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Public Space and the Feeling of (Un)Safety

Between the need for improvement and social appropriation of Urban Competence

Master thesis

Public Space and the Feeling of (Un)Safety:
Between the need for improvement and social
appropriation of Urban Competence

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Abstract

Safety in public spaces is less a matter of statistics and objectivity than of feelings and perception of space. Society constructs individual images of public space through subjective feelings. The triggers for this are diverse: physical environment, human behaviour, media and inequalities in participation in public space.

This thesis therefore aims to find out which factors are decisive in the formation of a perception of space in relation to Subjective Safety. In addition, possible measures for the prevention of Feelings of Unsafety in public spaces are elaborated. In order to achieve these goals, this thesis is based on a literature review and three empirical survey methods. In the selected case study of a medium-sized town in Lower Saxony, Barsinghausen, an online survey was carried out to collect decisive factors for Feelings of (Un)Safety. Aiming to find out the significance of media in the area of analysis, an examination of the local press was appended. To obtain the perspective of the planners and consequently the initiators of preventive measures, an expert discussion was also held with representatives of the city planning and city administration of Barsinghausen.

The evaluation of the results shows that although components of the physical environment, such as clarity, visibility and brightness, are decisive for safe perceptions in public spaces, it is increasingly human behaviour and media coverage that influence Subjective Safety. Here, differences between the sexes man and woman are particularly noticeable. Preventive planning measures by the city in a structural-architectural context alone are not sufficient to generally ensure increased safety perceptions in public space. The construction of safe feelings is also related to the development of social and urban competence within society, but urban planning is able to trigger this.

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List of Abbreviations

C&E	<i>person in charge of the cycling concept and environmental issues</i>
CPTED	<i>Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design</i>
EOO	<i>equal opportunities officer</i>
GM	<i>Gender Mainstreaming</i>
HPD	<i>head of planning department</i>
NB	<i>responsible person of the city planning department for the redevelopment area “North Barsinghausen”</i>
str.	<i>street (as title or part of a street name; german: Straße)</i>
WCI	<i>Women in Cities International</i>

1 Introduction

In its conceptualisation, public space is considered a spatial unit for the general, broad public. It constitutes places of encounter and meeting. This implies the use of space for all members of society. However, reality often shows that the public space is not equally accessible to all and thus processes of exclusion from the public space exist. Besides the building structure, the design, spatialized policies and laws, the social component of encounters and behaviours in space are decisive for this. The users of public space perceive all these spatial contents individually. A crucial variable in this perception is Subjective Safety. It can actively contribute to exclusion mechanisms from public space by peoples' avoidance of locations associated with unsafe feelings. Passive effects are also part of this, so that groups of the population can be pushed out of a specific public space through planning reactions to individual safety perceptions (e.g. LISTERBORN 2016; BESCHERER et al. 2017; LOUKAITOU-SIDERIS & ECK 2007). In planning and scientific discourses, the perception of public space related to Subjective Safety is often additionally linked to gender differences. Here, the relationship between men and women is examined in terms of the Feeling of (Un)Safety and Objective Safety. Those discourses range from fundamental gender access differences in participation in public space due to patriarchal structures to increased Perceptions of Unsafety of women in public space, although their real dangers are predominantly located in private space. Consequently, safety is treated as socially constructed in the context of Subjective Safety in this thesis. In addition to the mentioned spatial perceptions, other influences can play a role. For example, reports from media or other members of society can lead to a change in the assessment or image of a certain public space (e.g. ROLFES 2015).

Subjective Safety is thus a very variable concept that is interpreted, perceived and experienced in different ways. Origins and localisation of Feelings of (Un)Safety in public space are diverse and depend on a multitude of factors. For this very reason, the following research questions are addressed in this thesis: Why and where do people feel (un)safe in public space? How is the perception of public space influenced? What are the differences in the perception of public space as (un)safe between population groups and genders? What recommendations can be formulated to create a safe appearance of public space?

This thesis therefore examines which factors are decisive for the emergence of Feelings of Safety and Unsafety in public space. Furthermore, it looks at discrepancies in the general use of public space between the genders man and woman and explains their differences in perception of space. In order to further elaborate the structure of cause and consequence, the research work of this thesis is then broadened including measures to avoid unsafe feelings in public space. A crucial point for the state of

research in the topic of Subjective Safety in public space is the thesis' integration of a case study consisting of an investigation of a medium-sized town. Previous work is mostly based on large cities (e.g. KALMS & BAWDEN 2021; KRAUß & SCHWIMMER 2021; ROBERTS 2013).

In order to answer the aforementioned research questions and the associated focal points of analysis, this thesis relies on the following structure: First, the basic terms in the field of Subjective Safety are explained in more detail. Then the methodological approach is presented, which is built on two pillars. The first pillar, a detailed literature review, follows the methodology chapter. The second pillar then comprises the three empirical sub-areas of a quantitative survey, qualitative interview and media analysis carried out on a case study. Finally, the discussion section relates the empirical findings to previous scientific knowledge of the field. In the process, the limitations of the used empirical methods are also pointed out and recommendations for action in practice are formulated. A final conclusion marks the end of the thesis.

2 Terminology

This chapter aims to define and explain the most important terms mentioned several times in the course of the elaboration.

2.1 (Un)Safety as a social construction

Safety is not only a form of emotion in which people develop feelings of rebelling against any threat in order to feel safe and attain the emotional states of certainty, reliability and unthreatenedness, but is articulated by a variety of perspectives. Thus, traffic safety, safety of machines, digital safety, economic safety or legal safety are also counted as interpretative layers of the safety discourse (SAILER 2004: 13). In the present work, the Perception of Safety or perceived safety in public space plays a particularly important role, in which the emotional level in particular, i.e. the subjective feeling, but also the objective view and the media discourse are significant, since public space is not only appropriated, but also observed, evaluated or even stigmatised from an external perspective. Rather, as a result, the concept of safety is seen as socially constructed.

If the concept of safety is interpreted as a Perception of Safety, as in this work, it is opened up broadly in terms of content. Here, safety is not only negatively connoted by the absence of violence, crime, risks and all kinds of worries, but is also associated with positive meanings, so that safety corresponds to a feeling of belonging, familiarity and trust as well. Consequently, people's lifeworlds must be shaped according to these two directions of understanding; merely combating statistical variables, such as criminal offences, or potential threats, is not enough. Subjective Safety is ultimately a central component of quality of life. If citizens of a city can develop freely and participate fully in public life,

Subjective Safety is assured. But, if we understand or interpret parts of the public space as threatening or impairing, even if there is no concrete danger of becoming a victim of crime (or similar), those who are affected restrict themselves and change their behaviours (CREEMERS et al. 2020: 27). In order to clarify this social construction of the concept of safety bringing it into the context of public space, HERRMANN & SESSAR (2007: 191) describe that the streetscape is just a picture that is painted by the artist or is interpreted by the viewer. In this connection, it is the inhabitant or user of the urban space who evaluates his direct public environment and characterises the space with certain features through his subjective perception (ibid.). BESCHERER et al. (2017) take this logic even further and attribute a social learning process to the perception of Feelings of Unsafety, so that certain triggers, such as little lighting or deserted urban environment, make spaces negatively associated. As a result, certain sites in public space develop into symbolic urban sub-areas of unsafety, as they are repeatedly mentioned in studies and surveys in the context of perceived unsafety, so that this image is carried forward (ibid.). Safety as a perception exists relatively independently of objective figures, risks or threat situations. The perception of one's own safety in certain places of the city depends on numerous factors that interact with each other in various ways. In summary, psychological, biographical, social as well as socio- and urban-spatial aspects are decisive here, which influence the individual Perception of Safety. Psychological factors include experiences of victimisation or personal vulnerability; biographical factors include components such as age or gender; social factors include disputes and conflicts, the quality of the individual's social relationships or media coverage of crime; socio-spatial and urban factors include, for example, cohesion in the neighbourhood or the physical appearance and perception of certain public places. As can be seen in Figure 1, the Feelings of Safety or Unsafety can be summarised in

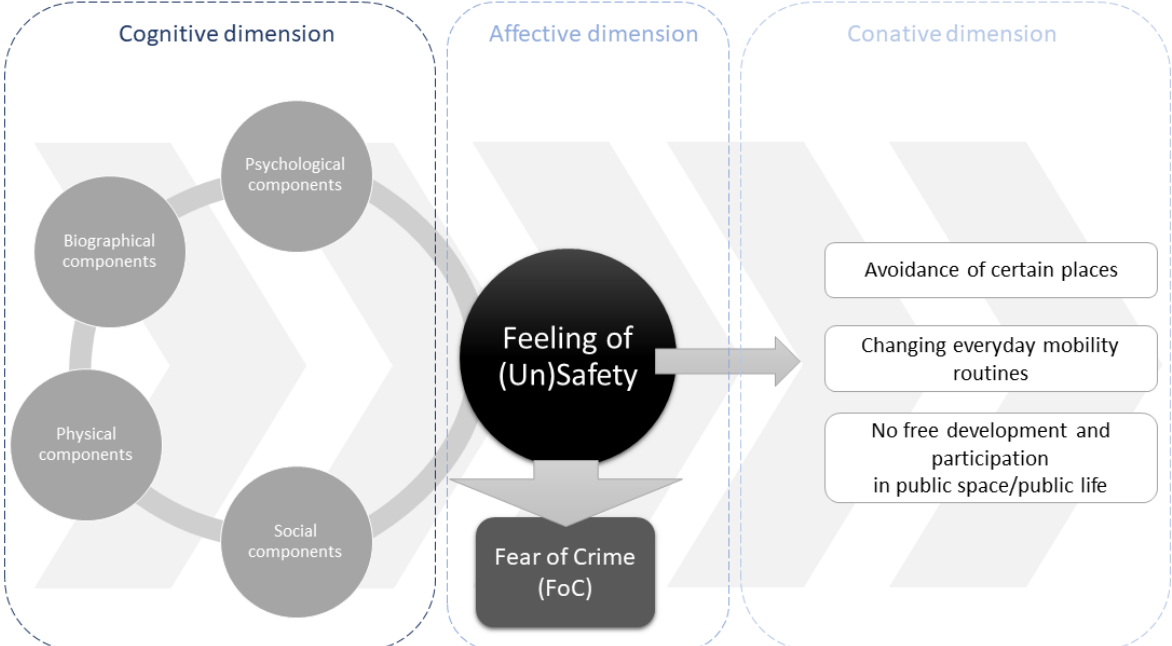


Figure 1: Concept of the Feeling of (Un)Safety (own depiction based on CREEMERS et al. 2020; BOERS 2002 & BANNISTER & FYFE 2001)

a concept. The components just mentioned first play a role on the cognitive level – through them, perceptions and ideas are first produced in mind or in thoughts and reflections of each individual. The Feeling of (Un)Safety can then be attributed to the affective dimension, as it is an expression of emotional states that arise from the perceived external influencing factors. The third dimension is the conative dimension, which can be summarised as the reaction on previous levels. In this context, reactions can be understood as adaptations of habitual behaviour so that the perceived dangers or threats can be managed individually (CREEMERS et al. 2020: 27).

In recent studies, the state of feeling unsafe is also equated with the expression of fear in frequent cases (see Figure 1). We should note that those who, for example, call for harsher punishments for criminals or see the development of crime as a threat to the state and society are not the same as people who are afraid of crime. Rather, the emphasis here is also on the emotional level, so that the Fear of Crime is an emotional reaction to the dangers of crime, which are assessed as a personal threat. Thus, individual risk assessments, to what extent an individual is at risk of becoming a victim of violence, and behavioural reactions, as clearly shown in the conative dimension of Figure 1, are decisive for the occurrence of Fear of Crime (BOERS 2002: 1401). Hence, the basic space-related fear can be defined according to WURFF et al. (1988: 137), corresponding to the perception of a threat that disturbs or threatens to disturb a part of the well-being, combined with the feeling of inability to tackle the perceived problem or challenge. In the expression of fear, the emotional level of the individual again becomes clear, so that emotions are experienced in relation to crimes or other threats, which have different causes, duration or extent. According to previous studies, fear in space is closely connected with the factor of vulnerability, which is intensified by these feelings and leads to a reduced or even avoided participation in social life in the residential environment or the public sphere in which people normally interact (BANNISTER & FYFE 2001: 808f).

2.2 Perceived Public (Un)Safe Spaces

A public place must be safe to be fully considered public. The collective of society has the right to use public space so that it is shared by all. Public space can take different forms, be it streets or other traffic spaces, parks or shopping malls. The number of people in the respective public space is irrelevant – stadiums or airports are visited by thousands of people, whereas narrow connecting roads or bus stations can also be deserted at times. In both phenomena, poor urban architecture and infrastructure can lead to a sense of unsafety, as opportunities for crime arise or an overarching appearance of a lack of control and order is created. Generalisations for the reproduction of unsafety or safety on the user of public space cannot be made, but it is important to find definitions for public spaces that reflect Perceptions of Safety (CECCATO 2020a: 16). A simple paraphrase of the factual relationship between public space and perceived safety is the extent of active living in a given physical environment. If a

public space is characterised by mobility, such as walking or jogging, or by people staying there, active life takes place that is shaped by social relationships, local environmental factors and individual experiences or views. One of these conditions for an active life in public space is safety. Public space that is increasingly perceived as unsafe or characterised by crime tends to be avoided and less frequented (LOUKAITOU-SIDERIS & ECK 2007: 380).

Public space is generally understood to be more dangerous and unsafe than private space, which in turn promises safety and protection. However, a look at the nationwide crime statistics in Germany reveals a different picture: at 19.4 per cent, only just under one fifth of registered crimes are attributed to street crime (see BMI 2021: 15). According to the statistical context, the public space is comparatively safe and dangers or threats are rather to be expected in the private sphere and space. To illustrate this finding, BESCHERER et al. (2017: 10) describe that about two thirds of violent acts against women occur in the direct social environment, i.e. in one's own home or in the home of friends/relatives. Consequently, the Feelings of Unsafety in public spaces must be explained in a different way than with numbers and objective approaches of statistics. Feelings of Unsafety or even Fear of Crime in public spaces are rather related to the perception of people, who are affected by various phenomena that seem to threaten the individual cosmos of values and norms or are at least interpreted as threatening. These phenomena mostly represent incidents while walking through public space, which can be classified below the threshold of criminality and yet trigger Feelings of Unsafety. These include actions arising from society that deviate from the individual's view of the world – be it public alcohol consumption, the presence of homeless people or the general physical-material spatial perception of neglect as well as buildings and bus stops in need of renovation (ibid.). Further elaboration on the triggers of Feelings of Safety and Unsafety in public space can be found in Chapter 4.

So far, the most recent state of research does not allow any uniform statements on the subjective evaluations of urban safety at specific locations. Hotspots of unsafety, for example, differ from city to city. What is clear, however, is that places that are in focus of public discussion in relation to questions of safety are often located in the city centre or are at least equipped with important or special urban functions – examples of mobility hubs are train stations (FLOETING 2017: 8).

In order to bring the interplay of perceived safety and unsafety in public space into a thematic context of offender-victim-relation, the findings of PAINTER (1996: 194) can be used: “The cues to a dangerous environment from a normal pedestrian’s point of view are those of a safe environment from the potential offender’s perspective.” This statement functions in reverse too. The antithesis would mean that a public environment that is perceived as safe, with good visibility, a good reputation and many people around, poses a risk to potential offenders. Safe places in cities are thus to be created through urban design that provides dense pedestrian traffic and facilities in close proximity that are visited by

a wide audience of society. In addition, well visible places are characteristic for an environment that is perceived as safe (ibid.).

2.3 Gender & Space

In the course of this elaboration, the two terms gender and space will be of importance when investigating perceived (un)safety in public space. They function partly even intertwined, so that a definition of both components is important.

For the definition of space in connection with the Feeling of (Un)Safety, this work is built up on the conceptual considerations of the essentialist concept of space, the constructivist concept of space and Luhmann's theory of social systems (ROLFES 2015: 35f):

Space is associated in the essentialist concept of space together with economic, material, architectural and social values. These are linked, aggregated and interpreted so that spatial patterns of unsafety or even criminality are attributed. Examples of the named characteristics of space are the urban structure or the unemployment rate (WEICHHART 2008: 77f). As a result, space is understood in a predominantly physical-material way. Regions, areas or spaces are thought two-dimensionally and are partly marked by well-known administrative borders. If we now explicitly consider small-scale subsections such as public squares, neighbourhoods or train stations, previous works on Geography of Crime and Safety define named spaces as containers that are "filled" with social characteristics (ROLFES 2015: 35). This image of space from everyday life is particularly important because it is generally understandable and allows for a simple reconstruction of space by society (REDEPENNING 2006: 140). Spatial essentialisations also serve society as a structuring and orientation aid for social action and communication. An easily understandable spatial representation is created that bundles different information (e.g. social, economic or cultural). Non-spatial phenomena become spatialized and the complex living environment is reduced and simplified (ROLFES 2015: 37f).

The constructivist view of space, in turn, tries to relate the essentialist features to social functions and the meaning for society. Spaces are seen as socially constructed. The well-known theoretical approaches distinguish between action-centred ideas and system-theoretical considerations as spatial abstractions based on communication and thought. First of all, in the constructivist understanding of space, the spatial containers discussed in the essentialist context can be understood as spatial semantics or spatial constructions originating in society (ROLFES 2015: 37). WERLEN (2000: 327f) follows the action-centred approach of Social Geography and locates the origin of spatial abstractions in people's everyday actions. Spaces are concepts that can be seen as products of geography-making. Unsafe or safe places are conceptual regionalisations resulting from action, which in turn generate incentives

and motives for further individual action, such as avoiding certain places in everyday mobility behaviour (ibid.). The spatial is consequently seen as a dimension of action. In the course of this understanding, it is important to find out how actions influence the social construction of space. The concept of action and structure or space are interrelated. The actions of social subjects lead to the constitution of structures, which in turn have an influence on social actions. Action thus not only produces structures, but is also influenced by them. Thus, spatialisations of geography-making provide orientations for action in society. For example, if places are perceived as threatening or dangerous, people change their behaviour at this location or act in a differentiated way (ROLFES 2015: 39ff).

As a second constructivist conception of space relevant to this work, a systems theory perspective is included. It builds on Luhmann's theory of social systems and describes space as an element of social communication. Consequently, spatial abstractions and spatial semantics are seen as mental constructs that represent a simplification of social complexity (ROLFES 2015: 37). The key point here is communication, which conveys spatial images and carries them into the world. Communication begins with the conversation of two individuals, but can also be exercised by large organisations of the society (as local administrations or media) – which can then establish spatial semantics more easily due to their reach and size. Space is thus understood as a product of the communication process (ROLFES 2015: 48ff). It should be noted here that the real world does not necessarily correlate with the space constructed through communication. Inner-societal constructions of space can emerge without references to the reality (REDEPENNING 2006: 135f). ROLFES (2017: 49f) gives the example that a media-constructed image of danger of terror or attack in a specific place cannot, according to system-theoretical concepts, infer that the named danger also exists in reality in the discussed place or location. Constructivist reflections on this issue rather want to find out why a space is associated with certain emotions. The communicatively derived spatial abstractions are in focus, not the existing spatial realities. For society, the articulated spatial semantics have a high added value, as they have a meaningful and stabilising effect. Social systems identify themselves through their own border perceptions, so that spatial abstractions clarify what belongs to self-reference and what is foreign, what does not belong (ibid.).

This thesis considers all three formulated spatial concepts, the essentialist and both constructivist approaches, as a composite. A more detailed explanation of this understanding is given in Chapter 3.4.2. Just like the concept of space, gender is also a central category of analysis when it comes to the phenomenon of perceived (un)safety in public space. In this context, we must examine the role of gender in its different facets. Therefore, gender itself in gender sciences debates is first defined and its significance in the interplay with space will be made clear. After that, the analytical value of gender for this thesis will be crystallised.

Before the perspective on gender was directed towards spatial ideas in scientific debates, socio-critical research directions in gender studies initially referred to the two-gender model of our cultural sphere. According to this, gender was cited as a naturally given fact after masculinity and femininity. This way of thinking is still anchored in the everyday consciousness of the majority of society. Nevertheless, over time there have been critical questionings of this view of two genders and progressive developments in gender studies have taken place (RUHNE 2011: 109ff). HOFMEISTER (2018: 824f) also refers to the origins in gender research, that a distinction was made between men and women, and at the same time builds up the reference to spatial science. With the beginning of the 1970s, the first developments in the field of spatial planning can be identified in which gender relations were included. Initially, the emancipatory role of spatial planning was emphasised. Gender justice played the central role in these discourses. Emerging women's movements from the citizenship were the first voices to manifest the so-called "gender planning" in the development of space. The focus was on creating conditions in spatial structures for women and marginalised population groups to have equal access to spatial resources. It was not until the end of the 20th century that the focus in the gender debate shifted away from biological sex to gender as a social category (ibid.). KNAPP (1988: 12) defines gender in this relation as a "social usher" in society. Women and men are thus located according to their gender, which happens through social constraints, violence, material conditions, norms, cultural systems of interpretation and similar socially relevant factors (ibid.). One step further, one of the best-known works of these developments in gender studies, "Gender Trouble", Judith Butler emphasizes that even biological gender is constructed. She breaks with the common distinction between biological sex and gender created as a social-cultural category, and in the process, claims that sex is produced through historical-political and social mechanisms as well (BUTLER 1990: 6ff). A very current and the relevant conception of gender for this thesis interprets the variable as spatial. According to BEAUBATIE (2021: 61), gender is considered as a multidimensional space. A simple reduction to the classic two-categorical model of man and woman is not included here. In this concept, the gendered attitude functions rather as a social affiliation (ibid.).

Coming back to the planning discourses and gender debates in spatial context, they are ultimately summarised in this thesis according to the findings of HOFMEISTER (2018). Gender is considered a category that allows a perspective on spatial decision-making and analysis structures as well as planning design scope in relation to diversity. Incorporated power relations can be examined and design recommendations or measures for redesign may be elaborated. It should also be noted that, in addition to gender, factors such as origin, social status, education or income are characteristics of individual everyday needs and are thus part of gender- and diversity-sensitive planning. Overall, this thesis analytically addresses structures of inequality in space based on the category of gender (HOFMEISTER 2018: 827). Consequently, the feminist critique of the unequal distribution of public space between

men and women e.g. formulated by BECKER (2008: 801f), is taken up here. For the relationship and interplay between gender and space, the vision of two genders is accordingly used. The analytical relevance of this approach can also be justified with the clarifications of WARTENPFUHL (1996: 207), who claims that as long as the gender dimension represents a social inequality relation, the category of woman and man is necessary for the investigation of power relations arising from society. However, it should also be emphasised that in this process and in the analytical consideration of man and woman, other gender expressions are by no means to be undermined. The dualism of men and women is merely a possible concretion of gender as an open category. In the course of this thesis, therefore, the idea of two genders is not at all equated with gender as a category. All gender expressions are included, but analytically a distinction is made between man and woman, also in accordance with the survey results (see chapter 5) (RUHNE 2011: 111f).

3 Methodology

This chapter deals with the methodological approach of the thesis. For this purpose, the scientific framework on which this elaboration is based is explained and the working steps are listed in detail.

3.1 Research Design

The progress of work of this thesis, shown in Figure 2, began with the pre-working phase including research in the area of several thematic priorities of the thesis.

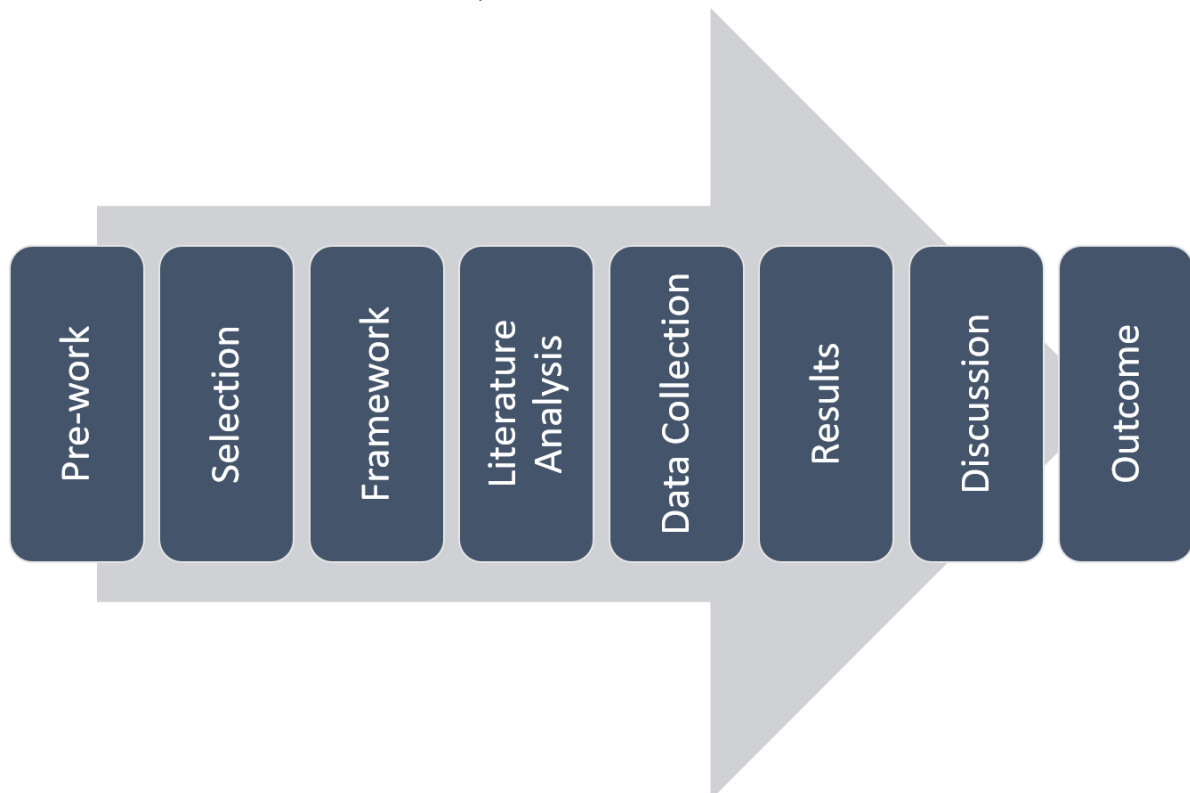


Figure 2: Progress of work (own depiction)

I have chosen the research field of perceived safety in public spaces as a basic concept (CREEMERS et al. 2020, BOERS 2002 & BANNISTER & FYFE 2001) and researched relevant terminology. The resulting basic understanding was then supplemented by further in-depth literature research. Accordingly, relevant research results on the causes for Feelings of Safety or Unsafety, differences in perceptions in various social groups and preventive measures or possibilities for improving the Feeling of Safety in public spaces were examined more closely.

In order to contextualise the literary framework, a case study had to be selected and the associated methodological procedure and analytical space were defined (described in the following sub-chapters). Subsequently, the analytical framework of the thesis was determined for clearly formulate what should be found out and in which topic areas statements are expected.

After that, the most important step for new findings in the subject area of the thesis begins: data collection. For this, a quantitative as well as a qualitative tool is used. The following step is to prepare the results in an orderly manner and to integrate them into the thesis in a factually coherent and cohesive manner. Finally, the formulated results are put into context with the information and theories drawn from the literature and are discussed. The last chapters can be described as an outcome, in which recommendations are made with a view to future developments in the field and a conclusion is drawn.

3.2 Analytical framework

In order to answer the research questions formulated at the beginning, this chapter presents the analytical framework below.

In the context of this scientific thesis, the topic of perceived (un)safety in public spaces is dealt with. The aim of research work is to find out what the reasons are for the Feeling of Safety or Unsafety in public space and where these feelings can be situated. Accordingly, the relationship between people and space is examined more closely. For this purpose, the "Triple-W" approach is applied throughout the sub-steps from literature analysis to data collection, which are also reflected in the research questions formulated at the beginning of this thesis. The three "W's" are as follows:

- **Who** – is expressing Feelings of Safety and Unsafety in public space (inclusive differences between social groups)
- **Why** – are people feeling safe or unsafe in public space (generalisable factors & triggers; Anomalies; subjective experiences)
- **Where** – do people perceive safety or unsafety in public space

This overarching approach to accumulate previous research findings, theories, qualitative as well as quantitative data sets can then be represented by Figure 3 in a four-part process. The scientific basis as well as the inclusion of theoretical evidence for later references with empirically collected data is established in the first step, the literature analysis.

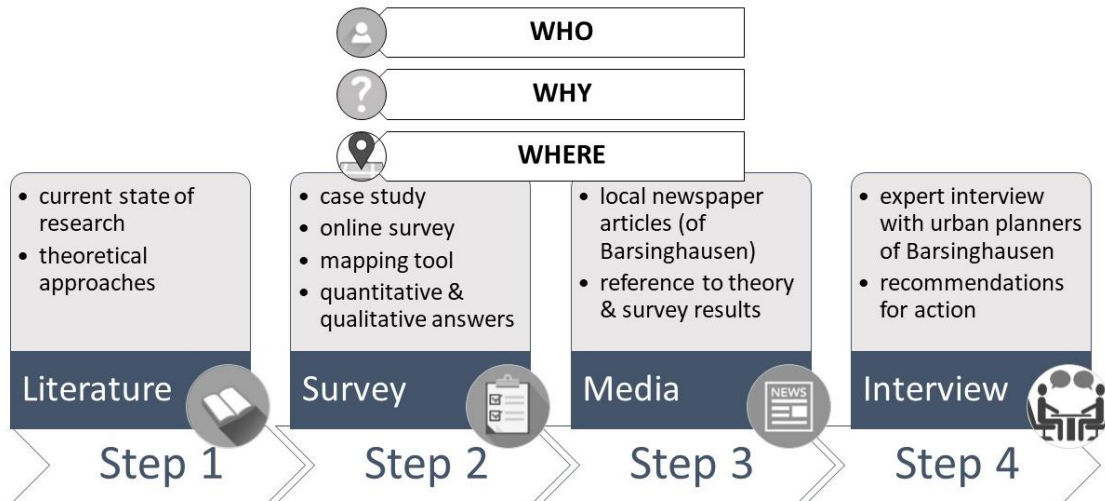


Figure 3: Analytical framework (own depiction)

The, usually, quantitative survey method of the online questionnaire relies on the aforementioned step. Especially the answers in multiple choice questions are related to previous studies. What is special here is that the response options in the survey instrument are structured both quantitatively and qualitatively. The integration of a GIS approach and mapping tools to locate Feelings of (Un)Safety complete the concept (further explanation in chapter 3.4.2). The accumulative principle of the thesis structure is then continued by collecting media reports in the analysis area of the case study in step three and examining them in a way that is adapted to the survey results. Here, conclusions are drawn about the theory as well as the survey. The fourth methodological step comprises the purely qualitative sub-process of the thesis. The survey results are to be reflected in the form of an expert interview with the urban planning department in Barsinghausen. The planning authority and decision-making power for the design of public space should explain previous developments in public space as well as measures planned or potentially planned for the future. The knowledge to be gained from this should also simplify the formulation of recommendations for action for urban planners. The overall aim is to generate an accumulated process of information acquisition on the topic of investigation through the analytical framework shown in Figure 3.

For having a differentiated picture of the results at the end, the thesis also pursues the intention of defining different social categories, especially in the empirical survey, as the focus of analysis in order to be able to define differences in the population's Perception of Safety in public spaces. The primary focus will be on the variable of gender – other characteristics, such as age or level of education, will also play a role. Moreover, relevant for scientific investigation of the thesis are the perceptions and

behaviours of the survey participants in terms of their connection to theoretical clues. Particularly important here are the theories of space (see chapter 2.2; WEICHHART 2008, ROLFES 2015, REDEPENNING 2006) and assumptions or approaches to the emergence of Feelings of (Un)Safety in public space (see chapter 4.1; JACOBS 1963, NEWMAN 1973, MOFFAT 1983, WILSON & KELLING 1982, COHEN 1981, HERMANN & SESSAR 2007) .

3.3 Selection of the case study

In order to empirically investigate the phenomenon of perceived (un)safety in public space, a case study was selected. The objective in picking a case study was to keep the potential for answering the research questions as wide as possible the same way as sharpen the focus so that small-scale analyses are possible. Basically, a location or a town had to be found that has a large number of public spaces. In addition, the spatial unit could not be too large, so that no data would fall out of the grid during the analysis and a concentration on a handful of small-scale

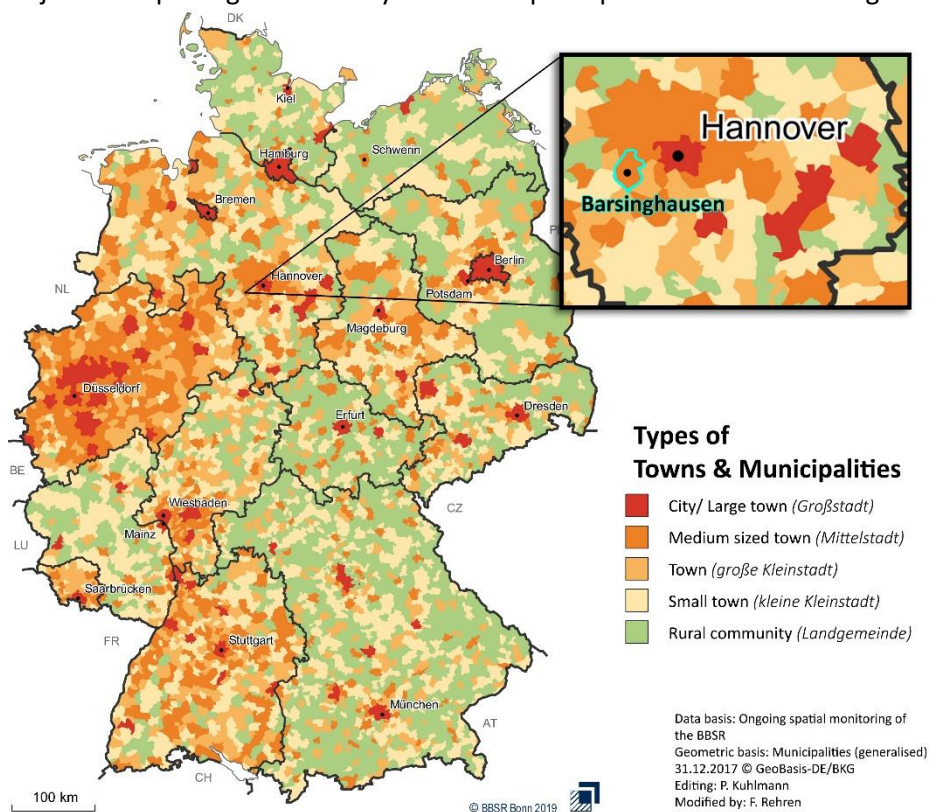


Figure 4: Geographical location & urban classification of Barsinghausen (modified after BBSR 2017: www)

examples is realisable. As visualised in Figure 4, Barsinghausen is located near Hannover, considered a medium sized town according to the standards of the Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development in Germany and ultimately met the criteria mentioned (see BBSR 2022: www). In addition, this case study fills a gap in previous literature on the topic of perceived safety in urban public spaces. Up to now, the focus has been on metropolises or at least large cities; with Barsinghausen, the view is broadened and a smaller-scale example is analysed. For a fixed framework of analysis, the core town of Barsinghausen is defined as the object of investigation in this thesis. This means that rural districts are not included, as it is assumed that public spaces in the city centre are more frequented and of greater general interest. Due to its history in the safety context and media

reports of the past years, Barsinghausen is of particular importance concerning the research questions of this elaboration. By looking at the town through an online survey, public places in Barsinghausen should be found that will bring new knowledge to the state of research of perceived (un)safety and generate incentives for further studies or new directions in the scientific field. In addition, prior knowledge of the case study is assured, as I come from a district of Barsinghausen and know local conditions as well as processes.

3.4 Methods

This thesis deliberately divides the methodology into three sub-steps. First, an in-depth literature review on the topic is conducted for a depiction of the current state of research. Based on the knowledge gained in the literature analysis, a two-part research approach is chosen, which first follows a quantitative approach, an online survey, and then individual interviews with participants of the survey (qualitative approach).

3.4.1 Document analysis

In order to demonstrate the research relevance of the topic of perceived safety in public spaces, a literature review with the instrument of a document analysis is carried out first.

For the purpose of this thesis, the term of the document analysis will be taken to mean the procedure in which qualitative data is collected and examined to understand and develop knowledge in the field of a specific topic (CORBIN & STRAUSS 2008: 15). The method of document analysis is part of the discipline of qualitative integrative analysis (MAYRING 2002: 46ff). This approach allows both the use of sources with qualitative and quantitative content and ensures, therefore, the inclusion of a wide range of data (ibid.).

The literature base for the present thesis builds on a large number of studies from the past two decades, but also refers to spatially relevant theories of older origin. Statistics from official documents are also included to underline the current relevance of the issue of perceived safety or unsafety in public space. It is important to emphasize, that the document analysis is the cornerstone of this elaboration, on which the subsequent steps of the methodology build.

After the literature analysis of scientific papers, another medium is subjected to document analysis. Local newspaper articles with reference to the location of the case study, Barsinghausen, are collected in the context of a timeline. Here, the "triple W" model of the analytical framework will then be applied again so that the basic information is filtered out of the articles. This is necessary because a reference to the literature and especially to the survey results is to be established.

3.4.2 Quantitative Approach

To collect empirical data as an extension of the research field of perceived safety in public spaces, the instrument of the online survey was chosen. There are several reasons for utilising this medium: Firstly, the intention can be emphasised that a broad opinion of the local population in Barsinghausen on their perceptions of public spaces in their town should be taken up. A format for citizen participation was therefore necessary. In addition, the still omnipresent pandemic situation made it difficult to proceed in direct contact with fellow citizens. Hence, a specially designed online survey was selected as the means of data collection. In the following, the design, structure and various features of the survey will be explained and justified.

To understand the spatial research target of public space, this spatial unit will be described first. In the context of the survey, public space means any area that is freely accessible to all members of society. Streets and squares are considered equally (see GLASZE et al. 2005: 25). The reference to property rights in public space as state or municipal property is left out of this assessment due to the necessary prior knowledge.

Connecting individual perceptions of public space with the real space itself is a crucial component of the online survey. The survey is initially divided into four blocks (see Annex 1):

1. Introduction (Including general questions related to the perception of public space as safe or unsafe)
2. Maps – Localisation of perceived safety and unsafety (GIS-Tool)
3. Life, Work & Freetime in Barsinghausen (the personal relation to Barsinghausen)
4. General information (list of social categories for analysis)

Before the participants state their specific places of safety/well-being or unsafety/uncomfort, they will be confronted with the topic of perceived safety itself. For this purpose, the factors influencing the perception of public space as presented in Table 1 will be included. Accordingly, two introductory questions were formulated to give participants the chance to reveal which factors are important to them when it comes to describing a space as safe or unsafe. The questions have a multiple-choice layout, so that any number of answer options can be selected. The answer options are built up on literature-based findings of previous research. Five superordinate factors of influence have been chosen: light and brightness, urban structure and environment, the social perspective of social activity, the quality of life related to the presence of crowded facilities and mobility related to traffic safety. In the second step of the survey process, targeted queries are made on exact location examples in Barsinghausen, so that

Table 1: Survey factors for the perception of public space as (un)safe (own depiction)

Factors that have an influence on the perception of public space as safe or unsafe	
SAFETY	UNSAFETY
<i>factor light</i>	
brightness & good illumination	darkness & poor lighting
<i>factor urban structure/architecture & environment</i>	
order & cleanliness	
green environment (urban green)	disorder, dirt & destruction
modernised streets & places	
<i>factor social activity</i>	
	lonely area; no/few people around
bustling location (crowded space)	presence of people perceived as threatening
	knowledge of incidents/crimes in the past
<i>factor quality of life</i>	
shops, restaurants, sports & cultural facilities in the direct vicinity	vacancy/brownfield
<i>factor mobility</i>	
	missing pavement/cycle path; poor pavement/cycle path infrastructure
lots of space for pedestrians/cyclists/ (cars)	lots of space for cars
<small>factors defined and reframed after: REEM 2010: 55; LOUKATIOU-SIDERIS 2005: 108ff; itf 2012: 43ff; EWING & CLEMENTE 2013: 3-21; CARPIO-PINEDO et al. 2019: 224f; GLASAUER & KASPER 2001: 149</small>	

perceived (un)safety is recorded as spatialised data. Here, however, it is not only the placement of a marker that is important, but also the specification of the time at which the participant visits or passes the specified location. The selection of a predefined spatial category to which the marked point applies and the specific indication of the reasons why the location appears to be safe or unsafe are also necessary (derived from Table 1). The named sub-questions are then supplemented by two qualitative text fields in which experiences with the respective place as well as wishes or suggestions for improvement can be made. Filling in the text fields is optional. At least one point must be chosen for perceived safety and one for perceived unsafety. In addition, there is the possibility to voluntarily add another example to both or only one side.

