ Thus, in conceptualising women’s disadvantages, they should be acknowledged as being contingent to men’s advantages. Female insecurity in public life should consequently be conceptualised as a consequence of men’s advantage of sexualising female bodies in public life, but this is according to Bacchi “obscured by liberal notions of equal opportunities”.⁴⁹¹ The striving for equal opportunities draws from an ideology of ‘rights’. The problem of female insecurity is hereby represented as a ‘female problem’ that can be solved by, for example, reconfiguring the public realm to fit the desires of the female community, in a striving for ‘individual’ rights and interconnected freedom. If women are given equal opportunities to move around freely in the public, gender equality is considered as being provisioned for. Such solutions in turn have the effect of making the performance of male identities invisible or kept in the shade.

Non Desired Subjects and Principles of Legitimation

⁴⁸⁹ ‘Political’ is referred to in connection to the political theory discussion about different notions of freedom. It is not congruent with the Mouffeian political concept.

⁴⁹⁰ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.197.

⁴⁹¹ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.197.

Chapter five illuminates that ‘safe’ and consequently ‘free’ public life is constructed as a life performed by specific subjects, such as ‘adults’ and ‘parents’, that in turn are constructed as ‘integrated’ within the Swedish society and furthermore ‘employed’. Spatial planning furthermore conceptualises a number of ‘non desired’ subjects in public life, for example, ‘young men and boys’, ‘addicts’ and ‘socially disadvantaged’, whose presence and conducts in public life must in different ways be controlled or discouraged. Such spatial planning can be legitimised, not from a deontological ‘rights’ perspective, but from a unitary perspective and notions of collective values, by arguing that some individuals may not be benefiting from spatial planning, but the suggestions are framed as being for the ‘greater good’ of the community. Following unitary legitimating principles, it is accepted that some groups are stigmatised since the planning measure as a whole is conceptualised to benefit society at large. An assumption being made is that some social groups’ conduct in public life should be subject to governance and fostering, as a way to allow for what by women are perceived as ‘safe public realms’. The represented problem of female fear is constructed in connection to the presence of specific groups in the public realm. The sexualisation of women will not be counteracted nor subjected to governance and fostering. The question here is whose injustices are represented in spatial planning policy and acted upon to the disadvantage of others’ injustices? Are the measures legitimate in terms of what the problem is represented to be about? The question then is one of what is desired and what is being steered through spatial planning. Is ‘female fear’ counteracted, or are ‘non desirable conducts’ counteracted through spatial planning measures?

This mode of legitimating spatial planning consequently displaces the legitimating principles from ‘deontological’ to ‘unitary’, since all ‘individuals’ appear to not have the same ‘right’ to freely partake in public life. Individual freedom and free access to public life is consequently limited to the desired identities of the community or to those who act in accordance with a desired logic of the community. The conflicting grounds for legitimating spatial planning for safety can be discussed in relation to the discursive precondition of community that Mukhtar-Landgren identifies in her PhD dissertation.⁴⁹² So, even though spatial planning a priori and actively refers to principles of ‘human rights’ that draw from the recognition of all individuals’ inviolable rights, a conflict arises when spatial planning acts from such claims, since the practice moves away from affirming each individual’s rights to affirming the interest of a community. Spatial planning acts instead in accordance with unitary legitimating principles, where the social groups that constitute the basis for the desired community make up the primary focus.

Fixed categories

⁴⁹² Mukhtar-Landgren, D. Planering för Framsteg och Gemenskap. PhD dissertation. Lund University. Sweden. 2012.

The project applications also manifested alternative subject positions, in which individuals can be considered to intersectionally experience fear - or be feared, such as 'adult', 'people', 'immigrant' and gendered categories, although some subject positions appear to dominate the constitution of possible identities. An 'immigrant woman', can, for example, perform both an identity of a 'parent', 'woman' as well as an 'immigrant', but where an addict appears genderless, or nationless and unable to perform other identities. An addict's possibility of performing other identities is, for example, constrained by having been elicited in the spatial planning discourse as a non-desirable subject. That is the only available identity, unless 'the addict' participates in public life in other ways. Recognising the addict as a subject of fear was, for example, not recognised in the grant applications. A woman can never have the uncomplicated relationship towards the public as a man, as she is constructed as unable to move between these particular gendered identities. Female immigrants were constructed to be particularly vulnerable in public life, but the category didn't constitute a subject position that spatial planning recognised in its actions. It was, for example, mentioned in one application that female immigrants' fear was due to racism but such particular experiences of fear were not acted upon. 'A woman' was the general subject position that instead received recognition in the grant application. On the other hand, another application raised the point that 'parents' who were new to Swedish society should better exercise parental duties. In this case, it was the 'immigrant parent' that was the subject position that received recognition in the application, and not 'parent' alone. Certain subject positions are consequently allowed to dominate the constitution of possible fearing and feared identities.

In line with what Bacchi argues, through its actions spatial planning contributes to attaching and fixating certain stereotypical representations of individuals, which in turn elicits and maintains certain power relations between different subject positions in public life.⁴⁹³ By including 'status quo' as an objective, spatial planning has to negotiate between certain set identities and satisfy them to the extent that is perceived as possible in terms of justice and rights.⁴⁹⁴ According to the theoretical points of departure in this dissertation, to move beyond the status quo and enable for individuals to transcend these identities and thereby exercise an opportunity for egalitarian identities, new political identities have to be formulated.⁴⁹⁵ Following these claims, the problem of the apparent oppression of women in public life (which is manifested by a perceived unattainability of participating in public life on the same terms as 'men) is dependent on how gendered identities are constructed within spatial planning. By setting out women

⁴⁹³ Bacchi, C. 2009. p.16.

⁴⁹⁴ Mouffe, C. 2005b. p.86.

⁴⁹⁵ Mouffe, C. 2005b. p.86.

as essentially different from men, the only thing spatial planning is seen as able to do is to negotiate this category's participation in public life whilst accepting their relative differences. By doing this type of negotiation between social categories, spatial planning acts to reinforce various forms of oppressive relations, rather than transcending them. In these instances spatial planning contributes to producing or amplifying rather constrained forms of female subjectivity.

In summary, this section has argued that spatial planning strives for gender equality by giving men and women 'equal possibilities' to move around freely in public life, reflecting a striving for both political and individual freedom. Women and men are furthermore constructed through a logic of differences, which constitutes the point of departure for the gender equality project in spatial planning. Such a starting point operates to reinforce the same identified differences. The striving for notions of freedom is furthermore delimited to a desired community, where some social groups are constructed to 'threaten' the safety of others. Spatial planning thereby displaces the legitimation of its actions from individuals and their individual interests and inviolable 'rights', to the community and 'unitary' collective interests.

