21 Safety in the making

An assessment of urban planners' practices in municipalities in Sweden

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21.1 Introduction

Shootings, explosions and riots in public places (see Magnusson's chapter in this book and BRÅ, 2015; Ceccato, Li, & Haining, 2018; Sturup, Rostami, Gerell, & Sandholm, 2018) in recent years have changed the perception of public areas in Sweden as a safe realm; such events have also affected the image of the country's largest cities, such as Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö (Savage, 2019; Watson & Said-Moorhouse, 2017). Smaller municipalities where low crime rates are often taken as a sign that crime is not a major problem (Ceccato, 2018) also show an impact on safety perceptions. Similar to other municipalities in Europe and the United States, these changes are often dictated by forces far beyond their local reality (Barclay, Scott, & Donnermeyer, 2011; Barton, Storey, & Palmer, 2011; Ceccato & Ceccato, 2017; Woods, 2011). This development is imposing a number of challenges on the professionals in charge of safety issues in these municipalities. The primary pressure is on the police and emergency services, but is also on safety experts and planners who work with places that attract crime or are perceived as unsafe. Yet, there is a lack of knowledge about how municipalities work with safety issues on a daily basis in Nordic countries (but see Ceccato & Dolmen, 2013; Ceccato & Pettersson, 2019; Mäkeläinen et al., 2019). Although there is a great deal of international research showing links between the urban environment and safety (e.g., Armitage, 2013; Colquhoun, 2004; Cozens & Love, 2015), most new property developments in Sweden seems to disregard crime and safety aspects in the construction process. In practice, safety seems to be more often associated with planning of fire hazards and traffic safety than with crime and safety perceptions (Ceccato et al. 2019).

This chapter makes a contribution to this knowledge base by reporting the answers from surveys from 85 percent of municipalities in Sweden collected in Spring 2019. The focus of the study is on the incorporation of situational crime prevention principles into planning practices, and in particular the use of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) when designing new areas. Using statistical analysis, this chapter assesses differences in answers from planners in urban and rural municipalities.

The overall aim with this chapter is to provide an overview of the status of urban planning practices in Sweden with a particular focus on safety issues, by answering the following questions.

1. Is safety incorporated into the planning process by municipalities when it refers to the physical and social environment of public places, and if so how?
2. Which are the most common aspects of situational crime prevention applied by these municipalities? How do the municipalities vary in their safety work? If they cooperate, what type of cooperation do they have and with whom?
3. What are the expectations of planners about the future use of situational crime prevention principles in planning practices, in particular the use of CPTED?

"Crime prevention" refers to any measure designed to reduce the actual level of crime and/or perceived fear of crime. The focus of this chapter is on measures aimed at reducing crime opportunities in a particular location, either during the planning stage of a residential area or when the area already exists. Safety perceptions also depend on the design of the physical and social environments of particular places.

Note that although neighborhood watch schemes, safety walks and other safety participatory initiatives make important contributions to overall safety, they are not the focus of this chapter.

In the next section, we review some of the most relevant theories that link the urban environment with crime and safety perceptions. Then, we present the study area, data and methods, followed by results and conclusions.

21.2 Theoretical background

Safety is one of the main concerns regarding public places (Costamagna, Lind, & Stjernström, 2019) and highly affects their use and accessibility. Therefore, how a public place is designed and managed has a major impact on an individual's safety (Ceccato, 2016). Planning public places is an important municipal responsibility. It is unclear whether and how safety principles are incorporated in new housing developments and plans. Equally important is to deal with public places that already exist and are unsafe or perceived to be so.

Internationally, safety has not been high on the agenda in urban planning. Previous literature has assessed crime prevention initiatives in rural areas as a whole (Ceccato & Dolmen, 2013; Woods, 2011; Yarwood & Edwards, 1995), but not with a situational crime perspective. Indeed, in Sweden, it is not well known whether and how the quality of public places is incorporated in crime prevention practices and/or safety improving measures. In the next section, we discuss the theoretical reasons for focusing on situational conditions of crime and fear.