The mapping tool or the integrated GIS function in the online survey is of particular scientific importance. CECCATO (2020a: 24ff) emphasises in her paper that GIS methodologies can project a connection to people's individual understanding of space. Since unsafe spaces are stored in people's minds in the form of mental maps, digital mapping systems are able to geocode perceived (un)safety. The

spatial digital tool, which is particularly used in the context of crimes, is increasingly applied for citizen participations, for example also for people's reactions to terror events (ibid.). Therefore, this thesis includes the mapping tool as part of the online survey to spatialize Feelings of Safety and Unsafety.

Survey sub-steps three and four then deal with variables that can be used as categories of analysis. Under "Life, Work & Freetime in Barsinghausen", all questions are summarised that ask about the form of mobility for work/school/leisure and the like as well as recording the origin of the people or their personal connection to Barsinghausen. At the end of the survey, general information is asked in anon-

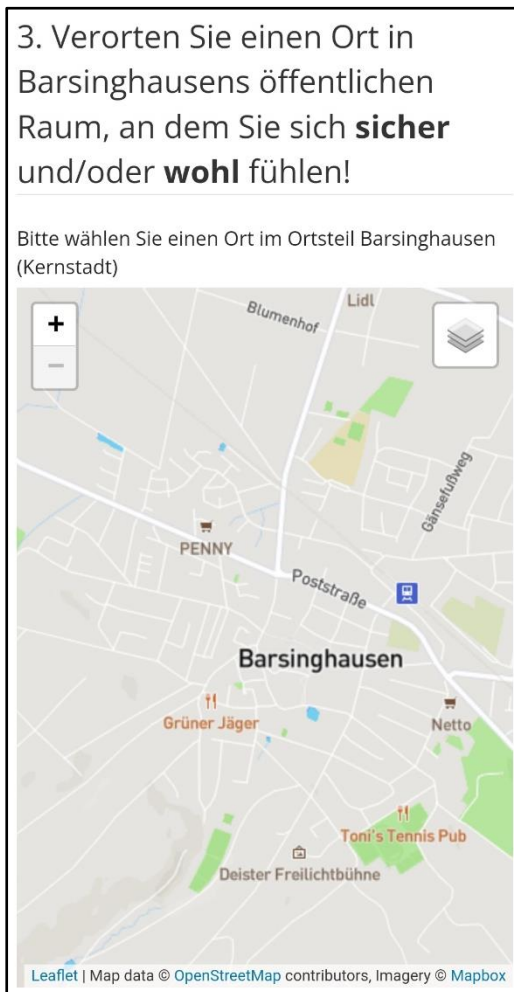


Figure 5: Mobile view of the online survey when locating Safety in space (own depiction)

ymised form. For later analysis purposes, gender is asked first. The variable of gender is interpreted broadly in this elaboration. It does not use the "traditional" notion of two binary genders. This thesis proposes the definition of gender based on the explanations of BUTLER (1990) & BEAUBATIE (2021). Therefore, the online survey asks for gender in an open-ended way, so that in addition to male and female, another identification can be given in a text field. Thus, gender is seen as a social construction, as mentioned in chapter 2.3, which is interpreted as an orientation or attitude that can be adopted by individuals. This must be kept in mind when reading about men and women in the course of this thesis. Even if predominantly in the further course of the work differences between male and female gender in the appropriation of space as well as the perceived safety are described, this is not intended to discriminate against other gender identifications. In addition to the variable of gender, age, educational qualification, employment status, household size and monthly net household income are also investigated. The voluntary nature of participating in the survey is emphasised in this area as well, so it is always possible to refuse to answer any question by ticking "no answer".

The survey reflects the spatial concepts defined in chapter 2.3 too. The quantitative questions with pre-formulated answer options in Table 1 in combination with the mapping tool enable the respondents to reflect their ideas within the framework of the essentialist concept of space. By placing the

marker on the map sections, multidimensional perceptions and ideas are translated into a two-dimensional model. In this respect, Figure 5 visualises the view of the survey progress for selecting an explicit spatial phenomenon of perceived safety in Barsinghausen. The additional specification of a more detailed description of the place, the times of stay/visit as well as the explicit indication of which factors contribute to the perception of the specified site as (un)safe fill the space container with information. However, a further understanding of space within the framework of the constructivist approach is also taken into account based on the online survey. Since the places of perceived (un)safety can be reported as local experiences, actions, behaviour and mobility are revealed. Conclusions can be drawn about geography-making. This point is reinforced by the fact that suggestions for improvement can also be given for the respective spots and ideas for change underline the active shaping or imagination of space.

The survey results are then supplemented with local media reports. Newspaper articles play a decisive role in this context getting examined what influence they have potentially had on the participants. In

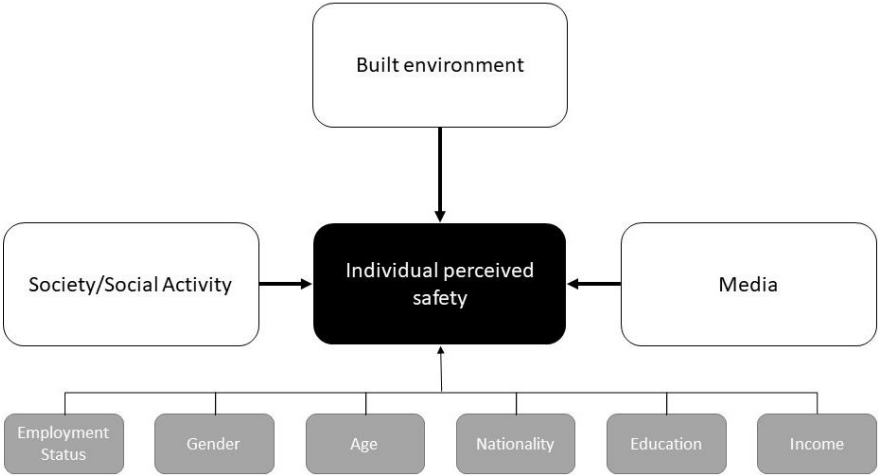


Figure 6: Relational scheme of individual perceived safety (own depiction)

this way, the third spatial theoretical perspective according to Luhmann (see chapter 2.3) is taken up. Here, I will analyse to what extent spatial semantics have influenced the thinking and actions of survey participants through the media.

Finally, I examine the relationship scheme of individually perceived safety in the public space of Barsinghausen shown in Figure 6. The online survey initially covers the influences of the built environment and the components of society and social activity. The analysis categories of the survey, which are highlighted in grey, are also examined to see to what extent they have an impact on the Perception of (Un)Safety and whether differences can be identified between the respondents in these categories. The influence of the media is then integrated by means of the collection of articles and compilation of relevant reports on the study location, Barsinghausens' core city.

3.4.3 Qualitative Approach

As qualitative approaches for the further empirical processing of the topic discussed, the thesis firstly contains the site visit and, as the last empirical building block, the expert interview.

The site visit took place following the evaluation of the survey results. The places visited were those that emerged as "hotspots" of Feelings of Safety and Unsafety. Due to the inclusion of day and night times, this procedure was carried out twice, once in the late evening (8 pm) and once in the busy midday hours (1 pm). For record-keeping purposes, I took photos and recorded further perceptions in the context of the investigation topic in a memory log. The knowledge gained from the site visit is incorporated visually and in terms of content, based on the self-perceived spatial conspicuousness, in chapter 5 and 6.

The expert interview takes place in an online format due to the pandemic situation. As already described in 3.2, the expert interview serves to expand empirical knowledge by introducing a new perspective. Consequently, it is crucial here that the views and considerations of experts, in this case urban planners, are brought into connection with the opinions of the wider society. It is expected that the interview will add value to the formulation of recommendations for action in the aftermath. For this, the city planning department in Barsinghausen was contacted. Guideline based questions were asked to four officials of the city of Barsinghausen about explicit results of the online survey. The focus is on Barsinghausen's urban development measures to make the public space more attractive and to ensure Subjective Safety. Accordingly, questions were mainly asked about whether and which measures have already been implemented, what is planned for the future and what the location-specific scope for action looks like, related to ownership and decision-making power. The questions were linked to the focal points of perceived safety and unsafety listed in chapter 5.2.

Annex 2 contains the annotated interview guide and the summary transcript. A more detailed presentation of the contents is given in Chapter 5.2.7.

4 Urban (Un)Safety: The Perception of Safety and Unsafety as a social construction in Urban Space

In this chapter, all components of the Perception of Safety and Unsafety in public space are discussed. First, the origins and reasons for the emergence of Subjective (Un)Safety in space are revealed and supported by referring to theoretical models. Then, unequal participation or unequal design of space is examined as an influencing factor on perceptions of space and the resulting Feelings of (Un)Safety. Finally, planning reactions, approaches and models for avoiding Feelings of Unsafety in public space are presented.

4.1 The emergence of Feelings of (Un)Safety in public space

In order to analyse the origins of Feelings of Unsafety in public space, we will first look at theories that have emerged in this context. It is important to distinguish between uniform urban planning directions and ideas explicitly aimed at crime in the public sphere. Nevertheless, both perspectives have an influence on the perception of public space as safe or unsafe.

Jane Jacobs criticism on urban planning

Jane Jacobs was considered a decisive voice in urban planning after the Second World War against the urban structures and worldviews of wartime. For her, mixed-use urban neighbourhoods with pavements flooded with people stand for a subjective sense of safety based on social control. In this context, she speaks of safety being experienced or felt precisely where people voluntarily use public space, move about without ulterior motives and indirectly – without knowing it – supervise other fellow members of society within the framework of social control (JACOBS 1963: 33). A mixture of functions and a variety of contacts in public space could, without direct private ties, create voluntary forms of potential assistance/support in the streets and increase Subjective Safety. In this view, urban monostructures would stand for Feelings of Unsafety and Fear of Crime (SCHUBERT 2017: 58). Jacobs thus pursues a conceptual approach to social control that is integrated in many theories. There are two types of this, formal and informal social control. Formal control refers to laws and regulations as well as surveillance by the judiciary and police. The form discussed by Jacobs, however, is informal social control, which is rather social or borne by societal groups. This type of control is determined by norms, habits and customs or traditional values. Social control as a means to success in terms of Subjective Safety is thus mainly achieved through urban planning based on a mix of functions. If areas are used multifunctionally, informal social control is created and in interaction with the functional mix, lively places and areas are created in the city (FLADE et al. 1995: 18f). In the course of this conception of the design of urban spaces, SCHUBERT (2017: 58) also emphasises that the image of the city as a construct of unsafety is converted into a space of experience for women with help of natural or passive surveillance possibilities of informal social control. Overall, Jane Jacobs' concept is summarised as the "eyes on the street" concept, characterised by the fact that she accentuates the need for eyes in the street space, which is fundamental for public space – to state it simple: she foregrounds the role of natural surveillance (CECATO 2020: 18).

Defensible Space Theory & the development of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

The second theory to be mentioned is the Defensible Space Theory in connection with the subsequently developed Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) approach. Both concepts were initially developed in response to rising crime rates in the US, but are also used in the context of perceived safety. The Defensible Space Theory according to NEWMAN (1973) was introduced as an

answer to the inner-city crime problems of US cities. The inner cities, especially their residential neighbourhoods, were to be developed more liveable and controlled again through restructuring measures. The focus of the control factor is not the authority of the police, but the control capacity of the community itself – thus informal social control (NEWMAN 1973: 2). In this conception, the built environment is therefore seen as the decisive point for the existence of crime. Appropriate design of the living

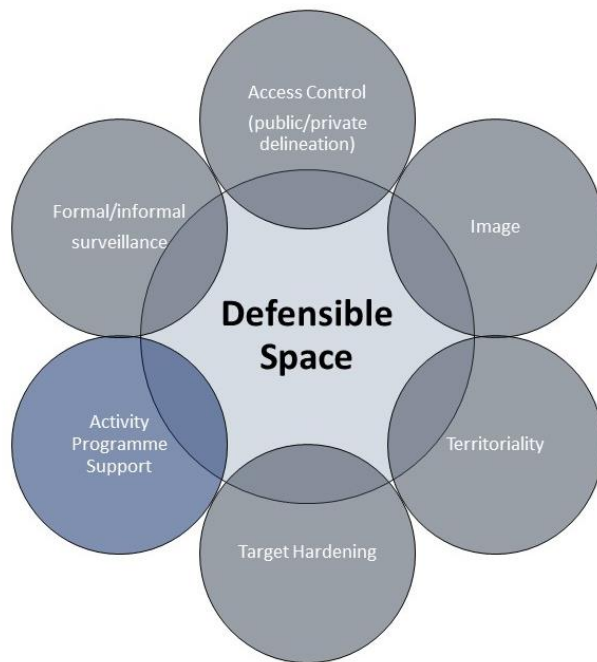


Figure 7: The Concept of CPTED based on Newman's Defensible Space Concept (adapted from MOFFAT 1983: 23 & COZENS et al. 2001: 149)

environment can either stimulate or prevent crime (COZENS et al. 2001: 139). For NEWMAN (1973: 3), Defensible Space means an environment that is brought under control by residents, as various influencing factors interact with each other. He defines the mechanisms as real or symbolic barriers, well-defined areas of influence and optimised surveillance possibilities (ibid.). Overall, Newman's concept of space transfers the concept of territoriality to housing and urban development. Residential areas must be designed in such a way that the residents can experience and feel their living space – consequently develop a territoriality consciousness. In addition,

visibility, surveillance and the image of the respective area in terms of its potential to become a crime hotspot are important building blocks of Newman's theory (FLADE et al. 1995: 19). CPTED, in turn, advances Newman's findings and aims to reduce Feelings of Unsafety and the occurrence of crime to improve the quality of life in the neighbourhood (CROWE 2000: 46). For a summary overview, the definition by ARMITAGE (2013: 23) is used in this thesis: "The design, manipulation and management of the built environment to reduce crime and the Fear of Crime and to enhance sustainability through the process and application of measures at the micro (individual building/structure, meso (neighbourhood) and macro (national) level". Even though the principle of CPTED was originally based on C. Ray Jeffery (1971), the practical developments as well as the theoretical considerations must be seen in close connection with Newman's Defensible Space. For this purpose, Figure 7 shows the CPTED concept, which contains the core of Defensible Space, since all the characteristics of CPTED can be found in the Defensible Space concept except for the component highlighted in blue (COZENS et al. 2001: 148). This thesis refers to the findings of MOFFAT (1983: 23), which builds on Newman's Defensible

Space and thus emphasises the following six characteristics within the framework of CPTED: territoriality, image, access control, surveillance, activity programme support and target hardening. The strategy strands do not exist independently of each other, but function in interaction so that an optimal use of space can take place without the perception of crime or unsafety (COZENS et al. 2005: 330f). The factor of territoriality is a design-related conceptual point that aims to make ownership relationships in space clearly visible and identifiable. It aims to create a sense of ownership among residents which should lead to the rightful use of space ensuring that unlawful users are deterred. Criminal activity should be reduced. Further possibilities for action that are subordinate to territoriality are the elimination of unallocated spaces, be they public or private, the clear allocation of use in space and proper maintenance as well as monitoring of those sites (COZENS et al. 2005: 331).

The relevance of the Image component can then be defined by TAYLOR (1991: 970): "The environmental 'image' offenders have of an area is associated with the extent to which the area is victimised". He underlines the importance of creating positive images for public spaces and residential areas to spread feelings of comfortability & well-being. In addition, a continuous maintaining routine is necessary to keep up the "good work", ensuring a physical environment which triggers a safe and pleasant atmosphere for residents and users of public space. The measures range from removing graffiti in public spaces to restoring destroyed infrastructure or restructuring public transport stations (COZENS et al. 2005: 337f).

The surveillance component is a broad-based one. To highlight the need for it, it helps to look at the variable of perceived unsafety that a place potentially represents for people to be assaulted. If in a public place potential offenders cannot detect the presence of surveillance, they feel uninfluenced in their actions. However, if they perceive that they can be seen or may be seen, then the risk of assault on other fellow human beings is lower, as they are more aware of the danger of witnesses or even prosecution. The physical environment and its design has the ability to animate people to natural surveillance mechanisms. These range from self-surveillance to privately organised neighbourhood patrols. However, if a space is more affected by Feelings of Unsafety, formal surveillance techniques can be applied, including increased police presence. Another type of surveillance is of a mechanical-technical nature, which includes street lighting and CCTV (COZENS et al. 2005: 331f).

In the access control component, too, a distinction must be made between the types formal, informal and mechanical. Access control aims to reduce the possibilities of a crime by protecting possible targets through access restrictions or controls. The simplest form is informal, for example through spatial definitions. In an organised form, security personnel can ensure controlled access to spaces. Mechanical means in this component are locks and other securing devices. As a result of the different approaches

of access control, uncontrolled pedestrian movement through a specific public space should be avoided (COZENS et al. 2005: 335).

Target hardening is the next step up from access control. This component is symbolic of a methodology with a very long established tradition of tackling crime by explicitly protecting and sealing off targets of crime. This is done through physical barriers such as gates, fences or alarm systems. If a place in public space is sealed off according to the pattern of target hardening, the impression of a Safety fortress is often created for outsiders. Thus, this sub-strategy of CPTED can also be seen as a counterpart to the softer approaches of territoriality, image and surveillance (COZENS et al. 2005: 338f).

The last part of the CPTED concept is activity support, which is the only one not included in the approach of Newman's Defensible Spaces. Activity support describes a measure of CPTED in which multiple other components are mixed (territoriality, access control and surveillance). To create safe spaces in public, the space should be organised after different types of usage. The aim is to use certain spatial designs and measures to help ensure that a space is used according to intended forms of usage. The idea of safety plays a particularly important role here, so that activities that are perceived as rather unsafe or risky in terms of getting target of crime, such as withdrawing money, are positioned in areas where a high level of pedestrian traffic is to be expected. The principle of "eyes on the street" already formulated by Jane Jacobs is therefore applied here as well (COZENS et al. 2005: 337).

However, both approaches, the Defensible Space approach and CPTED, are criticised in planning discourses. The practical implementation of the proposals to combat crime is said to be difficult, as segregation developments between public and private housing as well as problems regarding the preferred privacy of residents are predicted. Nevertheless, the greatest criticism was directed at the conceptual design ideas themselves with regard to crime prevention: the strategy of avoiding crime through the appropriate design of the residential environment would not lead to the eradication of crime, but rather crime would be relocated (COZENS et al. 2001: 140f). Despite that, following the aforementioned criticisms, the conceptual ideas of CPTED were further developed and refined over time. In the meantime, social factors have also been established in urban planning circles when applying the concept. Risk assessments and socio-economic profiling of public spaces and neighbourhoods are now considered standard (COZENS et al. 2005: 329). With the beginning of the 2000s, the literature refers to the second generation of CPTED, which has developed in the sense that the strict view of physical and safety relevant factors of an area has been expanded to include social influences. The most recent development in the theoretical discourse then even reveals the third generation of CPTED, which pursues more intense integrated planning approaches. Public health, sustainability and wider safety characteristics are included here (CECCATO 2020a: 18f; MIHINJAC & SAVILLE 2019: 182f).

Broken-Windows-Theory

In 1982, a criminological thesis by the authors Wilson & Kelling (see WILSON & KELLING 1982) gave rise to a new perspective on the development of crime in space. The theory is characterised by the thesis, based on the title itself, that "one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares" (WILSON & KELLING 1982: 31). With this, the authors describe the beginning of a certain process whereby a place or neighbourhood becomes a space perceived as unsafe. First, various signs of a lack of public safety and order can be perceived. This is followed by a reduction in the sense of community and informal social control. The loss of social control attracts more potential criminals and increases the local crime rate. According to a downward spiral, the Feelings of Unsafety in the designated area continue to develop, so that through a further decrease in the sense of community and additional loss of informal social control, public disorder is reinforced and becomes more visible. Meanwhile, the broken windows described by Wilson & Kelling function as a signal of a lack of social control and territoriality. Disruptions to public order make an area attractive for crime, as residents show a reduced capacity for social control and local responsibility. However, this not only results in an increased vulnerability to crime, but also in a general image deterioration of the neighbourhood, combined with a decrease in residential satisfaction (FLADE et al. 1995: 21f). Even the external decay of buildings, such as the aforementioned broken windowpanes, is considered a trigger point for fear or Feelings of Unsafety. If such a condition occurs and the triggering building fabric is not renewed or repaired, an image of collective disinterest is created. The described downward spiral would thereby also mean a chain reaction of social disintegration. As a reaction, a pro-active approach was developed in context of the Broken-Windows-Theory that aims to tackle any form of crime in its infancy, so that no later recurrences or further spikes in violent assaults or crime in general should occur in a specific location. A correlation of steady rehabilitation efforts and crime prevention can be derived according to the Broken Windows Theory. The focus is on structural-spatial measures to eliminate disorder and chaos. Deviant behaviour and the emergence of dangerous neighbourhoods should thus be avoided. In the opposite sense, however, it can also be recognised that deviant behaviour is fundamentally criminalised and used as a justification for regulatory measures. A widely criticised example here is the approach of "zero tolerance", which became famous in New York. The subjective Feeling of Safety was to be improved by a significant reduction in the crime rate. In this context, a low threshold for intervening against offences or disturbances was emphasised, which could strengthen the Feeling of Safety of the citizens. Police officers played a decisive role in this context, insofar as they were seen less as prosecutors and more as guardians of public order. As a result, the number of arrests increased dramatically, as especially minor offences were punished (SCHUBERT 2017: 58f).

Opportunity-Theory & Prospect-Refugee-Theory

The Opportunity-Theory, or better said the theory of crime opportunities, is clearly related to criminology roots. It assumes that the occurrence of crime depends on how "attractive" the opportunities to commit a criminal offence are in a certain environment (FLADE et al. 1995: 20). Five decisive factors are named for this in previous discourses: Exposure, Proximity, Guardianship, Target Attractiveness and Definitional Properties of Specific Crimes. Exposure means the physical visibility as well as the access to certain objects or persons for potential attackers in a specific environment. Proximity refers to the proximity of potential offenders to the possible object or person of offence. Guardianship, on the other hand, describes the ability of people to protect themselves or their property from violence and assault. This refers to human ability as well as technical protection through alarm systems, locks or similar. Target attractiveness, already expressed well in its terminology, means the factor that deals with the attractiveness of the target object, its material or also symbolic value. The last factor merely points to the differentiation in the assessment of places as being at risk for crime. Definitional Properties of Specific Crimes emphasise that crimes differ, so that many minor crimes can be committed more frequently and more easily without victim knowledge than, for example, burglaries, which require the knowledge of routines of the residents (COHEN et al. 1981: 507f). Two approaches can be assigned to the factors defined by COHEN et al. (1981), which explain the connection between crime burden and location factors. The first is the Rational Choice approach, which sees an offender as a rational utility maximiser who compares the costs of a crime, i.e. the effort associated with the risk of detection and punishment, with the gain, i.e. the loot or successful crime. In this context, the discourse assumes that the immediate decision of a perpetrator to commit a crime depends on the amount of information that could be researched about the opportunity to commit it. Secondly, different researchers state the approach of the Routine Activity as a part of the Opportunity-Theory. This approach supposes that a potential offender's attempt to commit a crime relies on a short-term decision. This requires a certain framework in which a perpetrator is motivated to commit a crime. Decisive points are the abstinence of witnesses, a vulnerable victim or an optimal target.

The Prospect-Refugee-Theory starts from a similar point of reference as the Opportunity-Theory. The theory infers that the ability to see without being seen produces Subjective Safety. Illustrated, this means that a person feels safer in a specific environment if the place is visible and offers few hiding places for potential attackers. A high Feeling of Safety is given to an environment with good lighting, a clear view and few escape routes in the immediate vicinity that are difficult to reach (FLADE et al. 1995: 22).

Construction of perceived (Un-)Safe Spaces

In order to further substantiate the theories of the crime-safety-space discourse, the following sub-chapters refer to a scheme developed by HERMANN & SESSAR (2007: 206ff) to state spatially perceived (un)safety. For this purpose, the authors named have established four important influencing dimensions for the emergence of the safety image of spaces. These dimensions include factors that make a space appear (un)safe. The aim is to be able to understand the construction process of public spaces

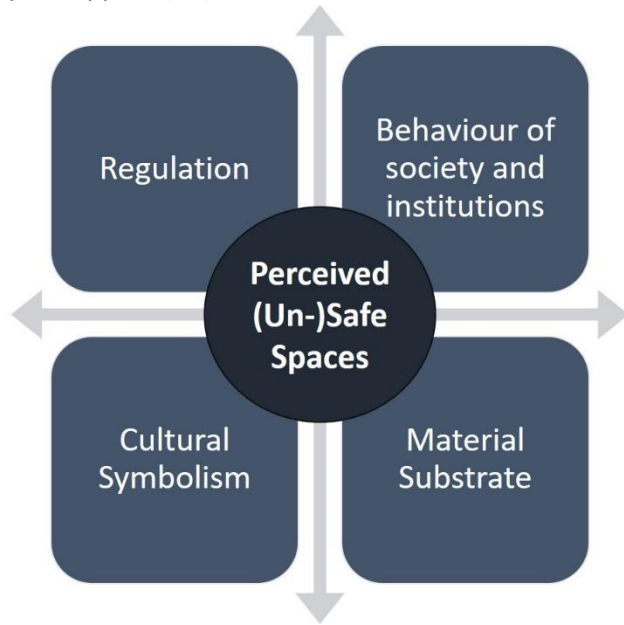


Figure 8: Four dimensions of the construction of as (un)safe perceived spaces (adapted from HERRMANN & SESSAR 2007: 207)

that are considered safe or unsafe. Figure 8 manifests the mentioned overview. The first dimension of regulation includes all rights and regulations that have been legally written down as well as cultural and societal values and norms. The behavioural dimension of Society and institutions includes activities and practices of social, economic, ecological or political origin (ibid.). The third dimension of Cultural Symbolism means the cultural significance of a space unit – whether consciously or unconsciously. Any cultural charge of a space in individual form or related to a connotation for groups is included

here. The final dimension that is crucial in the construction of spaces perceived as safe or unsafe is the material substrate or built reality. This includes urban planning itself, as well as explicit social or cultural infrastructures (e.g. school or church) or basic services provided by technical infrastructures (e.g. road or rail network) (ibid.).

The following subchapters address all of the presented dimensions, but the components of law and regulation are of little research interest here.

4.1.1 The impact of physical features: Building and Street design

The existence of Feelings of Safety in public space often depend on the design of the built environment. Even if no real danger is omnipresent in the space, environmental factors can give signals so that people feel unsafe or their level of Subjective Safety is affected (BOOMSMA & STEG 2014: 196).

In order to be able to assess how subjective Feelings of Safety and Feelings of Unsafety can occur on urban structures in public space, we must first look at the criteria for evaluating the urban setting. For this purpose, the findings of EWING & CLEMENTE (2013) can be used. According to the named authors,

eight different dimensions of quality are relevant in the individual evaluation of the public environment: imageability, enclosure, human scale, transparency, complexity, coherence, legibility, and linkage. Imageability is the quality of the space that makes it recognisable and memorable. An image is created. This is not always the responsibility of one element alone, but often the overall structure of an entire street. According to this quality feature, a space has architectural elements that make it identifiable. The extent to which streets or other public spaces are visually structured by trees, walls, buildings or other spatial elements is described by the quality characteristic of enclosure. A clear structure of vertical elements makes the public space appear like a room and creates the feeling of "being here" (ibid.: 4ff). The human scale indicates the extent to which the urban setting is designed in a human-friendly way. Examples of this are the height of buildings, the area of pavements or the arrangement of trees. The transparency factor refers to the visibility. The presence of hiding spots, objects obstructing the view or favourable or unfavourable arrangement of windows facing the public space are of importance here (ibid.: 9ff). The quality of complexity aims at how bustling a place is. The presence of many people and a high level of mobility as well as adjacent shops or facilities with a high level of passenger traffic are characteristic of this (ibid.: 13ff). Coherence, legibility and linkage round off the quality features once again with a view to the structural order of the public space. Coherence is based on the visual spatial order created by the building fabric (from geometric coherence to special designs); legibility expresses the spatial capacity responsible for orientation and navigation through the public space, and linkage deals with the degree of connection between building and street space, but also in-between several public spaces (e.g. places may be isolated) (ibid.: 16ff). These spatial qualities relate to the physical features shown in Figure 9. Urban design qualities can thus be derived from the built environment, influencing individual perceptions and reactions and thus mobility behaviour in public spaces. For the authors, it is therefore crucial that the physical environment, quality perceptions and ultimately the resulting behaviour are closely linked. The physical environment alone is not sufficient to determine the perceptions of individuals in space; rather, it is the urban design qualities just listed above that develop, based on the perceptions of people moving through space, and make the objective image of space more subjective (ibid.: 1f). These assessments and perceptions can be used to discuss individual Feelings of Safety in space and how they arise.

The essential prerequisites for guaranteeing Safety or the Feeling of Safety are, with regard to the structural side, the clarity, visibility and brightness of public spaces. There is a wide range of promising options. Design measures for access routes, entrances and streets as well as sufficient lighting at night are just a few examples. The conceptual decentralised location of infrastructures for daily needs, such as supermarkets, can also provide a Feeling of Safety (BESCHERER et al.: 11).

When crossing the public space, attention is first paid to the direct built environment. Safety perceptions are linked to the personal assessment of danger to oneself. In previous studies, a reference to the Prospect-Refuge-Theory described in the previous chapter is chosen repeatedly. Public spaces that offer the possibilities to have a clear vision on the direct environment and taking refuge in a potential dangerous situation create more intense Feelings of Safety und personal comfortability. The opposite feeling arises again when the factors entrapment and concealment are perceived to a high degree. If it is difficult for the person to find a way out and various objects in the space impair the field of vision, the subjective Feeling of Safety is reduced. From buildings and walls to bushes or trees, objects that affect visibility and escape obstacles are widely defined. Nevertheless, the relevant factors, appropriate to disclosure and transparency in Figure 9, also reveal spatial paradoxes.

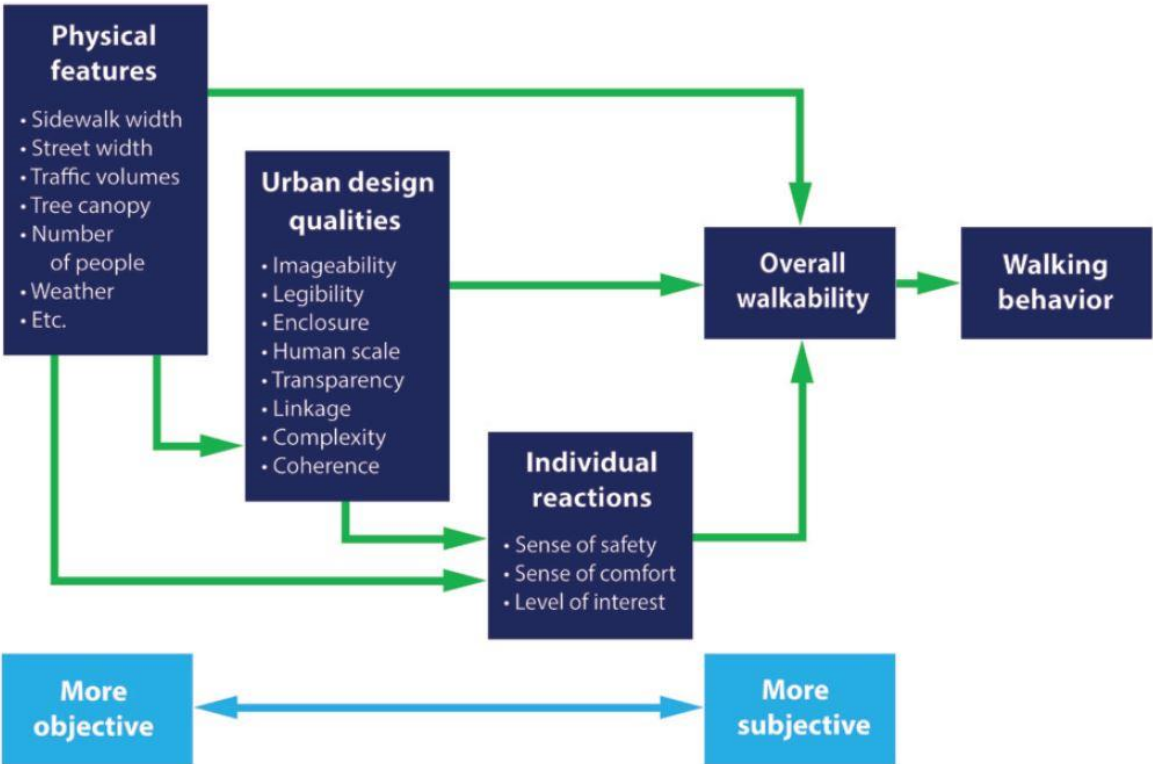


Figure 9: Procedure of the evaluation of the urban setting (EWING & CLEMENTE 2013: 2)

For example, objects of public space partly interact as walls can impair visibility and at the same time act as an obstacle for possible escape routes. However, the antithesis is also possible for both physical factors to occur independently: a bridge with a low balustrade allows a clear view, but if a dangerous situation arises, there is still no way out and escape possibilities are blocked. This example shows the dilemma of some public space elements that can have both positive and negative effects on the development of Subjective Safety (BLÖBAUM & HUNECKE 2005: 468f). To elaborate on this point, the function of urban green space can be revisited. PARK & GARCIA (2020: 869) find in their studies that trees have two meanings for public space. On the one hand, they are seen as a feature of space that increases attractiveness and the feel-good factor, which gives them a positive charge. On the other hand,

this image changes at night, so that trees tend to be negatively charged, as they are perceived as hiding places and blocking visibility. To solve this dichotomy, local guidelines for green trimming or spacing between trees at the street margin can help to provide a balanced Perception of Safety in public space (ibid.). In order to determine which physical characteristics are responsible for the Perception of Safety in public space, PAINTER (1996) first refers back to people staying in space. As an example, she mentions the fact that people who are alone or in the presence of people who are perceived as threatening develop Feelings of Unsafety in dark streets. This is due to the lack of potential help in the immediate when potentially getting attacked – in other words, the fact that a person walking alone is an easy victim from an offender's point of view. She states that “the cues to a dangerous environment from a normal pedestrian's point of view are those of a safe environment from the potential offender's perspective” (ibid.: 194). For her, it is important to fill the public space with dense pedestrian traffic and to design it rich in facilities with a high frequency of visitors. The point of visibility, already addressed in this chapter, is also taken up here and established as a basic premise for a space perceived as safe. However, a new variable, lighting, is integrated into this theme. In the context of visibility, the lighting of public space plays is valued as immediately increasing the quality of space. Optimal street lighting raises the potential for the use of public space in the dark. An elevated number of people also provides a level of natural, informal surveillance, which strengthens the subjective sense of safety. It also influences social behaviour in space, so that critical activities in the context of crime and disorder can be reduced (ibid.: 200f). CECCATO (2020b: 44f) contrasts these conclusions with another perspective. Although the author notes that the studies to date in this field have found, according to her research, positive effect of almost 70 per cent on the level of Subjective Safety through lighting, she also points out a weakness of this physical space component. Despite light is often associated with improving Safety perceptions in scientific discourse, there is always controversy. With a better lighting level in a given public space, visibility is improved for both victims and perpetrators. The so-called "fishbowl effect" occurs because while offenders are easier to identify or catch, victims are also easier for potential attackers to locate. At the same time, the users of public space in a well-lit place develop the impression that a social control of the space unit and thus a safe environment is created. What is not noticed, however, is that the occurrence of crime could thereby shift to other spaces perceived as less risky for offenders (ibid.). In addition, the means of street lighting as a push factor for perceived safety in space may increase Subjective Safety, but is equally in conflict with potential costs to the environment. This assumption is particularly critical when enforcing and adapting lighting infrastructure in public spaces, as new policies must always balance the social added value of better lighting with the environmental costs (BOOMSMA & STEG 2014: 208f).

Another concise point in this field of research on perceived safety and physical environment is the separation of functions in the city as a product of modern urban development. Residential buildings

have increasingly turned inwards, away from the public life of the space in front of them. The advanced separation of the private from the public sphere reveals the problem of a lack of social control formulated by Jane Jacobs (see chapter 4.1). Busy streets provide an optimal level of Subjective Safety. The architectural environment is able to rise the numbers of public space users. Therefore, houses should increasingly be built facing the street and maintain or create the principle of "eyes on the street" through a physical base (ROTH 2020: 126f). The research results of PARK & GARCIA (2020) also prove the connection between high Subjective Safety and a high number of fellow citizens in public space. For them, mixed land use in particular is crucial for the motivation to arrange a certain level of groups of people in space at any time (ibid.: 868). The incentivisation of society's monitoring mechanisms is not always effective in this regard. The degree of public social control exercised by citizens often depends on their willingness and ability to do so. If social control does not take place in public space despite a structurally created basis, place managers, for example, can take over the function. Nowadays, however, the concept of "eyes on the street" is simplified even further in the technological sense: this ranges from surveillance, i.e. municipal or private video surveillance, to sousveillance, as a technologised form of social control of fellow human beings (CECCATO 2020a: 18f).

The urban environment also has a decisive influence on the perception of space as safe or unsafe for transport. In the discourse of perceived safety in public space, it is therefore important to underline what physical characteristics are important, as urban and rural residents move through public space and experience the Safety factor in their mobility. The focus here is on pedestrians and cyclists as mobility actors in public space.

For pedestrians, the International Transport Forum (ITF) formulates "Sustainable Safety principles" for the basic needs of pedestrians' Safety. As traffic Safety is not the same category as pedestrian Safety, Safety principles are formulated that function in context of pedestrian mobility. Therefore, those principles the pedestrian environment should be organised and designed, reducing risks in their everyday life of mobility. According to this, public space must be functionally designed for pedestrians. A certain amount of space should be explicitly reserved for walking and resting. Furthermore, a homogeneity of mass and speed is beneficial, so that fast or heavy traffic is separated from the pedestrian section. In crossing situations of pedestrian and motorised traffic, speeds must be adapted to the needs of pedestrians. In addition, self-explanatory footpaths ensure a pleasant and perceived safe environment for pedestrians. Easy and barrier-free use is imperative. A clear structure in the routing also enables the early recognition of potential dangers and risks. Since pedestrians are not faultless in their mobility, it is important to provide their immediate physical environment with sufficient buffer zones so that, for example, a sudden turn or careless crossing of roads does not directly result in accidents. If pedestrian and vehicular traffic run parallel and in direct proximity, reduced speeds are advantageous (i.e.

30km/h or less). Good signage is also necessary, as drivers must always be aware of the presence of pedestrians (ITF 2012: 57f).

For cyclists, the road space is relevant. The image of the street as a priority space for cars is still present. The culture of car dependency in road construction in recent years reinforces this perception and the behaviour of road users. Accordingly, the design of road spaces is mostly wide and straight for fluent car traffic. Developments in the other direction according to a "road diet" narrowing car lanes allow access for other, non-motorised road users, such as cyclists and pedestrians. Nevertheless, the image of car-centrism is still present in many cities, so that the physical environment does not yet provide optimal conditions for cycling or walking that is perceived as safe. Cyclists, based on past studies, perceive measures such as marking their bike lanes as irrelevant to safer cycling on the road. Rather, they always conquer their own space on the streets according to the slogan "Right to The City" (MAYERS & GOLVER 2021: 15ff). LAWSON et al. (2013: 509f) also found with their study in Dublin that cycling is still considered an unsafe mode of transport. Thus, the inattentive behaviour of car drivers, but especially the poor quality of cycle paths have been listed as factors of unsafety. A perceived safe built environment for cycling was identified by participants as quiet roads, continuous cycle lanes, roads with traffic lights and adequate signs mentioning alternative bicycle routes e.g. (ibid.).