7.1.4 Concluding remark: Demanding certainty

This section has argued that spatial planning constructs conflicting purposes for partaking in public life, which in turn constitutes different starting points for spatial planning actions. The purpose of 'stimulating the emotional self', comprising the striving for individual freedom in public life, reflects the dominant logic in spatial planning for safety. It has also been argued that certainty constitutes a hegemonic criterion for partaking in such public life. Perceptions of certainty should in this conception, for example, be instilled through mechanisms of individual visual control (that draw from stereotypical constructs of one another) and through an aestheticised order. Such spatial planning reflects a passive character of public life. Notions of certainty also constitute a principle that organises spatial planning, by demanding a priori knowledge of what the frames for possible spatial planning solutions entail.

Becoming an active subject within a community constitute at the same time another purpose and consequent basis from which spatial planning acts, and are supposed to be stimulated through various forms of engagements or through the design of places that stimulates individuals to engage with one another. Such spatial planning reflects an active character of public life. In the same way that the purpose of public life was delimited by spatial planning's insistence on formulating the problem for engagement, which per definition passivised individuals, so to is the character of public life constrained by spatial planning. Individuals are encouraged to be active within a given framework, by, for example, agreeing to renouncing from constructing what the problem is going to be about, or through being engaged

in one another within a passive logic of public life. Encountering one another is based on a priori stereotypical knowledge of 'what' the threat consists of. The passive logic of public life is also manifested through the ways in which identities are elicited in public life. Women and men are, for example, constructed in logics of differentials, which also reinforce the same identified differences. The striving for notions of freedom is furthermore delimited to a desired community, where some social groups are constructed to 'threaten' the safety of others. Spatial planning thereby displaces the ideological legitimation of its actions from individuals and their individual interests and inviolable 'rights', to the community and 'unitary' collective interests.

'Certainty' that reflects the hegemonic criterion for organising and partaking in public life can be outlined to dominate the articulation of the other conflicting dimensions of public life. The purpose of enabling an ideal of self governing individuals is, for example, constrained by spatial planning's demand for certainty of knowing what the problem is about. The suggested active and orally governed character of public life is constrained by simultaneously demanding passivity and visual certainty. Such passivity counteracts the logic of encountering each other beyond the social identities of 'whatness'. A woman can, for example, never be anything else but a woman.

Since the criterion for participating is dominated by notions of certainty, the conflicting position of uncertainty as a foundational principle for encountering one another in public life is thus suppressed. 'Certainty' as a criterion for participating in public life exercises a kind of domination that can, according to the theoretical points of departures in this dissertation, be seen as exercising *hegemony*, as it forcefully suppresses or is unable to admit alternative constructions that might challenge this order. This criterion for partaking in public life dominates and conditions any alternative dimensions and their articulation. In other words, other dimensions of public life are constructed politically, which suggests that there are alternative articulations that exist in the shadow, although these are now being dominated by the above mentioned logics. This suggests that there is space for resistance and the conceptualisation of a range of ideas about what public life should be about and its interconnected character. But, when it comes to operationalising such ideals or alternatives, they are conditioned by the logic of certainty, making these alternative ideas difficult to attain. The desired safe public life is consequently reflected as a life governed by certainty, where encountering individuals can be placed in terms of 'whatness', knowing as to whether they represent a threat or not. On one level, this public life reflects an individualist practice, where individuals themselves should govern perceptions of fear by independently assessing situations in terms of risk. On another level, this public life reflects a community based practice, since the practice only becomes operable in a community of 'us and them'. The aim for spatial planning is consequently to

ensure this criterion for the ‘community’, and does so through, for example, different configurations of space.

7.2 An instrumental emphasis on knowledge for planning the (better?!) future

After having answered the first research question in the previous section, this section aims to answer the second research question as outlined in the introductory chapter: ‘What assumptions of knowledge prevail in the Swedish planning for safety?’ This question should be considered as intertwined with the first research question, since the way in which knowledge is conceptualised is dependent on different ways of perceiving the world, which in turn constitutes actions as possible or not possible within the spatial planning discourse and practice. For example, conceptualising knowledge as a positivist neutral entity paves the way for conceptualising public life as consisting of such measurable qualities, such as ‘safe’ and ‘pleasant’ material space. Also, in line with what Bacchi argues, conceptualising knowledge through statistics or surveys makes certain subject positions available, where some are stigmatised and others suggested as ideal subjects, which in turn contributes to the ways in which spatial planning conceptualises identities in public life.⁴⁹⁶

In line with the previous section, this question will be answered by taking chapter six as a starting point and further developing the analysis by reconnecting the analysis with the Mouffean theoretical point of departure, and specifically centring the discussion on how *conflicts* of conceptualising knowledge and its emphasis in spatial planning are manifested within the grant applications. The section thereafter highlights what assumptions of knowledge can be considered to form points of departure in spatial planning for safety. Spatial planning’s constructions of knowledge organises spatial planning’s constructions of public life, where specific conceptualisations of public life are enabled or constrained through spatial planning’s conceptualisation of knowledge.

In summary, chapter four outlined a tension in constructing knowledge between, on the one hand, a positivist epistemology and knowledge as neutral entities, and, on the other hand, a post positivist epistemology and knowledge as political constructs. The interface between spatial planning and knowledge was furthermore conceptualised to consist of a conflicting tension in terms of what is the perceived emphasis on knowledge, namely, a conflict about what knowledge is supposed to

⁴⁹⁶ Bacchi, C. *Analysing Policy: What is the problem represented to be?* Pearson. Australia. 2009. p.11.

do in spatial planning. The emphasis was either conceptualised ‘instrumentally’, where knowledge is supposed to address an identified problem in a means to end logic, or ‘discursively’, where knowledge should serve to identify conceptual logics or multiple narratives as basis for spatial planning decision making and subsequent actions. These two dimensions constitute the theoretical space of possible outcomes for conceptualising knowledge and its emphasis in spatial planning.