Situational theories of crime and fear

The basic argument is that people commit crimes when they perceive a crime as an acceptable course of action in a given circumstance. Interventions that specifically target environmental characteristics will only be effective in preventing crime if they promote changes in how people perceive crime as an alternative in the specific environment (Wikström & Treiber, 2017). Therefore, the environment has an important role to play in crime occurrence, according to Situational Action Theory (Wikström, 2006). Below we discuss how urban environments can be planned or changed to make crime a less likely alternative for motivated offenders.

Situational crime prevention is about preventing or obstructing crime from being committed by changing the actual situation where crime can occur (Clarke, 1983). Urban design principles can be used to identify criminogenic or unsafe places, map and analyze their dynamics, tackle the problem, assess it and then attempt to solve it. This process is often carried out by police and safety experts, but local actors and members of civil society who live and work in these areas have started to get involved.

One can "think situationally" and "build in" safety from the outset when planning new areas, for example by planning the design of facades, the location of buildings, streets and shops—everything that can affect people's mobility and their ability to act for everyone's safety. The type, function and architectural design of a building influences what happens in the building and in surrounding places. This means that environments can be planned, constructed and modified according to certain design principles that can reduce the opportunities of crime and/or can maximize safety perceptions. This may, for example, involve planning in advance clear boundaries between public and semi-private places and strengthening social control capacities, for example by designing buildings with windows that have an overview of outdoor areas. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, or CPTED, (Crowe, 2000, 46) is defined as "the corrected design and the efficient use of the built environment that can lead to a reduction in fear of crime and crime incidents and to an improvement in quality of life". The classic CPTED model is based on a set of principles that provide indications of the quality of the environment from a safety perspective.

CPTED is built around core principles that focus on the physical environment (Figure 21.1), all of which cover a certain part of the situational work against crime. *Natural surveillance* and *access control* limit the opportunities for crime. Increased *territoriality* incorporates higher social control in an area. Proper *maintenance*, which gives a good *image* of an area, and *activity support* assures individuals that the situation is under control and provide them with "tools" to combat crime themselves. *Target hardening* complements all of these principles by making it even more difficult to commit crimes. CPTED has been extended in recent decades to incorporate other aspects of the social environment and public participation as well as issues of technology and users' perspectives on safety (for details, see Iqbal & Ceccato, 2016). Safety walks and other

Natural surveillance is achieved by the use of design to promote guardianship and therefore less crime. *Formal surveillance* is carried out by local stakeholders, including security guards and shopkeepers (users of the space), whereas *informal surveillance* is performed by residents and/or transients of a place (Hilborn 2009).

Territoriality refers to how the physical design can develop a sense of ownership in specific areas (Reynald 2015).

In second-generation CPTED, Saville and Cleveland (2008) stated that sense of ownership can help to create the idea of shared standards among different user groups, while in third-generation CPTED, territoriality can be promoted by sharing real-time information about what is happening in the place and in the immediate surroundings. Urban-scale green, sustainable and technologically enhanced design strategies are used to foster the perception of safety in cities (UNICRI 2012).

Access control refers to property control by barriers, enclosures and entry portals. Access control in third-generation CPTED can be related to pedestrian-friendly urban streetscapes (UNICRI, 2012) in smart cities by installation of safety information signs through wireless network transmissions (audio/video).

Target hardening is about how the design of a space can make it difficult for people to steal or damage private and/or public property (e.g. by installing padlocks). Cozens, Saville and Hillier (2005 p.338) warned that overuse of target hardening measures can lead to the development of a ''fortress mentality''

Image of the place/Maintenance informs how the esthetic pleasantness of the environment can enhance the perceived safety of the area and keep potential criminals away because well-kept environments show that people are in control of the area.

Figure 21.1 CPTED core principles.

techniques under the umbrella "place making" are used to identify and address safety problems, together with residents and other relevant stakeholders.

This chapter reports on results by exploring aspects of diffusion of safety principles by municipalities through the planning practices of urban planners. In particular,

1. whether and how safety is incorporated into the planning process,
2. what planners use as a reference when working with safety issues,
3. how municipalities vary in their work based on whether they are urban or rural, and whether they cooperate with other actors, and finally,
4. their future expectations about the use of situational crime prevention principles in planning practices, in particular the use of CPTED.