4.1.2 Social features: violence, disorder, incivilities and the foreign

However, the physical environment can only have a limited influence on the subjective Perception of Safety. Urban planning measures usually solely ensure that a space is frequented, so that ultimately the residents and users of the public space are responsible as "natural owners" for the added value and positive Feeling of Safety in the public space. The inner safety of the urban public is thus not immediately to be equated with a sense of community; it is rather based on distanced structures of trust among the participants of society (SCHUBERT 2008: 12). In this context, RODENSTEDT (2017: 126) concludes that the cause of Feelings of Unsafety is not strongly associated with the physical environment itself that makes people feel threatened, but rather the social relationships that take place in public space or the physical environment.

Citizens have certain demands on their spatial environment that are not only placed on the physical construct, but rather concern socio-spatial processes in everyday life. The decisive factor here is public order and the general prevention of potential risks that exist in space. Indications of public disorder, such as alcohol and drug consumption as well as the included subsequent behaviour of consuming actors, subjective assessed neglect of streets and squares through graffiti and wild posters as well as dirt and litter – the individual citizens' Perception of Safety is influenced in many ways by socially produced phenomena in space (DST 2017: 5). However, FLOETING (2017: 8) uses the example of graffiti

to illustrate how subjective public order and its ideas are: for some, it is considered a form of urban street art. They are also represented in the art trade; graffiti are even sometimes used specifically as a stylistic device in urban design. Other perceptions in society, however, correspond to the image that graffiti is seen as a sign of deviant behaviour and damage to property, and the sum of which can depict a space of Subjective Unsafety. Nevertheless, discourses on the Perception of Safety in public space increasingly refer to established social phenomena. The origins of this lie in actual or perceived threats to order and the resulting negative influences on the Subjective Safety situation of the individual. In this context, it is the factors of actual or perceived criminality up to and including perceived breaches of order below the punishable level that disturb the subjective image of public order (ibid.).

When it comes to the perception of crime, it is difficult to draw a line between perceived and actual danger. Crime statistics are often “gold standard” in this context. However, these only reduce the complex social phenomenon of crime to key figures that attempt to make various developments readable and interpretable. The figures serve society to observe the development of crime, although they are merely an abstracted version of constructed reality. Crime as a whole is not depicted here; rather, it is the registration behaviour of the penal system or criminal justice control bodies (ROLFES 2015: 57f). This is precisely why it is important to emphasise once again the difference between Objective and Subjective Safety. Police statistics are always related to Objective Safety, i.e. the actual recorded threat level for a person. Empirically, due to the data basis, this form is often easier to comprehend, but nevertheless the subjective Perception of (Un)Safety is of particular importance for assessment and action in public space (RUHNE 2011: 42).

Beyond the consideration of the concept of crime, scientific discourses increasingly look at the behaviour and thinking of social actors. First of all, the aforementioned perception of public disorder is a typical trigger of subjective Feelings of Safety in public spaces. In addition to the graffiti mentioned above, particularly neglectful phenomena such as destruction and pollution can develop unpleasant feelings in people. Litter and rubbish lying around also increase Feelings of Unsafety. Further behaviour that is not well accepted in parts of society, such as public alcohol consumption, drug dealing and/or consumption, excessive loudness and verbal harassment (mainly towards women) are of importance too (FLADE et al. 1995: 17). Some scholars expand this area to include the “fear of the foreign” (see GLASAUER 2005, ROLFES 2015, CREEMERS et al. 2020). GLASAUER (2005: 211f) states this sub-area of subjective Perceptions of Safety in such a way that the mere recognition of behaviour considered uncivilised, such as the use of illegal drugs or simply loitering in public places, evokes a certain shame or embarrassment-based fear in people having a high level of attachment to social norms and rules. It is not the extensive consumption of alcohol in public that triggers unsafe feelings, but the associated consequences. The fear of getting into a negative cycle and being confronted with addiction problems,

such as alcoholism, triggers this basic attitude against norm deviating behavior (ibid.). However, BELLIS et al. (2015: 8f) prove a direct influence of observed alcohol consumption in public spaces. The people interviewed increasingly avoid certain places, especially city centres, in their hometowns, because they might encounter people drinking alcohol in the evening or at night and such an encounter triggers unsafety in them (ibid.). The European Commission recognises a spatial pattern in the perception of social phenomena that are individually perceived as unsettling. For this, it uses the term "moving places" for public spaces that are heavily frequented and used by broad sections of society. Certain urban problems are often located in these sites. A conspicuous feature here is that confrontation with the "foreign" or "deviant behaviour" takes place and, depending on people's social perceptiveness, social disorder or behaviour that does not conform to their rules irritates Subjective Safety in public spaces (EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2007: 133f).

If we look even more broadly at social confrontations in space, further triggers for Feelings of Unsafety can be identified. Although discourses on the spatial Perception of Safety mention that the busyness of the public sphere and the simultaneous encounter of strangeness and otherness would evoke a natural sense of Safety too (see SCHUBERT 2017: 58 & JACOBS), this phenomenon is interpreted in the other direction as well. GESTRING et al. (2005: 226) describe public spaces as places of encounter with strangers too, but here the contact with being different and not familiar is highlighted. People are threatened with the loss of control over themselves and their surroundings, since the person seen as a stranger embodies different behaviour patterns or appearance (ibid.). Insofar as a stranger is perceived in public space, a sense of personal threat can arise in any location previously perceived as safe. With reference to self-identity, the stranger is connoted with negative descriptions, partly identified as a threat and in many cases stereotyped in an outwardly discriminatory manner (HUNOLD 2005: 308). ROLFES (2015: 129f) gives an example of this: When migrants are perceived as strangers and immigration movements are associated with a fear of alienation, deviating cultural values and norms of immigrant groups are often seen as a trigger for Feelings of Unsafety in space (ibid.). Here a parallel can be drawn to the scheme of (un)safe spaces shown in Figure 8, that the individual cultural symbolism of the space is affected by strangers. CREEMERS et al. (2020: 28f) elaborate on this point and identify in the fear of the foreign also the possibility of ethnicisation, so that certain behaviour and everyday practices are attributed to a specific ethnic groups. If actions of these socially constructed groups are then perceived as public safety impairments and measures are taken against them, there is a threat of stigmatisation and marginalisation of parts of our society (ibid.). OHDER (2014: 160f) frames these developments of behavioural stigmatisation in local safety production. For him, if a safety problem is perceived in space, this is rather a disorder-conflict of different behaviours and conditions than a crime-based problem. As urban life is characterised by various life situations and social norms, such a differentiated picture can quickly lead to tensions and Feelings of Unsafety between residents. As a

result, tendencies occur for foreign behaviours to be perceived as problems of order and, in the context of the Broken Windows Theory (see chapter 4.1), to be seen as a Safety threat. However, reactions and measures to this can quickly take place within the framework of an absolutisation of particular views, so that, for example, cultural hegemony claims of socially influential actors or groups are enforced, especially in relation to the previous mentioned ethnic example. The author underlines that these developments must always be taken into account and that such appropriations should be avoided in urban policies on perceived safety. Therefore, preference must be given to discourse-based development as the implementation of privileged worldviews and ideas can lead to the exclusion of marginalised groups. Therefore, searching for the origins of socially relevant subjective Perceptions of Safety must always be managed carefully (ibid.).

4.1.3 Media influence on the perception of space

Feelings of Unsafety in public spaces, as mentioned in the course of this work, are often linked to perceived crime, whether it actually exists or whether the spatial environment merely gives the impression of it. Crime is related to experiences of victimisation. However, if a person has not been a victim of crime himself/herself and therefore cannot form a picture of the local crime situation based on personal impressions, social subjects refer to stories and reports from third parties. These reports often come from media spheres (CALLANAN & ROSENBERGER 2015: 325). Since crime is usually not perceived directly, knowledge about this area is drawn from media reports. It is not the police crime statistics that are decisive sources of information, but rather the mass media. Although the factor of gathering information from the social environment plays a role too, it is ultimately the images of crime created by the media that influence people's thinking and actions. In the process, the mass media contribute to the construction of reality with often distorted crime scenarios that do not correlate with actual crime developments (HAHNE et al. 2020: 44f). ROLFES (2015: 51f) also takes up this aspect and relates the power of the media and their communication channels to the spatial semantics according to Luhmann (see chapter 2.3), in that the media act as socially relevant organisations and, through the dissemination of certain spatial abstractions, create sustainably effective axes of orientation for individual spatial perception (ibid.). Current events and their medial communication can massively influence perception. Images of safety in cities created by the media are always part of public-social discussions and affect subjective Perceptions of Safety. Since most citizens learn about crime incidents through media channels, these are decisive in determining how public space or their city in general is perceived. Reporting on public order violations or even crime thus shapes subjective perceptions of space. Since the "normal" in urban life is of little interest to media representatives, it is inevitably the deviant and salient events that lead to reports in newspapers or other media and in many cases proactively shape public perceptions of space towards Feelings of Unsafety (FLOETING 2017: 11). Rare and

serious crimes, such as violent or sexual offences, appear overrepresented in those reports. This is also due to the competition for attention between media providers. It can lead to distortions of the actual social development of crime. The mediation of crime not only plays a role in the development of opinion on public spaces, but can also have a broader impact on the behaviour and attitudes of recipients. Politics do also matter here, so that the inclusion of certain topics in the public-social foreground can lead to the formulation of political measures – which in turn could intensify Feelings of Unsafety in society. In addition, a political debate on urban space-sensitive issues continues to be accompanied again by media reports (HAHNE et al. 2020: 45f). Scientifically, however, no consensus has yet been found on the extent to which media in general has an influence on the Perception of Unsafety in public spaces. Although various studies show that the perception of social threats through the media is of great importance, television and newspaper reports on crime are not necessarily decisive in terms of subjective Perceptions of Safety in space, as can be seen from studies with rising crime figures and increased reporting on simultaneously falling levels of Fear of Crime in space. Thus, it is not possible to make general statements about the context; it is necessary to analyse the individual cases (REUBAND 2012: 136; HAHNE et al. 2020: 46).

Nevertheless, local reporting, in turn, can have a higher effect on the personal Feeling of Safety. The stronger the connection of crime-related reporting to one's own social environment, the public space used and the private life of the person himself/herself, the higher the probability of expressions of Fear of Crime or generally a higher level of Subjective Unsafety. If a simple and quick reference can be made from realistic media reporting to individual life worlds, then an increase of a specific person's fears or risk assessments in the public sphere is given (ZIEGLEDER et al. 2011: 40).

4.2 Inequalities in public space

This chapter of the thesis covers the topic of spatial inequalities in the public sphere. For this purpose, the variable of gender is brought into focus and a special emphasis is placed on the differences between men and women.

The change in discourse in gender studies already pointed out in chapter 2.3 was also carried out in the spatially relevant sciences. By the mid-1970s, differences between the sexes in built and constructed spaces became a topic of discussion. Hierarchically and patriarchally conceived gender relations were thereby spatially criticised too. The basic point of criticism was the physical living environment of the people, which was tailored to the needs of men, reinforced by the functional separation of work, housing and supply infrastructure. Scholars classified public space as an obstacle to emancipation for women's everyday life. Calls for the "city of short distances" model and the associated workplaces close to residential areas to take into account women's working and living conditions became

loud as nowadays studies continue to show that women, unlike men, do not have a car but have to manage complex chains of routes. The different mobility patterns of the two sexes must therefore be given more consideration and the diverse travel purposes of women must be taken into account, so that everyday tasks or routines, such as accompanying children to school, can proceed without problems. Focusing solely on men's main mobility motive, the journey to work, would perpetuate gender inequalities (SCHUSTER 2012: 641f). A much-cited voice in this change of discourse is Rachel Pain. She describes public space as a "man-made" environment in which patriarchal structures label space as male and female, so that public and political space is attributed to men, while women characterise domestic and private space. This represents the basic conflict that has been taken up by feminist discourses and then also by space-relevant sciences. Their critiques are directed against the built environment, so that men's and women's activities have always been segregated and urban development around work, home and leisure has been street-bound – cars in turn dominantly used by men. Urban architecture is also criticised for requiring more ramps and fewer steps for women, e.g. for access with prams, or light spaces instead of dark alleys (PAIN 1991: 422f). Conflict over space can thus be seen in a gender context. It is made clear that space is not only shaped by gender relations, but also incorporates an impact on gender. Conceptual counter-designs were brought forth to combat the far-reaching exclusion of women from the civic public sphere as perceived by feminists. The feminist counter-publics presented public spaces explicitly oriented towards the needs of women. Women's centres, women's cafés or women's shelters are emblematic of this (SCHUSTER 2012: 644). TILLOUS (2020) addresses in this context the weight of women-only carriages in public transport. This means has been introduced in many international examples to ensure women's participation in public space and their unrestricted mobility. However, the controversy of reserved carriages for women is also highlighted. In Cairo, for example, the added value for the city was originally seen in the reduction of pollution and congestion from private motorised transport, as women were to be encouraged to use public transport through the introduction of designated wagons. Building on this, however, gender-sensitive motives were also chosen as strands of argumentation, so that the mobility model should ensure more respect of men towards women and also reduce sexual assaults. In Sao Paulo, the women-only carriages project was discontinued after two years. Here, feminists argue about the advantages and disadvantages: On the one hand, organisations perceive educational measures, prevention practices and sanctions against abusive men as more important; on the other hand, voices are raised that the gender-specific carriages could at least function as a partial solution to decrease imbalances between men and women participating in public space (ibid.: 1160ff). Nevertheless, those examples created counterweights to the patriarchal image of the civic public sphere. But, the progressive influence of feminist views in planning circles also caused much criticism among researchers. Thus, in the discussion of violence and safety in the context of gender, the term "Space of Fear" emerged. SCHUSTER (2012: 644f) states in

this context, that the implementation of measures relating to Spaces of Fear is problematic. The focus on the realisation of parking spaces for women or the redesign of parks and underpasses to improve the safety situation of women he considers as missing the target, because it would neglect the real events of violence, which mainly take place in private and not in public. He also criticises the attribution of a public space to violence and crime through the term Space of Fear, which would distract from the origin or trigger of the whole issue (ibid.). In this regard, BECKER (2001: 28f) indicates that feminist concepts of Safety in space have been fundamentally misreceived by planners. In her view, the concept of Spaces of Fear has led to an invisibility of the origins of violence in public space. Spaces of Fear are spatial units in which women develop a form of fear or Feelings of Unsafety. The focus on this sense of anxiety distracted from the trigger, male violence. Women were constructed an image of public space that releases unsafe feelings and reinforces dependence on the male gender. As an example of this, she mentioned the possibility of a parking garage in Mainz being guided to the car by the parking attendant in exchange for a sum of money. Women's freedom in public space was not as much strengthened by such urban planning measures as further impaired. Women's thinking about public space is disturbed by such developments. Another example are recommendations formulated in the 1980s by the Equal Opportunities Office of the federal state of Baden-Württemberg for women on mobility behaviour in space. Avoiding side streets was only one accentuation in it (ibid.). Structured and traditionally biased male rationalities thereby propagate a dangerousness of public spaces for women, which restricts their freedom of movement in certain places. An image is conveyed that urban space needs to be ordered and controlled in the context of femininity (SCHUSTER 2012: 645f). The connection between gender and space as well as existing inequalities has been further thought through with the increasing importance of constructivist approaches in gender-space studies. In the context of Judith Butler's questioning of the two gender system (see chapter 2.3) and the compulsory heterosexuality of society, the view was also directed towards other factors. In spatial concepts and planning discourses so-called queer spaces were integrated. New gender identities and their connection to spatial existence are increasingly attracting attention in planning debates (SCHUSTER 2012: 645ff).

These historically consistent gender-related differences in space from scientific contexts can also be transferred to the Feeling of (Un)Safety. Here, the differences between men and women are of particular importance. There is scientific consensus on the assumption that women generally experience Feelings of Unsafety more often than men do – but: the Feeling of Unsafety is a paradox. Although women report Feelings of Unsafety or fear in public spaces much more frequently, it is men who, from a statistical point of view, end up being victims of violence more often (see e.g. BMI 2021: 36). Gender is therefore a factor in the Perception of (Un)Safety in space (VERA-GRAY & KELLY 2020: 220). This disparity between the genders' Perception of Safety and Unsafety in public spaces and the extent to

which they actually experience violence or assault is what ROBERTS (2013: 50) calls the gender gap. The author speculates that the origins of this gap lie in women's higher experiences of violence in private (ibid.). The phenomenon of experienced violence for women in private is also recognised by LISTERBORN (2016: 255). She emphasises that contradictions can arise in the discourse of Geographies of Fear in relation to women. There is a danger that gender hierarchies will be further consolidated instead of being resolved and that other social power relations could be left out of the gender focus. She also notes a risk that while small groups of the population may be empowered, insofar as their Perceptions of Unsafety are taken into account, localist perspectives may ignore others. A society-wide approach is missing (ibid.). Nevertheless, for women, their own experiences of victimisation and reports from others are decisive for negative perceptions in public space. Moreover, the position of women in society plays an important role (KALLUS 2003: 122ff). The value of a person's standing in society is underlined by other studies showing that even within the female gender there are differences in the embodied Geographies of Fear. For example, socio-economically more advantaged members or groups with a typical Western appearance find it fundamentally easier to move freely through space or have the means to avoid spaces perceived as unsafe. Gender or sexual orientation are consequently accompanied by other socially relevant factors and influence Feelings of Safety in public spaces (FILEBORN 2021: 38f). Various reasons can be given for the different manifestations of Feelings of Unsafety. Recent research points to gender-specific role attributions and socialisation processes as crucial. Women exhibit higher levels of Subjective Unsafety than men, as they result from gender-specific power structures (ROLFES 2015: 18). According to traditional gender roles, gender stereotyping is designed so that women are more likely to express their fears than men. Vulnerability is attributed to women, fearlessness to men. Accordingly, it is stated that women are more likely to express their fears in surveys than men (VERA-GRAY & KELLY 2020: 220). These findings are supported by LOUKATIOU-SIDERIS (2005: 103), who concludes that male survey participants are less willing to give honest answers about their Feelings of Unsafety in public spaces, as it may be a sign of weakness. At the same time, however, she also states that agoraphobia in women should not be generalised as a trait or characteristic, as gender is not the only factor here. All cultural-social and biographical backgrounds of a person are decisive, be it age or religion (ibid.). BROWNLOW (2004: 589) elaborates on this distinction between men and women in Perceptions of Safety. According to his research, when a person is travelling alone in a public space, men feel safer than women do. A special emphasis is given here to hegemonic principles of gender images, according to which men feel compelled to show strength and not allow Feelings of Unsafety. Men seem to prefer to accept a certain risk of becoming victims of violence in public spaces than to express feelings of fear. As a result, men, with reference to their masculine identity, are more likely to move through spaces they would normally perceive as unsafe and go on a "confrontation course" with potential dangers of the public sphere. Women, on the other hand, move

through space with the aspect of examining their geographies for the extent to which there is a risk of rape. If indicators for this are switched off, the subjective Feeling of Safety also increases or the perceived risk decreases (ibid.). This gender image of man and woman, in which the man is defined as the protector and the woman as in need of protection, emerges from socialisation processes and cultural expectations of society. Gender thus influences the ability of men and women to deal with victimisation or to be dependent on the protection or help of others (SNEDKER 2012: 80). BROWNLOW also adds up the aforementioned influence of patriarchal structures on women's lives in public spaces: free movement is sometimes restricted or even dispensed if women have to enter public space without male accompaniment (ibid.). Another factor that ties in with the previous knowledge is the physical vulnerability of women (e.g. MITRA & BARDHAN 2017: 422). According to this, discourses refer to a vulnerability hypothesis, which concludes the vulnerability of persons, through attitude, individual, social and situational components. In this regard, women are considered more vulnerable than men due to their basic physical conditions. Furthermore, a gender-specific influencing factor concerning Subjective Unsafety in public spaces is repeatedly pointed out after women explicitly express fears of sexual abuse and rape. The perceived risk of a woman becoming a victim of a sexual offence promotes unsafe feelings in public spaces in general. Hidden victimisations, such as sexist harassment or unwanted approaches by men, further support this variable (ROLFES 2015: 18). SNEDKER (2012: 94f) takes this form of hidden victimisation even further, describing the scientific discourse on the weight of commentary on women moving through public space. She underlines that only women experience comments, originating from men, which can range from friendly to flirty, harassing or even threatening and can affect the subjective Feeling of Safety in public space (ibid.). VERA-GRAY & KELLY (2020: 220) sustain this view and point out that fear of rape is a purely female phenomenon. Moreover, actual rape cases often occur beyond the criminal statistics radar, so that the dark figure of real cases continues to contribute to the reinforcement of women's Subjective Unsafety in public space (ibid.).

Inequalities in participation in public space can arise outside of gender boundaries too. The findings from chapter 4.1.2 can be taken up here. What interviewees of previous studies named conforming and deviant behaviour in public space, constructs a sense of belonging or not belonging. If mechanisms are then activated in this context to put those norms and behaviours that are considered conforming into a legal framework, exclusion processes can emerge. The displacement of marginalised population groups from public space would proceed. Examples of this are the supervision of space by private security services, exclusionary spatial design – such as benches that prevent homeless people from spending the night – or a high presence of video surveillance (FREVEL 2012: 606f).

4.3 Prevention mind-set & measures of urban planning to avoid inequality and the Feeling of Unsafety in public space

In general, prevention strategies in urban public spaces focus often on crime prevention in the context of Safety. In this chapter, however, an attempt is made to sharpen the perspective on the relevance of Subjective Safety in those strategies and to uncover relating prevention mechanisms. The gender-specific inequality phenomenon and approaches to equalise them in public space are also highlighted to create an integrated picture of safe and equal urban development.

A list of general principles and best practice examples is included in the following chapters.

4.3.1 Urban planning: between stabilisation and risk

For improving Safety perceptions in the city, there are many possible measures to improve the status quo. As Subjective Safety perceptions are often related to crime, planners, architects and Safety experts tend to base their principles on situational crime prevention and the establishment of routine activities. In order to solve local Safety contexts, interdisciplinary work is needed. Actors with appropriate expertise and local know how need to work together and formulate solutions. In this context, evaluative processes precede interventions on Safety issues in the city. Understanding, intervening, assessing – to deal with the direct environment of perceived safety, it must be first comprehended (CECCATO 2020a: 30f). Once a sufficient assessment of public space has been carried out, planning and design measures in urban space can help to strengthen the subjective Feeling of Safety, reduce the possibilities of committing crimes and promote the revitalisation of space. Approaches in the light of crime prevention are just as important as the consideration of subjective Perceptions of Safety, as both real and perceived safety problems have a significance for public space. Both components being considered have an impact on public participation and mobility of members of society. Appropriate interventions in urban planning and design to ensure high levels of Subjective Safety must take into account various dimensions of the immediate environment, as: the characteristics of public space's setting (e.g. residential area, train station or city center), the intended and desired forms of activity to take place in public space as well as the characteristics of the local population including their specific needs, anxieties and opinions. Approaches to eliminate Feelings of Unsafety in public spaces may vary from place to place, as they must be situational and conditioned by location factors. Nevertheless, there are both spatial and social characteristics that always represent an urban environment in which Fear of Crime or Subjective Unsafety are kept at a low level, so that planning actors can link to them. Factors that were examined in more detail in the subchapters of 4.1 are considered basic premises for suitable prevention strategies of public planning authorities. Accordingly, these are generally valid ideas such as the maintenance of the building fabric, a bright design of public spaces, an optimal usage mix of space combined with the elimination of unsuitable activities in space, the creation of safe spaces

through a crowded public space design with many people from all parts of society as well as sufficient safety protection of access paths and routes of people's daily mobility (LOUKATIUSIDERIS 2005: 108f). Planning recommendations for crime prevention in urban development therefore initially aim at the fundamental design of public spaces, taking into account the offender-victim-environment structure. Motivated offenders should be exposed to a high risk of detection, while at the same time users of public space can experience a high quality of stay. The theoretical considerations from Chapter 4.1 also play a role here and are linked to in planning context. The Opportunity Theory in combination with the Rational Choice Approach evoke the so-called prevention triangle. Here, the perspectives of perpetrator, victim and space are addressed. The offender has a social environment that can result in a positive influence on him, be it family or friends. From the perspective of urban planning, this social environment must be triggered in a preventive manner (STUMMVOLL 2017: 153f). To this end, LOUKATIUSIDERIS (2005: 110) recommends the strategic approach of educational programmes and social campaigns. In addition, however, the factor of animated public space is also important here, as an attractive physical environment promotes social interactions in public space (ibid.). This aspect plays a role for the second perspective of the prevention triangle too, so that potential victims of crime are supported by the presence of observers in public space. A social protective function is thus developed. Preventive measures to increase social control range from aligning the windows of buildings to the public to install bicycle parking spaces or taxi stands in relevant settings. The third perspective focuses on local conditions. According to this, targeted crowd management in public space can lead to the control of social processes. Example measures for this are the establishment of access controls, surveillance mechanisms or similar. Socio-spatial-organisational control measures should ultimately discourage potential perpetrators and create a Feeling of Safety among users of public space (STUMMVOLL 2017: 154). However, prevention concepts in urban planning do not only focus on preventing opportunities for crime. Crime prevention no longer merely stands for the prevention of criminal offences, but rather simultaneously, attempts are made to ensure a high level of Subjective Safety and the well-being of the population in public space. Here, reference is always made to well-known theories such as the Defensible Space Concept or the Broken Windows Theory too. Away from the offender-victim relations, yet, the focus of urban planners and Safety experts in space is increasingly on the control of social behaviour. The emphasis is not on deterrence through punishment, but rather on the clarification of values and norms in public space through structural elements. Symbolic boundaries such as low fences or vegetation reveal buffer zones between the public and private spheres; signage and information boards develop identity among residents and users of public space. The psychological impact of the real environment is also important: dark streets, litter, bad smells and noise make a place seem unattractive as well as unsafe to people. Here, the importance of a friendly, bright design of public spaces becomes clear once again (ibid.: 155). However, Feelings of Unsafety are to be addressed

particularly in the local context. Building on the knowledge that Subjective Safety correlates both with the structural and spatial design of the residential environment and with the social community, urban planners start at the level of maintaining contacts and interactions in the direct neighbourhood. The design of the public environment with attractive elements to promote encounters and increase the attractiveness of stay is crucial here. Benches, playgrounds and other structural elements that can produce informal meeting spots are instruments for this (SCHRÖDER & VERHOVNIK-HEINZE 2020: 68).

Policy-makers and administrative staff always work on behalf of citizens, so a basic premise of operating in the context of Subjective Safety should create a collectively binding framework for social processes. In this way, financial resources are generated and competences are provided to solve urban problems and to cope with safety-relevant tasks. Anyhow, in the production of urban safety, prevention decisions are sometimes guided by individual feelings and fears within the population about crime or deviant behavior – even if those perceptions are often probabilistically unfounded. In the process, prevention mechanisms are launched that are not detached from values or ideology. It is also possible that decisions can be reflected in retrospect as irrational or paradoxical. The increase in surveillance and control measures in urban space as a means of producing safety is an example of the paradox of preventive measures (ROLFES 2017: 51):

Video surveillance as a modern form of social control pursues the idea of recording crime hotspots through constant video recordings in the entire public space. This is intended to increase the probability of detection of perpetrators of a crime, which should lead to potential criminals refraining from carrying out planned offences and should solve committed offences quickly. For the general citizenry, confidence in public space is to be created and Feelings of Safety developed. However, previous safety discourses doubt the effect of video surveillance, since the presence of mentioned technology in space evokes associations with danger and can thus produce uneasy feelings. Furthermore, the effect on crimes in public is evaluated critically, since many criminal activities would shift to spaces that are not under the influence of video surveillance (FREVEL 2012: 602f). The controversial nature of video surveillance of public spaces is also made clear by KLAMT (2012: 797f). Insofar as a publicly accessible space is under video surveillance, all users of the space are recorded, regardless of whether they are potential criminals, want to carry out undesirable activities while using the specific space or do not carry out either of the two action scenarios. The space user is virtually placed under general suspicion of reproducing non-compliant intentions or even criminal machinations in space. An asymmetry of observer and observed creates an imbalance between free participation in public space and democratic control. Two sides of the coin can also be found in the subjective perception of meaning and purpose of video surveillance. Arguments in favour of video surveillance are presumed or partly actual increases in public Safety levels. Neutral positions on video surveillance express a non-perception of

cameras in public space and no patterns of adaptation in behaviour. Opponents of public video surveillance, on the other hand, criticise the impairment of individual freedom. In this regard, it must always be kept in mind that video surveillance is limited. Surveillance technologies only consider the container space concept (see chapter 2.3), without taking into account other factors of the city's public social space (ibid.).

Not only the dilemma of video surveillance can be considered as a dichotomy in the prevention policy of urban planners, but also other conflicts of effects of prevention measures arise. Thus, prevention practices function both stabilising and risky. Although politics, administration and police proactively address perceived unsafety in public spaces to create the image that the issue is being dealt with at the decision-making level, safety-generating measures always incorporate new dangers and risks. Consequently, a specific decision can mean an increase in the Perception of Safety for parts of society, for example by banning certain activities in a public space, but on the other hand, another part of society is excluded from it. A simple illustration is the ban on skating, which deprives young people of space for their leisure activities. Planning aimed at specific spatial confinements with regard to the creation of urban safety is also considered critical in scientific discourses. An illusion of controllability is generated, which means that although safety can be produced in a certain sector of public space and objectively ascertainable crime figures can be reduced, crime incidents or Feelings of Unsafety shift and re-localise. A kind of displacement culture from one section of space to another can occur (ROLFES 2017: 52f). These findings are supported by CECCATO (2020b: 50f), who describes unexpected outcomes as side effects when planning safe environments. According to this, every good intention in preventive planning of perceived unsafety is combined with unexpected spin-offs. She also recognises tendencies of social exclusion of parts of the population, especially in the context of implementation according to CPTED principles, but also the possibility of geographical segregation in the city-wide picture if only small-scale Safety problems are addressed (ibid.).

Due to all these phenomena and dichotomies, discourses increasingly refer to a "non-plannability" of Feelings of Unsafety in the city. However, if we want to counter this statement, reference can be made to Glasauer's model of "Urban Competence". Urban competence is regarded as a necessary way of dealing with the city that people have to acquire in a collective learning process. Different interests and views are acted out and negotiated in the urban public space, the framework for this is created by the city administration or urban planning (SAILER 2004: 130). Urban residents do not acquire Urban Competence without conflict, as milieu-specific interests are negotiated and no norms or values of, for example the middle class, are uncompromisingly enforced. This results in a culture of the open city with a society of debate and discourse that is able to deal with foreign and irritating elements as well as ambivalences and contradictions. Culturally different meanings for terms such as violence or views

on what is considered correct behaviour in public space are addressed. The public discourse of these contents serves to deal with fears and ambivalences and to negotiate a civil society framework. Foundations for public coexistence must be created. The aim is not to impose regulatory restrictions on life in the public sphere, but to build tolerance for certain irritations or behaviour that is not considered to be in conformity with the norm. In addition to the capacity for tolerance that must be integrated into society, regulations or clear prohibitions of use or bans on public spaces need to be formulated and communicated. However, erasing contradictions and conflicts in urban life would, in GLASAUER's view, lead to the extinction of urban culture (GLASAUER n.d.: 14).

4.3.2 From Gender Mainstreaming to Gender-Sensitive Planning

In the context of Perceptions of Safety in public space, but also to balance out inequalities between sections of the population in the use of public space, new planning approaches related to gender constructions have emerged in recent decades.

Cities are generally seen as places of connection, togetherness and community, but the reality is often different. For example, cities are perceived as unsafe for a variety of populations such as the female gender or gender-diverse people, whether on the streets, on public transport or when entering public space. The building structure of urban space often reflects social inequality and male dominance. When trying to counteract this pattern, planners often only refer to technical measures to prevent crime or protective measures in public architecture. However, if the diverse image of society and especially the needs of women or marginalised groups are to be addressed, other design emphases are needed in urban space. The origin here lies in the gender imprints in the built environment. This is characterised by prejudices and hegemonic views that correspond to a perception that women and gender-diverse people are not equal to men. Criticism is directed at public spaces that are categorised as gender-neutral, but would be formulated from the perspective of the generic masculine, thus disregarding the concerns of women and gender-diverse people. The decisive factor here is women's lived experiences in public space, such as changes in behaviour and modified mobility routines due to public spaces that do not meet their needs and demands for Subjective Safety (KALMS & BAWDEN 2021: 103f). Particularly in the years 2012 to 2014, a trend emerged in planning discourses from these findings that the masculine dimension of public space was increasingly criticised and scrutinised. The concerns and needs of women in public space were more often included in planning. The aim was to break down spatial policies that had previously been seen as gender-neutral and to initiate developments through adjustments and pro-active planning that would once again characterise the city as a place of participation and togetherness. Diversity and equality among city residents should be brought to the fore again – not only based on the gender variable, but also with regard to people with disabilities, the elderly and children, and marginalised groups (LIEBER 2018: 70).

First of all, the emergence of Gender Mainstreaming (GM) by the UN at the end of the 1990s as a concept for gender equality that encompasses all areas of life can be addressed. GM was defined as a transformative process to strengthen gender equality and promote the position of women. Eliminating gender bias in laws, programmes and institutions as well as identifying women's or men's needs are essential (LACEY et al. 2013: 145f). In planning discourses, this approach has been translated into the layout of the built environment, which is to be developed as an open space for all needs of urban society of men and women, differentiated by their social characteristics, such as age or cultural background. Every planning sub-process must take into account the spatial configuration based on gender equality (DAMYANOVIC 2013: 178f). GM tools in inclusive city approaches and gender planning are mainly of a strategic nature to put principles into practice. Gender impact assessments, Safety audits or gender budgeting, i.e. the adjustment of financial inequalities between the sexes in payment of labour, are examples of this. Urban planners use especially gender impact assessments and Safety audits to evaluate and adapt their planning concepts (LACEY et al. 2013: 146). A Canadian phenomenon can be described here as an exemplary development. Initially, when dealing with public spaces in connection with the female gender, the fact of women's high vulnerability to violence and assault was considered as natural given and unchangeable. Thus, measures of public institutions increasingly targeted the private environment of women. Canadian feminists, however, set the foundation for a re-thinking of the planning discourse in designing a toolkit including concrete proposals and policy suggestions for the layout of urban public space (LIEBER 2018: 67f). The organisation Women in Cities International (WCI) developed a list of principles of design features for safe urban environments of women. WCI used women's safety audit walks as survey methodologies to integrate their Subjective Safety needs in public spaces. The aim was to identify and evaluate Feelings of Unsafety by recognising decisive elements in specific urban spaces. These originated in Toronto in 1989 and were eventually incorporated for the first time in the City of Montréal's urban development programme "Femmes et ville". The results of the safety audits emerged six principles of women's safety:

- Optimal orientation in space through signals and signs
- Factor "seeing and being seen" through lighting, visibility and the elimination of hiding spots
- Factor "hearing and being heard" through the avoidance of empty public spaces (promotion of crowded spaces)
- The possibility of getting away or getting help through formal and informal control mechanisms
- Design and maintain attractiveness and clean public spaces
- Broad appropriation of public spaces through the whole community; togetherness

The WCI organisation mentions that already many international cities have implemented the principle checklist in planning debates and urban development measures (WCI 2010: 6ff).

While initiatives such as the above offer the potential to break down existing structures in urban development and create more equal relationships in space, it has been repeatedly pointed out in academic contexts that the efforts of GM are not sufficient. Too often, the visions of GM are misinterpreted by planners and inadequately applied in technocratic form, so that the transformative character of the approach is left out. The GM movement is accused of drifting away from women's claims and rights and of simplifying women's diverse needs by simply considering men and women as homogeneous groups (LACEY et al. 2013: 147f). HUNING (2019: 10f) also states that feminist criticism of this vision of gender planning denounces that GM does not go far enough. Planning processes are still not sufficiently accompanied by affected groups and expertise, and the central treatment of men and women as spatial categories would sustain spatialised stereotypes. Although the focus on the everyday needs of men and women in planning leads to a user orientation, the conservative worldview of typical gender roles continues to be upheld. For him, the right way of gender planning depends on the direct individual contribution of people in society. Urban diversity can be better realised in space if participatory processes are on the agenda in urban planning (ibid.). KALMS & BAWDEN (2021: 104f) therefore recommend gender-sensitive design instead of GM. This aims to include the everyday needs of all members of society and to pay special attention to groups that are often overlooked in planning processes. The approach should encourage planners to move away from fixed spatial attributes and GM checklists and to analyse and design spaces in a new way. Defensive design structures of public space in the context of GM to increase Subjective Safety can be complemented and further developed. Away from the gender focus of GM, the approach of gender-sensitive planning/design focuses on the different realities of life and lived experiences. By dealing with different life experiences of society, planners can gain understanding and awareness of individual spatial needs and transfer them to issues relevant to society as a whole or to space in general. In order to integrate the multitude of lifeworlds into planning processes, participatory co-design is necessary – to sum it up: the involvement of the public in decisions and planning (ibid.). In scientific discourses, instead of a one-dimensional target group definition (man-woman), the integration of several social features or character traits of society are taken into account in planning as a distinction from GM. The de-gendering of the spatial planning debate with simultaneous increased attention to public opinions enables a do-it-yourself culture in urban space. Structural inequalities are made visible and hitherto persistent discriminatory planning mechanisms are eliminated. Public spaces serve as venues for active, self-determined action, learning and experience. The creation of spatial identities is thus additionally promoted through gender-sensitive planning (HUNING 2019: 12ff).

4.3.3 Best Practice Example: Wien

The city of Vienna can be highlighted as a model city in terms of Subjective Safety perception and relating urban development measures. Gender-responsive planning has also been the focus of urban development interest for some time.