7.2.1 Knowledges that affirm ‘the problem’ and can be instrumentally applied

In the empirical analysis in chapter six, ‘new’ or ‘improved’ knowledge was constructed as a prerequisite for carrying out spatial planning and for enabling the desired for better future. ‘A better future’ is constructed with elements such as ‘safe and gender equal’. Knowledge is constructed as ‘neutral information’ as well as ‘plural and political constructs’ in the project applications. Knowledges are obtained from various sources, such as ‘surveys’, ‘experts’ and ‘participatory processes’. The acquired knowledges are to be made use of for assisting in solving a problem, which reflects an instrumental emphasis on knowledge. The use of the acquired experiential knowledge also reflects the same instrumental emphasis. What at the outset was outlined as obtaining knowledge from a relational epistemology (representing a discursive conception of knowledge), was then used as a knowledge base for instrumentally legitimising changes to the built fabric (representing a positivist approach to policy). This suggests that ‘knowledge’ is conceptualised politically in the project applications, but where the emphasis on making use of knowledge in spatial planning is not politicised. A post positivist approach to spatial planning is represented in the analytical framework as an alternative to the positivist approach to spatial planning. In such an approach, the acquired experiential knowledges, as in the example above, would have a different emphasis so as to, for example, identify lines of conflict within the multiple experiences and desired for futures of a place in which explicit political choices have to be made. Such a (post positivist) emphasis on knowledge cannot synthesise the multiple experiences and desired for futures into instrumental implementation of one desired future. Including only an (instrumental) emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning has the implication that only certain knowledges appear to be valid and relevant: specifically, knowledge which reiterates the initial understanding of the problem as represented in the governmental communication and furthermore assists in ‘solving’ this problem. Acquiring knowledge that helps solving the preconceived problem constitutes the frame for how knowledge is conceptualised in the project applications. The instrumental emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning is not subject to any politicisation, and is therefore understood as exercising hegemonic domination. Spatial planning is thus understood to be governed by a logic which makes use of knowledge in a purely instrumental way.

In the previous sections, the grant applications manifest rather homogenous approaches to the conceived problems of gender inequality and fear, where the representations of the problems remain unquestioned, and where an instrumental emphasis on knowledge informs the ways in which the projects were managed. This homogeneousness can be understood as a consequence of including a project-based approach as a predominant logic and mode of steering. Projects should also be understood to constitute a common logic of organising spatial planning actions at large. Projects, which the grant applications represent examples of, can be described to conventionally be managed through a logic of instrumental rationality, where the focus is on actions towards a goal, and where the goal itself does not constitute much source for reflection.⁴⁹⁷ The grant applications do not manifest much reflection upon the aspiring ‘goal’ of ‘gender equality and safety’. Rather, the goal, as outlined in the interpretation of the governmental assignment, was taken as a given desired outcome within the spatial planning projects. The grant applications reflect an understanding of ‘safety’ and ‘gender equality’ as something solely ‘good’, and such a position is not challenged or explored. Not explored in the sense of what the desired outcomes can be seen to constitute as in ‘what is gender equality or safety’ and what different ideological positions can be adopted and consequently acted from. The focus in the grant applications is instead on how specific understandings of the aspired for order of the world can be achieved through spatial planning, which entails ideological positions that are never made explicit nor debated. Consequently, knowledge is acquired that affirms the understanding of the problems and the desired outcomes, rather than challenging and scrutinising them, or introducing alternatives. Individuals are approached in a similar fashion, as tools for achieving the given goal.⁴⁹⁸ The different forms of participatory processes that are outlined in the grant applications, including ‘safety walks’, ‘dialogue meetings’ and ‘workshops’, all functioned to assist planning in (and amplifying the need for) achieving the desired end. Individuals are consulted on the terms set by spatial planning, by validating and amplifying the need for spatial planning interventions. In line with how Linehan and Kavanagh problematise project rationality, the problem is not that individuals are used as a means to an end per se, but that they are *solely* viewed from such a point of departure.⁴⁹⁹ But it is not only the participatory subjects that are approached in this instrumental way. The planning officers, politicians and other subjects are also considered to be instrumentally managed and steered. For example, the grant applications set out desired individual learning outcomes as a goal, and believe it is possible to control and monitor individual knowledge development through spatial planning projects.

⁴⁹⁷ Linehan, C. and Kavanagh, D. 2006. p.54.

⁴⁹⁸ Linehan, C. and Kavanagh, D. 2006. p.54.

⁴⁹⁹ Linehan, C. and Kavanagh, D. 2006. p.54.

7.2.3 The production of *one* discourse of female fear and interrelated notion of public life through organisation of knowledge

The types of knowledges that are obtained and get included in planning for safety operate to reinforce and amplify the knowledge obtained from statistical surveys. Neutral statistical knowledges constitute a basis for, and in many ways, a legitimisation of planning for safety. This amplification is visible through the process of manifesting a desire to include, so called, subjugated ‘lay’ knowledge. What lay knowledge gets included is based on a categorical conception of the participatory subjects, which in turn is interdependent on knowledge obtained from statistical surveys. By having acquired knowledge through surveys and questionnaires, the problem is represented as primarily being, but not exclusively, a female problem. Women represent thereby the dominant social category that should influence the discourse, and are invited to these participatory processes. The different participatory subjects are included based on their stable identities in public life, as represented initially through the surveys and questionnaires. Such constructions of identities in public life are reinforced through participatory processes. The way knowledge is conceptualised and acquired in the project applications appears to produce and amplify *one* discourse of urban female fear. It specifically brings forward what type of knowledge that is being obtained as a basis for legitimating spatial planning changes. In line with what Lee argues, the national crime survey and other similar surveys constitute a common knowledge base in the project applications, statistically producing ‘fearing subjects’ through the ‘fear of crime’ feedback loop.⁵⁰⁰ Through questions such as “If you go out alone one evening in the area where you live, do you feel very safe, fairly safe, fairly unsafe, very unsafe or do you never go out alone late evening?”, respondents are faced with a concept of fear as a possible and relevant experience to which they can identify with.⁵⁰¹ The knowledge acquired from the surveys relating experiences of fear is communicated to the population, which can in turn be reflected upon and identified with. Thus, “the concept [of urban fear] feeds the discourse and the discourse in turn justifies the concept”.⁵⁰²

The knowledge acquired from surveys also includes an ideological assumption of ‘fear’ as an experience that negatively characterises public life, something that is undesirable and should be subject to governance. Thus, the knowledge constructed from surveys helps to make, the governing of fear through spatial planning possible. By having included these crime surveys as starting points for spatial planning action, the ‘lay experts’ whom are categorised as experiencing fear are

⁵⁰⁰ Lee, M. *Inventing Fear of Crime*. Taylor and Francis. 2013. E-Book. p. 77.