21.3 Framing the case study

Of Sweden's 10 million inhabitants, a few more than 2 million live in the countryside, according to the National Rural Development Agency. Sweden has a relatively low population density of 21 inhabitants per square kilometer (the corresponding figure for Denmark is 125), with the highest concentration of inhabitants in the southern half of the country (OECD, 2017). Some of the

differences in crime rates are related to the economic character of different municipalities. For instance, rural touristic municipalities tend to experience seasonal variations in crime rates, often dependent on visitor inflows, demanding special care in terms of crime prevention. In Sweden, police records over 15 years show that urban and accessible rural areas are at higher risk of crime than the most remote ones but that increases of risk of crime converge toward the year 2014. Although the trends diverge somewhat in urban and rural areas, in the short term they seem to track one another quite closely up to 2014, when rates dropped to levels similar to those found in 2002. The biggest increases are in violent crimes, criminal damage and some types of property crime (Ceccato, 2016). Crime victim surveys in Sweden show a more stable picture but indicate an increasing trend in crime since 2016 (BRÅ, 2019).

The country has 290 municipalities with a long tradition of comprehensive planning, embodying a rich experience of various methods and techniques. The current planning system was developed in the 1960s and 1970s, when the era of planning based on the master plan concept ended. Municipal planning guidelines became the new planning instrument that in practice replaced the former master plan for cities and towns from the 1970s to the 1990s. Over time, planning systems continue to change, subject to new requirements. New planning methods have started to be used, for example the "municipal planning monopoly", which in practice means that the system is designed by the municipalities (Ptichnikova, 2012). All municipalities are required to have a comprehensive plan that covers the entire municipality (*översiktsplan*) and shows the main ways in which land and water should be used and how development should take place. The comprehensive plan is not binding on authorities or individuals. There is yet another comprehensive plan (*fördjupad översiktsplan*) that has the same status as a comprehensive plan but only covers a part of a municipality. Land use and development within a municipality is controlled through the detailed development plan (*detaljplan*), which is the implementation instrument of the municipality and is legally binding. The detailed development plan has to show areas designated for public places, such as streets, roads, squares and parks. The municipality can also set requirements for the execution of the buildings (Ptichnikova, 2012). Thus, there are two planning instruments that the municipalities use as a basis for their tasks—the comprehensive plan and the detailed development plan—and, based on these, planners can incorporate safety aspects in new developments, often in close collaboration with external stakeholders, such as the police or safety experts. The planning process is regulated by the Planning and Building Act and the Environmental Code, which form the legal basis for urban planning in Sweden.

For existing areas (not new or redevelopment), the municipalities together with the Police Authority form the core of the local crime prevention work, and it is important that this work is carried out long-term, efficiently and is knowledge-based (Ministry of Justice, 2019). However, the majority of these local councils have concentrated their work on social crime prevention, such as prevention of alcohol and drug addiction among youth. Lack of resources, poor involvement of certain members working with crime prevention and limited

knowledge have been highlighted as barriers for crime prevention work (BRÅ, 2005). The model of crime prevention often concentrates on problems that are more relevant to large cities than to rural areas. For a review of local crime prevention practices in Sweden, see Ceccato & Dolmen (2013). This lack of attention to crimes in rural areas is not unique. At the European level, the rural dimension has been omitted in the evaluation of safety and crime prevention policies (Robert, 2010). Therefore, this chapter looks at potential differences in answers by planners from urban and rural municipalities.

Data and methods

The survey consisted of questions about situational crime prevention, safety perspectives and measures in relation to the built environment as well as the processes for planning, design, construction and management of the built environment. There were also questions about cooperation, standardization and expectations about the future in this area. The survey was sent via email on 25 April 2019, followed by four reminders on 29 April, 6 May, 16 May and 23 May. We received the addresses of the persons responsible in each municipality from the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket). As many as 185 municipalities answered at least one survey completely (69 percent); if we include the incomplete answers, 214 municipalities answered at least one (80 percent). Those who did not answer all the questions were often living in sparsely populated municipalities (some did not think that all questions suited their context).

As for the profile of the respondents, as many as 33 percent of planners are 40–49 years old. Planners who answered the survey were most often community planners or physical planners (41 percent), followed by "other option" (20 percent), such as architects, 20 percent having a technical education while the remainder have a community- or security-related education. The sample that answered the questions turned out to be fairly gender balanced (50 percent men to 48 percent women, 2 percent not stating gender or gender status).