In Vienna, urban planning initially organises its planning goals into two thematic complexes. On the one hand, urban structure, spatial formation and residential quality and, on the other hand, the complex of public space and mobility. Part of the first-mentioned complex is, as one of five specialist sectors, the improvement of the subjective and objective sense of safety. Vienna is thus pursuing a vision in which safety in public space plays a central role as part of quality of life. Subjective Safety occupies an important position here and is pursued according to the principle of "seeing and being seen". Strategic core elements are the stimulation of social control mechanisms, easy orientation in the neighbourhood, high visibility and efficient illumination of streets and pavements. According to these motives, individual feelings of fear are to be counteracted and potential risks minimised (KRAUß & SCHWIMMER 2021: 749). The fact that this organisational set-up of the City of Vienna seems to be successful is proven by survey results of the European Commission on perceived safety in the city. In Vienna, 86 percent of all residents feel safe, which is significantly above the European average of 78 percent (EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2016: 88). Furthermore, at 67 percent, the Viennese are more satisfied than average with the work of the administration as far as the implementation of residents' concerns and wishes is regarded. The European average is only 54 percent here (ibid.: 110). One reason for this high satisfaction rate among Vienna's residents can therefore be seen in the urban development efforts for social safety in public spaces of the guideline : "Planen – Aber Sicher!" (STADT WIEN 2012). It resulted from several interdisciplinary workshops of urban planners, security authorities such as the police and social workers. It is intended as a reaction to the steadily increasing importance of public spaces in Vienna and to promote the subjective Feeling of Safety in these spaces, which is understood as part of a preventive and sustainable urban design. The concept is built on four pillars: People, objects and movement in public space and squares, as well as image and identity (ibid.: 1-6). In doing so, local planners recognise that population growth and demographic change are diversifying the demands on public space and that usage habits continue to differ. Conflicts in public space between groups can arise. The perceived diversity should be addressed in terms of Subjective Safety with the discussed concept. In doing so, the Urban Competence referred to in Chapter 4.3.1 is used as a social capacity, so that a general acceptance of foreignness and other forms of behaviour in public space is already attempted to be built up by the planning approach. No one should be pushed out of public space, so that disorder phenomena are thematised in an integrative and inclusive way. In order to realise the planning principles and spatial visions on diversity and Subjective Safety in harmony in Vienna's public space, the concept aims to develop strategies for action based on expert workshops,



Figure 10: vision of lighting public space in Vienna (STADT WIEN 2012: 37)

international studies and specialist literature, as well as their own surveys (ibid.: 7ff). The thematic chapter of "People in Public Space" deals with the accumulation of people from all parts of society in public space. Areas are to be created in which all Viennese can live out their right to public space. Meeting spots for the communication with strangers, as well as newly designed open spaces for children and young people are only examples of this. For marginalised groups, the city is taking into account that on the one hand public spaces should be created that exist without any allocation of use, and on the other hand that explicitly pre-designed spaces for certain groups should be integrated into the urban landscape. Behaviour that is little recognised by the social majority can be specifically lived out there (accommodation for the homeless, etc.). In addition, social professionals in public spaces should support marginalised population groups so that the subjective Feeling of Safety can be further increased for all (ibid.: 12-34). The concept sub-item of "things in public space" is intended to ensure that the public space is enlivened and experiences a high frequency of use. Based on scientific findings, Vienna builds on counteracting disorder perceptions in space by means of lighting, visibility and vitalisation. For example, the even distribution of facilities of public interest with high visitor frequency (such as schools, kindergartens or restaurants) is intended to provide stimulation and thus increased social control. This is supported by public spaces developed as multifunctional. In terms of visibility and lighting, the focus is on the right lighting to increase the subjective Feeling of Safety. Figure 10 shows a model of the planning approach. The illumination levels of the street lighting should be used as optimally as possible and unnecessary shadows cast by vegetation overgrowth or building elements should be avoided. In general, in connection with vegetation, the concept should pay attention to locally appropriate greenery and not create a green environment that impairs visibility and thus Subjective Safety. Furthermore, destruction and pollution have been formulated as partial problems to be concerned, so that order and cleanliness are always ensured in the space. For this purpose, for example, the city has employed so-called WasteWatchers since 2009 to ensure clean and attractive environments of public space (ibid.: 43-53). The point of "movement in space" is ultimately a decisive one for the connection between Subjective Safety and mobility or use/activity in public space. Orientation and clarity are key factors here: clear guidance systems and signage strengthen the Feeling of Safety in public spaces. The issue of movement is also crucial in terms of speed. The speed of different traffic participants should therefore be specifically adapted to the intended use of a public space. In the sense of Urban Competence, "shared spaces"

should also be created, which are the opposite of strictly segregated relationships of road users: public spaces are designed in such a way that personal responsibility is the focus and no guidance by traffic organisation is applied. In addition, the relationship between transit spaces and spaces for resting/staying is taken into account so that, according to the principle of "space creates Safety", transit processes of people in public space can proceed unhindered. A clear distinction between the two aforementioned forms of space is the central target here. In addition, attention is paid to a high quality of stay in spaces for recreation and hanging around. For transit spaces, it is also important that alternative routes are provided. The City of Vienna states that Feelings of Safety arise when there are various ways out and unpleasant situations can be avoided (ibid.: 54-74). The last pillar of the concept, "Image/Identity", pursues the vision of bringing the value of public spaces to the fore and establishing a connection between people and space through quality design. Image and identity are mutually dependent; image depends on the reputation of a specific space – identity, on the other hand, is thought of in a more long-term way and is associated with the usage of space or typical local activities. If a place can be identified with and a positive image is attributed to it, residents will develop a higher individual sense of safety there. For urban planners in Vienna, image and identity are therefore points to be considered in planning processes. For this purpose, the opinions of the local population are collected in all steps. By encouraging the population to participate in urban development projects, constructive and joint solutions for the redesign of public spaces are to be developed and the most diverse needs are to be taken into account (ibid.: 78-92). A prime example for the successful implementation of the concept for Subjective Safety in public space is the redesign of the square "Reumannsplatz". Completed in 2020, the square includes newly designed playgrounds, lots of new seating, exercise facilities for all age groups and a water arch (fountain-like installation) for cooling off in summer. Until 2017, the space had a transit function in addition to its high recreational significance for the Viennese, as an important tramline ran along the square. After a Vienna underground line was extended, the named tramline was discontinued and redesign measures for the square could be initiated. Social space analysis and participation procedures integrated a high level of citizen participation and sensitisation of planners to citizen concerns. Concrete suggestions for the redesigns were the existence of the square as a public space without compulsion to consume, a priority for pedestrian and bicycle traffic as well as better visual relations for improved social control. Figure 11 shows a central section of the square and illustrates the continued balance of the square between transit and stay by means of wide paths and many seating areas. In addition, the transparency and accessibility that was desired by citizens in the respective participation forums has been created.

In the literature, Vienna is seen as a phenomenon of participatory open space design due to the conceptual approach for creating Subjective Safety in the city just presented. Streets and squares are designed in dialogue with the urban community, both in terms of aesthetics and functional equipment. In the process, diverse user needs are taken into account and places for co-design and civic engagement are created. This process establishes trust and mutual understanding between urban planners and citizens. In summary, this way of urban planning can be described as "urban development from



Figure 11: new designed Square "Reumannsplatz" in Vienna (STADT WIEN n.d.: www)

below". Citizens are connected to their local space and acquire spatial identity. Subjective Safety and social trust are also fostered by the social space orientation of "do-it-yourself" (HÄBERLIN 2020: 130f).

Vienna has made some progress in gender-sensitive planning too. Al-

ready in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the "Frauen-Werk-Stadt" (women workshop) was created to strengthen the standing of female architects in urban planning and to promote the recognition of their skills in public life. In addition, the focus was on the theoretical goals of gender-sensitive planning, which had to be bundled and formulated into architectural measures. From this origin, further sub-areas of urban administration for planning purposes emerged, which adopted the equality of all parts of society as a motive for action (STUMMVOLL 2004: 78). The first interventions in the context of gender-sensitive planning were the formulation of strategic approaches to secure sufficient social housing in the urban area, but also explicit project realisations, such as the design of girls' playgrounds after the evaluation of different play needs of boys and girls in public space (ibid.: 79ff). IRSCHIK & KAIL (2013: 204ff) recognise these developments as ambitions of GM in Vienna. As public urban spaces and municipal finances are scarce, a re-planning of existing public spaces and facilities has been of high importance. Spatial investigations as well as gender-specific studies of the City of Vienna by the Women's Office in 1997 then revealed the starting point of parks in Vienna, where the male gender is predominant – especially in playgrounds there are conditions oriented towards boys. Furthermore, girls are less likely to appropriate public spaces than boys, thus reproducing a low level of public self-confidence in this group. Planners addressed this problem and developed gender-sensitive park design. The beginnings were made in the "Einsiedlerpark" and "St Johann Park" parks. The aim was to strengthen

the presence of girls in public space and to expand their range of movement (ibid.). Meanwhile, a broad concept of urban planning is part of gender-sensitive urban design. Among other things, the walkability approach is pursued, which includes the "city of short distances". The general motorised traffic volume is to be reduced and short distances to be covered by building up all areas of life as work, shopping and leisure in a gender-appropriate way. A decentralised distribution of facilities for daily needs/visits is necessary (KRAUß & SCHWIMMER 2021: 751). The concept of walkability is also being pursued under the umbrella of the "Fair Shared City of Vienna", which began in 2002 when the Mariahilf district was selected as a pilot project for GM. Here, the improvement of the general conditions for pedestrians was of particular importance, so it was necessary to widen footpaths and make crossing areas safer, as well as to guarantee barrier-free transit areas in public space. But also factors directly relevant to Subjective Safety, such as better lighting or more quality of stay, were bundled into sub-projects (IRSCHIK & KAIL 2013: 212f). Socially inclusive planning of public spaces should also aim at the participation of all societal groups in Vienna. A barrier-free city is part of this vision. The already explained concept of safety in Vienna is mentioned in scientific discourses as crucial in gender planning context as well. Parallels are also perceived between Jacob's model of "eyes on the street" and the focus of Viennese urban planning on social control as a value of public space (KRAUß & SCHWIMMER 2021: 751).

5 Feeling (Un)Safe in Public Space of a medium-sized town: the case of Barsinghausen

In order to feed the literature analysis on the topic of perceived (un)safety in public spaces with new empirical knowledge, the results of the quantitative and qualitative survey formats are presented in this chapter.

5.1 Background information & geographical classification

As mentioned in chapter 3.3, Barsinghausen is a medium sized town near Hannover. The city has 18 districts covering an area of 103 square kilometres. Around 35,500 inhabitants live in the core city and the remaining districts. According to German law, being called a "town" was only granted to Barsinghausen in 1969, after the current districts of Egestorf and Kirchdorf ultimately led to the enlargement

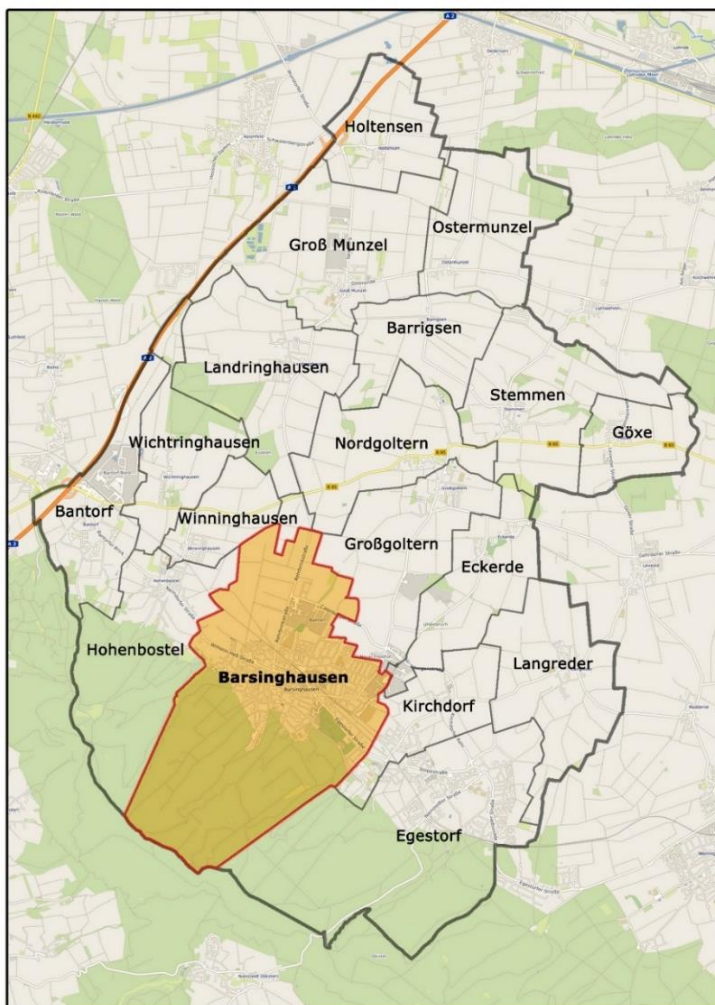


Figure 12: Highlighted analysis area & administrative boundaries of Barsinghausen (scale 1:85,000) (own depiction; based on LGLN 2021: [www](http://www.lgl.niederrhein.de))

of the municipality due to strong spatial relationships and interdependencies. Barsinghausen is internationally linked through town twinning with Mont-Saint Aignan in France, Wurzen in Saxony, Brzeg Dolny in Poland and Kovel in Ukraine. The town's regional impact takes place on the one hand as a member of the Hannover-Braunschweig-Göttingen Metropolitan Region and on the other hand as part of the Hannover Region. In terms of transport, the town is connected for motorised traffic via the A2 federal motorway through two districts in the direction of Hamburg, Berlin and Dortmund. There is a rail connection to Hanover with half-hourly to hourly trains. Within the town, there are city

bus lines in the core city area as well as bus lines of the regional network of the

Greater Hannover Area Network (STADT BARSINGHAUSEN n.d.: www). The landscape of Barsinghausen is very differentiated. In terms of natural landscape, fields, meadows and the forest of the Deister

elevation dominate the town alongside residential and commercial properties (REGION HANNOVER 2019: 1).

The analysis area of this study, highlighted in Figure 12, the district of Barsinghausen (the core town), is the most urban part of the case study. There is a population density of 945.6 inhabitants per square kilometre. The other districts, or even 10 of them, are classified as rural or villages due to a population density of less than 150 inhabitants per square kilometre (ibid.: 6). Character features of the core town are the pedestrian zone established in 1976 with many shopping facilities, the local recreation area of the Deister Forest and the supra-regional standing as a sports training location – among other things, as a venue for training sessions of the German national football team (STADT BARSINGHAUSEN n.d.: www).

5.2 Results

In this chapter of the thesis, the empirical results are presented. First, the thematic output of the online survey is discussed in depth. In the last two sections of the chapter, the possible media influence on the Perception of (Un)Safety in the public space of Barsinghausen as well as the approaches of urban planning at hotspots of the localisation of (un)safety (by survey participants) are then described.

5.2.1 General information

205 people took part in the online survey on perceived safety and unsafety in public spaces in Barsinghausen, which was launched the 23rd December 2021 for 4 weeks. The survey shows a slight increase

PARTICIPANTS BY GENDER

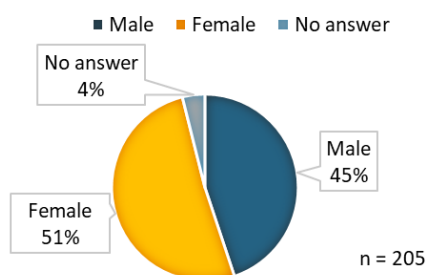


Figure 13: Participants of the survey by age (own depiction)

in the number of female participants. Overall, however, the gender ratio is balanced. A relatively high proportion of 4 percent of respondents did not want to answer the question of gender; no respondent located their gender category outside the two traditional gender categories of male and female (see Figure 13).

The average age of the respondents is 39 years. The group of 40-59 year-olds takes up the largest share with almost 40 percent. I did not reach teenagers and children at all, as expected, but I succeeded in encouraging older people (60 and older) to participate, despite the digital implementation of the survey concept, with a share of 9 percent. Due to the high participation rate of 21-24 year-olds (18 percent), many voices of the younger age segment are also obtained in addition to the opinions of older people. A cross-section of society can be represented by the age structure (see Figure 14).

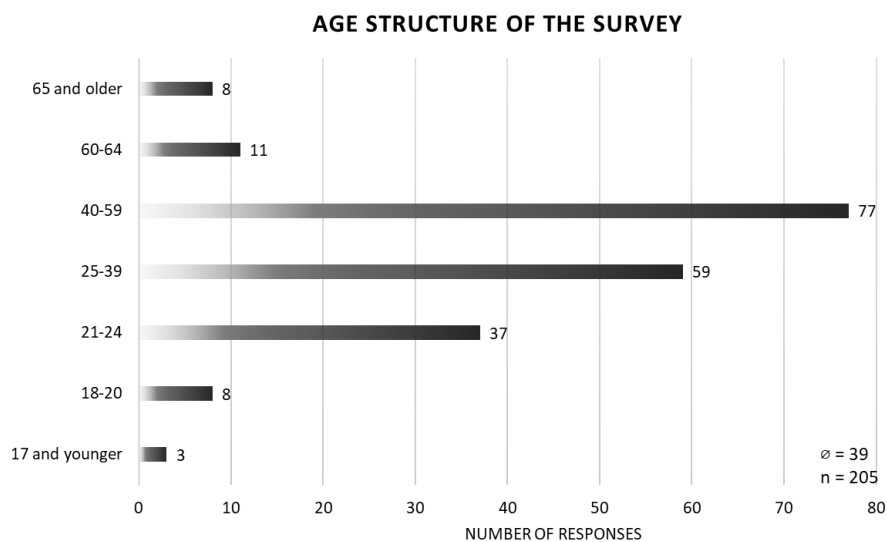


Figure 14: Age structure of the survey (own depiction)

Almost only German citizens participated in the survey. Since the ideas and opinions of minorities should also be represented in order to depict the broad society in Barsinghausen, the adult education centre in Barsinghausen was contacted for the integration of non-German partici-

pants in the online survey. Through the contact person for the programme area "German & Integration", the survey was shared in courses for refugees financed by state funds as well as German courses with literacy. A total of five participants who live in Barsinghausen managed to take part in the survey. Another four participants from the literacy course attempted to take part, but failed because of the language barrier (see written information, e-mail, VHS 2022). These results in the field of participants by nationality shown in Annex 3, so that 200 participants were German, two Afghan, one Georgian, one Syrian and one Ukrainian.

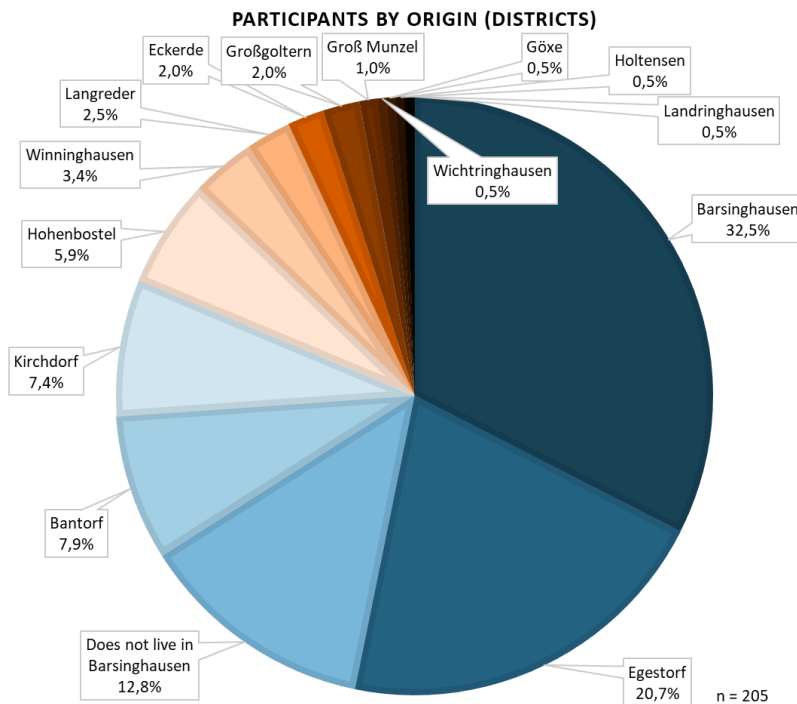
To further analyse the social background of the respondents, questions were asked about education, employment status and household size as well as net household income. In terms of the educational qualifications, it can be seen that the respondents tend to come from the more educated sections of society. Thus, 83% have obtained at least a high school diploma (Abitur), a completed vocational training or even university degrees, as Annex 4 illustrates. This clearly shows that not all sections of society, measured in terms of educational qualifications, participated equally in the survey. In terms of employment status, it becomes clear that almost 72 percent of the respondents work at least part-time or even full-time. With 12 percent of the respondents, university students also represent a conspicuously high proportion. The number of retirees participating, 9 (4 per cent), is almost at the same level as the number of students (8, 4 per cent). No one selected the choice option of being unable to work (see Annex 5).

By household size and income (see Annex 6 & 7), it should be noted that the largest proportion of respondents live in two-person households (42 percent). However, families with several members or flat-sharing communities are also represented among the participants at 39 per cent. Single households are in the minority with 16 percent. The net household income of the respondents is on average

between 2,000 and 5,000 euros, whereby the highest selection option of 10,000 euros net income and more was not selected once.

5.2.2 Relation to Barsinghausen & mobility behaviour

Important for the further classification of the participants in their perception of public space are the questions of the survey on mobility behaviour and the connection to the city of Barsinghausen.



The majority of the participants in the survey come from the analysis area itself. With 32.5 percent, they form the largest group. Egestorf follows behind with 20.7 percent. In third place, with 12.8 per cent, is the group of participants who do not live in Barsinghausen. They are followed by the districts of Bantorf, Kirchdorf and Hohenbostel, each with shares of over 5 per cent (see Figure 15). In terms of the representation of opinions

Figure 15: Survey participants by origin (districts) (own depiction)

from the local districts in relation to their total population of the regional units, Bantorf is in first place. With 1.28 per cent of the total population of the district, Bantorf residents participated disproportionately in the survey. Significantly underrepresented are districts such as Landringhausen, Göxe, Wichtringhausen or Groß Munzel, which remain below 0.2 per cent. No participants at all came from the rural communities of Barrigsen, Ostermunzel and Stemmen. The core town of Barsinghausen itself, with 66 participants in relation to 14,597 residents, has covered only 0.45 per cent of its total population (see Annex 6).

Figure 16 shows how the survey participants relate to Barsinghausen. The high number of responses for "Living in Barsinghausen" is related to the information on origin. 152 of 205 survey participants live in one of the districts of Barsinghausen. The number of women slightly outweighs the number of men, but since a larger proportion of women took part in the survey, the gender picture seems to be balanced. The second highest selected answer option is "Shopping, Leisure activities and/or other activities in Barsinghausen". Accordingly, Barsinghausen functions more as a place for leisure activities than

for working for the participants, as only 47 participants work in Barsinghausen. However, if one adds the part of working together with school and training, 80 participants can be located in Barsinghausen in the education and work sector. The family connection to Barsinghausen is also clear, 104 of the respondents have family and relatives in one of the districts.

How respondents perceive their space can be attempted to analyse through the question on the choice of transportation to get to work or leisure activities. The high car dependency of Barsinghausen resi-

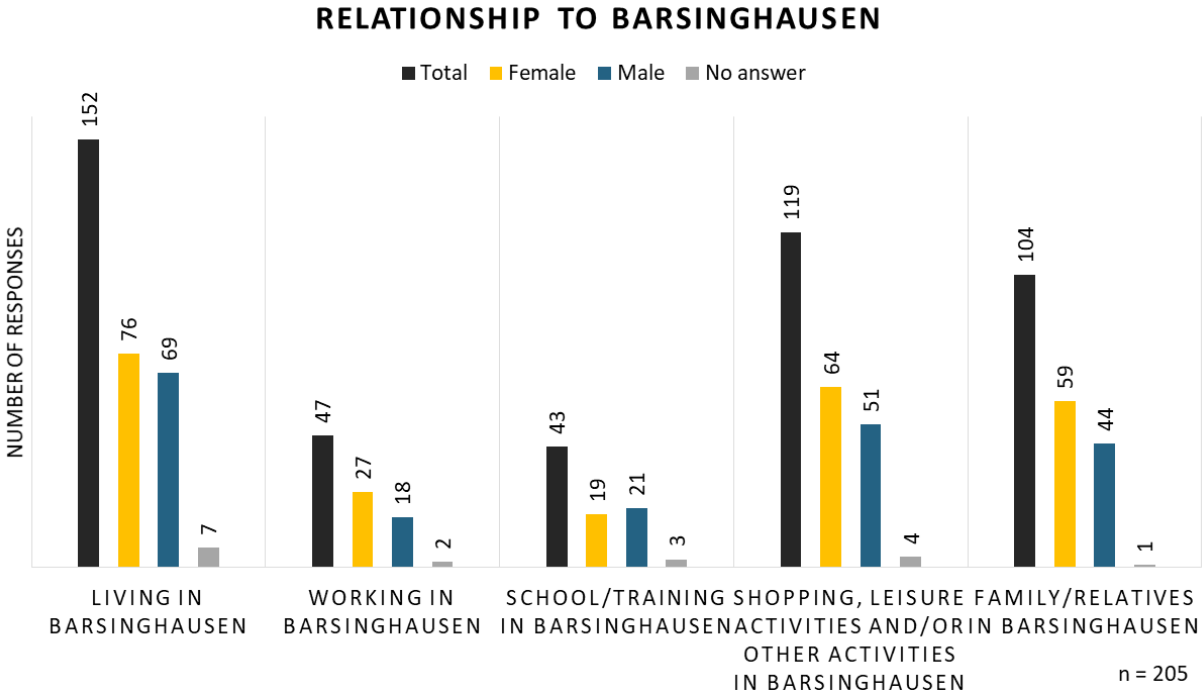


Figure 16: Relationship of the survey participants to Barsinghausen (own depiction)

dents is not only evident from the statistical surveys of the Hannover Region, which show that Barsinghausen, with a motorization rate of 48.1 percent, is just above the average of the cities in the Hannover Region (REGION HANNOVER 2019: 21). It is also clear from the survey that at least almost 70 percent use the car as a driver or passenger to get to work/school. Only 35 percent of respondents use public transportation, bus and train. Still, almost 20 percent and another 15 percent reach their workplace or school on foot or by bicycle. Alternative propulsion methods or newfangled means of transportation, such as the e-bike or the e-scooter, are also used by almost 8 percent of respondents. There are no conspicuous differences in the use of means of transport between the sexes (see Figure 17). Looking at the mobility behavior of the respondents in relation to the choice of means of transport to get to leisure activities, shopping or the like, the picture just described differentiates somewhat. Although 82

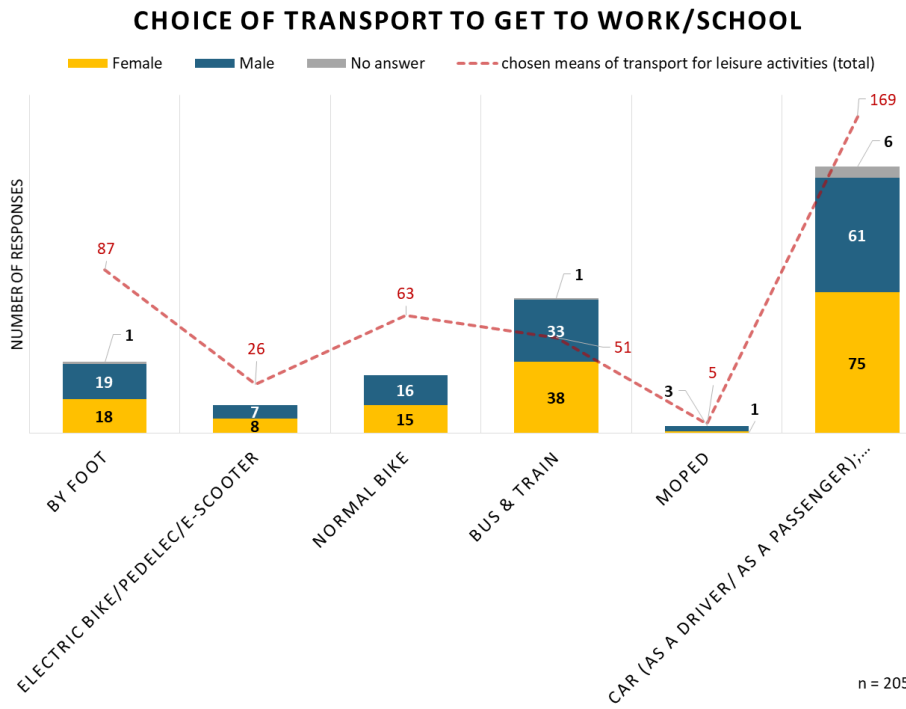


Figure 17: Survey participants' choice of Transport to get to work/school by gender (own depiction)

transport for leisure activities compared to the choice of transport for work/school. Proportionally, more women use cars, while men use bicycles more often.

5.2.3 Factors for perceived (Un)Safety

At the beginning of the online survey, respondents were confronted with the issue of perceived safety in public spaces. They had to answer the question, which factors make a public place seem safe or unsafe to them. As described in Table 1 in Chapter 3.4.2, space-related factors that can influence perceptions of (Un)Safety were formulated on the basis of relevant literature.

With regard to the factors for a public place being perceived as safe, two answer options crystallise among the respondents. "Brightness; good illumination" and "order & cleanliness" seem to be the most important spatial features for Safety and comfort in public. In addition, the presence of people or human-related infrastructure in public space also play an important role for the participants. "Bustling location; many people stay there" and "shops, restaurants, sports facilities and/or cultural facilities in direct vicinity" were likewise perceived by more than half of the respondents as important components of a safe considered environment in public space. It is noticeable that women selected the factor „Bustling location“ significantly higher. Such a clear gender difference cannot otherwise be found in this question. Only the factors "Modernised streets; places" and "Lots of space for cars" are considered more important for safe spatial perceptions by the male gender. Overall, however, the answer options on the allocation of space for cyclists, pedestrians and cars in the traffic area are clearly decided in favour of pedestrians and cyclists. 56 percent of the respondents consider a lot of space for

percent of respondents say they rely on their car, the proportion of those who travel on foot or by bicycle has also risen. In order to get to leisure activities, just under 31 percent said that they would use a bicycle, and 42 percent would even walk. However, gender differences can be observed in the choice of

pedestrians and 41 percent a lot of space for cyclists as crucial for safe feelings in public space. Plenty of space for cars, on the other hand, was judged as crucial by only 12 percent (see Figure 18).

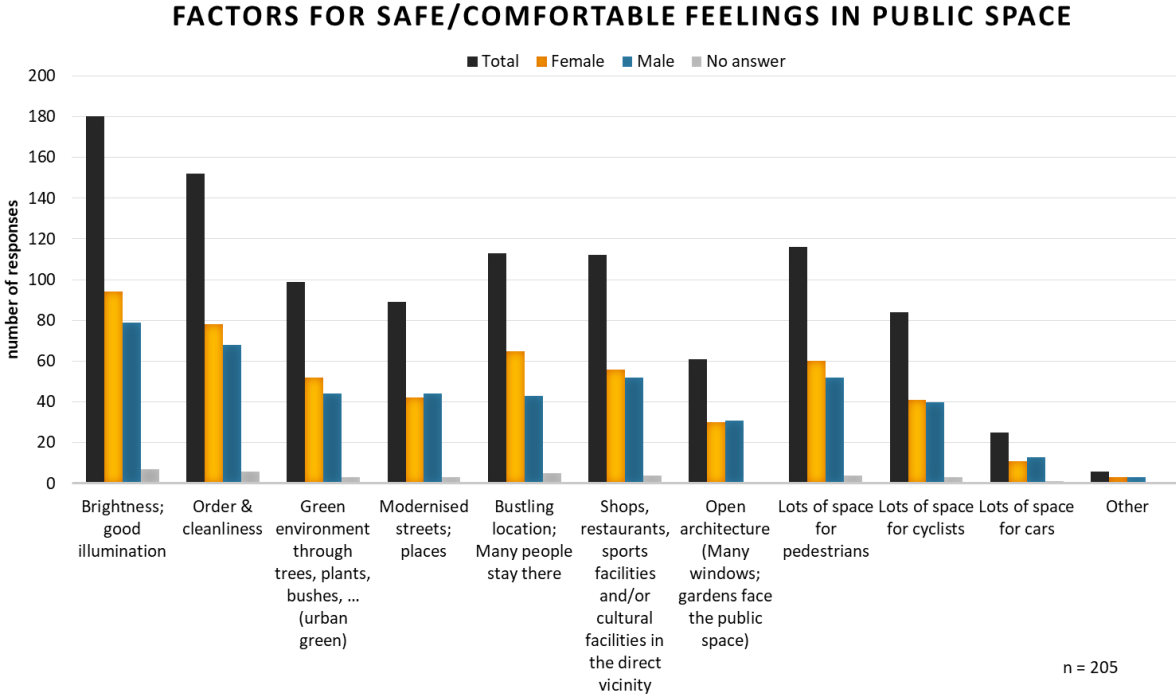


Figure 18: Survey participants' responses to factors they rate as important for safe/comfortable feelings in public space (own depiction)

If we now look at the opposite side and analyse the opinion of the respondents on factors of feeling unsafe or uncomfortable in public space, the following picture can be described: First, the survey participants used the multiple choice option more intensively here and marked several factors as characteristics of perceived unsafe public spaces. Five out of eleven answer options were ticked by more than 50 percent of the respondents, whereby the options "Other" and "no answer" are not included in the representation of Figure 19 as these were only selected once. With 87 and 85 percent of the votes, the variables "Presence of people perceived as threatening" and "Darkness; poor lighting" received the highest response in terms of a factor for unpleasant feelings in public spaces. They are followed by "Disorder, dirt, destruction" and "Lonely area; no/few people around" with 79 and 70 percent respectively. This reveals a balanced picture of the stated factors of perceived Unsafety with regard to the built environment (e.g. poor lighting, disorder & destruction) and the social presence in public space (e.g. people perceived as threatening, no/few people around). The socio-spatial factors are additionally strengthened by the increased indication of "knowledge of incidents/crimes in the past" with 63 percent of the votes. Of rather little importance for the survey participants were vacant or brownfield land, poor or even missing cycle paths and a large proportion of space reserved for cars. However, almost half of the respondents complain about the lack of or poorly constructed footpaths as a decisive

element for unsafe feelings in public space. However, a discrepancy between the genders can be seen more clearly in the selection of factors discussed here. In a gender comparison, women denounce "Darkness; poor lighting" more than average with 92 percent of the women surveyed and "Lonely area; no/few people around" with 79 percent of the women surveyed. Men, on the other hand, selected this

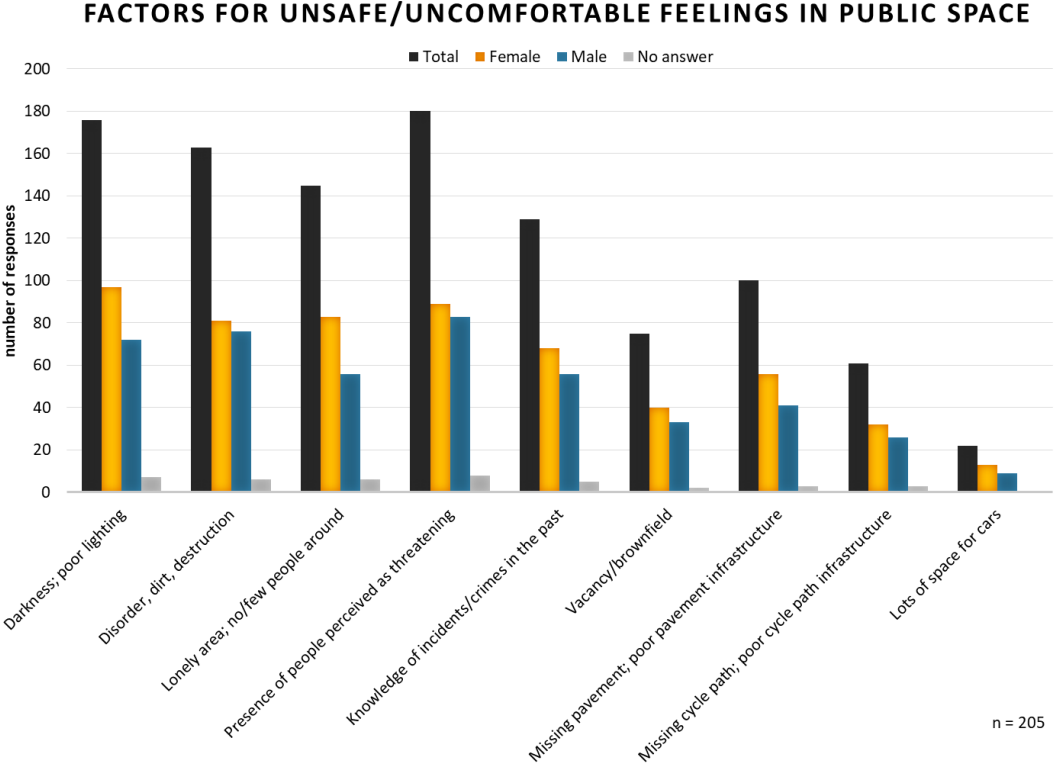


Figure 19: Survey participants' responses to factors they rate as important for unsafe/uncomfortable feelings in public space (own depiction)

variable only 78 and 61 percent respectively. A slight majority ratio in favour of women is also present in the voting distributions for weak pavement infrastructure as a reason for uncomfortable feelings in public space (see Figure 19).

5.2.4 The perception of (Un)Safety in Public Space of Barsinghausen

For the respondents' individual perceptions of space, options were given in the online survey to mark places perceived as safe or unsafe. For this purpose, respondents were asked to indicate what form of public space they would classify the place as, at what times they spend time there and what factors make the place safe or unsafe for them. It should be noted here that the total number of respondents in the following figures is higher than the total number of survey participants overall, as the option of the second location statement was added up in each case for a location perceived as safe and a location perceived as unsafe.

The perception of safe public spaces in Barsinghausen

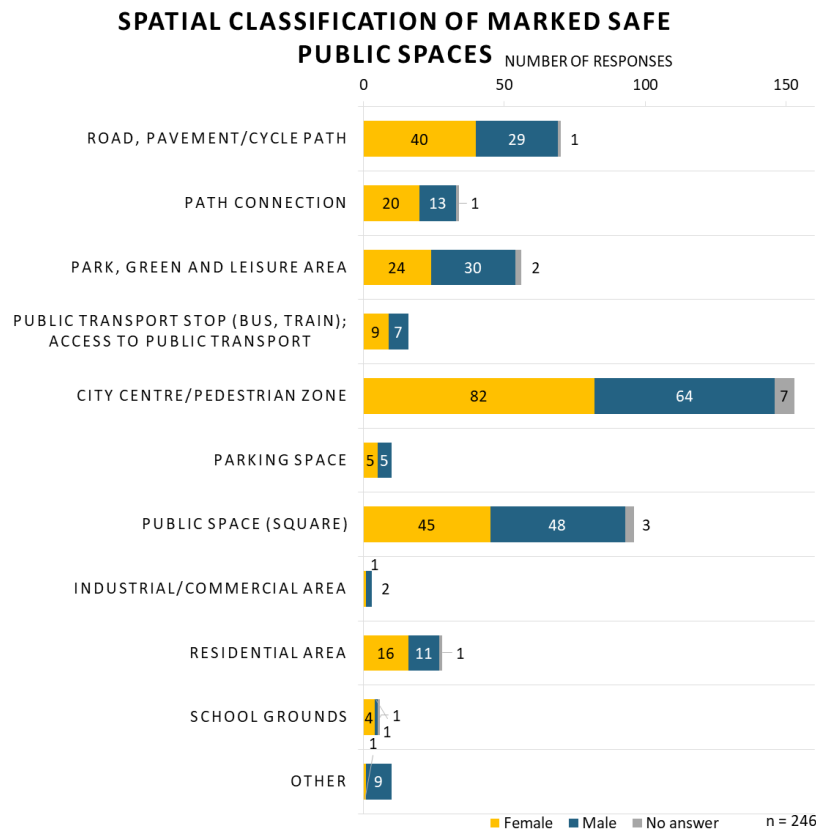


Figure 20: Participants' spatial classifications of marked safe public spaces (own depiction)

options "Road, Pavement/ Cycle Path" and "Park, Green and Leisure Area" account for significantly fewer shares of the vote, these spatial categories are considered comfortable and safe by at least 34 and 27 percent respectively. The space classifications "School Grounds", "Parking Space" and "Industrial/ Commercial Area" were each selected by a maximum of five percent of the respondents. There were no significant differences between genders, age groups, nationalities or other societal categories.

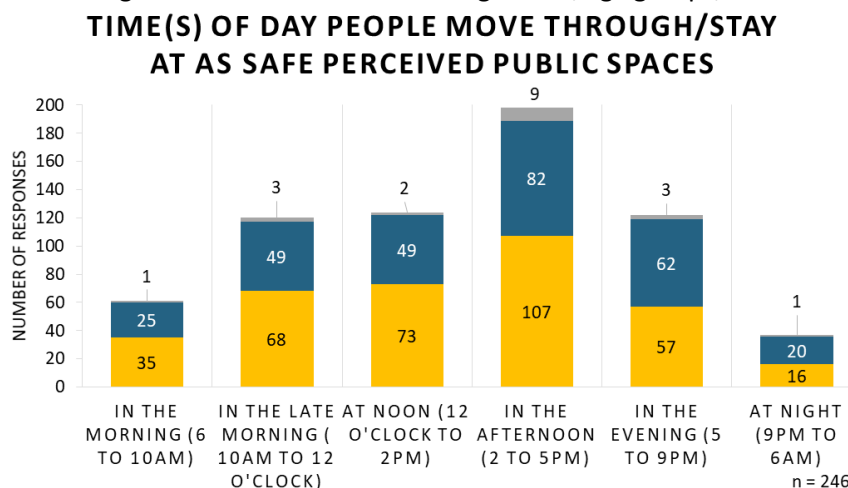


Figure 21: Participants' indication of time when moving through or staying at as safe perceived public spaces (own depiction)

Respondents selected clear favourites in the spatial classifications as perceived safe public spaces, as mentioned in Figure 20. For example, 75 percent of respondents selected the city centre or pedestrian zone as in this regard. This is followed by the spatial category of the public square with 47 percent and is thus closely related to the first place, as the marked locations of these categories by the participants are to be considered in the city centre and as part of the pedestrian zone.