⁵⁰¹ *Den Nationella Trygghetsundersökningen 2014*. Rapport 2015:1. Brottsförebyggande rådet. 2015. p.87 (author’s translation)

⁵⁰² Lee, M. 2013. p.77.

thereafter consulted through different forms of participatory processes, which in turn are organised by having represented the problem of fear in space and the physical urban environment. In line with what Mouffe suggests, such participation presupposes consensual agreement about what the problem is about.⁵⁰³ This experiential knowledge, as acquired through participatory spatial planning processes, thereby constitutes another knowledge base that both reinforces and reiterates discourses of urban fear. Furthermore, professionals and/or research based expertise, through its authorial status of ‘knowing’, contributes to giving legitimacy to the fact that spatial planning should intervene, and legitimacy to the ways in which it intervenes. Lee argues that fear is not an experience that has been ‘found’ through social scientific enquiry, but is rather discursively organised through the use of surveys that are politically framed within a narrative of late modern risk, amplified through participatory processes, and given legitimacy through ‘research’ or ‘expert knowledge’.⁵⁰⁴ This discursive organisation is reflected in spatial planning’s conceptualisations and acquisition of knowledge. Furthermore, and in line with what Lee suggests, the surveys produce the fearing subject to primarily, but not exclusively, be a woman, whom is represented as being a good and ‘active’ public individual.⁵⁰⁵

The fearing subject produces in turn ‘a feared object’, whom is represented as being the opposite of the good and ‘active’ individual and as being different to the desired norm.⁵⁰⁶ The grant applications elicit, for example, young men, addicts, unemployed and immigrants as undesirable subjects, to be subjected to spatial planning interventions. The knowledge that informs spatial planning for safety elicits not only subjectivities of public life, such as women, men, addicts, unemployed etc., but also a particular character of public life represented by suspiciousness towards one another. This suspiciousness draws from a fixed relationship between constructions of the fearing and the feared subjects, or rather, the criterion of *certainty* demands such fixed categorisations. In this way a hegemonic emphasises on knowledges in spatial planning becomes a constraining force to constructing alternative notions of public life. The knowledge being acquired in spatial planning for safety elicits certain assumptions of public life: as a life that demands visual certainty for carrying it out, and as a life carried out by active subjects that engage in one another and in society. This suggests that if public life and its interconnected conceived character and identities are to be politicised, the emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning should constitute a primary focus for politicisation.

⁵⁰³ Hirsch, N. & Miessen, M. (eds) 2012. p.25

⁵⁰⁴ Lee, M. 2013. p. 120.

⁵⁰⁵ Lee, M. 2013. p. 99.

⁵⁰⁶ Lee, M. 2013. p.152.

If knowledge is assessed based on its perceived usefulness for ‘solving’ spatial planning problems, then useful knowledge would consequently have to adhere to the same ideologically underpinned perceptions of the problem. If the perceived problem is represented by a *lack* of particular spatial configurations, or *lack* of appearance of particular subjects, or *lack* of participating in decision making processes, then knowledge will be acquired that reiterates the particular understanding of ‘the lack’ in question. The starting point and Mouffean theoretical approach in this doctoral dissertation includes the assumption that spatial planning can be organised based on different emphasises on knowledge, which the discursive field constitute a representation of. How spatial planning consequently conceptualises knowledge is, in a Foucauldian sense, intertwined with power. The represented problem and interrelated notions of knowledge are constructed in such a way that the problem becomes governable through spatial planning. Such representations of the problem and interrelated organisations of knowledge contribute to organising a particular discourse of public life. According to the theoretical points of departure in this dissertation, the instrumental emphasis on knowledge reflects a hegemonic point of departure in spatial planning, and remains almost entirely unchallenged within the grant applications.

7.3 Politicising the Demand for Certainty

This dissertation set out to contribute a better understanding of how, and on what basis, a spatial planning problem is formulated and acted upon. In other words, it aims to better understand how and what conceptions of knowledge operate to legitimise spatial planning problems and subsequent actions, and to better understand what these ideological representations of spatial planning problems substantially entail, so as to allow for a development towards a political spatial planning practice that formulates and deliberates alternatives.

Following the previous analyses, the substantial content of ‘planning for safety’ is constituted of particular desired for conducts in public life, which comprise of individualised risk assessing behaviour as well as activeness within a community. This substantial content was legitimised conflictingly, by both adhering to an ideology of rights, in which the individual constitutes the first ethical planning subject, and an ideology of collective values, in which the community constitutes the first ethical planning subject. The unitary tradition can be understood in connection to Swedish spatial planning’s relatively short and modern history, where spatial planning practice has been legitimised by contributing to a striving towards the establishing of a coherent community, as part of the construction of the welfare state and a desired ideal society, in which the community constitutes the first ethical planning subject. The adoption of a more liberal use of language and

the referring to principles of rights that comprises every individual's inviolable human rights, can be understood as a practice that tries to adapt to and remain legitimate in what can be described as liberal contemporary times, in which the individual comprises the first ethical planning subject. At the same time, this study shows that spatial planning has difficulties in planning based on such rights based principles. As shown in the empirical analysis, spatial planning readily violates one group's rights to the advantage of another group's, yet claim that the planning is to the benefit of everyone or all individuals. Thus, spatial planning operates from unitary based principles and notions of collective values. Spatial planning appears as such to be ambivalent in regards to what ideological premises spatial planning should actually be legitimised, and moves indecisively between these two positions.

Steering spatial planning through a project-based approach, where the problem and consequent goal are taken for granted, makes it difficult to critically scrutinise as to whether these particular modes of conducting public life should constitute desired for outcomes on the part of spatial planning. The steering mode and the taken for granted positions makes it difficult to conceptually explore what alternatives to such suggestions are possible to include (or not include) as a basis for spatial planning. The way the policy is formulated and managed through the internal logic of a project-based rationality and instrumental emphasis on knowledge, constrains the possibility to formulate alternatives and establish conceptual conflict. This lack of conceptual conflict brings forward a question about what spatial planning is, or should be? Is spatial planning a practice which only operates to instrumentally and neutrally implement given 'policy goals', or is spatial planning a political practice which comprises discussion on what ideals and values should constitute its goals? If spatial planning is organised to systematically implement given policy goals, then the instrumental emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning can be considered legitimate. In this case, democratic decision makings legitimise alone such spatial planning for safety. But if spatial planning is organised to be a political practice, then the instrumental emphasis on knowledge can be considered as hindering a transparent process of deliberating upon what ideals and values should organise spatial planning activities. According to the theoretical perspective this dissertation adopts, *if* spatial planning is to be such a political practice, alternative conceptualisations of public life and knowledges should be made open for agonistic examination. Different principles for organising public life should, in other words, constitute a basis for political discussion. The demanding of certainty must consequently be politicised. Being able to realise such a politicisation of public life, politicising the emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning is imperative. The only way of 'breaking' hegemonic practices is to re-establish choice making and counter discourses. Seeds to such a counter emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning do exist within the grant applications, as prevalent in, for example, the emphasis on the artist's and the ethnographer's knowledge.