For the analysis, assuming that the planning context differs across the country in terms of the safety challenges planners face (high crime areas/demand or not) and resources they have available (such as police force supply), municipalities were divided into urban and rural. *Rural municipalities* combine accessible rural and remote rural municipalities into one category, since only 7 percent of municipalities in Sweden are remote rural. As defined by the Swedish National Rural Development Agency (2005), *remote rural* municipalities cannot be reached within 45 minutes by car from the nearest urban neighborhood with more than 3,000 inhabitants; *accessible rural municipalities* can be reached within 5–45 minutes by car from urban locations with more than 3,000 inhabitants. Municipalities with more than 3,000 inhabitants that can be reached within five minutes by car are regarded as urban municipalities.

Descriptive statistics were used to characterize the data and to test for differences between two independent groups of answers by type of municipality

(rural and urban); the chi-square test was utilized or, in the case of small expected frequencies, Fisher's exact test.

21.4 Results and discussion

General trends

Issues of crime and safety have increasingly become a part of urban planning in most municipalities in Sweden, but there are major differences in how these aspects are applied in practice. Planners declare that safety is an important part of the planning process, but in most municipalities the way in which the safety issues are dealt with varies greatly. Below, we discuss this in more detail.

Half of planners have knowledge about the concept of CPTED, but not many of them say that they apply it in practice: only 27 percent of planners consider safety in the design of new buildings in a way that strengthens natural surveillance. The same applies to situational crime prevention principles. Note that some answers came from experts working in the emergency services, who consequently may be unfamiliar with these terms. Almost 25 percent of them say that their municipalities do not work at all with safety in terms of crime and fear of crime in planning but with other types of security, such as fire hazards or traffic safety. A few examples of the answers from planners are illustrated below.

> We do not work with that. We do not have much crime in our municipality.
>
> We do not have any clear planning documentation or checklists yet, but we have a collaboration with public health strategists during the planning process.
>
> It is part of our profession to consider safety and security issues in the planning process without special guiding policy documents.
>
> Yes, safety issues are taken into account in all our detailed plans.

Other municipalities employ consultants or choose other routes that show a combination of solutions as listed below.

> We work with physical planning in terms of safety and inclusion with e.g., open meeting places. Safe walkways with free visibility and good lighting.
>
> … changes in the green areas, clearing for increased natural surveillance, better maintenance.
>
> Yes, to some extent in the center of the village, where the goal is to create a safer center environment with the help of redesign such as lighting, planning, etc.

In response to the question "Which policy, governance document or similar is most widely used for crime prevention in your municipality?" 67 percent of