Even though the response

Only for the small group of non-Germans is the importance of public squares in relation to the pedestrian zone categorised as a perceived safe public place rotated.

The majority of the times when the participants of the survey stay at places in Barsinghausen that are rated as safe or comfortable fall within the daytime range. About 76 percent of the places indicated are used in the morning to afternoon. Only 24 percent are visited in the evening and at night. The highest usage peak is in the afternoon. Here, 80 per cent of the respondents stated that they stay in their public space marked as safe or comfortable. There are gender differences in the times of use. Men use their marked places proportionately less often during the day, whereas they spend more time there in the evening and at night than women. The greatest differences are found in the lunchtime period, where only 43 per cent of men use these areas, whereas 59 per cent of women use them during this time window (see Figure 21).

REASONS FOR FEELINGS OF SAFETY IN MARKED SPOTS

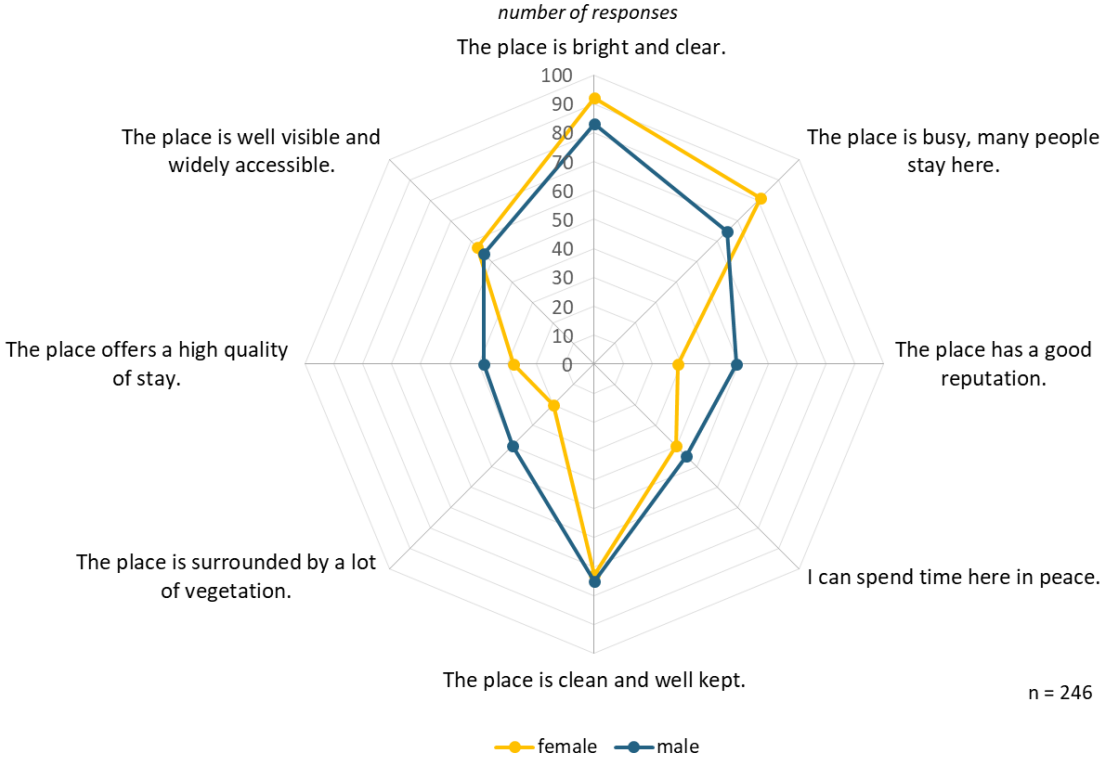


Figure 22: Participants' given reasons for Feelings of Safety in marked spots of Barsinghausen (own depiction)

As reasons or factors for the perceived safety, the participants give three main points: "The place is bright and clear.", "The place is clean and well kept." and "The place is busy, many people stay here.". All three components were selected by over 60 per cent of the respondents, the former even by 74 per cent. Differences between men and women in the assessment of factors for Feelings of Safety in public space of Barsinghausen can easily be seen in Figure 22. Women tend to place a higher value on the factors of the bustling environment of a spot and the bright and clear structure of public spaces in Barsinghausen, whereas men reveal a more balanced distribution pattern in the answers given. Thus, although the factors selected by women as priorities one and two are also decisive for the male respondents, men perceive the answer options "The place has a good reputation." and "The place is

surrounded by a lot of vegetation." significantly more strongly. The reputation of a public space in Barsinghausen is decisively more important for men, with a share of 43 percent, than for women, with only 24 percent of the answers given. Survey participants place little value on the surrounding vegetation of a public place with only 25 percent of the votes. This low value is particularly connected to the female gender, as only 16 percent of the women felt this spatial element to be important for Subjective Safety – men, on the other hand, agreed to 35 percent of the answer option. The factor quality of stay in a public space also seems to be of little importance for the respondents in terms of perceived safety. Here, 27 percent of the respondents agreed; again with a slight preponderance of agreement by the male gender.

The perception of unsafe public spaces in Barsinghausen

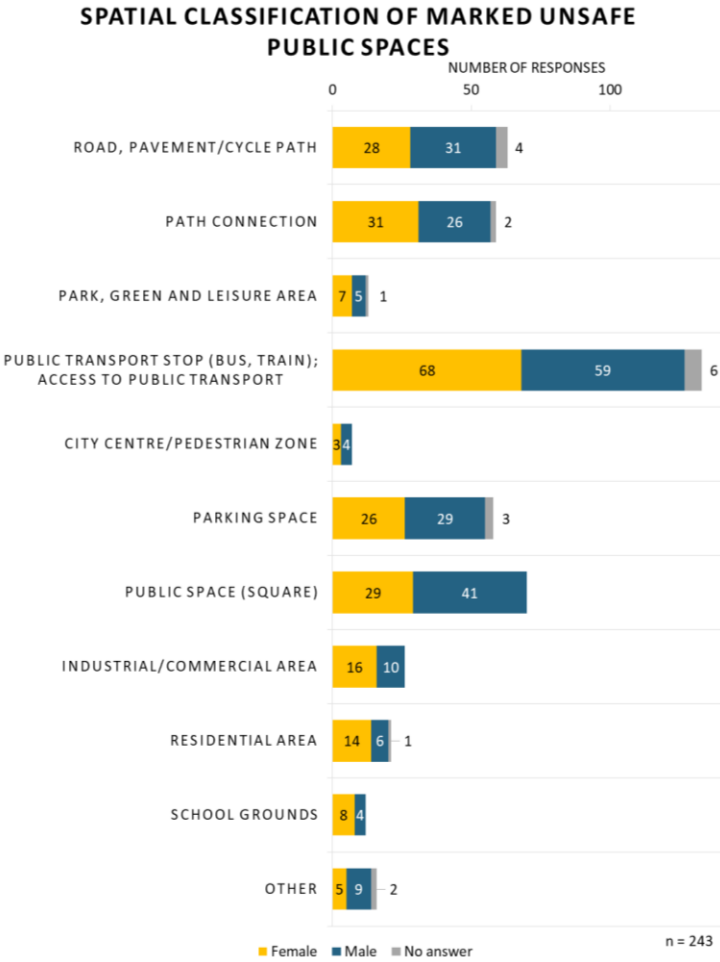


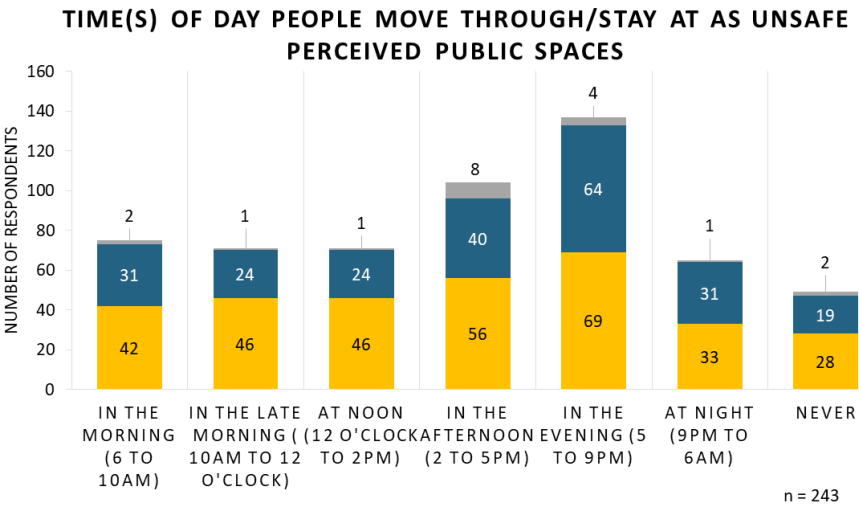
Figure 23: Participants’ spatial classifications of marked unsafe public spaces (own depiction)

As a counterpart to the subjective Perception of Safety of the respondents in Barsinghausen, the subjective Perception of Unsafety was surveyed. Here, other public spaces have emerged than in the selection of the Feelings of Safety. The category "Public transport stop (bus, train); access to public transport" stands out with a selection rate of 55 percent of respondents. This perception is equally represented in all social analysis groups, be it gender, age or other. Only the members of the under 30s group proportionately locates Feelings of Unsafety more strongly with 77 percent in the spatial category of public transport stops. Further indications of places of discomfort and unsafety were given by 20-30 percent of

the respondents and concern spatial units of public space such as public squares, streets, pavements/cycle paths, path connections or parking spaces. Clear differences among the respondents are only revealed in the assessment of public squares as the spatial origin of Subjective Unsafety. Here,

the majority of men (37 per cent) refer to unpleasant feelings in public spaces, whereas only 24 per cent of women do (see Figure 23).

The time data related to staying or passing a place in Barsinghausen that is perceived as unsafe also differ from the previous results of Subjective Safety. The majority of Feelings of Unsafety are located in the evening and afternoon hours. 56 percent of respondents spend time in public places that are considered unsafe in the evening. Respondents more often indicated the night as a time of stay too. Thus, 27 percent of the participants said that they stay in places of Feelings of Unsafety at night as well. In contrast, only 15 per cent of respondents said that they stay in public spaces that are considered comfortable or safe at night. In general, with regard to the gender structure, it can be seen from Figure 24 that women are proportionately more represented in the response ratio, with the exception



of the time category "In the evening (5 to 9pm)". This suggests that the multiple choice option was used more intensively by women and that they therefore always use or have to use the public spaces they perceive as unsafe more often than men, regardless

Figure 24: Participants' indication of time when moving through or staying at as unsafe perceived public spaces (own depiction)

of time (Evening and night hours excluded). One striking feature of this sub-question of the survey is that the answer option "Never" was selected relatively often. This means that 20 percent of the participants feel uncomfortable or unsafe in a certain public place in Barsinghausen, even though they never go there. Here, too, the female share predominates.

The reasons given for feeling uncomfortable/unsafe at marked locations in Barsinghausen reveal a diverse picture. On the one hand, the given answers correlate with the reasons mentioned in the previously presented figures on Subjective Safety in public space of Barsinghausen. Thus, the majority of women perceive dark, poorly lit and confusing public space as well as locations with many hiding spots as a reason for feeling unsafe, with shares of 53 and 59 percent (see Figure 25). In comparison, only about 35 per cent of men rated these characteristics as decisive. For them, the reputation of a public space is more important, which is reflected in the higher percentage of votes for the answer option "The place has a bad reputation.". This justification for Feelings of Unsafety is supported by 70 per cent of men. In addition to the above-mentioned two female perceptual phenomena regarding Feelings of

REASONS FOR FEELINGS OF UNSAFETY IN MARKED SPOTS

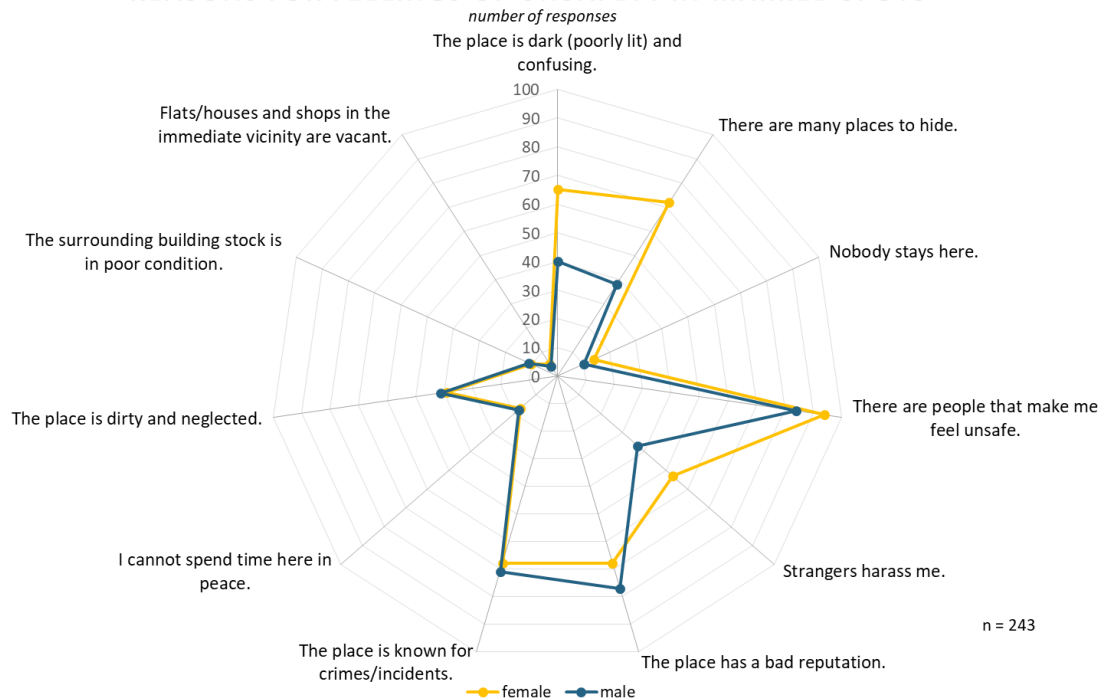


Figure 25: Participants' given reasons for Feelings of Unsafety in marked spots of Barsinghausen (own depiction)

Unsafety in Barsinghausen's public space, the answer option "Strangers harass me." can also be attached here, as it was ticked significantly more often by women than by men - namely by 43 percent of women, but only 34 percent of men. Most important for both gender groups, however, is the answer option "There are people that make me feel unsafe.". This opinion was shared by 77 percent of the respondents. Furthermore, survey participants increasingly perceive the connection of public spaces to crimes or other incidents as crucial. Here, almost 60 percent agree. Emptiness, buildings in need of renovation or the lack of opportunity to spend time in peace are seen as rather unimportant with shares of each under 15 percent. With reference to Figure 25, a preponderance of agreement can thus be found for the answer options arranged on the right.

In summary, the following findings can be concluded for the participants of the survey and thus a small part of people who live in Barsinghausen or have a connection to the town: Safety and comfort are associated with the pedestrian zone including public squares. The main times of stay are during the day with a focus on the afternoon, but sometimes also in the evening. Characteristic for Subjective Safety are bright, clear, visible and clean spatial structures as well as many people crowded in public space. In Barsinghausen, the spatial category of the public transport stop is particularly representative of perceived unsafety. People often experience their personal unsafe spots in the evening and at night, but sometimes also during the day – this is especially true for women. The reasons for uncomfortable feelings in public spaces of perceived unsafety are multifaceted, but mainly the counterstatements to

Subjective Safety can be verified, such as dark, confusing and unclear spatial structures or people hanging around who make you feel unsafe. In addition, a bad reputation of public spaces or knowledge about incidents and crime is to a certain extent relevant for the respondents.

5.2.5 Small-scale examples of perceived (Un)Safety in Public Space of Barsinghausen

After presenting the typical factors and spatial characteristics of the survey participants in relation to public space in Barsinghausen as a bearer of subjective (Un)Safety, the task now is to bring the perceptions into a spatial context. For this purpose, the markers set in the core city area of Barsinghausen for safe and unsafe public spaces are presented. For this purpose, a general overview is shown first and then small-scale phenomena are dealt with. The micro-spatial analyses are additionally supported by qualitative answers of the survey participants and photographs taken during a site visit.

Figure 26 shows the overall view of all markers set in the analysis area of the core city of Barsinghausen. Red markers stand for public places that are perceived as unsafe or uncomfortable, while the green markers show the opposite side. The markers that are not included in the analysis because they lie

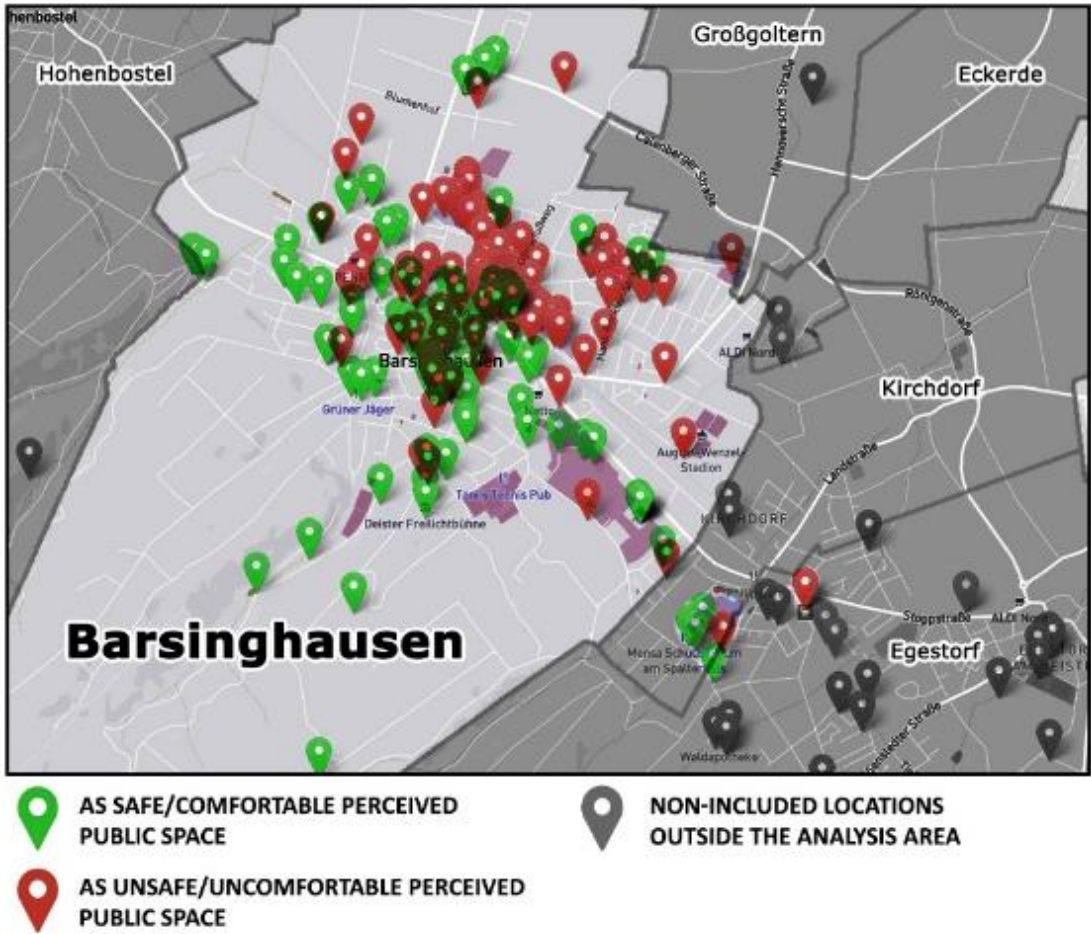


Figure 26: Participants' marked locations for Feelings of (Un)Safety in Barsinghausen (own depiction)

outside the set framework, i.e. in other parts of Barsinghausen, are greyed out. Only a handful of markers that do not lie within the administrative boundaries of the core town were considered, because they are thematically of research interest. In general, a north-east-south-west gradient can be observed between green and red markers along Barsinghausen's main road and the almost parallel railway tracks. Red markers, i.e. information on public spaces of perceived unsafety, are predominantly located in the northern part of the core city. Those pins are particularly accumulated at the Barsinghausen train station. The green markers and thus the spatial indications on perceived safety in Barsinghausen are concentrated in the southern part of the core town in the direction of the Deister Forest. The core of the positive markings is concentrated in the town centre, more precisely in the pedestrian zone. Other public spots in Barsinghausen that were perceived as safe and comfortable tended to be placed by the respondents in natural areas of the Deister, in the vicinity of restaurants located there, or in areas for leisure activities such as sports facilities. Examples of this are the Deister open-air theatre ("Deister Freilichtbühne") as a cultural offer and the sports facility at the school centre in Kirchdorf (the included markers outside the analysis area). However, street sections in residential areas, thus probably the direct living environment of participants, were also partly indicated. Spatial conspicuities and accumulations of markers of the respondents are described in more detail in the following section.

5.2.5.1 Barsinghausen city centre: pedestrian zone and "Ziegenteich" as places of perceived safety and comfort

The first area that emerged in the survey as a perceived safe public space is Barsinghausen's pedestrian zone and the two squares belonging to it, "Am Thie" and "Europaplatz". The markers were consequently placed in a long shopping street with pedestrian-only use, excluding delivery traffic, lined with various shops, cafés and restaurants (see Figure 27). The possibility to spend time in peace, the good reputation, the bright and clear structure of the space as well as its cleanliness were prioritised as decisive factors for the pins set here for an environment perceived as safe. However, the factor "The place is busy, many people stay here" was selected most strongly. The following opinion or narrative of positive experiences is therefore representative of the mood towards the pedestrian zone in Barsinghausen:

"Visiting cafés, shopping, etc. – many people have stayed there for similar purposes, thus positively enlivening the place"

– male, 25, not living in Barsinghausen

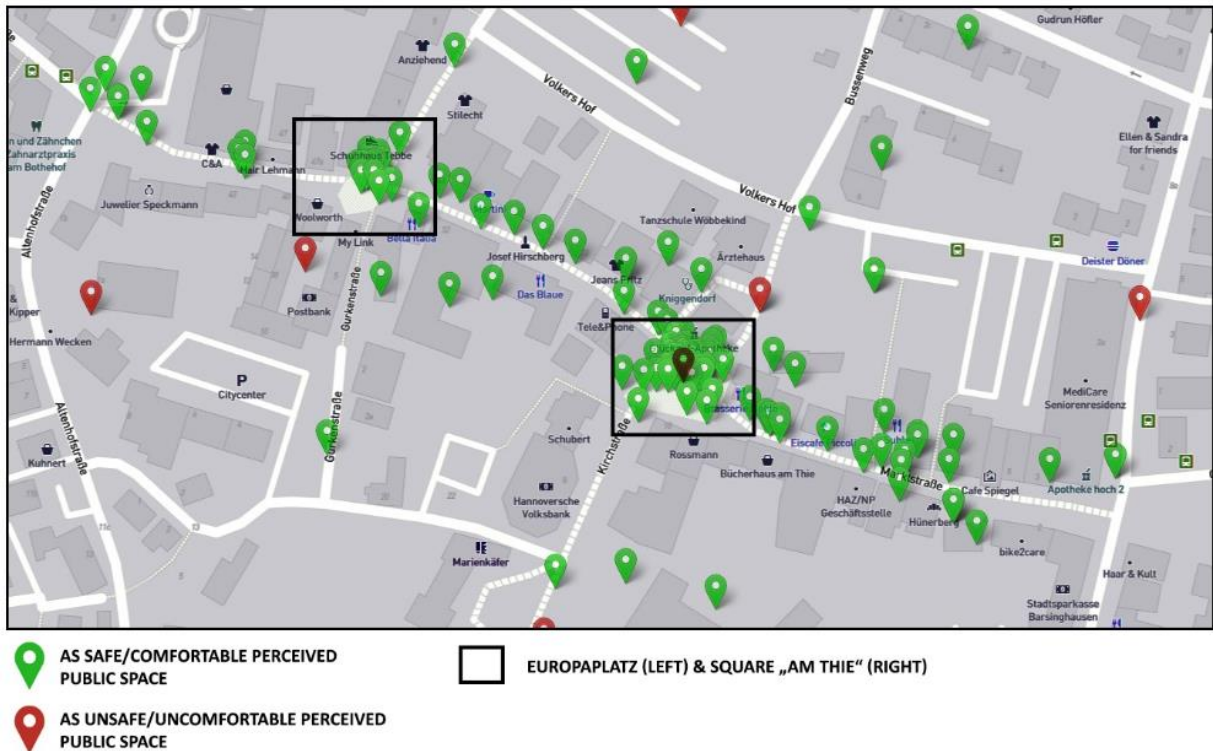


Figure 27: the pedestrian zone of Barsinghausen and its two squares as hot spots of markers for Feelings of Safety in public space (own depiction)

The participants in the survey repeatedly report the added value of the pedestrian zone as a meeting place for friends and acquaintances. The fact that many people spend time in the public space is particularly emphasised and perceived as important. This is symbolised by the statement of one respondent who emphasises the importance of "not being alone". It is also mentioned that this area is a part of public space where people spend their free time. Particularly stressed here are the forms of use of shopping and spending time in cafés. The spatial characteristics of cleanliness and good accessibility are also mentioned in part. As suggestions for improvement, the survey participants particularly express the need for more urban greenery and planting. In addition, more street art is desired and it is sometimes mentioned that playground equipment for children should be installed in public squares or along the pedestrian zone. With reference to the Safety discourse, there are also occasional calls for video surveillance in space or an increased presence of the public order office/police.

The two public squares "Europaplatz" and especially "Am Thie" are emphasised by the interviewees with regard to the meeting point value of the city centre, which is shown by the following narrative:

“You always meet people you know, there is life and continual coming and going. If you have a problem, there are shops or doctors' practices.”

– w, 69, Egestorf (Reference to “Am Thie”)

Reference is also made here to market formats that are taking place. Both the weekly market and a small annual Christmas market "Am Thie" are mentioned as positive factors in terms of feel-good character and Subjective Safety. The experiences and suggestions for improvement do not differ greatly from the information given for the entire pedestrian zone, only the criticism of the lack of vegetation is mentioned more strongly here.

The impressions of the survey participants were confirmed during the site visit of the pedestrian zone (see Figure 28 to 33). The pedestrian zone appears clearly structured, easily visible and bright – regardless of the time of day. Parking facilities for bicycles are continuously available; a more concentrated collection point is stationed at the beginning of the pedestrian zone (see Figure 28). The lack of urban greenery, criticised by some of the respondents, can only be confirmed to a limited extent. Although the paving of the pedestrian zone makes the area seem less natural at first, there are always raised beds with a tree in the middle. Only on the square "Am Thie" no urban greenery can be found (see Figure 32). During the site visit, the pedestrian zone and the two public squares stood out positively in



Figure 28: beginning of the pedestrian zone in Barsinghausen by day (own depiction)



Figure 29: beginning of the pedestrian zone in Barsinghausen by night (own depiction)



Figure 30: Square "Europaplatz" by day (own depiction)



Figure 31: Square "Europaplatz" by night (own depiction)

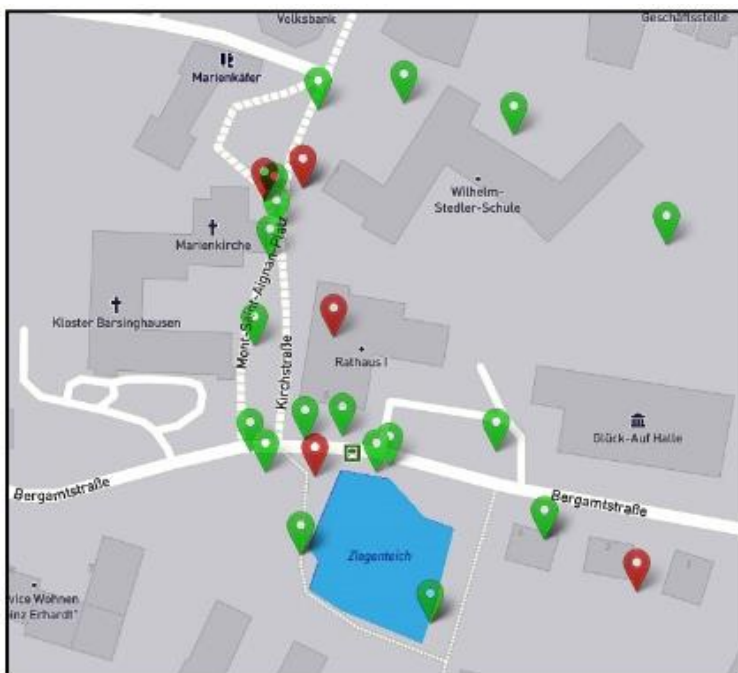


Figure 32: Square "Am Thie" by day (own depiction)



Figure 33: Square "Am Thie" by night (own depiction)

terms of cleanliness. It can also be seen that the city is trying to create identity in public space using design. The emblems of the local districts are repeatedly attached to the lanterns along the pedestrian zone and further enhance the spatial image (see Figure 30). The illumination of the public space at night is optimal for the most part. The shop windows and their billboards as well as passive lighting through cafés are a positive influence here, as can be seen in Figure 31. Figure 33, on the other hand, shows a light shortcoming of the square "Am Thie", which appears much darker at night than the other parts of the pedestrian zone.





-  AS SAFE/COMFORTABLE PERCEIVED PUBLIC SPACE
-  AS UNSAFE/UNCOMFORTABLE PERCEIVED PUBLIC SPACE

Figure 34: the area of the town hall and the pond "Ziegenteich" in Barsinghausen as a hot spot of markers for Feelings of Safety in public space (own depiction)

A second, but much smaller, hotspot of positive Feelings of Safety in public spaces includes the forecourt of the town hall, as well as a small natural space in the upper part of Barsinghausen's inner city – a pond called "Ziegenteich". Adjacent are also the Barsinghausen monastery and a primary school (See Figure 34). Significant space characteristics indicated by respondents here are the good reputation, the good and clean maintenance of the space and the high quality of stay. The shared reports on the experiences in this area are

quite controversial. On the one hand, a high identification value of the place is evoked, as the following statement shows:

“I used to skate on the ‘Ziegenteich’ with my grandpa - I probably feel "Safety" because of the memory.” – female, 18, Eggestorf

However, it is not only the memory of past activities in leisure time that shapes public space. The perception of space here also takes place purely in relation to the condition of the place. For example, some respondents noticed an increased amount of rubbish on the paths, despite the presence of rubbish bins. They also complained about the existing bad smell, especially after rain.

During the site visit, it was noticed that nobody stayed at the "Ziegenteich" during the day. At night, voices could be heard, but due to the relatively low illumination of the area, no people could be seen. In general, contrary to the experience reports of the survey participants, no major soiling of the paths by rubbish was perceived. No bad smell was detected either. The only thing that can be seen on both



Figure 35: The "Ziegenteich" and its environment by day (own depiction)

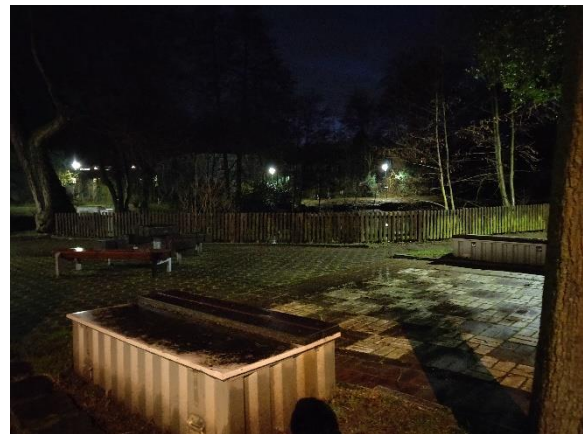


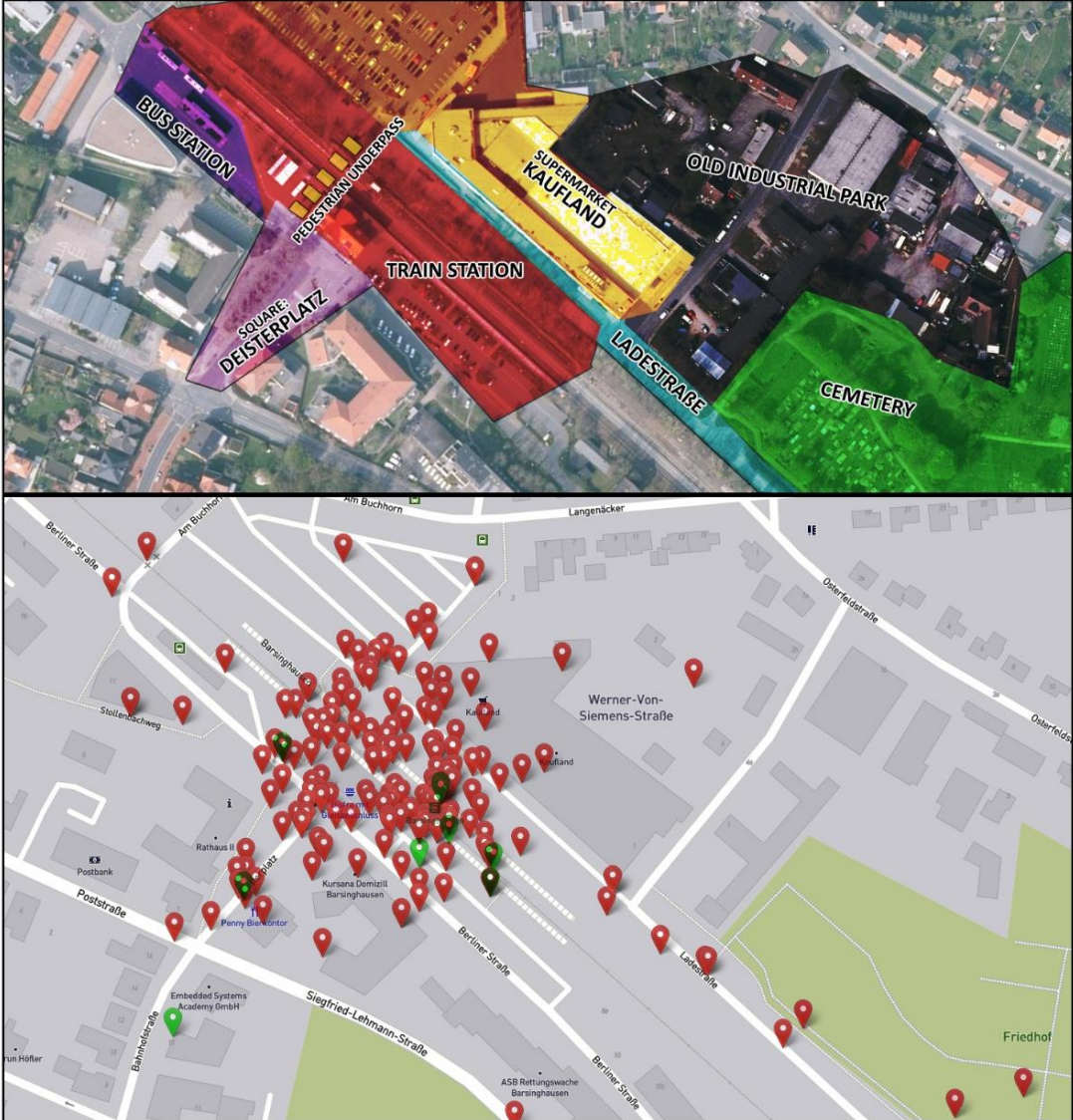
Figure 36: The "Ziegenteich" and its environment by night (own depiction)

Figures 35 and 36 is that a large outdoor chess field looked relatively neglected as a partial area of the site. However, this may have been due to the fact that the facility had not yet been prepared for spring or summer. In addition, the many trees around the pond create a less clear view structure in space and limited visibility in the dark.

5.2.5.2 Train station area: an agglomeration of tags for Feelings of Unsafety

By far the most outstanding example of an agglomeration of pins for unpleasant or unsafe feelings in the public space of Barsinghausen can be found in the immediate vicinity of the train station. The respondents indicated either the station directly, the forecourt called "Deisterplatz", the stations' underpass, the parking lot of the Kaufland supermarket or the side street of the supermarket, called Ladestreet (str.), up to the urban cemetery, to which an old industrial park borders. A path connection from the station towards the city centre, the Stollenbachweg, was also marked. In addition to the

markings, a coloured aerial view for orientation in space is additionally given in Figure 37 due to the small-scale subdivision of the train station area.



- AS SAFE/COMFORTABLE PERCEIVED PUBLIC SPACE
- AS UNSAFE/UNCOMFORTABLE PERCEIVED PUBLIC SPACE

Figure 37: the area of train station in Barsinghausen as a hot spot of markers for Feelings of Un-safety in public space (own depiction)

Train station & square “Deisterplatz”

In the immediate area of the train station, poor lighting and darkness were particularly often cited as factors for Feelings of Un-safety. For the "Deisterplatz" square and the Kaufland parking lot as well as Ladestr., it was mainly the presence of people perceived as threatening. In the area of Stollenbachweg, the illumination and the quality of the footpath were particularly criticised. In general, more qualitative answers were given for the marked locations of Subjective Un-safety as well as they were more detailed. In most cases, the train station was understood in a combined spatial concept with the square

“Deisterplatz”. Described incidents or experiences were often combined for both spatial units. There were several negative indications of the presence of groups of people causing discomfort. Mostly “young men who seem threatening” were reported here. This statement is expanded or specified by some respondents that the named groups are either young people “hanging around” and acting aggressively or foreigners perceived as threatening or assessed as disruptive factors for Subjective Safety due to their behaviour. Drug sales and public alcohol consumption are also perceived by the survey participants in the station/“Deisterplatz” area. Specific to the “Deisterplatz” square, it is additionally complained that “young men pose with their cars”. Furthermore, there are reports of brawls. Another aspect is the reputation of the train station area and “Deisterplatz”: some survey participants point out that they do not like to stay there because of past incidents and press reports. Overall, the behaviour of certain people categorised as alienating and their simple presence in the public space of the station, as well as violence and aggression, are perceived as triggers for Feelings of Unsafety. The following quote from the online survey can be mentioned here symbolically:

“Strange people (for example alcoholics etc.) are standing there and behave conspicuously, yell and talk loudly. Many foreigners are also there, which of course does not have to be scary in principle!”

– female, 33, Egestorf

Here, among other things, people who consume alcohol are titled with the adjective “strange”. There is also talk of “conspicuous” behaviour characterised by loudness. Here, too, the comment is in line with other opinions of respondents, so that the presence of foreigners is assessed as a potential factor of unsafe impressions, but at the same time, it is also stated that this fact does not necessarily have to cause unpleasant feelings.

A striking phenomenon of the female gender in the station sector is the reporting of experienced harassment:

“Drunk, creepy men, gawking and chatting me up in the evening and at night”

– female, 24, not living in Barsinghausen

Here, we are not only talking about passive factors influencing the subjective Perception of Safety, but also referring to active interventions of social subjects in space. One focus of the women is the train station underpass. Situations that are perceived as unsafe are increasingly reported here. According to the respondents, the extent of harassment is sometimes even more extensive, so that one survey participant even states that she has experienced sexual harassment. The women expressed three wishes for improvement: video surveillance, improved lighting and optimisation of visibility as well as a revitalisation of the location at late hours.

Between the platform and "Deisterplatz" square, the survey participants particularly plead for an increased and visible police presence. They ask for quick expulsions and increased controls. Security personnel in the station area or the installation of emergency call boxes or increased video surveillance are also requested in individual cases. With regard to the built environment, a brighter design is suggested. The accumulation of young people in the train station area is also addressed:

“Young people in particular need a place in the city centre to communicate, hang out and play, sometimes accompanied by loud noise. This currently takes place elsewhere and unsettles one or the other.”