However, spatial planning appears to not really know what to do with knowledge if it cannot be subsumed in taken for granted narratives about ‘the good’ or ‘better’ spatial developments. Such an obtaining of knowledge can in such instances readily be referred to as ad hoc, obtaining knowledge to confirm and harmonise specific propositions about the world. The adoption of alternative emphasises on knowledge in spatial planning would of course make other demands on spatial planning. What can one do with knowledges that don’t lend themselves to be directly transformed into practice and used as ‘evidence’ for ‘how best to do’ or to ‘sanction decisions’? Spatial planning must consequently have other tools to manage knowledge, such as methods to analyse experiential knowledges as well as professional and research based knowledges, so as to identify conceptual positions within these knowledges from which political choices can and have to be made. All knowledges cannot be harmoniously transformed into action, and the process in which specific knowledges are chosen to the advantage of others, and how they are used, must be made transparent *if* spatial planning is to be considered a political practice.

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Ordered alphabetically based on: Counties, Type of Applicant. Applicant: xxx.
Type of Funding. *Project Title*.

Blekinge County, real estate company. Applicant: Riksbyggens BRF; Strategic
and Method Developing Measures and Physical Measures. *Mapping
safety and implementation of safety enhancing measures*.

Blekinge County, Karlshamn Municipality. Applicant: The Crime Prevention
Council in Karlshamn Municipality; Strategic and Methodological
Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Lighting as a catalyst for
safety*.

Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality. Applicant: Karlskrona Municipality,
The Administration for Disabilities; Physical Measures. *Improved safety
in Wämö park*.

Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic
and Methodological Development Measures. *Safety walk 2009*.

Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2. Applicant: The Technical
Committee, Park Unit; Strategic and Methodological Development
Measures. *Safety lighting Ronneby Brunnspark*.

Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:3. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic
and Methodological Development Measures. *Conference about gender
equality in planning*.

Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Physical
Measures. *A safer urban environment in Sölvesborg*.

Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:1. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and
Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Gender
equal and safe in Avesta*.

- Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:2. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Gender equal and safe in Avesta: phase 2.*
- Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:1. Applicant: Traffic and Leisure; Physical Measures. Safety in city and urban environments; *The Health Pathway and the Läroverk parken.*
- Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:2. Applicant: Traffic and Leisure. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Exposure of Falun walking and bicycle paths.*
- Dalarna County, Gagnef Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Education in safety and gender equality.*
- Dalarna County, Leksand Municipality. Applicant: Culture and Leisure. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *See the Human.*
- Gotland County, Gotland Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *How should real estate staff respond when one see violence in the home.*
- Gävleborg County, Public Housing Cooperation. Applicant: AB Hudiksvallsbostäder. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *The future, Safety in housing areas.*
- Gävleborg County, Sandviken Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safer city park.*
- Gävleborg County, Söderhamn Municipality. Applicant: KUS Administration. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *The Kärlek pathway.*
- Halland County, Public Housing Cooperation. Applicant: Varbergs bostads AB; Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Measures on Håsten's housing area from a gender equal perspective.*
- Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality:1. Applicant: The Administration for Children- and Leisure; Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Lit up school environments.*
- Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality:2. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe pathways in the city centre.*
- Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1. Applicant: The Administration for Technique and Leisure. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *A safer and more gender equal Vallås.*

- Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:2. Applicant: City Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Education-Safety from a gender equality perspective in the urban planning process.*
- Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:3. Applicant: Planning Office; Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safe planning for everyone.*
- Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:4. Applicant: Technical Office; Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safe and gender equal city parks and green pathways through Halmstad town centre.*
- Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:5. Applicant: Planning Office. Strategic and Method Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Focus on safety in Halmstad travel centre.*
- Halland County, Laholm Municipality. Applicant: Technique and Service Office. Physical Measures. *Urban Measure Våxtorp.*
- Halland County, Kungsbacka Municipality. Applicant: Technique. Physical Measures. *Lightning Varla Park.*
- Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safety from a gender equality perspective in the urban areas of Strömsund municipality.*
- Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:1. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Gender equal transport system in Östersund Municipality.*
- Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:2. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Gender equal transport system- advanced study.*
- Jönköping County, Jönköpings Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *The safety project- Urban development vision 2.0.*
- Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality. Applicant: Municipal Management Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *A safer town centre in Nässjö.*
- Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality. Applicant: Technical Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safety project in advance of the town centre plans and improved lighting along the high street.*
- Kalmar County, Mönsterås Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe in Mönsterås- strategy and pilot 2010.*

- Kalmar County, Municipal Limited Company. Applicant: TBAB Torsås' Housing AB. Physical Measures. *Safety on Badhusgatan.*
- Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality. Applicant: Administration for Technique. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safety building measures in the Badhus park, Nybro town.*
- Kalmar County, Public Housing Cooperation. Applicant: AB Hultsfred's Housing; Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *"The Stålhagen project".*
- Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality. Applicant: The Crime Prevention Council in Alvesta Municipality. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Better safety and security in Rönnedal.*
- Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Physical Measures. *Safe river space.*
- Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *A town centre plan with safety perspectives.*
- Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safer Tingsryd.*
- Kronoberg County, Adult Education. Applicant: ABF Southern Småland. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Young voices about safety and gender equality.*
- Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality. Applicant: Administration for Municipal Management/ Town planning Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe and gender equal environments in Araby.*
- Norrbottn County, Kiruna Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Physical Measures. *Safety building measures in the urban environment.*
- Norrbottn County, Luleå Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Developing the safety perspective within the development of a new modern comprehensive plan.*
- Norrbottn County, real estate company. Applicant: Lulebo Ab real estate company. Physical Measures. *Kallkällan Park.*
- Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:1. Applicant: Foundation AF Bostäder. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Permanent redesign of plantations for increased safety.*
- Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:2. Applicant: Foundation AF Bostäder. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical

Measures. *Safety enhancing clearances of plantations in parks and residential areas.*

Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2. Applicant: Department for the Urban Environment. Strategic and Methodological Development and Physical Measures. *Fredriksdal- Safe and accessible for all.*

Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1. Applicant: Department for Sustainable Development. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Infrastructure and identity(I&I)- connected to safety in Million Program Areas.*

Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Increased safety for improved public health.*

Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Varde Lighting.*

Skåne County, Kävlinge Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safety in Kävlinge town centre.*

Skåne County, Lund Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safety mapping and implementation of measures in the district of Gunnebo.*

Skåne County, Malmö City. Applicant: Street Department. Physical Measures. *The Kroksbäck park.*

Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:1. Applicant: Municipal Executive Committee/ The Crime Prevention Council Södertälje. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *A more gender equal Telge.*

Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:2. Applicant: Telgebostäder AB and Tenant's Association Södertälje. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Action plan 2011. Young and tenant in Södertälje.*

Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3. Applicant: Crime Prevention Council and the Municipal Executive Committee. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safety with E.S.S.*

Stockholm County, City District Administration. Applicant: Hägersten-Liljeholmen city district administration. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe in the Trekant park.*

Stockholm County, Upplands Väsby Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *New lighting on Jarla Banken bridge over the railway in Upplands Väsby.*

- Stockholm County, Sigtuna Municipality. Applicant: HSB Brf Tallen. Physical Measures. *No title.*
- Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1. Applicant: The street/park department. Physical Measures. *Lighting plan for the Alby park.*
- Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:2. Applicant: Administration for Municipal Management. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Basic education in safety and gender equality with a focus on the planning process.*
- Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *No title.*
- Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4. Applicant: Area group Ha-No, Botkyrkabyggen, Botkyrka K. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safety survey in Hallunda-Norsborg.*
- Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Lighting program for Österåker municipality.*
- Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safety from a gender equality perspective in spatial planning.*
- Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Increased safety and reduced vulnerability of women in Fiskätra.*
- Stockholm County, Tyresö Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Physical Measures. *Young subway.*
- Stockholm County, Construction Company. Applicant: JM AB with the foundation Safer in Sweden. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safety in Housing.*
- Stockholm County, Stockholm City. Applicant: Town planning Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safe connection over Järvafältet.*
- Stockholm County, Täby Municipality. Applicant: Safe in Täby. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe and attractive subways.*
- Södermanland County, Katrineholm Municipality. Applicant: Town planning office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Gender equality in the physical environment of Katrineholm.*
- Södermanland County, Vingåker Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *A safer Vingåker-the detailed comprehensive plan as tool.*

- Södermanland County, Flen Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *A safer Flen.*
- Uppsala County, Municipal Housing Cooperation. Applicant: Municipal Housing Cooperation Håbo hus AB. Physical Measures. *Continued safety building work in residential areas.*
- Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing. Applicant: Enköping Rental Housing. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *A more secure, a safer, a vibrant Romberga.*
- Uppsala County, MOVIUM. Applicant: MOVIUM Research and Development Centre. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Urban spaces for all.*
- Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *One (of two) park pathways in Gottsunda- proposals for the transformation of nature to park.*
- Uppsala County, Housing Cooperation. Applicant: AB Älvkarlebyhus. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Renewal Hårsta.*
- Värmland County, Association. Applicant: Tenant's Association Region Middle. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *The safe Kronoparken.*
- Värmland County, Grums Municipality. Applicant: Technical Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *The Town Centre Park.*
- Värmland County, Säffle Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safety in the town centre.*
- Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:1. Applicant: Not specified. Physical Measures. *Physical measures in the passage/subway environment Umeå C.*
- Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:2. Applicant: Planning Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Interactive lighting map.*
- Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:3. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Advanced program and study Umeå C.*
- Västerbotten County, Lycksele Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe Local nature.*

- Västerbotten County, Västerbotten County Council. Sökande: Västerbotten County Council, real estate. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe way to the hospital.*
- Västernorrland County, Municipal Housing Cooperation. Applicant: Mitthem AB. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *A safe and secure Övre Nacksta.*
- Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1. Applicant: Town planning Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *A Safe municipality.*
- Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1 Applicant: Town Planning Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe pathways.*
- Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Physical Measures. *Safety building measures around Arboga station.*
- Västmanland County, Hallstahammar Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Knowledge and analysis.*
- Västmanland County, Norberg Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Physical Measures. *Öjerbogården safer outdoor environment.*
- Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:1. Applicant: Technical Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Lighting program for parts of Köping urban area part 1.*
- Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:2. Applicant: Technical Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Lighting program for parts of Köping urban area part 2.*
- Västmanland County, Västerås City. Applicant: Värna Västerås Crime Prevention Council. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Education for the central and local Crime Prevention Council/ Safety walks.*
- Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1. Applicant: The Traffic Office. Physical Measures. *Implementation of the design proposal for the walking and bicycling subway.*
- Västra Götalands County, Gothenburg City:2. Applicant: A Safer and more humane Gothenburg. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safety bicycling.*
- Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:3. Applicant: A Safer and more humane Gothenburg. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safety walk from a gender equality perspective.*

- Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:4. Applicant: The administration for Parks and Nature. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. and Physical Measures. *Safe in the town centre.*
- Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:5. Sökande: The administration for Parks and Nature. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Making intersectional knowledge (intersektionellt kunskapande)- gender as a point of departure in a planning project.*
- Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:1. Applicant: Gothenburg City Housing AB. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Gender equal safety- different same (olika lika).*
- Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2. Applicant: Gothenburg City Housing AB. Physical Measures. *Gender equal safety- different same phase 2. Implementation of physical measures “walking paths and entrances”.*
- Västra Götaland County, Kungälv Municipality. Applicant: The Town Planning Department. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *1/ Safety, accessibility and comfort in Kungälv Municipality, 2/ Integration of gender equality in town planning.*
- Västra Götaland County, Non Profit Organisation:1. Applicant: Real Estate Owners on Central Hisingen (FCH). Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *I feel safe!*
- Västra Götaland County, Non Profit Organisation:2. Applicant: Real Estate Owners on Central Hisingen (FCH). Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *I feel safe! - part 2.*
- Västra Götaland County, Borås Municipality. Applicant: Viskafors Parish Committee. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Increased safety in Viskafors.*
- Västra Götalands County, Other. Applicant: Gothenburg City Parking AB. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Survey and analysis of the parking areas of the parking company.*
- Västra Götaland County, Real Estate Company. Applicant: Botrygg Gothenburg AB. Physical Measures. *The Church village 126:1 “Örebrogatan”.*
- Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:1. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safe and gender equal in the Citronen area.*
- Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:2. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Lighting with gender perspective.*
- Örebro County, Non profit organisation. Applicant: Wadköping’s friends. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Bright and safe city.*