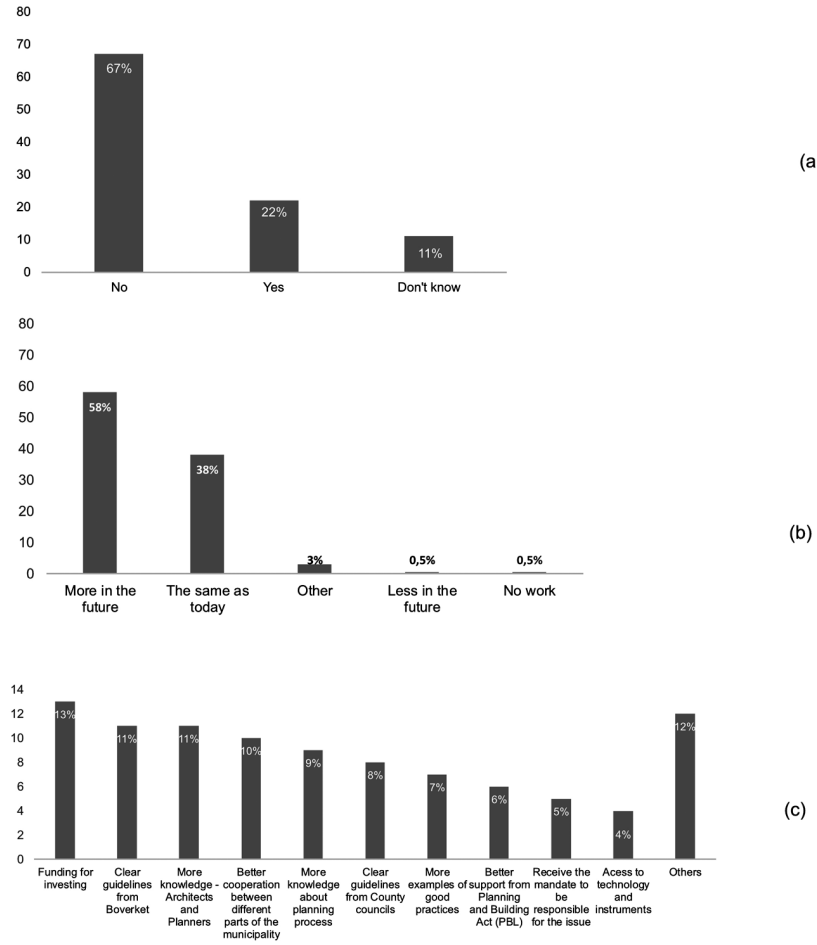

Figure 21.2 (a) Do you use any policies, governance documents or the like that deal with forms of crime prevention and security-creating physical measures, $N = 137$ (55 percent). (b) Will you in your municipality work more with the physical environment and safety in planning? $N = 137$ (55 percent). (c) What would planners want in the municipality to better work preventively with the incorporation of physical environment principles and situational crime prevention? $N = 138$ (56 percent, respondents were encouraged to select multiple alternatives).

planners stated that they lack guiding policy, governance or similar documents that deal with crime prevention through environmental design (Figure 21.2(a)). Only 22 percent of the municipalities declare having government documents or similar that deal with forms of crime prevention and security-creating physical measures.

If we consider existing areas (not new housing areas or redevelopment), municipalities invest in safety in slightly different ways. Some of them involve changes in the physical environment, others require the involvement of several actors, including civil society, or a combination of these. On the positive side, almost 70 percent of planners respond that they have a safety coordinator in the municipality with whom they cooperate, to some extent or to a large extent. Here are some examples of their own words.

> We work continuously with safety walks together with the local crime prevention council and the police.
>
> We have a continuous dialogue between the police, the municipality's prevention unit and the municipality's security coordinator.
>
> BID (Business improvement districts) is a model that was started in a district. Too early to say anything about the results yet.

For example, the survey shows that according to 61 percent of planners, social aspects (including safety in a children's perspective, gender focus, etc.) are taken into account in some form in physical planning. Sixty-two percent of municipalities agree that the safety should be attained by all and everywhere—regardless of gender, age, background or abilities. In the next section, the diffusion of the CPTED core principles in planning practices is discussed in more detail.

Incorporation of CPTED core principles

Findings show that planners in urban municipalities are more often aware of the effect of the physical environment on people's capacity to exercise natural surveillance than are those in rural municipalities. However, in reference to maintenance of public spaces (in particular playgrounds and parks), no difference was found between answers from urban and rural municipalities; two thirds of all municipalities find maintenance of public spaces very important for safety. Below, we describe differences and similarities concerning the application of CPTED principles in new housing production and existing residential areas by type of municipality. The physical environment and design affect the following.

- *Natural surveillance*—This is promoted by features that maximize the visibility of people, parking areas and entrances and foster positive social interaction and guardianship. Having windows on the most important sides of the facade (and at the "right height") is highlighted as important regardless of type of municipality (66 percent among urban, and 55 percent among rural, $p=0.165$), indicating that planners value highly visibility as a safety measure. Cutting down trees and maintaining vegetation in parks and streets

are actions that ensure visibility. As many as 83 percent of urban municipalities consider maintenance of vegetation as important to facilitating natural surveillance; the figure is a much smaller 64 percent among rural municipalities ($p=0.017$). Findings are similar for a number of other aspects, such as the importance of the height of the buildings to ensuring the capacity of surveillance on streets and in parks and surroundings (72 percent in urban municipalities, and 48 percent in rural, $p=0.005$) and location of the houses in relation to each other and in the residential area (79 percent in urban municipalities, and 54 percent in rural, $p=0.002$). However, planners in urban municipalities more often do not see that buildings and other physical elements of the urban landscape are in themselves barriers to visibility and natural surveillance, while in rural municipalities they do (76 percent in rural against 56 percent in urban areas, $p=0.027$).