– male, 69, Hohenbostel

This expressed need for public places that function as meeting places for young people is mentioned repeatedly. Respondents hope that this will lead to a shift of youth groups away from the station area.



Figure 38: train & bus station area by day (own depiction)



Figure 39: train & bus station area by night (own depiction)



Figure 40: train station building and parts of the square "Deisterplatz" by day (own depiction)



Figure 41: train station building and parts of the square "Deisterplatz" by night (own depiction)



Figure 42: train station underpass by day (own depiction)



Figure 43: train station underpass by night (own depiction)



Figure 44: train station underpass end towards Kaufland supermarket by day (own depiction)

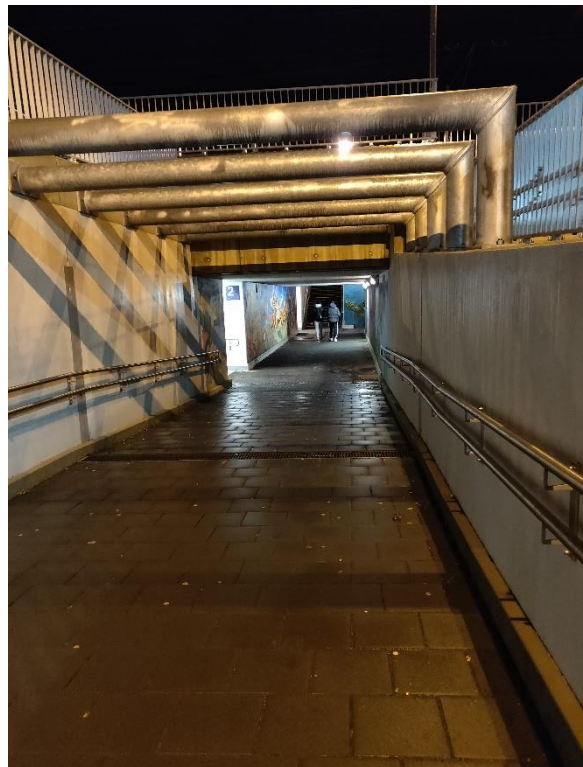


Figure 45: train station underpass end towards Kaufland supermarket by night (own depiction)

During the site inspection of the station area, different aspects of the interviewees were noticed, but some could not be understood very well. In general, the area seemed clear and bright during the day, only the underpass seemed dark and constricting. In addition, not all of the lights in the underpass were working, as can be seen in Figure 42/43. Furthermore, the underpass appeared relatively dirty, wet and cold. At night, the spatial image of the underpass changed: in general, the underpass now appeared brighter and better illuminated, the dark graffiti on the walls, which provided little brightness during the day, was now illuminated - but was already stained by new graffiti. The low visibility of the underpass mentioned by the interviewees can be confirmed, especially the critical point of the ascent to the second track. Here, the view into the tunnel is severely restricted. The standing water in the tunnel can also potentially cause uneasy feelings. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the architectural readjustment (from a few years ago) of the underpass to open up the stairway in the direction of the Kaufland supermarket, as shown in Figures 44 and 45, generally provides more brightness and overview of the end of the station. The area of the bus platform was characterised by waiting people (see Figure 38). The station building, visible in Figure 40, appeared busy, with people coming and going - also due to the bakery located in the station building. The square "Deisterplatz" was not frequented by people during the day, only by those who had to get to the train. During the nighttime inspection of the square, the picture changed promptly, so that Deisterplatz became the scene of an anti-Corona demonstration. A group of demonstrators gathered there, accompanied by a large police presence. The view of the station building in Figure 41 illustrates that light shows on the building are an attempt to make the location more attractive. The square "Deisterplatz", on the other hand, appears dark.

Kaufland supermarket, parking lot & Ladestr.- cemetery

For the area of the Kaufland supermarket forecourt or parking lot as well as the adjacent Ladestr. in the direction of the municipal cemetery, the phenomenon also applies that the survey participants consider the area together with the train station to be in a spatial container. The focus of the reports of experiences related to unsafe feelings in this area is on the presence of people consuming alcohol, sometimes referred to as the "drinking scene":

“The underpass and the Kaufland parking lot are often a hangout in the evening for young adults who drink and swear there. The area is dark; there are few other people far and wide.”

– female, 23, Barsinghausen

Although these statements are shared by men in the survey as well, the female gender is again clearly more disturbed by the presence of men who appear "strange" or "scary" in their subjective Perception of Safety. One respondent even stated that she would not go shopping in the Kaufland supermarket because of this and would avoid the station area as much as possible.

Especially in the Ladestr. area, stories and press reports have an influence on the perception of space. The respondents say that their knowledge of a murder that took place in the mentioned street creates a negative perception of the space:

“Personally, I have made no experience, but friends report of creepy people at the side of Kaufland. In addition, someone has already been killed in the vicinity once.” – male, 25, Hohenbostel

Here it becomes clear that some survey participants judge the given places without having been there themselves. Rather, they refer to third parties.

The expressed suggestions for improvement hardly differ from those for the train station/"Deisterplatz" area.



Figure 46: Ladestr. (side street of the Kaufland supermarket) by day (own depiction)



Figure 47: Ladestr. (side street of the Kaufland supermarket) by night (own depiction)

The site visit of the Kaufland parking lot and Ladestr. revealed few noticeable features during the day. The Ladestr. was actively used by passers-by. There were also no groups of people who corresponded to the image of the survey respondents described as "conspicuous". This finding was also confirmed in the evening. It can only be emphasised that the Ladestr. appeared very dark in the evening and had almost no lighting. In addition, there are some indentations of the Kaufland supermarket along the street, which provide hiding places. However, video surveillance is present in the designated area, at least at the entrance to the street (see Figure 46 & 47).

Stollenbachweg

The smallest spatial segment of the station analysis area was the Stollenbachweg path connection, which was addressed by the respondents. For some participants, the beginning of the path starting from the central bus station and the employment office is a typical "trading point for drugs" or a meeting spot for young people who are perceived as disruptive and noisy, whereas other parts of the surveyed people share other experiences:

“In bad weather, you can hardly use the path at night: It is impossible to avoid stepping in rubbish, puddles or dog excrement because the illumination is so poor.”

– female, 28, Barsinghausen

The quality of the footpath is repeatedly criticised and the use of the path by residents to walk their dogs is criticised because they would leave dog excrement on the soil. In addition to the weak lighting, the lack of alternative routes along the path is also criticised, so that in situations where people feel uncomfortable, it is not possible to get out of the way.

In order to improve the criticised situation, the respondents would like to see the path paved and enlarged through rehabilitation measures. In addition, more lanterns for better illumination and rubbish bins to eliminate the litter problem are desired.



Figure 48: Stollenbachweg by day (own depiction)

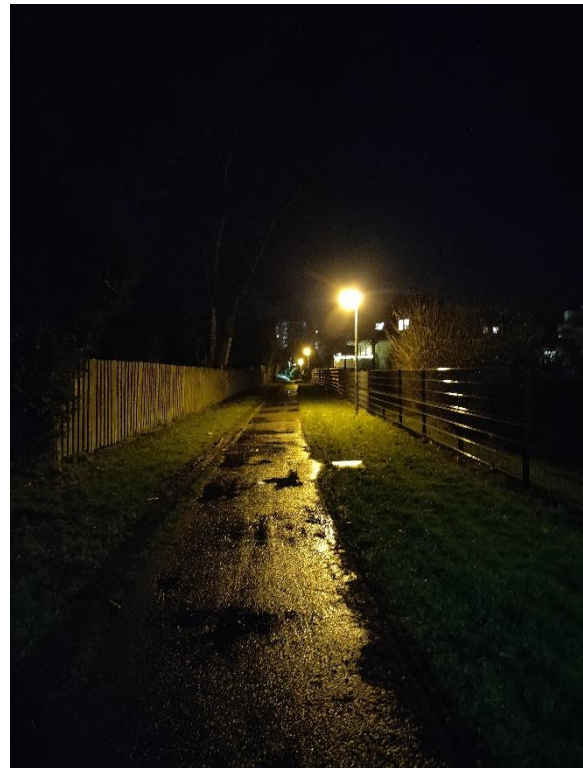


Figure 49: Stollenbachweg by night (own depiction)

During the site visit of the Stollenbachweg, it was noticed that the path is heavily used as a key route to the inner city. Numerous passers-by were seen both during the day and in the evening. In the evening hours, people were also seen walking their dogs. Cyclists used the path as well. At both times of day, the poor condition of the pavement, which appears muddy and soaked, was noticeable. At night, the respondents' statements that the path is rather dimly lit could be confirmed. Dog excrement on the pavement was also visible (see Figure 48 & 49).

5.2.5.3 Goethe school and Goethestr.



Figure 50: the area of KGS & Goethestr. in Barsinghausen as a hot spot of markers for Feelings of Unsafety in public space (own depiction)

The second spatial example of concentrated public spaces perceived as unsafe is located in the northern area of the city of Barsinghausen and is part of the urban planning redevelopment area. Here, more red markers were placed in the immediate vicinity of the KGS (Goethe school) and along the Goethestr. From the school grounds to the school bus stop or near the Dilan Market, some of the respondents'

Feelings of Unsafety are located here, as Figure 50 illustrates.

Once again, poor lighting or dark surroundings (at night) and the presence of people who make people feel unsafe received the highest approval among the factors for unsafe feelings in public space. This is reflected in the qualitative statements:

“I was harassed, unwantedly approached and persecuted”
 – female, 42, Hohenbostel

The variable of encounters with strangers who seem unsettling or even actively harassing is increasingly mentioned by respondents for the areal of the KGS/Goethestr.. For example, reports are made on groups of people which are under the influence of alcohol “cutting off” or “narrowing down” paths.

It is alleged that there is “crime that the police know nothing about”. One respondent also notes that people would avoid the Goethestr. area for walks.

In order to improve the subjective perception of space, the interviewees believe that the school grounds in particular need to be better illuminated. Renovation work on the grounds is also desired. In addition, an increased police presence connected with tighter controls in the neighbourhood is demanded as well as the elimination of "dark corners" or seating areas for "loitering" and hiding.

During the site visit, little was noticed at daytime. There was no one on the school grounds except for a workman. The area appeared depressing and lonely. Along the Goethestr., mothers with prams could repeatedly be observed on a walk. Only a need for modernisation of the road surface of the Goethestr. could be observed. In the evening hours, a different picture was found. The lighting on Goethestr. is relatively dim – in combination with parked cars, the traffic area is therefore difficult to notice for all



Figure 51: Goethestr. junction in front of the Dilan market by day (own depiction)



Figure 52: Goethestr. junction in front of the Dilan market by night (own depiction)



Figure 53: KGS (school) school grounds and access to the sports halls by day (own depiction)

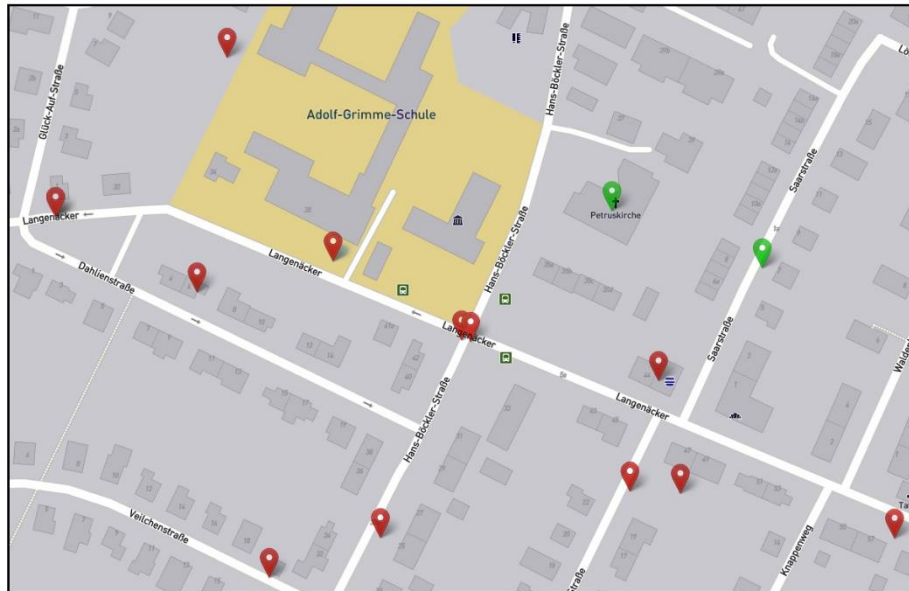


Figure 54: KGS (school) school grounds and access to the sports halls by night (own depiction)

road users. Again, no persons were found on the school grounds of the KGS, but lights were shining in the sports halls and noises could be heard, so that a training session in the facilities can be assumed.

In general, however, the school grounds appeared dark and confusing as according to the respondents. There were many hiding spots and little light or poorly aligned light levels (see Figure 51-54).

5.2.5.4 Langenäcker and Adolf Grimme School



The last spatial agglomeration of pins for unsafe perceptions of public space is also located in the northern part of Barsinghausen, in the street Langenäcker in front of the Adolf Grimme school (see Figure 55). Characteristic of the red markers given in this area is the selection of three concise factors that trigger Feelings

Figure 55: the area of the Adolf Grimme School and the Langenäcker street in Barsinghausen as a hot spot of markers for Feelings of Unsafety in public space (own depiction)

of Unsafety: "There are people that make me feel unsafe", "The place has a bad reputation" and "The place is known for crimes/incidents. The respondents' selection of factors leads to the qualitative reports of their experiences, which are often related to a murder of a young girl in 2018:

“A girl was killed in the direct vicinity.”

– female, 18, Eggestorf

In addition to the mention of the murder, however, other reports of experiences, increasingly related to the building structure, play a role in the fact that the area of the Adolf Grimme School or the part of the Langenäcker street is perceived negatively. Two survey participants pointed out that little social control of the public street space is or can be carried out because the "residents want to keep to themselves". The desire for better street lighting and a more open design of private properties towards the public space is expressed in this context.

During the site visit, occasional walkers and mothers with children were seen along the Langenäcker street at the height of the Adolf Grimme School at daytime. The point of the closed design of adjoining properties mentioned by the respondents immediately caught the eye. The private houses opposite the school have virtually "entrenched" themselves from the public by erecting high walls, hedges and

fences along their gardens (see Figure 56). In the evening hours, quite a lively crowd was noticed in front of the school as parents picked up children from training in the adjacent sports hall. The aforementioned high fences, walls and hedges would make people feel alone and isolated in the dark if the crowd noted at the time of the site visit would not be present (see Figure 57). In terms of the light/dark ratio, it can be stated that the school could be a bit more lit to provide more clarity in the part of the neighbourhood.



Figure 56: Part of the Langenäcker street in front of the Adolf Grimme School by day (own depiction)

Figure 57: Part of the Langenäcker street in front of the Adolf Grimme School by night (own depiction)

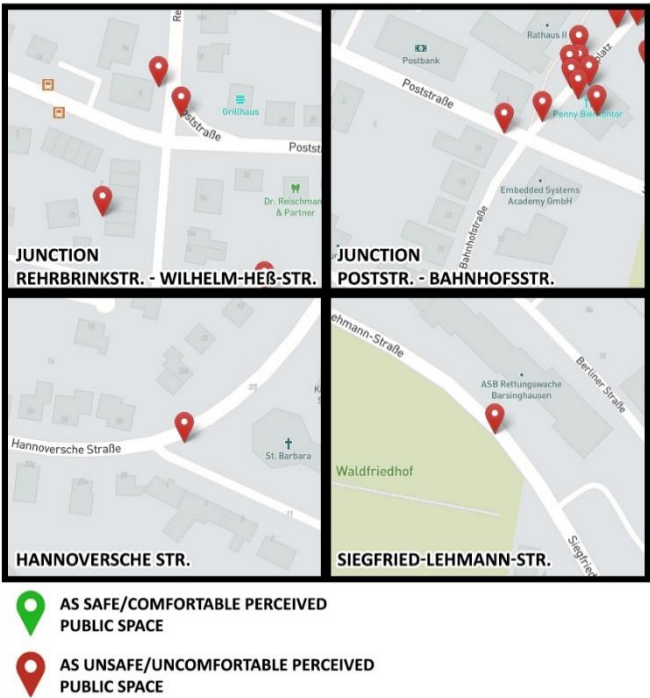


Figure 58: small-scale examples for Feelings of Unsafety in road traffic of Barsinghausen (own depiction)

5.2.5.5 Perceived (Un)Safety in road traffic

The last small-scale example of markings of perceived unsafety in Barsinghausen can be incorporated into the topic of road Safety. Respondents pointed out perceived unsafety in road traffic as pedestrians or cyclists especially at four locations in the core city area. Here, the agglomeration of red markers was not that decisive, but rather the information from the survey filtered according to the topic of road Safety. The places of Subjective Unsafety shown in Figure 58 refer in most cases to the relationship

between car drivers and pedestrians or cyclists. In particular, "aggressive" or "furious" behaviour by car drivers is highlighted as a reason for Feelings of Unsafety and discomfort. However, structural reasons are also mentioned, such as a road layout that is perceived as confusing or a lack of cycle paths or cycle lanes.

The formulated suggestions for improvement are logical conclusions from the experience reports of the respondents, so that everything here is related to the path infrastructure for cyclists and pedestri-



Figure 59: junction Rehrbrinkstr.-Wilhelm-Heß-Str. (own depiction)



Figure 60: junction Poststr.-Bahnhofsstr. (own depiction)



Figure 61: marked spot of the Hannoversche str. (own depiction)



Figure 62: marked spot of the Siegfried-Lehmann-str. (own depiction)

ans. The focus here is on improving the quality of the cycle paths and footpaths and on building separate cycle paths. At the marked point in Hannoversche Str., a speed limit for car traffic of 30 km/h is also required.

Since no information on lighting differences was provided in the survey regarding traffic, only daytime photos were chosen here to better illustrate the situation. During the site visit, the feelings of the respondents were only partially confirmed. It is reasonable that the junctions of Rehrbrinkstr.-Wilhelm-Heß-Str. and Poststr.-Bahnhofsstr. are considered confusing and unfavourable for cyclists and pedestrians. Especially for cyclists, there is little or even no space at both junctions, so that the same lane has to be used as for motorised vehicles, which is also illustrated in Figure 59 where a cyclist was turning left at the junction. Especially the turning processes of car drivers at Rehrbrinkstr. onto Wilhelm-Heß-Str. seem dangerous for pedestrians, as they could easily be overlooked. The demand for bicycle lanes or a desired optimisation of pedestrian and bicycle paths at said locations is understandable. Also in Siegfried-Lehmann-Str. at the given example in the bend of the municipal forest cemetery can be understood as a trigger for Feelings of Unsafety in cycling traffic. In general, the road is quite narrow and there is no separate path, let alone a bicycle lane, for cyclists. Since federal traffic regulations prohibit riding on the pavement, the road area must thus be shared with motorists (see Figure 62). Only the perceived unsafety in Hannoversche Str. can be slightly supported after walking on the site. As can be seen in Figure 61, a bicycle lane clearly marked in red on both sides of the street has been built on the road surface; thus, space for cyclists is created. However, due to the location in a bend, the respondent's wish for a speed limit is discussable.

5.2.6 Media coverage of crime, disputes and incivilities in public space of Barsinghausen

As described in chapter 4.1.3, the media can have a decisive influence on subjective Perceptions of Safety in the population, convey spatial semantics and reinforce spatial prejudices in society. Therefore, an inventory of media coverage in the analysis area of the case study is relevant. In order to analyse the local media world in Barsinghausen in connection with reporting on crimes, conflicts and incivilities in public space, local online media and established print media were examined. The overarching figures of the local police crime statistics are also used as comparative parameters for the analysis.

A more detailed inventory was ultimately conducted by the online portal "Con-nect". Con-nect, in long form Calenberger Online News, publishes articles on different municipalities of the Hannover Region and the region as a whole, explicitly from Barsinghausen, Wennigsen, Gehrden and Ronnenberg. In the newspaper's online archive, the category "Blaulicht" (English: blue light) lists all articles on incidents in the municipality involving an emergency doctor, ambulance, fire brigade or police. For the thesis, all

incidents of the last 5 years, i.e. from 2017-2021, have been filtered out. A prerequisite for the inclusion of the article was that it was published in the context of the following factors:

- Violence & Threat
- Altercation
- Murder & Manslaughter
- Traffic concerns (Accidents with cyclists or pedestrians; inclusive bodily harm)

The result of the predefined media research can be found in Annex 9. The local journalists reported most often on crimes involving bodily harm and physical attacks, as well as accidents – whereby the term bodily harm clearly appeared most frequently in the CON-NECT media reports, with 19 mentions compared to eight mentions for each of the other two topics. Other important keywords in the articles were brawl, threat, illegal possession of drugs, sexual harassment, robbery or injured cyclists (mentioned between six and three times). An overview of the characteristic keywords of the observed years from 2017-2021 are shown in Figure 63.



Figure 63: Word cloud on the most important keywords from the collected media reports between 2017 and 2021 (own depiction)

Looking at the settings of the media reports listed, two core themes can be identified (see Figure 64). On the one hand, reports on crimes in the train station and bus terminal area have a strong preponderance of 27 per cent, i.e. 11 out of 40 of all incidents covered by the media (if the two murder cases with their reports are included as a group). On the other hand, there are the accidents with personal injury on the part of cyclists and pedestrians that were reported. With 17 percent and thus 7 of 40 main topics of the CON-NECT articles, they form the second large block. If one relates the findings of the spatial analysis of the newspaper articles to the results of the survey, the core locations of Subjective Unsafety can be found again. In addition to the main block of the train station, the public places

in the immediate vicinity of the Ladestr. and the cemetery, the square "Deisterplatz" and the catchment area of the Kaufland supermarket can also be found. If these areas are added together, the accumulated proportion of events covered by the media is almost half (19 out of 40), i.e. 47.5 per cent. A correlation of the focus on train stations as a result of the online survey with the main places of reporting by CON-NECT editors in the above-mentioned topic areas of the years 2017-2021 is thus

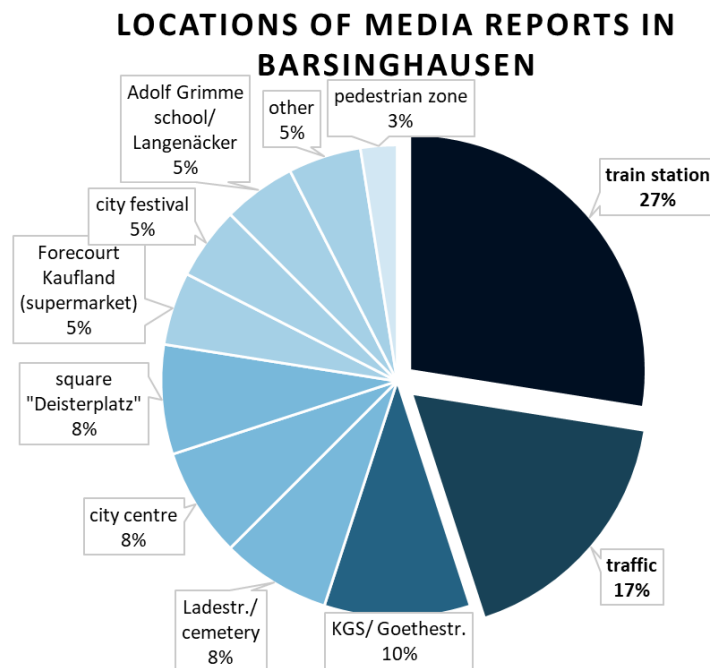


Figure 64: Locations of filtered media reports in Barsinghausen (own depiction)

given. The areas "KGS/ Goethestr." and "Adolf Grimme school/ Langenäcker" are also increasingly the subject of media coverage. Localities that were rather little marked as places of individual insecurities in the online survey, but are indicated in the newspaper articles, are public areas in the city centre. The spatial category "city centre" of Figure 64 can be counted together with the special category "city festival". City festival has been given its own spatial unit in the presentation, as reports of crimes and incidents on the last weekend of Au-

gust in three consecutive days can be read here in large numbers every year, as these occur in the context of the "Stadtfest" (city festival) taking place in the city centre and the pedestrian zone. Here, conflicts and bodily harm occur every year as a side effect of Barsinghausen's festivities, often in connection with increased public consumption of alcohol.

If we look at the rhetoric used in the articles, we can see concrete patterns. First, crimes and other incidents are reported quite briefly and succinctly. Concise wording is also used in the title and the reader is often directly confronted with the event (e.g. "Fight in front of Barsinghausen train station - police request assistance", see annex 10). In addition, terms such as brutal, attack or violence are often used to convey the seriousness of the incident to the reader (e.g. "Woman attacked and robbed in open street", see annex 10). The fact that the train station is portrayed as a centre of conflict in public space in the media can be illustrated by one of the most recent examples from 19.12.2021, where two bodily injuries are reported after an argument between two men. With the introductory phrase "it doesn't stop" and the title of the article "Again conflicts at the train station" (both translated), the online newspaper potentially creates a certain continuity of criminal incidents in the named area for

its readers. In addition, it is striking that named perpetrators of criminal or violent offences are always men.

If we compare the analysed and listed newspaper articles with the objective crime figures of the city of Barsinghausen, further conspicuous features can be identified. For this purpose, Figure 65 presents the local crime statistics of the past ten years, as well as newspaper articles published by CON-NECT on the subject of personal offences or accidents with personal injury (cyclists/pedestrians). The Objective Safety indicators reveal a steady decrease in recorded crimes between 2013 and 2018 from 2,174 to 1,751 cases, and a jump from 2018 to 2019 to 2,250 cases. No statistics could be researched for 2016, so an average of 2015 and 2016 was chosen. For the year 2021, no publicly available key figures

CONNECTION BETWEEN CRIME STATISTICS AND MEDIA COVERAGE IN BARSINGHAUSEN

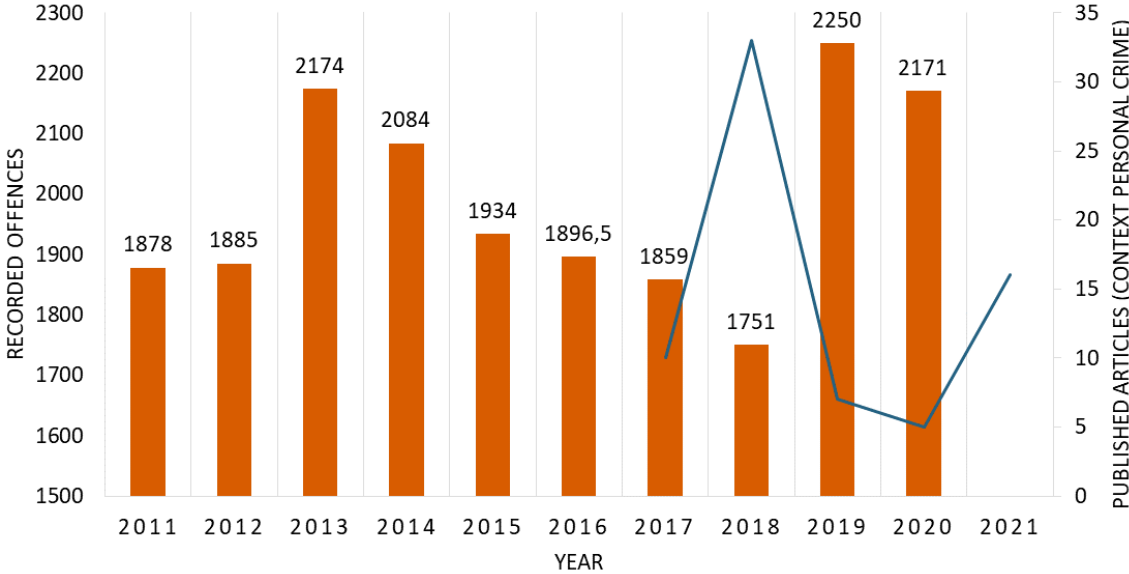


Figure 65: Connection between crime statistics and media coverage in Barsinghausen (own depiction)

are available yet. It is interesting that the considered media period of 2017-2021 shows contradictory high or low numbers of written articles on the filter frame of crimes and traffic compared to the crime statistics figures. The peak in 2018 is particularly striking. In the named year, two murders took place in Barsinghausen. In almost consecutive months (April and June), two female corpses were found in the city area. In the meantime, even connections between the two incidents were suspected in the investigation proceedings, which, however, could not be proven later. Only the later murder case was solved and the perpetrator convicted. Seven reports were published on the first murder case "Anka" between April and June, 21 articles on the second murder case "Anna Lena" between June and the end of September 2018. Consequently, there is a large mismatch between media coverage and actual crime figures in Barsinghausen for 2018. This phenomenon has also come to the attention of the local police department, so that they were quoted in the press as follows: "The subjective Feeling of Safety of the citizens is weakened, although the figures speak a different language." (CON-NECT 2019: www). This

makes it clear that despite objectively low case numbers, the authorities conclude a loss of the general societal-subjective sense of Safety. With a view to the localities of the two murder cases, connections can again be made between survey results and media coverage or crimes in public space. The two murders can be found in focal areas of the respondents' Feelings of Unsafety: The murder case "Anka" happened in Ladestr. between the cemetery and the supermarket Kaufland, the murder case "Anna Lena" happened in front of the Adolf Grimme school in the street Langenäcker.

In addition to the mere reports on incidents in public spaces in the "Blaulicht" (blue light) section of CON-NECT, there was also a report recently on the end-of-year discussion between the city administration and Barsinghausen police. Worth mentioning here are the statements on the train station area, the square "Deisterplatz" and traffic: the police commented on the conspicuous accumulation of criminal offences in the area of the train station and Deisterplatz square as a result of the year-end meeting 2021 with the city administration. It was explained in the discussion that the incidents in these areas were due to disputes between different groups of people. The police department in Barsinghausen could not justify a threat to the general public from this. The cycling concept of the city of Barsinghausen was also mentioned. Some measures have already been implemented in cooperation between the police and the city administration, but many problematic traffic areas are dependent on higher-level traffic authorities and therefore require greater coordination (DEISTER-ECHO 2021: [www](#)).

5.2.7 Measures and ideas of urban planning in Barsinghausen to prevent Subjective Unsafety in public space

The expert discussion with officials of the city of Barsinghausen has brought forth perspectives for setting up urban planning initiatives as well as already existing ideas and what had already been done on the revealed small-scale phenomena of Safety and unsafety. Part of the discussion group were the head of the planning department (HPD), the person in charge of the cycling concept and environmental issues (C&E), the responsible person of the city planning department for the redevelopment area "North Barsinghausen" (NB) as well as the city's equal opportunities officer (EOO).

First of all, the HPD made clear that the issue of Subjective Safety in public space is a constant companion in local urban planning. The main focus is on lighting, social control and the lack of ways out, i.e. the construction of alternative routes for daily commuting. All participants in the discussion expected the results of the survey. The predominance of red markings in the northern part of Barsinghausen is not surprising for the municipality, which is precisely why a rehabilitation programme is currently on the agenda there as well. C&E, on the other hand, did not expect that the survey participants would perceive the pedestrian zone so positively and the area of the Goethestr. that negative. Furthermore, a willingness to use the previously received visualised survey results as an opportunity to

redesign or optimise areas of public space through measures for improved Subjective Safety is formulated. First, the positively perceived sub-areas of the town of Barsinghausen were discussed, before the public places in Barsinghausen associated with Feelings of Unsafety were reviewed.

Pedestrian zone, squares "Europaplatz" and "Am Thie"

According to the city planning department, the pedestrian zone has just been redeveloped. It is clean and tidy, especially compared to other towns in the area. There are no stumbling blocks or obstacles. The lighting of the pedestrian zone is rated as good. There are also attractive design details, such as the city coats of arms on the lanterns or the fountain at the square "Am Thie". Overall, HPD sees a high quality of stay in the pedestrian zone. The suggestions for improvement made by the respondents, for example, to reduce the rent for restaurants or to extend their opening hours in the evening, could not be influenced by the urban planning department. C&E sees a particular need for action in the revitalisation of the pedestrian zone after dusk, as in its view a high degree of Subjective Safety is created by busy public spaces. Currently, he recognises the problem that more and more shops in the city are vacant and that there are few people in the pedestrian zone, especially after closing time. Important starting points for him are therefore the integration of the pedestrian zone into the city's cultural programme, keeping shops on site or preventing them from moving away, and a new approach to living in the city centre: "In the sense of: Living in the city". HPD further strengthens this view and formulates the support of housing in the city centre, especially on the upper floors of the pedestrian zone, as a goal of urban planning. In this context, it is also important to loosen the strict separation of living and shopping and to improve the interaction.

SB also describes a spatial phenomenon that is perceived in the survey as a place of Subjective Unsafety as a "space of fear". The red marker at the former Widdel shopping centre (see Figure 27; near Parking lot City Center) produces feelings of being cramped and in situations of discomfort there is no way out in the poorly visible stairwell to the parking deck. HPD adds that a redesign of the area is planned for the future and that a private investor will realise housing as a new form of use. The city hopes that this will create more openness and permeability to the pedestrian zone.

After HPD referred to further measures in the pedestrian zone through the federal state funding programme "Perspektive Innenstadt" (inner city perspective), further investments are to be made in increasing the attractiveness of the area in the future. Almost 755,000 euros in EU funds are available for this. In addition to a series of planned cultural events and measures, such as a digital city tour, targeted measures for a better quality of stay will be implemented. One project that has already been determined is the construction of a "bike house" at the edge of the pedestrian zone with an integrated public toilet. The building, which is designed with sustainability in mind, will include charging facilities for e-bikes, repair stations and lockers, and will be energy self-sufficient (See HAZ 2022a: [www](#)).

After the expert discussion, another initiative in the context of Safety perceptions in public spaces could be taken from the local newspaper. The city's prevention council would like to revive an old idea: the so-called protective island concept will be relaunched. This involves marking shops, petrol stations and other publicly accessible facilities in the core city area with a sticker in the entrance door or shop window to show children that they can seek help there or find support if they feel alone, unsafe or uncomfortable. A yellow-red sticker with two stick figures holding a big and a small heart together identifies the initiative (HAZ 2022b: www).

Area "Ziegenteich"

The immediate surroundings of the pond "Ziegenteich" are perceived quite differently by the city representatives. C&E does not recognise the objections of the survey participants and cannot identify a "space of fear" at all. The water quality of the pond is good and has been optimised by measures such as desilting in previous years. The installed fountain system also ensures a continuous oxygen exchange of the water. Only extensive feeding of the fish in the pond by passers-by could, in his opinion, cause bad smell in the pond environment.

According to NB's explanation, an explicit measure is already being planned for the "Ziegenteich" area. A redesign as part of the "City Centre" redevelopment programme is planned here. A call for tenders is to be issued for this. The area should be designed more attractive and open. The issue of Safety will be addressed, especially with regard to the water, including fencing. To further increase the local quality of stay, the city is also considering installing sports equipment and more enhancing vegetation.

HPD only slightly detects the positive marks of the respondents in the designated area. For her, the "Ziegenteich" rather seems like a "grubby corner" of the city, so that she approves the planned measure to increase attractiveness. She also recognises the objection of the survey participants to the bad smell on site and thus contradicts her colleague C&E. Her view thus correlates in part with the findings of the site visit (see Chapter 5.2.5.1).

Train station, "Deisterplatz" square and Kaufland/Ladestr.

The city recognises and shares many of the survey participants' experiences in the area around the train station. EOO sees a particular need for more control of the public space around the place. It refers to "characters loitering in the evening in front of the Town Hall II (at the square "Deisterplatz")" and thus corresponds to wording from the online survey. For her, an improvement of the light in the evening and night hours could ensure that it is "made uncomfortable for the aforementioned groups". C&E elaborates on this, describing the presence of "scenery" opposite Town Hall II by resident pubs, but also in front of the Kaufland supermarket, especially in the evening hours. For him, the sale of alcohol by Kaufland is an origin for the presence of the "drinking scene" in this area. The car posing named by

the survey participants is also mentioned by C&E. However, EOO points out that there is no longer a "drinking scene" present and that the police do not officially recognise any such group.

With regard to initiatives and measures that can contribute to increasing the subjective Feeling of Safety in the discussed space, HPD and NB take a stand. HPD first speaks of difficulties with tenure. For measures at the station or at the Kaufland parking lot, it is necessary to contact the Deutsche Bahn and the supermarket owner. In general, she sees possibilities to negotiate with the Kaufland contact person about closing the car park at night, so that car posing or the meeting of drinkers could possibly be prevented. Fencing could also be proposed in the process. Furthermore, the need for better illumination should be communicated. NB sees scope for the train station underpass in particular. The dark design could be corrected by a new, lighter colour scheme in combination with an improvement of the lighting in the tunnel. Here, the city's previous approaches, initiated by the Youth Welfare Office, should be built upon and, consequently, a design of the tunnel with young people from Barsinghausen should be envisaged again.

Stollenbachweg

The Stollenbachweg is assessed by C&E as an important route connection from the train station to the city centre. At the same time, it is historically valuable and has three cross-connections, so that he can hardly understand the objections of the respondents that there are no ways out or escape possibilities. In particular, a stairway from Stollenbachweg to Breitestr. is frequently used by pedestrians and cyclists. EOO adds that the entrance area of the path sideways the employment office in opposite of the bus station is known for "groups loitering", listening to loud music, often combined with alcohol consumption. She elaborates that this often leaves rubbish and dirt behind. The place is mainly frequented by these "groups of people" in the evening. At this point, C&E intervenes with an interesting objection that alludes to showing more social acceptance for activities that do not correspond to personal values or ideas of "correct" behaviour: "In principle, there is nothing at all wrong with public spaces being used - if people want to sit there, then they should sit there. It's not always about living according to the motto: 'I don't like it when they drink their beer out of a can and no one has my favourite type of red wine with them, so I don't want to sit there'".

According to HPD, the municipality is facing a major challenge in order to remedy the weaknesses of the path criticised by the survey participants. Although there had already been plans to widen and modernise the path, this idea was been rejected due to the existing ownership structure. At that time, an additional development of the adjoining properties of the Stollenbachweg was under discussion. In this context, however, HPD states that the construction of a canal system would have been necessary, but the property owners did not want to pay for the development costs. However, an improvement of

the path infrastructure is still dependent on a canal construction, so that this project is currently not feasible.

KGS and Goethestr.

The municipality is aware of incidents in the Goethestr.. Here, the origin of potential Feelings of Un-safety according to HPD is not that much sought in the built environment, but rather a connection to the residential population is seen. So far, she has heard of younger men who were victims of crime in the area. Contrary to the survey results, she would rather assume Feelings of Un-safety predominantly among this population group. NB refers to a different view regarding perceived unsafety in the KGS and Goethestr. area, which is rather based on a discrepancy of "subjective Perception of Safety with Objective Safety". People from outside who are not familiar with the neighbourhood assess situations differently than those who live there. She refers to the example of the youth club opposite the KGS school being a place for young people to let off steam and spend their free time, which includes side effects such as noise. Outsiders could perceive this as disturbing or influencing the subjective sense of Safety. In their opinion, people who do not know the quarter well enough judge the public space differently than people from the immediate neighbourhood who learn to live with the existence of the youth club and accept activities on site. Not everyone would be able to properly understand the background and intention of the youth club. She suspects that the many Perceptions of Un-safety in the area of Goethestr. and KGS are also due to the fact that the school's sports halls are used by many clubs outside the core city of Barsinghausen and therefore people who train there or pick up their children from training might be irritated by activities around the youth club.

NB states, that measures for this area are already planned and partly in process of implementation. The entire Goethestr. is to be redesigned in the coming years. However, as part of the redevelopment area "Barsinghausen Nord", the street section will be tackled last together with the street Gänsefußweg. Priority one is the optimisation of the lighting. In addition, pruning of urban greenery is planned so that important sight lines in the public space for orientation and early recognition of dangerous situations are not blocked. She emphasises that these measures are not only planned, but already defined and written in the urban development concept for the redevelopment area. However, the aforementioned funding programme does not cover the school site of the KGS, so there is currently no room for manoeuvre there. Special funding programmes tailored to support schools would have to be used for this supporting purpose. If another funding setting could be found, consideration could be given to improving the lighting in the schoolyard.