- Örebro County, Karlskoga Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Physical Measures for safety.*
- Örebro County, Lindesberg Municipality. Applicant: Bergslagens environment and building Administration. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Young women's safety in the Northern part of Örebro County.*
- Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:1. Applicant : Culture and Civic Administration. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safety building measures with a gender equality perspective and with art as a tool.*
- Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *A safer Örebro- increased safety and gender equality in urban environments.*
- Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Sub project 2. Development of a Method for Safety Walks.*
- Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:2. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Subproject 9 Citizen Collaboration through citizen maps.*
- Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:3. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Subproject 8 Competence- and organisational development in safety and gender equality work.*
- Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:1. Applicant: Not specified. Physical Measures. Measures for increased safety and gender equality.
- Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:2. Applicant: Technical Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *How safety and gender equality will be kept from detailed comprehensive planning to detail planning and implementation?*
- Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1. Applicant: Parks and Nature Unit, Technical Administration. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures and Physical Measures. *Safe green spaces in Motala.*
- Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2. Applicant: Parks and Nature Unit, Technical Administration. Physical Measures. *The park by the channel 'Kanalparken'.*
- Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1. Applicant: Technical Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Safety lighting.*
- Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:2. Applicant: Technical Office. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *A shrub plan for Norrköping.*

Application that I have no been able to get hold of:

Örebro County, Karlskoga Municipality. Applicant: Not specified. Strategic and Methodological Development Measures. *Plan for safety*.

Appendices

Appendix 1

References to more than 20 grant applications in Chapter 5 will be listed here. The number below corresponds with number in footnotes.

1A

Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:5; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:3; Halland County, public housing cooperation; Skåne County, Malmö City; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Jönköping County, Jönköping Municipality; Västerbotten County, Lycksele Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Uppsala County, Housing Cooperation; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Hägersten- Liljeholmen District Council; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality

1B

Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:4; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:1; Västra Götalands County, Göteborgs City:1; Västra Götaland County, Göteborgs City:3; Skåne County, Kävlinge Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Västerbotten County, Västerbotten County Council; Västernorrland County, Municipal Housing Cooperation; Dalarna County, Falun Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality: 3; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4; Stockholm County, Upplands Väsby Municipality

1C

Blekinge County, Property Owners; Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:1; Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality; Västmanland County, Norberg Municipality; Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:1; Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:2; Örebro County, Karlskoga Municipality; Örebro County, Nonprofit organisation; Värmland County, Rental Association; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Nonprofit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Public housing cooperation:2; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:1; Västra Götaland County, Public housing cooperation:1; Västra Götaland County, Kungälv Municipality; Halland County, Kungsbacka Municipality; Halland County, Public housing cooperation; Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality; Hallands County, Laholm Municipality; Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality:1; Skåne County, Malmö City; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2; Skåne County, Kävlinge Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Karlshamn Municipality; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality; Kalmar County, Public housing cooperation; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Kalmar County, municipal limited company; Kalmar County, Mönsterås Municipality; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Jönköping County, Jönköping Municipality;

Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality; Norrbotten County, Real Estate Company; Norrbotten County, Kiruna Municipality; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:2; Västerbotten County, Umeå Municipality:3; Västerbotten County, Västerbotten County Administration; Västerbotten County, Lycksele Municipality; Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality; Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:2; Västernorrland County, Municipal housing cooperation; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Gävleborg County, Sandviken Municipality; Dalarna County, Falun Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Linköpings Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:1; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Södermanland County, Katrineholm Municipality; Uppsala County, Housing Cooperation; Uppsala County, Municipal Housing Cooperation; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Stockholm County, Housing Association; Stockholm County, Upplands Väsby Municipality

1D

Skåne County, Lund Municipality; Västmanland County, Västerås City; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:5; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:4; Skåne County, Malmö City; Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:1; Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:2; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Norrbotten County, real estate company; Västerbotten County, Lycksele Municipality; Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Gävleborg County, Sandviken Municipality; Dalarna County, Falun Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:12; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:1; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Uppsala County, Uppsala Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Housing Association; Stockholm County, District Administration

1E

Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Linköpings kommun:2; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality; Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Skåne County, Malmö City; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:1; Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Association:1; Västmanland County, Köping Municipality; Örebro County, Non profit organisation; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:2; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:1; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Halland County, Laholm Municipality

1F

Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2; Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:1; Örebro County, Non profit organisation; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:1; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2; Örebro County, Lindsberg Municipality; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Public housing cooperation:1; Västra Götaland County, Public housing cooperation:2; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:3; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1; Blekinge County, Karlshamn Municipality; Västerbotten County, Västerbottens County District Administration; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1; Gävleborg County, Public Housing cooperation; Gävleborg County, Sandviken Municipality; Dalarna County, Leksand Municipality; Uppsala County, Enköping rental housing; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality; Stockholm County, Tyresö Municipality; Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality; Stockholm County; Botkyrka Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Housing cooperation and Rental housing association

1G

Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2; Skåne County, Malmö City; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1; Västmanland County, Arboga Municipality; Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:2; Västmanland County, Norberg Municipality; Örebro County, non-profit organisation; Örebro County,

Örebro Municipality:1; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2; Örebro County, Lindesberg Municipality; Värmland County, Association; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:4; Västra Götaland County, Other; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:2; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:3; Västra Götaland County, no profit organisation:1; Västra Götaland County, no profit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Real estate company; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:1; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:2; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:4; Halland County, Falkenberg Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Blekinge County, Karlskrona Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Jönköping County, Jönköping Municipality; Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality; Norrbotten County, Kiruna Municipality; Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality; Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:2; Västernorrland County, Municipal Housing Cooperation; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Gävleborg County, Public Housing Cooperation; Gävleborg County, Sandviken Municipality; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:2; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Södermanland County, Vingåker Municipality; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Stockholm, Construction Company; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Stockholm County, Upplands Väsby Municipality; Stockholm County, Stockholm City District Administration; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:1

1H

Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:1; Västmanland County, Köping Municipality:2; Örebro County, Lindesberg Municipality; Värmland County, Säffle Municipality; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Other; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:2; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:1; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:3; Halland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Skåne County, Malmö City; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1; Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:1; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:1; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County; Karlskrona Municipality; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Blekinge County; Karlskrona Municipality; Blekinge County; Ronneby Municipality:1; Kalmar County; Public Housing Cooperation; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Kronoberg County; Ljungby Municipality; Kronoberg County; Växjö Municipality; Kronoberg County; Alvesta Municipality; Jönköping County; Vetlanda Municipality; Jönköping County; Jönköping Municipality; Norrbotten County; Real Estate Company; Norrbotten County, Kiruna Municipality; Västerbotten County; Västerbotten County Council; Jämtland County; Strömsund Municipality; Jämtland County; Östersund Municipality:2; Västernorrland County, Municipal Housing Cooperation; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Västernorrland County; Sollefteå Municipality:1; Gävleborg County; Sandviken Municipality; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Södermanland County, Flens Municipality; Södermanland County, Vingåker Municipality; Uppsala County, Housing Cooperation; Stockholm County, Täby Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Stockholm City; Stockholm County, Nacka Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Stockholm County, Österåker Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Stockholm City District Administration; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:1