- *Territoriality and access control*—This is about how spaces are designed and built to communicate ownership or occupancy of areas and possessions. For instance, 74 percent of urban municipalities consider the separation between private and public spaces an important feature at the entrances of houses and apartments to make a statement of change of ownership; only 55 percent of the rural municipalities do ($p=0.028$), indicating that these features may not be as important in rural communities for safety as they are for bigger cities, where the degree of anonymity is greater than in rural areas. Regardless of municipality size, about half of those who answered the questionnaire wished to have signs stating who owns or administrates a property as a safety measure.
- *Maintenance*—This refers to maintenance of public spaces (in particular playgrounds and parks), and no difference in the answers of planners in urban and rural municipalities was found. Two thirds of all municipalities find maintenance very important (80 percent in urban municipalities, 72 percent in rural municipalities, $p=0.339$). Illumination is an important factor for all types of municipality: more than half of the sample describe the importance of having it well functioning at the entrances of houses and apartments and well planned in the area, regardless of municipality type.
- *Target hardening*—Planners have little knowledge about the types of doors suggested in new housing developments (9 percent in urban areas, and 14 percent in rural municipalities, $p=0.338$), and this level of detail (doors) does not seem to be part of their work in ensuring safety. Most planners (65 per cent) do not see gated communities as an alternative for housing developments in Sweden. When asked if they thought, "safety could be ensured by building areas that are surrounded by physical barriers, such as gates, fences and the similar", their answer was most commonly, "no", regardless of municipality type (65 percent among urban municipalities, and 64 percent among rural ones, $p=825$).
- *Activity support*—This includes both passive and active efforts to promote the presence of place users in an area, thus increasing legitimate use and discouraging criminal activities or unsafe spots. Mixed land use in central areas (with

offices, services and residential areas) is suggested as an essential component when planners build new residential areas. No significant differences between urban and rural municipalities were found: 87 percent and 79 percent, respectively ($p = 0.225$). Similar results were found with regard to investing in places that attract multiple users, such as squares and playgrounds.

- *Image/Identity*—Nearly all municipalities believe that architecture and landscape architecture (gardens/parks) can be used to create a positive identity for the area, but much more so in urban municipalities than in rural ones, $p = 0.051$. Half of them also agree about creating activities to ensure "place ownership" (*ägarskap av en plats*) by supporting local cooperation between actors (46 percent of urban areas, 40 percent of rural ones). Similar results were found for creation of places for common social activities of local associations (70 percent of urban municipalities, 63 percent of rural municipalities, $p = 0.925$).

Consultation and cooperation

Urban safe environments require well-coordinated actions of architects, planners, safety experts and police—to name but a few. Findings show that the police still play a central role in this constellation of actors. To the question, "If you think about the last occasion when you collaborated on crime and/or security issues in your municipality, what stakeholders and actors were involved?" planners first indicated police, followed by safety coordinators. The third most common partner for planners was property owners, accompanied by schools or planning architects, civil society, emergency services followed by others and those who have not yet engaged in any cooperation.

Planners and safety experts have important roles to play in the process, so cooperation between them is essential to make sure safety principles become an integral part of the planning and building process as described below.

> Tiny municipality, simple communication paths.
>
> Through the planning process, emails.
>
> We try to participate in safety walks.
>
> Social aspects are discussed to a certain extent in various cases (building permits/detailed plan).

According to planners, most of the cooperation takes place at three levels: comprehensive plan (*översiktsplan*, always), detailed plan (*detaljplan*, sometimes) or in connection with any policy document. This finding reflects how the municipalities function nowadays in Sweden; namely they now have a single unit for planning with subdivisions, in which building permits and planning (*översiktsplan*, *detaljplan*) are normally in separate departments. Safety issues affect both levels. Findings show that there is a desire among planners for increased contact between these levels of local government.

There are differences in cooperation by municipality type. Planners were asked, "Do you cooperate with a safety and security coordinator?" Exactly 75 percent of planners in urban municipalities cooperate with safety experts; this figure is slightly lower in rural municipalities, but note that the differences between groups are not statistically significant. Rural municipalities say more often than urban ones that they interact with the planning department and the building permits department in security and safety matters (71 percent of municipalities in rural areas, 57 percent in urban ones, $p = 0.073$). Below, some of the municipalities explain the nature of their cooperation or lack of it.