Adolf Grimme School/ Langenäcker street

In the area of the Adolf Grimme School and the section of Langenäcker street, a divided opinion is again revealed. HPD recognises a too dark environment in the evening and at night, especially in the

parking lot between the Adolf Grimme School and the neighbouring adult education centre. C&E, on the other hand, cannot understand the respondents' statements about the discussed location as a "space of fear". He does recognise that opposite the school "crazy metal fences with plastic mesh" demarcate the properties of the private houses from the street space, but he only sees a connection here between the Feelings of Unsafety and the murder that took place. HPD has a split opinion here. She believes that the space is normally not fearful, especially as there are sufficient opportunities for escape or options to seek help in dangerous situations. However, as the residents at the designated road section have practised an isolating construction method to shield themselves from the road space and the school, she also understands the set markings to Feelings of Unsafety. In this case, counter-measures on the part of urban planning are only possible by drafting amendments to the development or land-use plans. By setting maximum heights for fences, walls or hedges, the social control of public space could be maintained. However, there have been no concrete plans in this direction so far.

The traffic examples

With regard to the traffic-related examples of Subjective Unsafety in Barsinghausen, OOE first refers to the historical development. When the road network in Barsinghausen was expanded and modernised, "cycling was not considered". Too little attention was also paid to equipping both sides of the road with footpaths. The person responsible for the bicycle traffic concept in Barsinghausen in the planning office, C&E, supported this statement. The former focus of traffic planning only on car traffic has been discarded in the meantime. Examples of this are the comprehensive introduction of 30 km/h zones in residential areas. A prime example for him in this regard is the street of Langenäcker, where trees in the road area are installed and at certain intervals "force" motorists to drive slowly. However, he feels that the general problem is the persistent mindset of car drivers, who often do not see cyclists as equal road users. He therefore assumes this social power relationship as a possible reason for cyclists' Subjective Unsafety in road traffic.

With reference to the example of the junction Rehrbrinkstr.-Wilhelm-Heß-Str., C&E emphasises the difficulties at the responsible levels. There, two state roads meet, only the upper part of the road to the south falls under the responsibility of the city. Nevertheless, politicians and the city administration concerned this junction as an object of planning traffic concerns. The junction was also initially included in the city of Barsinghausen's cycling concept, but the former mayor deleted this idea. In principle, there is always an exchange with the state of Lower Saxony regarding the conditions of the state roads, but there are currently no concrete plans according to C&E.

With regard to the junction of Poststr. and Bahnhofstr., he only refers to the renovated roadway of Bahnhofstr. in the course of the "inner city" redevelopment programme, which, in his opinion, tempts

drivers to drive faster than the prescribed maximum speed of 30 km/h. No planned measures are mentioned here.

The point on Hannoversche Str. indicated by a survey participant as a danger spot is only partly understood by C&E. In his opinion, the Hannover Region has "made an effort" here with its concept of red-marked cyclist protection lanes and has come up with a plausible concept. For cyclists, the designated stripes have created a protected area in the road space and made it easier for them to participate in road traffic. Nevertheless, C&E objects that many people have not yet understood the principle of the cyclist protection lanes, so that some motorists disregard the fact that those lanes are not provided for them. A stopping restriction in those lanes is also often not noticed. For such incidents, but also in general, he would like to see the development of a "culture of looking", which should be promoted socially: "If someone trips and falls, they should be helped and not looked the other way.". With this illustration, C&E wants to express that everyone should try as best as possible to contribute to the functioning of a concept such as the cyclist protection lanes. In his opinion, a huge problem is still the ignorance of many people about cyclist protection lanes, which explains the increased Feeling of Un-safety for cyclists in road traffic.

The Siegfried-Lehmann-Str. site addressed in the survey is known to C&E. He also recognises that a risky traffic situation can arise here for cyclists. However, from a construction point of view "not much can be done". The addition of bicycle lanes is not possible due to the narrow width of the road. However, an alternative has only recently been found: as part of the bicycle traffic concept, the last section of the parallel road, Berliner Str., at the level of the indicated point of Subjective Un-safety, has been developed as a "bicycle route".

6 Discussion

In order to derive scientific added value and new insights from the empirical results, it is important to put the findings from the literature analysis into context with the online survey, media research and the expert discussion.

6.1 Spatial dilemma: Feelings of (Un)Safety in public spaces with many people

The findings of this thesis have revealed, in relation to the current state of research, how contradictory the discourse of Geographies of the Feeling of (Un)Safety in public space can be. Fundamentally, many parallels to previous studies and knowledge were seen in the empirical work. JANE JACOBS' (1963) image of a functioning, safe public space in particular has been revealed throughout. The respondents from the online survey in Barsinghausen perceive the busy, crowded public spaces named by Jacobs

as safe or comfortable. If a public space is filled with people, respondents can meet "many familiar faces" there, so they associate it with Subjective Safety. Jacobs' concept of "eyes on the street" is also omnipresent in the findings of the fieldwork: respondents repeatedly call for video surveillance, local security services or an increased police presence in their qualitative statements on suggestions for improvement. If the respondents consider a place unsafe, they want more social control – in this case formally or actively initiated. Occasionally, however, the need for informal social control is also expressed, illustrated by the narrative of a respondent who would like "people to look out for each other more". In addition, the Prospect-Refugee-Theory (e.g. FLADE et al. 1995) can be substantiated in the opinion of the survey participants. The approach of "seeing without being seen" is particularly reflected in the high level of agreement on the factor of clarity, brightness and lighting as well as the elimination of hiding places in public spaces.

In general, the scheme of HERMANN & SESSAR (2007) for the construction of spaces perceived as (un)safe, as presented in Figure 8, can be applied to the case study. The component "regulation" corresponds to the respondents' complaining about "non-conforming" behaviour, i.e. deviations from their socially appropriated values and norms. The factor "Behaviour of society and institutions" even becomes relevant in two forms: Social behaviour - characterised by wording such as "loitering", "extensive noise", "violence" or "drinking scene" - has an effect as a form on the individual construction of (Un)Safety in public space. The second form corresponds to the institutional sphere of meaning, which is particularly evident in the fact that respondents repeatedly feel "let down" by the police or the city administration. More commitment in public space by the police (e.g. "tougher police action") or the city administration (e.g. "[...] Stollenbachweg is completely neglected by the city") is demanded here for safer constructions of space. On the level of "material substrates", there are a multitude of connections, the most relevant are probably the respondents' impressions of the underpass at the train station, but also the references to paths and the road traffic area (e.g. "poor condition of the road", "a bicycle lane is missing"). In the context of "cultural symbolism", conscious or unconscious cultural meanings of spaces are difficult to find in the results of the survey, also due to the layout of the empirical methodology.

Various factors are decisive for the development of Feelings of Safety and unsafety in public spaces, including the physical environment. The urban setting according to EWING & CLEMENTE (2013) (see Figure 9) is partly used as an evaluation matrix by the survey participants. Some "urban design qualities" become relevant. Particular emphasis is placed on "imageability": the image and reputation of a space are important to the respondents, which can be reflected in a positive sense relating to the spatial example of the pedestrian zone as a meeting place – and in a negative sense to the region of the train station, which some respondents avoid if possible. The factor "transparency", i.e. visibility in

public space, also has a high weight. Here, reference can be made to the respondents' criticism of "dark corners" and hiding spots in public space. The factor "Complexity" correlates here once again with Jacob's aforementioned findings, so that busy environments and many people in the public space are important.

It is interesting that the dilemma described by PARK & GARCIA (2020) of trees in public spaces acting on the one hand as a stylistic device to enhance the quality of stay and on the other hand as an obstruction of sight lines and visibility impairment can also be seen in the empirical findings. In the online survey, it became clear that the desire for "more green" is particularly evident in the qualitative responses. However, this is countered by a cautious attitude on the part of urban planners, who emphasise that sufficient greenery and site-specific planting must be observed so that sight lines are not obscured or impaired. Consequently, a balance must be found here between green surroundings and clear, uncluttered spatial structure. Overall, however, the factor of clarity seems to predominate in terms of Subjective Safety, especially regarding the opinion of women, who perceive surrounded planting as less important for a safe perception of space.

The study by PAINTER (1996) on the extent of lighting for the subjective Perception of Safety is also clearly reflected in the empirical results of this thesis. Lighting is probably considered the most important support of comfortable and safe perceived spatial constructions for Barsinghausen. The respondents plead with great agreement for better lighting in criticised public spaces of the core town. The "fishbowl effect" described by CECCATO (2020b) in Chapter 4.1.1 was not addressed in the survey or in the expert interview. A new perspective in the debate about light and brightness as a factor for Subjective Safety becomes clear in the survey through the criticism of excessive light in public spaces. One person points out the negative impact of "flickering advertising effects and extreme illuminated advertising" on spatial perception. However, since this is only an individual opinion, the relevance for society as a whole is questionable at this point.

The connection between Perceptions of Safety in space and road traffic, as formulated by respondents in the online survey, seems to open up a new variable in the spatial Geographies of Fear and Feelings of (Un)Safety. Although the pure Safety principles of the ITF (2012) can initially be found on the spatial perceptions of pedestrians and cyclists in the field of respondents on the situation in Barsinghausen (e.g. "speed limit", "more space for cyclists"), one study in particular also seems relevant for Barsinghausen: LAWSON et al. (2013) found out in Dublin that cyclists and car drivers are in conflict with each other and that driving behaviour of motorists that is perceived as inconsiderate affects the Safety perceptions of cyclists in public space. This picture is also evident in Barsinghausen – where a particular outrage about "aggressive" and "furious" driving by motorists is apparent.

An apparently higher significance for the subjective Perception of Safety can be attributed to social behaviour in the space or the result/consequence of this. The survey repeatedly identified spatial conspicuities that FLADE et al. (1995) referred to as "disorder phenomena". Litter (e.g. "more tidiness and cleanliness", "less litter"), public alcohol consumption (e.g. "group of alcoholised people", "many alcoholics especially in the dark"), excessive noise (e.g. "[...] are sometimes loud and aggressive", "swearing and talking loudly") as well as verbal harassment, especially towards women (e.g. "harassed, unintentionally approached") can be increasingly documented here. The "fear of the foreign" repeatedly stated in scientific discourse (e.g. GLASAUER 2005, ROLFES 2015, CREEMERS et al. 2020) is also reflected in the common mood of the online survey from the case study. Behaviour in public that is individually perceived as "uncivilised", such as "loitering", is frequently associated with foreigners by the respondents. Consequently, this can be taken a step further and a factual connection to the ethnisation of the "fear of the foreign" elaborated by CREEMERS et al. (2020) can be developed. What is striking here is that the threshold to racist ways of thinking is often not far or is even crossed. Words such as "aggressive foreigners mobbing passers-by" or "threats from groups of foreign men" should be treated with caution and can be assessed as racist without context.

With regard to gender-specific knowledge in this thesis, both parallels and contradictions to previous research have been discovered. The measures taken so far by planners with regard to the implementation of feminist spatial concepts (e.g. BECKER 2001; SCHUSTER 2012), which have been criticised by some feminists, such as the redesign of underpasses, are in turn demanded by shares of the survey participants. "Better lighting" and "less bad smell" are exemplary narratives of the respondents, especially of the female gender, on the cumulative negative spatial perception pins connected to the underpass at the train station area in Barsinghausen. Here, urban planning instruments, that are criticised by feminists, seem to be desired by one of the target groups of gender-sensitive planning, the female gender, after all.

In contrast, the fear of offenses, especially of a sexual nature, which has been repeatedly described in professional literature and is mainly related to the gender of women (and in more recent works also concerning LGBTQ people), has become omnipresent in the online survey (e.g. ROLFES 2015, VERA-GRAY & KELLY 2020). In the qualitative reports of experiences, verbal harassment, up to and including sexual harassment, is shared by female participants. The vulnerability hypothesis (e.g. ROLFES 2015, BROWNLOW 2004) can also be supported by the empirical results. The qualitative statements of the interviewed women regarding (sexual) assault have the consequence of changing their personal mobility pattern. The narratives "avoid being at the train station" and "I don't stay there in the evening" are emblematic of this.

All in all, this thesis reveals one concise picture of public space: The spatial dilemma of the presence of many people in a specific place. On the one hand, a busy area stands for Subjective Safety, as social control can be exercised and people feel less "alone"; on the other hand, for the social individual this means encountering strangers. For some, this encounter is synonymous with the confrontation of fear or Feelings of Unsafety, as certain behaviours or population groups are associated with negative feelings. If a public space is busy and positive experiences are made as well as safe emotional feelings are developed, Subjective Safety is strengthened. However, if a public space is busy, but individuals notice negative behaviour due to "not conforming to the personal norm or values", Subjective Unsafety is enhanced and the respective spot can take shape of a "moving place" (see EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2007). Consequently, the enlivenment of a space by many people in urban space does not always entail the guarantee of "feeling good", insofar as subjects feel impaired due to their perception of "strangeness".

6.2 The "Constructed" Fear and the influence of others on the subjective Perception of Safety

Feelings of Unsafety in public spaces are often linked to perceived crime. Crime itself is usually difficult for the population to grasp, unless a social subject has had victimisation experiences themselves. For the spatial constructions of (Un)Safety, this means that experiences or impressions from media reports, especially local newspapers, or stories from acquaintances, friends or family are used (e.g. CALLANAN & ROSENBERGER 2015). Subjective Safety can therefore also result from external sources. This is particularly reflected in two main findings of the online survey in Barsinghausen: On the one hand, for a large part of the respondents, the reputation of a public place, which is apparently consolidated from reports and narratives in societies, is of importance for the development of safe or unsafe feelings. On the other hand, corresponding narratives become clear in the qualitative information on experiences and suggestions for improvement. "Reports from the family" or "[...] it's bad there, according to the press" clearly show this recognised media phenomenon in the context of the case study.

The media's influence on Barsinghausen's citizens Perception of Safety in the public sphere is particularly evident in the repeated use of the words "crime delicts" and "criminality". These may, of course, have been formulated from the interpretation of space, since activities subjectively assessed as criminal have been observed in it, but the assumption here is that opinions on crimes and criminality have been taken from third party narratives or especially from the local newspapers. Significant evidence of the media impact on Feelings of (Un)Safety in public spaces is provided by the information given by the survey participants about the murders that occurred in Barsinghausen: wording such as "murder", "killed" or "dead girl" point to this and are consistently found in the context of press reports in the qualitative statements of the respondents. The media analysis in Barsinghausen (see Annex 10) also

shows that the two murder cases are present in press reports over a longer period of time. The repeated reporting, due to the fact that one of the two murder cases was not solved as well, is disproportionately high compared to other incidents in public space. Consequently, the overrepresentation of violent crimes in newspapers stated by HAHNE et al. (2020) can be confirmed and emphasised especially for the phenomenon of murders. Furthermore, a media-created image of public "danger spots" for women is reproduced in the local press from this "artificially" continuously upheld topic – precisely through the named murders of two women in Barsinghausen in 2018. The already discussed increased vulnerability of women and the gender-specific phenomenon of fear of (sexual) assault in public spaces is thus further sparked by the third variable of media-constructed "danger spots" in a form of downward spiral connected to the public Feeling of Safety. The imbalance of perceived safety, which women associate with the private sphere, and perceived unsafety, which is mostly located in the public sphere, can thus be reinforced by the media as an influencing factor and reveals a risk for women's public participation.

Overall, this thesis reveals that the subjective perception of space does not correspond to the real existing crime with regard to the assessment of danger. Public spaces are assessed as unsafe, even though no demonstrably high numbers of crimes have been recorded there (with the exception of the train station area). The example of Langenäcker str. and the Adolf Grimme School can be addressed here in particular, as negative marks were repeatedly placed in the online survey, although "only" one murder was localised there as an incident or crime (in the media analysis period under consideration, see Annex 10). Here, the media treatment of this one murder case is decisive for the constructed spatial perception of the neighbourhood as unsafe. ZIEGLER et al.'s (2011) theory can also be used here as reports in local newspapers, in a realistic presentation of places that the reader knows or that are in the direct vicinity of home, have a stronger effect on personal fears in space and influence the risk assessment.

It is difficult to determine on the basis of the empirical findings to what extent the wording used by the respondents on violence in the space of the train station (e.g. "violence", "brawls") is experienced or observed personally. Whether the influence of the media is again evident here and the catchwords present in press reports (see Figure 63) are transferred to the individual constructions of space or own experiences and spatial observations were made.

Altogether, the constructional significance of Feelings of (Un)Safety can be illustrated particularly well by looking back at Figure 1 used in Chapter 2.1. Each component of the cognitive dimension has been addressed in the course of this thesis: the biographical one especially in the sense of gender differences, the physical one with reference to the built environment of public space, the social one with reference to spatial conflicts between social subjects and the influence of the media on the subjective

Perception of Safety, as well as the psychological component illustrated by the qualitative reports on the experiences of respondents to the online survey. The affective and conative dimensions have also been uncovered in the course of the scientific work: How Feelings of (Un)Safety are expressed was surveyed in the online survey and the increases in "Fear of Crime" were recognised through media analysis and comparison of the subjective answers of the respondents. Behavioural adaptations and consequences of Subjective (Un)Safety were also revealed.

6.3 Between planning prevention and social capacity building: Recommendations for action to deal with Subjective Safety in public spaces

The conceptual ideas of Defensible Space and CPTED (NEWMAN 1973; MOFFAT 1983; COZENS et al. 2001) are particularly evident in the urban planning approaches of the Barsinghausen municipal administration (see Figure 7). The image component of the CPTED model, is interpreted and emphasised by urban planners as quality of stay. Places with a good image, such as the pedestrian zone or the "Ziegenteich", already have or should be further strengthened by measures promoting the quality of stay. What is striking here is the discrepancy between the perception of space by the respondents to the online survey and the urban planners themselves. Participants set in the "Ziegenteich" area many positive spatial markers, while the urban planning level itself recognises a high need for improvement of the area and implements measures in the context of the "City Centre" redevelopment programme (see Chapter 5.2.7). The surveillance factor is mainly taken up by the city as natural surveillance. Here, the keyword of visual axes should be mentioned in particular, which conditions the possibility of social control in public space. Pruning of urban green and lighting are increasingly brought into focus here. According to the urban planners, social control is created or maintained in this way. The city's interest in defining maximum fence/wall heights in future, so that public space is not separated from the natural surveillance mechanisms of the residents, can also be classified in this context. The conceptual objective of CPTED, access control, can also be seen in planning or ideas on how to proceed with Subjective Safety in public space. In the HPD proposals for fencing off and closing the Kaufland supermarket parking lot at night, the factor of target hardening is touched upon in addition to access control. In general, it is striking that in the statements of the Barsinghausen city administration on the prevention of unsafe spatial perceptions, the image of the "triangle of prevention" expressed by STUMMVOLL 2017 can be emulated in abundance. The perpetrator-victim-space view is illustrated here.

The planning of the city of Barsinghausen in small-scale scheme again reveals parallels to previous scientific findings. It can be confirmed that small-scale spatial initiatives are used to create social meeting places as an instrument to increase attractiveness while at the same time lifting the social control level (SCHRÖDER & VERHOVNIK-HEINZE 2020). This combination of increased attractiveness and the side effect of social control seems to be achievable by urban planning with the formulated project at

the "Ziegenteich", insofar as the aforementioned project plans are implemented (see chapter 5.2.7). Modernisation steps and the installation of fitness equipment as well as an increase in the Safety standard at the pond would create an overall composition that incorporates a further revitalisation of the spatial image. The favourable location of the "Ziegenteich" area in the centre of the core city, close to a primary school, the town hall, a sports hall of the local handball club, as well as the neighbouring pensioners' residence and an orphanage, also offer great urban development potential in the public space. If a careful redesign of the area succeeds, an intergenerational meeting place can be promoted and created in the inner city of Barsinghausen.

Possible disadvantages for parts of the population in proposed urban development ideas of the interviewed experts of Barsinghausen's urban planning, such as the possible measure against public alcohol consumption in front of the Kaufland supermarket, were not mentioned in detail. Consequently, the unexpected spin-offs of measures in the course of Subjective Safety in public spaces identified by CEC-CATO (2020b) did not receive any attention. However, C&E indirectly referred to Glasauer's model of "Urban Competence". He emphasised that groups that may be perceived as disturbing by sections of society must nevertheless be given a space or that their public presence should find social acceptance. The development of tolerance towards "being different", as emphasised by GLASAUER (n.d.), is thus also covered by the city administration. C&E takes this thought construct even further when he talks about the traffic-related examples of Subjective Unsafety: with his mentioned "culture of looking", he expresses a kind of appeal to society to actively look at and help others as well as support rules or conceptual frameworks for a functioning public life.

With regard to measures in the light of gender mainstreaming or gender-sensitive planning, no direct formulations were mentioned in the expert discussion with officials of the city of Barsinghausen. Indirectly, however, HPD revealed the integration of the six principles of the WCI organisation (see WCI 2010). "Seeing and being seen" as a statement in the context of clarity/visibility as well as "the possibility of getting away" are relevant here. The latter refers to the creation of ways out on paths that do not offer any in the current state. Another typical component of gender-sensitive planning is pursued on a small scale in Barsinghausen: The redesign of the train station underpass is to be carried out again with young people from the town, so that the population can participate in an urban measure.

Overall, the following can be derived for practice, especially for Barsinghausen, from combining the current state of science and the empirical results:

Brightness, illumination and clarity or visibility are the number one priority for both survey participants and planners. The adaptation or improvement of the public lighting infrastructure seems to be a first step towards safer or more comfortable feelings in public spaces. Here, larger best-case concepts, such as the "vision of lighting" in public space of Vienna (see Figure 10), could be used as orientation.

Even if LISTERBORN (2016) states the “localist perspective”, when considering Feelings of Unsafety on a small scale (e.g. the train station underpass in Barsinghausen), as running the risk of further stigmatise or exclude groups of society, only to improve the sense of safety of a small part of society, it is precisely this localist approach that can be of significance for Barsinghausen. The implementation of measures at the train station underpass could be the first significant milestone in urban planning for further action in the field of subjective safety of public space. Basically, an added value for society as a whole can be seen if the urban planning department wants to initiate a redesign of the underpass under the direction of the youth welfare office. Young people from the city centre could contribute their ideas and creatively implement the city planning's ideas for a brighter design in their own interpretation. This form of implementation would also be equivalent to aspects of do-it-yourself urban development of gender sensitive planning (see HUNING 2019). The optimisation of the lighting conditions in the underpass is also to be welcomed. With regard to media impact, such an initiative could also be accompanied by press reports and possibly improve the image of the train station area. With regard to the image and the identification value, the design of the underpass could also be based on similar ideas as the pedestrian zone's pattern integrating the emblems of the districts. For example, emblems of the districts or other characteristic symbols and images from Barsinghausen could be immortalised on the walls of the underpass.

All in all, it can be interpreted on the basis of the expert discussion that the Barsinghausen municipality is initially continuing the urban development within the framework of the principle of "Strengthening strengths". The pedestrian zone and the area of "Ziegenteich" can thereby emerge as public spaces of realised showcase projects. If this is achieved, urban planning must use this upwind of urban development and transfer it to more "difficult" areas, such as the area around the train station. Attempts to initiate small-scale projects (as the underpass) in areas perceived as unsafe by survey participants should be helpful here. In spots such as Stollenbachweg path or Langenäcker str., a different methodology may be crucial: discourse and cooperation between authorities and residents could ensure more mutual understanding. Conflicts over public space in terms of ownership and responsibility should be resolved to make way for the main interest of a space characterised by quality of stay and Subjective Safety. It is possible that urban planning in Barsinghausen could communicate or publish the issue of Feelings of (Un)Safety in public space more actively.

In this context, attempts can also be made to build social capacity within society through municipal campaigning. The acceptance of "being different" and the aforementioned cult of "looking" could be focused on together here. Particularly to counteract the "spaces of fear" constructed by the media, this can be used instead of classic urban planning instruments. It may also be possible to involve the

local press in this process, and a cooperative campaign between the city administration and the newspaper could refute images of crime in the area that are conjured up in the press reports or in society, and which do not exist in purely statistical and objective terms. One possible starting point is the KGS school area. Here, urban planning could start an initiative to make people who do not come from the neighbourhood aware of the purpose of the youth club located there, so that the meeting spot, which they describe as a possible source of Feelings of Unsafety, is put in the right light among the general population of Barsinghausen and people from outside. According to Luhmann's theory from chapter 2.3, the city administration would be able to create a certain spatial semantics (e.g. ROLFES 2015) among the local population through its outreach. This opportunity could be used.

6.4 Limitations

The present thesis also reaches its limits in scientific fieldwork. For example, parts of the research methodology are in need of optimisation at their core. To illustrate, the investigation tool for the online survey could have taken into account that social subjects in space may not feel safe- or unsafe at any place. The option of skipping through the survey step of indicating a perceived safe or unsafe location could have been added. More characteristics could have been included to better consider different social factors for the analysis of the survey participant pool as well. Here, for example, in addition to nationality, the migration background would also have been of interest. In the selection of analysis categories included in the survey (e.g. age, nationality, gender, etc.), ultimately only gender and partly age were of research interest when considering differences between the respondents. In other characteristics, such as education or household size, no conspicuous variations were discovered.

For another research work in the style of this thesis, it could be considered to mark the subjective answer fields as mandatory fields, as some locations in the survey could possibly have been further enhanced with comments of the respondents in terms of empirical findings. Of course, there would always be the danger that more people would then cancel/discontinue the survey, as the time required would be increased.

In addition, the survey is not representative, as the number of participants (205) is too small in relation to the population of Barsinghausen. Nevertheless, the research approach is transferable to other cities of a similar size and the structure or procedure is reproducible.

Several limitations have been identified in the target group diversity of respondents relating to the online survey format: Firstly, it seems to have been problematic to reach younger people (especially under 18), although the realisation of the survey as an online format could have actually appealed to younger digitally affine groups. However, it is possible that the topic was too complex and not of particular interest to students from Barsinghausen. Older people, on the other hand, were well reached

despite the digital format. For a broader inclusion of the older parts of the population, a hybrid survey would still have to be used in future surveys in order to reach more elderly people who may not have access to mobile devices or computers.

7 Conclusion

At the end of this thesis, a conclusion is drawn in this final chapter with a review of the elaborated findings.

Feelings of (Un)Safety are manifold, have different origins and can be localised in a variety of public places. They are diverse precisely because they do not only occur in the context of crime. Geographies of Fear or Unsafety mean much more than the mere connection between emotional states and crime taking place in space. They encompass all aspects of life that happen in public space. It is the everyday routines that make people aware of whether a public space they pass through triggers positive or negative feelings in them. Places that are visited often and frequently are important for society – also in terms of perception relating to Subjective Safety. This fact can be understood both in one direction and in the other. People feel comfortable in highly frequented and constantly fluctuating public spaces, especially when other people are in space with the same intention as themselves. For example, people experience Safety feelings in the pedestrian zone because they are there to meet friends and family or go shopping coming across people who are doing the same. The antagonist to this are places like the train station. Here, too, many people are faced, but they do not usually stay in the specific space for long, but use the transport hub as a transit space. People are encountered who are on their way with different intentions. One is on his way to work, the other has just come from school. But it is not only the different mobility intentions that cause differences and can trigger initial Feelings of Unsafety. People staying in this space, which is presumably anchored in society as a transit or moving space, are also perceived individually as unsafe or uncomfortable. This is especially true when designated persons display behaviour that is subjectively perceived as disturbing or unusual. One's own values and norms, experienced education and acquired culture have an effect on the perception of space, so that what is perceived as foreign or deviant to one's own perception plays a decisive role in the production of Feelings of Unsafety in public space. This creates a gender-unspecific spatial paradox: many people in public space provide Subjective Safety as well as Subjective Unsafety.

In addition to the human-space relation, however, other factors have a high weight in the perception of public spaces. The data collection showed that visibility, clarity and brightness are the most important factors for (Un)Safety perceptions after people who are subjectively assessed as threatening. Sufficient lighting is in first place. Factors that affect visibility in space are given high priority, especially

by the female gender. If a public space is not sufficiently bright or clearly arranged for individual perception and space related orientation, women in particular tend to adapt their spatial mobility routines and avoid those public areas. For men, on the other hand, the reputation of a space is important when assessing (Un)Safety. Knowledge about incidents and crime are also mentioned in this context as criteria for determining a space as safe or unsafe. This knowledge and the designated reputation of public space must first be generated and communicated in society. This happens through narratives and media reporting, thus indirectly influences the Perception of Safety in public space. Here, the concept of constructed Feelings of Unsafety takes on a new meaning: if media portals and local newspapers increasingly report on a place in a negative sense, this mediated image also shapes the social subjects spatial thinking. Perceptions of space do not always refer to personal experiences and assessments. Through constant reporting on crime in public spaces, the media can create a spatial construction of unsafety in minds of the population. From the media analysis of the empirical survey, it has become clear that additional distinctions must be made within this section of reporting. Worse criminal incidents, such as murders or grievous acts of violence, are overrepresented. As a result, there is always the danger that a public space will be ascribed an image through intensive media coverage of a criminal case that does injustice to the real "danger" or the real appearance of the space. The media can therefore create a distorted reality and construct unsafe perceptions of a certain public space, although objectively it is not unsafe at all. This danger can also occur in relation to gender: The case study of this thesis has shown that two murders of women have occurred in the urban area in recent years. Here, in connection with the research results of the online survey, it is possible to assume that media-produced "danger places" have been created for women.

In order to be able to connect public spaces with Subjective Safety, several facets are necessary. The design level of urban planning is of fundamental importance. Spatial structure is perceived first by the spatial observer, so that clarity and visibility, bright design, but also order, cleanliness and continuous restructuring are among the classic tasks of urban planning and city administration. Modernisation efforts alone are not enough if a public space is not also maintained. From repairing the floor covering of paths to optimising street lighting or pruning urban greenery: urban development takes place constantly and does not stop after the completion of a plan or implementation of a measure. Individual perceptions of space as a result of spatial observation help the decision-making powers of the city and politics to take the right path. Of course, a constant exchange between the population and the administration is crucial for this. However, discourse and communication are also important in another sense. Not every spatial and design adaptation of urban structures helps to displace Feelings of Unsafety from the public space. It will be necessary for planning authorities or urban administrations to ensure that the population is further sensitised to spatial phenomena of the public sphere. A social capacity of acceptance of "being different" must be built. Urban life is characterised by diversity and different

lifeworlds that meet in public space and have to get along with each other. This "living together" must be anchored as a basic essence in the minds of the local population. The social appropriation of Urban Competence is thus indispensable and must be affirmed as well as brought to society. To what extent the media pressure on public space and the spatialised feelings constructed by it can be counteracted is questionable. Nevertheless, publicly effective campaigns by the city administration, ideally in cooperation with the local press, or festivals and activities in parts of public space considered as "hotspots" of negative spatial perceptions, will certainly offer potential for image enhancement. Dealing with Feelings of (Un)Safety is ultimately linked to a precise analysis of the origins of spatial perceptions. If Feelings of Unsafety and discomfort are related solely to the built environment, urban planners can react with adaptation measures in the built structure of public space. However, if the subjective Perceptions of Unsafety are more profoundly linked to factors related to human behaviour or the media, mere modernisation in the architectural-building sense is not sufficient. This is where named means of enlightenment, education and communication for urban planners and other instances with an impact on public space become relevant.

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Annex

Annex 1: Layout of the online survey with all question blocks in German and English

BLOCK – EINLEITUNG INTRODUCTION	
<p>Unterfrage 1: Warum fühlen Sie sich sicher bzw. wohl im öffentlichen Raum? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich)</p> <p><i>Subquestion 1: Why do you feel safe or comfortable in public space? (Multiple choice possible)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Helligkeit; gute Beleuchtung <i>Brightness; good illumination</i> ○ Ordnung & Sauberkeit <i>Order & cleanliness</i> ○ Grüne Umgebung durch Bäume, Pflanzen, Büsche, ... (Stadtgrün) <i>Green environment through trees, plants, bushes, ... (Urban green)</i> ○ Sanierete Straßen; Plätze; Geh-/ Radwege <i>Modernised streets; places</i> ○ Belebter Ort; Viele Menschen halten sich auf <i>Bustling location; Many people stay there</i> ○ Geschäfte, Restaurants, Sportanlagen und/oder kulturelle Einrichtungen in direkter Umgebung <i>Shops, restaurants, sports facilities and/or cultural facilities in the direct vicinity</i> ○ Offene Bauweise (Viele Fenster; Gärten zum öffentlichen Raum gerichtet) <i>Open architecture (Many windows; gardens face the public space)</i> ○ Viel Platz für Fußgänger*innen <i>Lots of space for pedestrians</i> ○ Viel Platz für Radfahrer*innen <i>Lots of space for cyclists</i> ○ Viel Platz für Autos <i>Lots of space for cars</i> ○ Sonstiges <i>Other</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 2: Warum fühlen Sie sich unsicher bzw. unwohl im öffentlichen Raum? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich)</p> <p><i>Subquestion 2: Why do you feel unsafe or uncomfortable in public space? (Multiple choice possible)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Dunkelheit; schlechte Beleuchtung <i>Darkness; poor lighting</i> ○ Unordnung, Schmutz, Zerstörung <i>Disorder, dirt, destruction</i> ○ Einsame Gegend; keine/wenig Menschen halten sich auf <i>Lonely area; no/few people around</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Anwesenheit von als bedrohlich wahrgenommenen Personen <i>Presence of people perceived as threatening</i> ○ Wissen um Vorfälle/Straftaten in der Vergangenheit <i>Knowledge of incidents/crimes in the past</i> ○ Leerstand/Brachfläche <i>Vacancy/brownfield</i> ○ Fehlender Gehweg; schlechte Gehweginfrastruktur <i>Missing pavement; poor pavement infrastructure</i> ○ Fehlender Radweg; schlechte Radweginfrastruktur <i>Missing cycle path; poor cycle path infrastructure</i> ○ Viel Platz für Autos <i>Lots of space for cars</i> ○ Sonstiges <i>Other</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
KARTE 1 MAP 1	
<p>Verorten Sie einen öffentlich zugänglichen Ort in Barsinghausen, an dem Sie sich sicher und/oder wohl fühlen! (Bitte wählen Sie einen Ort im Ortsteil Barsinghausen [Kernstadt])</p> <p><i>Locate a spot in Barsinghausen's public space where you feel safe and/or comfortable! (Please select a spot in the Barsinghausen district [core town])</i></p>	<p>Mapping-Tool: Pin wird auf Karte platziert</p> <p><i>Mapping tool: Pin is placed on map</i></p>
<p>Unterfrage 1: In welche Raumkategorie(n) können Sie ihre Markierung am ehesten einordnen? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich)</p> <p><i>Subquestion 1: In which spatial category(ies) can you most likely classify your mark? (multiple choice possible)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Straße, Geh-/Radweg <i>Road, pavement/cycle path</i> ○ Wegverbindung <i>Path connection</i> ○ Park, Grün- und Freizeitanlage <i>Park, green and leisure area</i> ○ ÖPNV-Haltestelle (Bus, Bahn) und Weg dahin <i>Public transport stop (bus, train); access to public transport</i> ○ Innenstadt/Fußgängerzone <i>City centre/pedestrian zone</i> ○ Parkplatz

	<p><i>Parking space</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Öffentlicher Platz <i>Public space (square)</i> ○ Industrie-/Gewerbegebiet <i>Industrial/commercial area</i> ○ Wohngebiet <i>Residential area</i> ○ Schulgelände <i>School grounds</i> ○ Sonstiges <i>Other</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 2: Zu welcher Tageszeit/welchen Tageszeiten halten Sie sich an diesem Ort auf? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich)</p> <p><i>Subquestion 2: At what time(s) of the day do you associate the named place with a Feeling of Unsafety/uncomfort? (multiple choice possible)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Morgens (6 bis 10 Uhr) <i>In the morning (6 to 10am)</i> ○ Vormittags (10 bis 12 Uhr) <i>In the late morning (10am to 12 o'clock)</i> ○ Mittags (12 bis 14 Uhr) <i>At noon (12 o'clock to 2pm)</i> ○ Nachmittags (14 bis 17 Uhr) <i>In the afternoon (2 to 5pm)</i> ○ Abends (17 bis 21 Uhr) <i>In the evening (5 to 9pm)</i> ○ Nachts (21 bis 6 Uhr) <i>At night (9pm to 6am)</i> ○ Nie <i>Never</i>
<p>Unterfrage 3: Welche Faktoren lassen diesen Ort sicher/angenehm wirken? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Der Ort ist hell und übersichtlich. <i>The place is bright and clear.</i> ○ Der Ort ist belebt, hier halten sich viele Menschen auf. <i>The place is busy, many people stay here.</i> ○ Der Ort hat einen guten Ruf. <i>The place has a good reputation.</i> ○ Ich kann hier in Ruhe Zeit verbringen. <i>I can spend time here in peace.</i> ○ Der Ort ist sauber und gepflegt. <i>The place is clean and well kept.</i> ○ Der Ort ist von viel Grün umgeben. <i>A lot of vegetation surrounds the place.</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Der Ort bietet eine hohe Aufenthaltsqualität. <i>The place offers a high quality of stay.</i> ○ Der Ort ist gut einsehbar. <i>The place is well visible and widely accessible.</i> ○ Sonstiges <i>Other</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 4: Welche Erfahrungen haben Sie an diesem Ort gemacht? (freiwillig) <i>Which experiences have you made here? (voluntary)</i></p>	<p>Textfeld (qualitative Antwort) <i>Textfield (qualitative answer)</i></p>
<p>Unterfrage 5: Was würde aus Ihrer Sicht dazu führen, dass Sie sich an angegebener Stelle noch sicherer/wohler fühlen? Verbesserungsvorschläge: (freiwillig) <i>What do you think would make you feel safer/more comfortable? Suggestions for improvement: (voluntary)</i></p>	<p>Textfeld (qualitative Antwort) <i>Textfield (qualitative answer)</i></p>
<p>KARTE 2 MAP 2</p>	
<p>Bitte verorten Sie einen öffentlich zugänglichen Ort in Barsinghausen, an dem Sie sich unsicher und/oder unwohl fühlen! (Bitte wählen Sie einen Ort im Ortsteil Barsinghausen [Kernstadt]) <i>Locate a spot in Barsinghausen's public space where you feel unsafe and/or uncomfortable! (Please select a spot in the Barsinghausen district [core town])</i></p>	<p>Mapping-Tool: Pin wird auf Karte platziert <i>Mapping tool: Pin is placed on map</i></p>
<p>Unterfrage 1: In welche Raumkategorie(n) können Sie ihre Markierung am ehesten einordnen? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich) <i>Subquestion 1: In which spatial category(ies) can you most likely classify your mark? (multiple choice possible)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Straße, Geh-/Radweg <i>Road, pavement/cycle path</i> ○ Wegverbindung <i>Path connection</i> ○ Park, Grün- und Freizeitanlage <i>Park, green and leisure area</i> ○ ÖPNV-Haltestelle (Bus, Bahn) und Weg dahin <i>Public transport stop (bus, train); access to public transport</i> ○ Innenstadt/Fußgängerzone <i>City centre/pedestrian zone</i> ○ Parkplatz <i>Parking space</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Öffentlicher Platz <i>Public space (square)</i> ○ Industrie-/Gewerbegebiet <i>Industrial/commercial area</i> ○ Wohngebiet <i>Residential area</i> ○ Schulgelände <i>School grounds</i> ○ Sonstiges <i>Other</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 2: Zu welcher Tageszeit/welchen Tageszeiten halten Sie sich an diesem Ort auf? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich)</p> <p><i>Subquestion 2: At what time(s) of the day do you associate the named place with a Feeling of Unsafety/uncomfort? (multiple choice possible)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Morgens (6 bis 10 Uhr) <i>In the morning (6 to 10am)</i> ○ Vormittags (10 bis 12 Uhr) <i>In the late morning (10am to 12 o'clock)</i> ○ Mittags (12 bis 14 Uhr) <i>At noon (12 o'clock to 2pm)</i> ○ Nachmittags (14 bis 17 Uhr) <i>In the afternoon (2 to 5pm)</i> ○ Abends (17 bis 21 Uhr) <i>In the evening (5 to 9pm)</i> ○ Nachts (21 bis 6 Uhr) <i>At night (9pm to 6am)</i> ○ Nie ○ <i>Never</i>
<p>Unterfrage 3: Warum fühlen Sie sich an benanntem Ort unsicher/unwohl? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich)</p> <p><i>Why do you feel unsafe/uncomfortable in the mentioned place? (multiple choice possible)</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Der Ort ist dunkel (schlecht beleuchtet) und unübersichtlich. <i>The place is dark (poorly lit) and confusing.</i> ○ Es gibt viele Versteckmöglichkeiten. <i>There are many places to hide.</i> ○ Hier hält sich niemand auf. <i>Nobody stays here.</i> ○ Es halten sich Personen/Gruppen auf, die mich verunsichern. <i>There are people that make me feel unsafe.</i> ○ Ich werde von fremden Menschen belästigt/angepöbelt. <i>Strangers harass me.</i> ○ Der Ort hat einen schlechten Ruf. <i>The place has a bad reputation.</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Der Ort ist für Straftaten bekannt. <i>The place is known for crimes/incidents.</i> ○ Ich kann hier nicht in Ruhe Zeit verbringen. <i>I cannot spend time here in peace.</i> ○ Der Ort ist dreckig und verwahrlost. <i>The place is dirty and neglected.</i> ○ Die umgebende Bausubstanz ist in einem schlechten Zustand. <i>The surrounding building stock is in poor condition.</i> ○ Wohnungen und Geschäfte in direkter Umgebung stehen leer. <i>Flats/houses and shops in the immediate vicinity are vacant.</i> ○ Sonstiges <i>Other</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 4: Welche Erfahrungen haben Sie an diesem Ort gemacht? (freiwillig) <i>Which experiences have you made here? (voluntary)</i></p>	<p>Textfeld (qualitative Antwort) <i>Textfield (qualitative answer)</i></p>
<p>Unterfrage 5: Was würde aus Ihrer Sicht dazu führen, dass Sie sich an angegebener Stelle sicherer/wohler fühlen? Verbesserungsvorschläge: (freiwillig) <i>What do you think would make you feel safer/more comfortable? Suggestions for improvement: (voluntary)</i></p>	<p>Textfeld (qualitative Antwort) <i>Textfield (qualitative answer)</i></p>
<p>AUSWAHLMÖGLICHKEIT OPTION</p>	
<p>1. Möchten Sie einen weiteren Ort angeben, an dem Sie sich sicher/wohl fühlen? (freiwillig) <i>Would you like to add another place where you feel safe/comfortable? (voluntary)</i></p> <p>2. Möchten Sie einen weiteren Ort angeben, an dem Sie sich unsicher und/oder unwohl fühlen? <i>Would you like to add another place where you feel unsafe/uncomfortable? (voluntary)</i></p>	<p>Option zur Angabe jeweils eines weiteren Ortes <i>Option to specify one additional location each</i></p>
<p>BLOCK – LEBEN, ARBEIT & FREIZEIT IN BARSINGHAUSEN LIFE, WORK & LEISURE IN BARSINGHAUSEN</p>	