1J

Skåne County, Lund Municipality; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:2; Blekinge County, real estate company; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:1; Örebro County, Örebro Municipality:2; Värmland County, Association; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City: 4; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City: 5; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:1; Västra Götaland County, real estate company; Västra Götaland County, public housing cooperation:1; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:1; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:3; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:1; Halland County, Public Housing Cooperation: Halland County, Laholm Municipality; Skåne County, Malmö City; Skåne County, Helsingborg City:2; Skåne County, Housing Cooperation:2; Skåne County, Kristianstad Municipality:1; Kalmar County, Public Housing Cooperation; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Kalmar County, Municipal limited company; Kalmar County, Mönsterås Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality: Norrbotten County, Kiruna Municipality; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Association; Gävleborg County, Söderhamn Municipality; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:1; Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing Association; Uppsala County, Public Housing Cooperation; Stockholm County, Stockholm City; Stockholm County, Tyresö Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:2; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:

3; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3; Stockholm County, HSB Brf Housing Association; Stockholm County, District Administration

1K

Stockholm County, Stockholm City; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Jönköping County, Jönköping Municipality; Jönköping County, Nässjö Municipality; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:1; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality; Västmanland County, Västerås Municipality; Örebro County, Non profit organisation; Värmland County, Grums Municipality; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:2; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:3; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:1; Västra Götaland County, Non profit organisation:2; Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2; Halland County, Halmstad Municipality:5; Halland County, Laholm Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Kronoberg County, Växjö Municipality; Jämtland County, Östersund Municipality:2; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:1; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Dalarna County, Leksand Municipality; Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Linköping Municipality:2; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Mjölby Municipality:2;

Appendix 2

References to more than 20 grant applications in Chapter 6 will be listed here. The number below corresponds with number in footnotes.

2A

Västra Götaland County, Public Housing Cooperation:2; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:1; Västra Götaland County, Göteborgs City:3; Västra Götaland County, Other; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:1; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:2; Skåne County, Kävlinge Municipality; Kalmar County, Nybro Municipality; Kronoberg County, Ljungby Municipality; Norrbotten County, Luleå Municipality; Västernorrland County, Sollefteå Municipality:2; Östergötlands County, Linköpings Municipality:1; Södermanland County, Vingåker Municipality; Västmanland County, Västerås Municipality; Örebro County, Lindesberg Municipality; Blekinge County, Karlshamn Municipality; Jönköpings County, Nässjö Municipality; Norrbotten County, Luleå Municipality; Östergötland County, Linköpings Municipality:1; Uppsala County, Enköping Rental Housing; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Huddinge Municipality; Stockholm County, District Administration; Jämtland County, Strömsund Municipality

2B

Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Göteborg City:4; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:1; Västra Götalands County, Göteborgs City:1; Västra Götaland County, Göteborgs City:3; Skåne County, Kävlinge Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Kronoberg County, Älmhult Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Västerbotten County, Västerbotten County Council; Västernorrland County, Municipal Housing Cooperation; Dalarna County, Falun Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4; Stockholm County, Upplands Väsby Municipality

2C

Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:2; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:4; Västra Götaland County, Allingsås Municipality:1; Västra Götalands County, Gothenburg City:1; Västra Götaland County, Gothenburg City:3; Skåne County, Kävlinge Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:2; Blekinge County, Sölvesborg Municipality; Blekinge County, Ronneby Municipality:1; Kronoberg County, Tingsryd Municipality; Kronoberg

County, Älmhult Municipality; Kronoberg County, Alvesta Municipality; Jönköping County, Vetlanda Municipality; Västerbotten County, Västerbotten County Council; Västernorrland County, Public Housing Cooperation; Dalarna County, Falu Municipality:1; Dalarna County, Avesta Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Norrköping Municipality:1; Östergötland County, Motala Municipality:2; Södermanland County, Flen Municipality; Stockholm County, Södertälje Municipality:3; Stockholm County, Botkyrka Municipality:4; Stockholm County, Upplands Väsby Municipality

ABSTRACT

Spatial planning for safety rests on a number of assumptions about the desired order of the world. These assumptions appear as given and unproblematic, making the formulation of alternatives appear unnecessary. This dissertation provides an account of how, and on what basis a spatial planning problem such as 'fear and insecurity' is formulated and acted upon. It is an account of how and what conceptions of knowledge operate to legitimise ideological representations of spatial planning problems. And furthermore, what these ideological representations of spatial planning problems substantially entail, so as to allow for a political spatial planning practice that formulates and debates alternatives. This is carried out by analysing assumptions of public life and knowledge within Swedish spatial planning for safety.

This dissertation finds that Swedish spatial planning for safety constitutes 'certainty' as a hegemonic criterion for participating in public life, which operates to limit the articulation of alternative discourses in spatial planning for safety. The desired for safe public life is organised based on visual certainty, where the urban fabric should be configured in such ways as to allow for stereotypical visual identifications of one another. Such a public life reflects an individualised practice, where perceptions of fear should be governed by individuals themselves, by independently assessing situations and environments in terms of risks. This indivi-

dualised conduct is coupled with the fostering of active subjects, which encompasses being engaged in the local residential areas as well as in one another. Such substantial content of 'planning for safety' brings about tensions in terms of its ideological legitimating basis, by moving from principles of 'rights', where the individual constitutes the first ethical planning subject, to unitary principles of 'collective values', in which the 'community' constitutes the first ethical planning subject.

These presuppositions are further enabled through the ways in which knowledge is conceptualised in spatial planning. This dissertation argues that a hegemonic instrumental emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning prevails. Having such a hegemonic emphasis on knowledge has the implication that even though spatial planning adopts different assumptions, or moves between alternative assumptions of knowledge, the knowledge becomes meaningful only in its instrumental implementation. The instrumental emphasis on knowledge should be regarded in light of the rational and goal-oriented nature of project-based planning, which constitutes a logic that constrains the emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning. This dissertation argues further that if spatial planning should be considered a political practice that debates its goals and values, a politicisation of the emphasis on knowledge in spatial planning is imperative.



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