> We have different agendas … there is lack of knowledge about the needs of each party, which is why in the action plan for security against crime we set a goal to inventory the plan and the need for knowledge of the land use office to be able to work effectively with security.
>
> There are no goals or incentives to work with the issues to make it effective.
>
> Creating a program/policy document together with the community and development sector would make a big difference in the future.

There are opportunities for improvement regarding cooperation between planning and building permits departments, with 27 percent declaring that there is no collaboration at present. Because safety needs to be taken into account in most units within a municipality, collaboration becomes important—even crucial—unless a uniform process or guidelines for the work exist. A similar proportion of respondents say they cooperate on these issues with the county administrative board. More than half of the planners are aware of cooperation between the municipality and the police on these issues and are generally positive about the local cooperation. A clear set of goals or "vision" for the municipality is a recurrent aspect mentioned in their answers.

Future expectation of planners and planning practices

The majority of planners who answered the questionnaire believe that in the future they will work more with safety issues in planning (58 percent) than they do today (Figure 21.1(b)). To make this possible, they primarily believe that better funding is necessary. Other aspects, such as more knowledge among planners and architects, better coordination and clearer guidelines from national bodies, are also highlighted (Figure 21.1(c)).

In answer to the question, "Do you perceive that increased standardization of the process to incorporate safety in planning practices could have positive effects?" 70 percent of those planners who answered this question agree that it would be easier to take these aspects into account if clearer safety guidelines were in place. Many of those who answered this question highlighted the following, to consider the specificities of contexts.

> It depends on whether the standardization facilitates the creation of good environments based on specific place conditions.
>
> Different solutions are required for cities and for us in the smaller municipalities. Difficult then with general solutions. A framework or standard, on the other hand, should be clear.

More interestingly, in the future, only 7 percent of planners would consider physical barriers as an alternative to ensuring security and safety; more precisely, 65 percent of planners in urban municipalities agree that security cannot be created by building areas that are bounded by physical barriers such as gates or fences.

21.5 Conclusions and recommendations

Natural surveillance and maintenance are the most common aspects considered by planners in their planning safety practices. This is true to a greater extent in urban than in rural municipalities. Illumination is an important maintenance factor for all types of municipality: more than half of the sample describe the importance of having well-functioning illumination regardless of municipality type. However, implementing physical barriers as a safety solution was not considered an alternative for most planners. The police are still indicated as central actors with reference to safety in municipalities; they are also pointed out by planners as their main partners with regards to issues of crime and safety. Yet, more than half of planners express a lack of guidance on safety issues. About two-thirds of them wish for an increased standardization of the process to make possible the incorporation of safety in planning practices. They believe that some guidance could have positive effects for all parts involved. This rather gloomy development has major implications for current urban quality of life and, most importantly, it challenges the ideals of a safe society in the frame of reference embodied by the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goals.

Based on the responses from urban and rural municipalities, it would be beneficial to create safety guidelines to support the work done by urban planners, a model anchored in research evidence and sensitive to the needs of all individuals. These guidelines could be linked to the Planning and Building Act and evaluated over time with information on, and support for, practices involving different stakeholders. In particular, it would be beneficial to identify and work against current barriers to cooperation between the municipality and the police as well as other stakeholders, such as building companies. Knowledge paths, from the local level to the national, that involve smaller municipalities in influencing the creation and implementation of safety guidelines could be created. Equally important is to create educational opportunities for learning about safety guidelines, recommended for experts working on construction and crime prevention at the municipal and regional levels, this could take shape as a "safety monitoring lab".

This chapter is not free from limitations. The focus here has been on planners' perspectives, disregarding the views and experiences of other stakeholders, such as safety experts and other external stakeholders. Another limitation is that it does not report on safety initiatives that are associated more with second- and third-generation CPTED or experiences with neighborhood watch schemes, safety walks, night patrols and the like. Finally, despite the fact that rural municipalities were part of the sample, some of the questions were not completely appropriate for their contexts. Despite these limitations, this analysis provides one of the first overviews of the status of urban planning practices in Sweden with regards to the implementation of situational crime prevention and CPTED principles.

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