<p>Unterfrage 1: Welche(s) der folgenden Verkehrsmittel nutzen Sie um zur Arbeit/Schule zu gelangen? (Mehrfachauswahl möglich)</p> <p><i>Which of the following means of transport do you use to get to work/school?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Zu Fuß <i>By foot</i> ○ Elektrofahrrad/Pedelec/E-Scooter <i>Electric bike/pedelec/e-scooter</i> ○ Normales Fahrrad <i>Normal bike</i> ○ Bus & Bahn <i>Bus & train</i> ○ Moped/Mofa <i>Moped</i> ○ Auto (PKW-Selbstfahrer/Mitfahrer); einschließlich Motorrad <i>Car (as a driver/ as a passenger); including motorcycle</i> ○ Sonstiges <i>Other</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 2: Welche(s) der folgenden Verkehrsmittel nutzen Sie um zu Freizeitaktivitäten, Einkauf und ähnlichem zu gelangen?</p> <p><i>Which of the following means of transport do you use to get to leisure activities, shopping and similar activities?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Zu Fuß <i>By foot</i> ○ Elektrofahrrad/Pedelec/E-Scooter <i>Electric bike/pedelec/e-scooter</i> ○ Normales Fahrrad <i>Normal bike</i> ○ Bus & Bahn <i>Bus & train</i> ○ Moped/Mofa <i>Moped</i> ○ Auto (PKW-Selbstfahrer/Mitfahrer); einschließlich Motorrad <i>Car (as a driver/ as a passenger); including motorcycle</i> ○ Sonstiges <i>Other</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 3: Wie ist Ihr Bezug zu Barsinghausen?</p> <p><i>What is your relationship to Barsinghausen?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Leben/Wohnen in Barsinghausen <i>Living in Barsinghausen</i> ○ Arbeiten in Barsinghausen <i>Working in Barsinghausen</i> ○ Schule/Ausbildung in Barsinghausen <i>School/training in Barsinghausen</i>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Einkaufen, Freizeitaktivitäten und/oder andere Unternehmungen in Barsinghausen <i>Shopping, leisure activities and/or other activities in Barsinghausen</i> ○ Familie/Verwandtschaft in Barsinghausen <i>Family/relatives in Barsinghausen</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 4: In welchem Ortsteil von Barsinghausen leben Sie?</p>	<p>Drop-Down-Auswahl-Feature: Ortsteile von Barsinghausen inclusive Auswahloption „Ich lebe nicht in Barsinghausen“ (Bantorf, Barrigsen, Barsinghausen, Eckerde, Egestorf, Großgoltern, Groß Munzel, Göxe, Hohenbostel, Holtensen, Kirchdorf, Landringhausen, Langreder, Nordgoltern, Ostermunzel, Stemmen, Wichtringhausen, Winninghausen) [STADT BARSINGHAUSEN n.d.: www]</p> <p><i>Drop-Down-selection-feature: Districts of Barsinghausen inclusive option "I don't live in Barsinghausen"</i></p>
<p>BLOCK – ALLGEMEINE INFORMATIONEN GENERAL INFORMATION</p>	
<p>Unterfrage 1: Welchem Geschlecht fühlen Sie sich zugehörig?</p> <p><i>Which gender do you feel you belong to?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Männlich <i>Male</i> ○ Weiblich <i>Female</i> ○ Andere: _____ (Textfeld) <i>Other: _____ (Textfield)</i> ○ Keine Angabe <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 2: Wie alt sind Sie?</p> <p><i>How old are you?</i></p>	<p>Drop-Down-Auswahl <i>Drop-Down-selection</i></p> <p>(Kinder unter 14 zählen als eine Alterskategorie; inclusive „Keine Antwort“-Auswahloption) <i>(Children under 14 count as one age category; inclusive "no answer"-option)</i></p>
<p>Unterfrage 3: Welcher Nationalität sind Sie angehörig?</p> <p><i>What nationality are you?</i></p>	<p>Drop-Down-Auswahl (inclusive „Keine Antwort“-Auswahloption) <i>Drop-Down-selection (inclusive „no answer“-option)</i></p>
<p>Unterfrage 4: Was ist Ihr höchster Bildungsabschluss?</p> <p><i>What is your highest educational qualification?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Kein Schulabschluss <i>No school-leaving qualification</i> ○ Grund-/Hauptschulabschluss

	<p><i>Primary school leaving certificate</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Realschulabschluss <i>Secondary school leaving certificate</i> ○ Gymnasium (Abitur) <i>Grammar school (Abitur)</i> ○ Abgeschlossene Ausbildung <i>Completed vocational training</i> ○ Hochschulabschluss (Bachelor) <i>University degree (Bachelor)</i> ○ Hochschulabschluss (Master, Diplom) <i>University Degree (Master, Diploma)</i> ○ Promotionsabschluss <i>Doctorate degree</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 5: Welche der folgenden Kategorien beschreibt am ehesten Ihren Erwerbsstatus? <i>Which of the following categories best describes your employment status?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Schüler*in <i>Student (school)</i> ○ In der Ausbildung <i>In vocational training</i> ○ Im Studium <i>Studying (university)</i> ○ Arbeitslos/Arbeitssuchend <i>Unemployed/ job-seeking</i> ○ Arbeit in Teilzeit <i>Working part-time</i> ○ Arbeit in Vollzeit <i>Working full-time</i> ○ Rentner*in <i>Pensioner/Retiree</i> ○ Arbeitsunfähig <i>Unable to work</i> ○ Keine Antwort <i>No answer</i>
<p>Unterfrage 6: Wie viele Personen leben in Ihrem Haushalt? <i>How many people live in your household?</i></p>	<p>Drop-Down-Auswahl (inclusive „Keine Antwort“-Auswahloption) <i>Drop-Down-selection (inclusive „no answer“-option)</i></p>
<p>Unterfrage 7: Wie hoch ist Ihr monatliches Netto-Haushaltseinkommen? <i>What is your monthly net household income?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Weniger als 1.000 Euro <i>Less than 1,000 euros</i> ○ Über 1.000 bis 1.500 Euro <i>Over 1,000 to 1,500 euros</i> ○ Über 1.500 bis 2.000 Euro

	<p><i>Over 1,500 to 2,000 euros</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Über 2.000 bis 3.000 Euro <i>Over 2,000 to 3,000 euros</i> ○ Über 3.000 bis 5.000 Euro <i>Over 3,000 to 5,000 euros</i> ○ Über 5.000 bis 10.000 Euro <i>Over 5,000 to 10,000 euros</i> ○ Über 10.000 Euro <i>Over 10,000 euros</i>
ENDNACHRICHT ENDING MESSAGE	
<p>Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme!</p> <p>Falls Sie tiefer an der Thematik der Umfrage interessiert sind und mir in einem Gespräch genauere Ausführungen zur gefühlten Sicherheit und/oder Unsicherheit in Barsinghausen machen möchten, senden Sie mir gerne eine Mail an: umfrage.gefuehlte-sicherheit@web.de</p> <p>Auch Kritiken und Anregungen sind erwünscht!</p> <p><i>Thank you for your participation!</i></p> <p><i>If you are more interested in the topic of the survey and would like to give me more detailed explanations about the perceived safety and/or unsafety in Barsinghausen in a conversation, please send me an e-mail to: umfrage.gefuehlte-sicherheit@web.de</i></p> <p><i>Also criticisms and suggestions are welcome!</i></p>	

Annex 2: Qualitative Interview conversation guideline

<p>Expert interview with officials and planners of the city of Barsinghausen</p> <p><i>Including a conversation guideline in german (partly translated in English)</i></p>	
<p>Gesprächsleitfaden</p>	
<p>Interviewführende Person: Frederik Rehren (EuMiTD-Student)</p>	<p>Gesprächspartner: Bau- und Planungsamt Leitung Naturschutz-, Umweltbelange; Radverkehrsplanung Bauleitplanung; Sanierungsgebiet Soziale Stadt Gleichstellungsbeauftragte</p>
<p>EINLEITUNG</p>	
<p><i>Kurze Erläuterung der Masterthesis-Thematik & Vorstellung der Online-Umfrage & Ergebnisse (nur kurz, da im Vorhinein geschickt)</i> <i>Brief explanation of the Master's thesis topic & presentation of the online survey & results (only briefly, as sent in advance)</i></p> <p>Einleitende Fragen: <i>Introductory questions:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ist das Thema gefühlter Sicherheit in Barsinghausen bereits ein Stadtentwicklungsthema? <i>Is the topic of perceived safety in Barsinghausen already an urban development issue?</i> 	

2. Haben Sie die Ergebnisse der Umfrage erwartet? *Did you expect the results of the survey?*

ORTE GEFÜHLTER SICHERHEIT IN BARSINGHAUSEN

places of perceived safety in barsinghausen

Fußgängerzone, Europaplatz & Am Thie

Welche Maßnahmen wurden in den vergangenen Jahren zur Attraktivitätssteigerung der Fußgängerzone umgesetzt?
What measures have been implemented in recent years to make the pedestrian zone more attractive?

Ggf. Nachfrage zu Sanierungsgebiet Innenstadt
If applicable, demand for inner city redevelopment area

Welche Maßnahmen und Projekte sind in Zukunft geplant?
What measures and projects are planned for the future?

O-TÖNE (aus der Umfrage) (Nur stichpunktartig u. bei Interesse thematisieren!)
Quotes (from the survey) (Only mention in bullet points and in case of interest!)

Erfahrungsberichte *Experience reports*

„Erstaunlich sauber - auch wenn Markt ist. Gilt auch für den kleinen Weihnachtsmarkt: dieser wirkt auch sehr sicher.“
- w, 28, Barsinghausen

„Man trifft immer bekannte Personen, es herrscht Leben und ein Kommen und Gehen. Bei Problemen sind Geschäfte oder Arztpraxen da.“
- w, 69, Egestorf

„Besuch von Cafés, Shopping usw., viele Menschen haben sich wegen ähnlicher Zwecke dort aufgehalten und so den Ort positiv belebt“
- m, 25, Lebt nicht in Barsinghausen

Verbesserungsvorschläge & Anregungen *Suggestions for improvement*

„Mietpreissenkung auch für Gastronomie, ansonsten wird der Platz Am Thieirgendwann abends oder nachts ausgestorben sein, was dazu führen würde, dass das Sicherheitsgefühl stark sinkt.“
-m, 58, Egestorf

„Mehr grün, Straßenkunst, Brunnen o.ä.“
-w, 59, Barsinghausen, Bezug auf „Am Thie“

„Das Alte Fachwerkhaus renovieren und mit Leben füllen oder abreißen und etwas attraktives Neues bauen“
-m, 60, Eckerde, Bezug auf „Am Thie“

„(Außen-)Gastronomie o.ä. besonders in den Abendstunden und am Wochenende“
-w, 44, Barsinghausen

Ziegenteich und Teile der Kirchstraße

Welche Maßnahmen wurden in den vergangenen Jahren rund um den Ziegenteich umgesetzt? <i>What measures have been implemented around the "Ziegenteich" in recent years?</i>	
Sind in Zukunft Maßnahmen und Projekte geplant? Sieht die Stadt hier Bedarf? <i>Are measures and projects planned for the future? Does the city planning see a lack here?</i>	
O-TÖNE (aus der Umfrage) (Nur stichpunktartig u. bei Interesse thematisieren!) Quotes (from the survey) (Only mention in bullet points and in case of interest!)	
Erfahrungsberichte <i>Experience reports</i>	
„früher bin ich mit meinem Opa auf dem Ziegenteich Schlittschuh gelaufen -aufgrund der Erinnerung verspüre ich wahrscheinlich ‚Sicherheit‘“ -w, 18, Barsinghausen	
„Der Park stinkt häufig, gerade nach Regen. Trotz Mülleimer landet viel Müll auf dem kleinen Laufweg.“ -w, 28, Barsinghausen	
Verbesserungsvorschläge & Anregungen <i>Suggestions for improvement</i>	
„Weniger Müll “ -w, 28, Barsinghausen & ka, 18, Eggestorf	
Weitere Anmerkungen und Kommentare (zu Orten gefühlter Sicherheit von den Gesprächspartnern)	
ORTE GEFÜHLTER UNSICHERHEIT IN BARSINGHAUSEN <i>places of perceived unsafety in barsinghausen</i>	
Bahnhof, Deisterplatz & Kaufland	
Welche Maßnahmen wurden in den vergangenen Jahren umgesetzt? (Bsp. Unterführung) <i>Which measures have been implemented in the past years? (e.g. underpass)</i>	
Welche Möglichkeiten für Verbesserungen sieht die Stadt Barsinghausen hier? <i>What possibilities for improvement does the city of Barsinghausen see here?</i>	
Wie sieht der Handlungsspielraum aus? (Besitzverhältnisse; DB & Kaufland) <i>What is the scope of action? (Ownership structure; DB & Kaufland)</i>	
O-TÖNE (aus der Umfrage) (Nur stichpunktartig u. bei Interesse thematisieren!) Quotes (from the survey) (Only mention in bullet points and in case of interest!)	
Erfahrungsberichte <i>Experience reports</i>	
„Belästigung im Bahnhofstunnel “ -w, 19, lebt nicht in Barsinghausen	

„Betrunkene, unheimliche Männer, Blicke und Sprüche (abends/ nachts)“ -w, 24, Lebt nicht in Barsinghausen	
„Tunnelunterführung und der Kauflandparkplatz ist abends häufig ein Aufenthaltsort für junge Erwachsene, die dort trinken und pöbeln. Die Gegend ist dunkel, weit und breit wenig andere Menschen.“ -ka, 23, Barsinghausen	
„Trinker Szene bei Kaufland und am Friedhof“ -m, 65, Barsinghausen	
„Pöbelnde Jugendgruppen, Alkohol-und Drogenkonsum, Autoposing, Zerstörung von Bushaltestelle, Müll-eimer etc.“ -m, 45, Barsinghausen	
Verbesserungsvorschläge & Anregungen <i>Suggestions for improvement</i>	
„Einbuchtung zum Gleis 2 einsehbarer“ -w, 19, lebt nicht in Barsinghausen	
„Sicherheitspersonal im Bahnhofsbereich. Notrufsäulen. Mehr Polizeistreifen“ -m, 29, Barsinghausen	
„In Barsinghausen fehlen Plätze für Jugendliche, wo sie sich aufhalten/treffen können.“ -w, 53, Egestorf	
„Belebung z.B. durch gehobenere Gastronomie (keine Döner Imbisse o.ä.), die andere Klientel anspricht.“ -w, 44, Barsinghausen	
„Kameras (sofern nicht schon welche da sind), ich würde mich wohler fühlen, wenn es generell dort belebter wäre zu solchen Uhrzeiten“ -w, 24, lebt nicht in Barsinghausen	
Stollenbachweg	
Welche Möglichkeiten für Verbesserungen sieht die Stadt Barsinghausen hier? <i>What possibilities for improvement does the city of Barsinghausen see here?</i>	
Wie sieht der Handlungsspielraum aus? (Besitzverhältnisse, etc.; Anlieger) <i>What is the scope of action? (Ownership, etc.; residents)</i>	
O-TÖNE (aus der Umfrage) (Nur stichpunktartig thematisieren!) <i>Quotes (from the survey) (Only mention in bullet points and in case of interest!)</i>	
Erfahrungsberichte <i>Experience reports</i>	
„Wenig Ausweichmöglichkeiten, sollte es zu einer Situation kommen, wo ich mich unwohl fühle“ -w, 59, Barsinghausen	

<p>„Bei schlechtem Wetter kann man den Weg nachts kaum benutzen: Es lässt sich nicht vermeiden, dass man in Müll, Pfützen oder Hundekot tritt, weil die Ausleuchtung so schlecht ist“ -w, 28, Barsinghausen</p>	
<p>„Drogenverkauf, Drogenkonsum, Durchgangsweg zum Bahnhof, Alkoholkonsum, Hundetoilette für ganz Barsinghausen“ -m, 45, Barsinghausen</p>	
<p>Verbesserungsvorschläge & Anregungen <i>Suggestions for improvement</i></p>	
<p>„Weg richtig befestigen/erneuern & verbreitern. Müll-eimer aufstellen. Mehr Laternen.“ -w, 28, Barsinghausen</p>	
<p>„Mehr Beleuchtung, Weg sanieren und vergrößern, Stollenbachweg wird gefühlt durch die Stadt völlig vernachlässigt, Videoüberwachung“ -m, 45, Barsinghausen</p>	
<p>KGS & Goethestraße</p>	
<p>Wurden in den vergangenen Jahren Stadtentwicklungsmaßnahmen in der Goethestraße und auf dem Gelände der KGS umgesetzt? <i>Have urban development measures been implemented in "Goethestr." and on the KGS site in recent years?</i></p>	
<p>Ggf. Nachfrage zum Sanierungsgebiet soziale Stadt <i>If applicable, demand for the redevelopment area social city</i></p>	
<p>Welche Maßnahmen und Projekte sind in Zukunft geplant (ggf. insbesondere als Teil des Sanierungsgebiets)? <i>What measures and projects are planned for the future (if applicable, especially as part of the redevelopment area)?</i></p>	
<p>O-TÖNE (aus der Umfrage) (Nur stichpunktartig thematisieren!) <i>Quotes (from the survey) (Only mention in bullet points and in case of interest!)</i></p>	
<p>Erfahrungsberichte <i>Experience reports</i></p>	
<p>„ Belästigt, ungewollt angesprochen und verfolgt.“ -w, 42, Hohenbostel</p>	
<p>„ Personengruppen alkoholisiert, die Wege abschneiden“ -w, 54, Bantorf</p>	
<p>„Kriminalität von der die Polizei nichts weiß oder nichts wissen möchte“ -m, 55, Egestorf</p>	
<p>„Im Winter habe ich dort Fußballtraining, der Weg zur Halle ist dunkel und unübersichtlich. Oft begegnen mir merkwürdige Gestalten.“ -m, 25, Hohenbostel</p>	

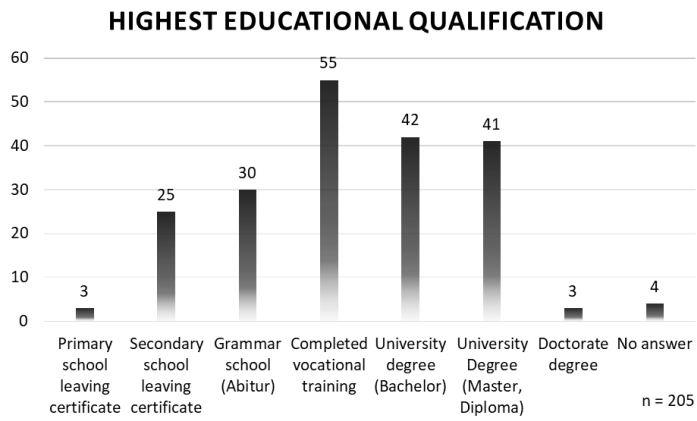
Verbesserungsvorschläge & Anregungen <i>Suggestions for improvement</i>	
„ Mehr Sauberkeit und Ordnung“ -m, 46, Wichtringhausen	
„Weniger dunkle Ecken, weniger Sitzgelegenheiten zum rumlungern“ -w, 42, Hohenbostel	
„ Polizeipräsenz, bessere Ausleuchtung“ -w, 54, Bantorf	
„Auch außerhalb des Schulbetriebs für eine ausreichende Beleuchtung sorgen. Renovierung der Schulgebäude und des Außenbereichs.“ -m, 25, Hohenbostel	
Adolf-Grimme-Schule & Langenäcker	
Wie könnte das Image des Bereiches verbessert werden? <i>How could the image of the area be improved?</i>	
Sind in dem Gebiet Maßnahmen geplant? <i>Are there any measures planned in the area?</i>	
Wie kann z.B. auf die fehlende soziale Kontrolle (<i>siehe O-Ton zur Bauweise, Anhang</i>) reagiert werden? Gibt es hier Handlungspotenzial? <i>How can you react to the lack of social control (see sound bite on construction, appendix)? Is there any potential for action?</i>	
O-TÖNE (aus der Umfrage) (Nur stichpunktartig thematisieren!) <i>Quotes (from the survey) (Only mention in bullet points and in case of interest!)</i>	
Erfahrungsberichte <i>Experience reports</i>	
„ Anwohner wollen unter sich bleiben“ -w, 38, Egestorf	
„ ein Mädchen wurde dort in der Nähe umgebracht“ -w, 18, Egestorf → <i>Anmerkung Stichwort „Medienwirksamkeit“</i>	
Verbesserungsvorschläge & Anregungen <i>Suggestions for improvement</i>	
„den Mord kann man nicht mehr rückgängig machen, aber vielleicht dass allgemein für mehr Sicherheit gesorgt wird“ -w, 18, Egestorf	
„Bessere Beleuchtung, offenere Bauweise“ -w, 30, Barsinghausen	
„Polizeistreife“ -w, 38, Egestorf	
Verkehrssicherheit	
Welche Maßnahmen im Thema Verkehrssicherheit und Radverkehr wurden in den vergangenen Jahren umgesetzt? (bspw. Fahrradschutzstreifen)	

<i>What road safety and cycling measures have been implemented in recent years? (e.g. cyclist protection lanes)</i>	
Gibt es zu angegebenen Orten gefühlter Unsicherheit Planungen, die Situation zu verbessern? Sieht die Stadt dort Bedarf?	
<i>O-TÖNE (aus der Umfrage) (Nur stichpunktartig thematisieren bzw. hier eher auf die ausgemachten „Gefahrenstellen“ eingehen!)</i>	
<i>Quotes (from the survey) (Only address key points or rather go into the discussion of identified "danger spots" here!)</i>	
Bezug Kreuzung Rehrbrinkstr. & Wilhelm-Heß-Str.	
Bezug auf Kreuzung Poststr. & Bahnhofsstr.	
Bezug auf Hannoversche Str.	
Bezug auf Siegfried-Lehmann-Str.	
ABSCHLUSS	
<i>Conclusion</i>	
Gibt es sonst noch Fragen von Ihnen oder Anmerkungen/Wünsche zu der Umfrage oder meiner wissenschaftlichen Ausarbeitung?	
<i>Are there any other questions from you or comments/wishes about the survey or my scientific paper?</i>	
Danksagung für das Gespräch <i>Acknowledgement for the conversation</i>	

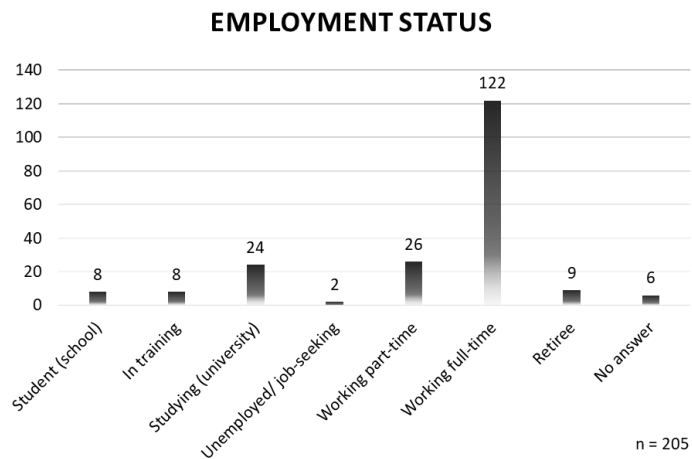
Annex 3: Nationalities of the survey participants (own depiction)

Nationality	
German	200
Afghan	2
Georgian	1
Syrian	1
Ukrainian	1

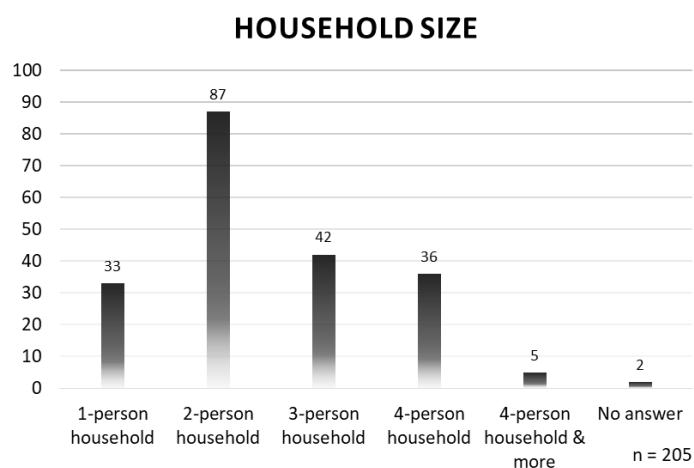
Annex 4: Highest educational qualification of the survey participants (own depiction)



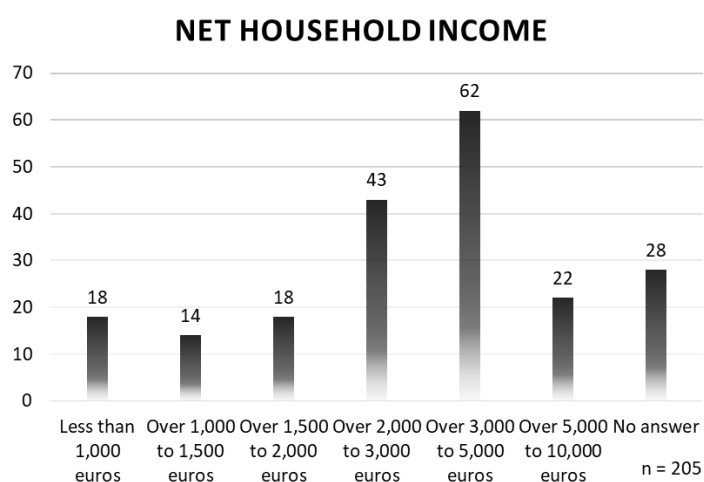
Annex 5: Employment status of the survey participants (own depiction)



Annex 6: Household size of the survey participants (own depiction)



Annex 7: Net household income of the survey participants (own depiction)



Annex 8: Survey participants total numbers & share by origin (district) (own depiction)

Origin (districts of Barsinghausen)			
	particip.	population	ratio
Barsinghausen	66	14597	0,45%
Egestorf	42	7331	0,57%
Does not live in Barsinghausen	26		
Bantorf	16	1250	1,28%
Kirchdorf	15	2044	0,73%
Hohenbostel	12	1571	0,76%
Winninghausen	7	1046	0,67%
Langreder	5	1030	0,49%
Eckerde	4	551	0,73%
Großgoltern	4	1317	0,30%
Groß Munzel	2	1162	0,17%
Wichtringhausen	1	525	0,19%
Göxe	1	532	0,19%
Holtensen	1	255	0,39%
Landringhausen	1	912	0,11%
Barrigsen	0	214	0,00%
Ostermunzel	0	336	0,00%
Stemmen	0	600	0,00%

Sources: own survey; HAZ 2021: www

Annex 9: Collection of newspaper articles on local crime in Barsinghausen (own depiction)

Title (German)	English translation	Keywords	Spatial Categories	Date	Year
Schon wieder Auseinandersetzungen am Bahnhof	Again conflicts at the train station	altercation; conflict; bodily harm	train station	19.12.2021	2021
15-jähriger Radfahrer nach Unfall stabil	15-year-old cyclist stable after accident	cyclist accident; cyclist injured	traffic	29.11.2021	
Messerstecherei - „Opfer“ wird aus Krankenhaus entlassen und bei Polizei vorgeladen	Stabbing - "victim" is released from hospital and summoned to police	stabbing; bodily harm	train station	16.11.2021	
Barsinghausen: Bedrohung mit Schreckschusspistole und gefährliche Körperverletzung	Barsinghausen: Threat with alarm pistol and dangerous bodily harm	threat; bodily harm	train station	28.11.2021	
Bahnhof Barsinghausen: Drogen und Waffen bei Kontrolle gefunden	Barsinghausen train station: drugs and weapons found during control	illegal possession of drugs; illegal possession of weapons	train station	27.11.2021	
Bahnhof: 17-Jähriger geschlagen und getreten	Railway station: 17-year-old beaten and kicked	physical attack; bodily harm	train station	14.11.2021	
SUV verletzt vierjähriges Mädchen schwer	SUV seriously injures four-year-old girl	accident; pedestrian injured	traffic	15.09.2021	
Barsinghäuser bei versuchtem Raub mit Messer verletzt	Barsinghäuser injured in attempted robbery with knife	stabbing; bodily harm; attempted robbery	city centre	14.07.2021	
Frau aus Barsinghausen wird in S1 sexuell belästigt	Woman from Barsinghausen is sexually harassed in S1 (local train route)	sexual harassment	train station	21.06.2021	
Messerstecherei vor Kaufland – Täter sitzt in U-Haft	Stabbing in front of Kaufland - perpetrator is in custody	stabbing; bodily harm	Kaufland supermarket	11.05.2021	
Körperverletzung: Männer liefern sich handfeste Auseinandersetzung	bodily harm: Men get into a physical altercation	bodily harm; brawl	KGS/ Goethestr.	25.04.2021	
Vandalismus: Unbekannte brechen in KGS ein	Vandalism: Unknown persons break into KGS	vandalism	KGS/ Goethestr.	12.04.2021	
Schwerer Raub	Aggravated robbery	robbery; grievous bodily harm	Ladestr./ cemetery	26.03.2021	
Schwerer Unfall am Zollhaus – Radfahrer lebensgefährlich verletzt	Serious accident at "customs house" - cyclist critically injured	serious accident; cyclist critically wounded	traffic	27.03.2021	
Betrunkenener greift zivilen Polizeibeamten an	Drunk assaults civilian police officer	Drunkenness; assault	city centre	21.02.2021	
Mann schubst RadfahrerIn auf befahrene Straße	Man pushes cyclist onto busy road	assault	traffic	20.02.2021	

Zeugen für schweren Raub gesucht	Witnesses wanted for aggravated robbery	aggravated robbery	Adolf Grimme school/ Langenäcker	14.08.2020	2020
Polofahrerin lässt verletzten Radfahrer zurück	Polo driver leaves injured cyclist behind	accident; injured cyclist	traffic	22.06.2020	
E-Bikerin bei Unfall verletzt	E-biker injured in accident	accident; cyclist injured	traffic (Rehrbrinkstr.)	06.06.2020	
Zeugen gesucht: Geschlagen und verschwunden	Witnesses wanted: Beaten and disappeared	conflict; pedestrian & cyclist	other	01.06.2020	
Mann wird Opfer gefährlicher Körperverletzung	Man becomes victim of grievous bodily harm	grievous bodily harm	city centre	23.02.2020	
Körperverletzungen und Bedrohung während des Stadtfests	Bodily harm and threats during the city festival	bodily harm; threat; robbery	city festival	26.08.2019	2019
		sexual harassment; grievous bodily harm; illegal possession of drugs		25.08.2019	
		brawl; bodily harm; grievous bodily harm; illegal possession of drugs		24.08.2019	
Prügelei in der Goethestraße	Fight in Goethestraße	mass brawl	KGS/ Goethestr.	10.06.2019	
Unbekannte randalieren an der KGS	Unknown persons riot at the KGS	vandalism; riot	KGS/ Goethestr.	26.05.2019	
Statt Massenschlägerei Streit unter vier Personen	Instead of mass brawl, dispute among four persons	brawl; bodily harm; slightly injured	train station	24.02.2019	
Radfahrer missachtet Vorfahrt - leicht verletzt	Cyclist disregards right of way - slightly injured	accident; slightly injured	traffic	17.02.2019	
Zwei Verkehrsunfälle, 17-Jährige angefahren	Two traffic accidents, 17-year-old hit by a car	accident; pedestrian injured	traffic	09.12.2018	2018
Jugendliche schlagen 22-jährigen Barsinghäuser nieder	Youths beat up 22-year-old Barsinghausen man	physical attack; bodily harm	train station	08.12.2018	
Unbekannter droht Jugendlichen	Unknown man threatens teenagers	threat	train station	02.12.2018	
Männer versuchen, eine junge Frau unsittlich zu berühren	Men try to touch a young woman indecently	sexual harassment	square "Deisterplatz"	11.11.2018	
Schlägerei in Gaststätte	Brawl in a pub	brawl; bodily harm	square "Deisterplatz"	04.02.2018	
mord case "Anna Lena"					
Prozess gegen Ronald C. geht in die zweite Runde	Trial against Ronald C. goes into the second round	murder; manslaughter; dead woman body	Adolf Grimme school/ Langenäcker	21.11.2018	
Getötete Anna Lena: Urteil fällt nächste Woche	Anna Lena killed: verdict next week			28.11.2018	

Getötete Anna Lena: Opfer traf in der Tatnacht erstmals auf Ronald C.	Killed Anna Lena: Victim met Ronald C. for the first time on the night of the crime			13.11.2018
Getötete Anna Lena: Mordprozess gegen Ronald C. beginnt	Killed Anna Lena: Murder trial against Ronald C. begins			09.11.2018
Getötete Anna Lena: Ronald C. wegen Mordes angeklagt	Killed Anna Lena: Ronald C. charged with murder			17.10.2018
Mordfälle Anna Lena und Anka: DNA-Untersuchungen stehen vor Abschluss	Anna Lena and Anka murder cases: DNA investigations nearing completion			30.08.2018
Mordfall Anna Lena: Die Ermittlungen dauern an	Anna Lena murder case: Investigations continue			23.07.2018
DNA-Spuren des Verdächtigen an Tatwaffe entdeckt	Suspect's DNA traces discovered on murder weapon			18.07.2018
Mordfälle Anna Lena und Anka: Neue Suchaktion der Polizei	Anna Lena and Anka murder cases: New police search operation			10.07.2018
Eltern sagen Danke beim Team der Adolf-Grimme-Schule	Parents say thank you to the Adolf Grimme School team			26.06.2018
Fall Anna Lena: Unterbringung in Flüchtlingsheim war reiner Zufall	Anna Lena case: accommodation in refugee home was pure coincidence			25.06.2018
Fall Anna Lena: Verwaltung kannte strafrechtliche Vorgeschichte nicht	Anna Lena case: administration did not know criminal history			24.06.2018
Getötete Anna Lena: Verdächtiger war bis Januar in Haft	Killed Anna Lena: Suspect was in custody until January			22.06.2018
Mord an Anna Lena und „Anka“ - „Das Vorgehen des Täters ist ähnlich“	Murder of Anna Lena and "Anka" - "The perpetrator's proceed is similar".			21.06.2018
Getötete Anna Lena: Polizei setzt Spürhunde ein - Wo ist die Handtasche?	Killed Anna Lena: Police use sniffer dogs - Where is the handbag?			20.06.2018
Wer tötete Anna Lena: Verhafteter bestreitet Vorwürfe	Who killed Anna Lena: Arrestee denies accusations			19.06.2018
Mord an Anna Lena T.: Tatverdächtiger muss in U-Haft	Murder of Anna Lena T.: Suspect must be remanded in custody			18.06.2018

Mord an 16-Jähriger: Polizei nimmt 24-jährigen Tatverdächtigen fest	Murder of 16-year-old girl: police arrest 24-year-old suspect			18.06.2018	
Nach Mord an 16-Jähriger: Polizei startet erneut Zeugenaufruf	After the murder of a 16-year-old girl: police launch another call for witnesses			17.06.2018	
Nach Frauenmord: Seelsorge für Grundschüler	After the murder of a woman: Pastoral care for primary school pupils			05.06.2018	
Leiche in Barsinghausen entdeckt - Polizei ermittelt	Body discovered in Barsinghausen - police investigate			15.06.2018	
mord case "Anka"					
Mordfall "Anka": Täter weiter auf freiem Fuß	"Anka" murder case: Perpetrator still at large			05.06.2018	
Erste Spur im Mordfall "Anka"	First lead in the "Anka" murder case			15.05.2018	
Polizei intensiviert Suche nach dem Täter	Police intensify search for the perpetrator			27.04.2018	
Nach Mord: Polizei bittet um Hilfe	After murder: police ask for help	murder; dead woman body	Ladestr./ cemetery	26.04.2018	
Frauenleiche in Barsinghausen identifiziert	Body of woman identified in Barsinghausen			18.04.2018	
Tote in Barsinghausen: Es war Mord	Dead in Barsinghausen: It was murder			17.04.2018	
Passantin findet Frauenleiche	Passer-by finds body of woman			17.04.2018	
Zwei Jugendliche mit Faustschlägen attackiert	Two youths attacked with punches	physical attack; bodily harm	train station	29.12.2017	2017
Streit eskaliert: 32-Jähriger schlägt 54-Jährigen	Argument escalates: 32-year-old man hits 54-year-old man	physical attack; bodily harm	Kaufland supermarket	12.11.2017	
28-Jähriger droht Schläger mit Schreckschusswaffe	28-year-old threatens brawler with alarm gun	threat	pedestrian zone	29.10.2017	
Prügelei vor dem Barsinghäuser Bahnhof - Polizei fordert Unterstützung an	Fight in front of Barsinghausen train station - police request assistance	brawl	train station	03.09.2017	
Letzter Stadtfestabend endet im Krankenhaus	Last city festival evening ends in hospital	illegal possession of weapons; bodily harm; physical attack	city festival	28.08.2017	
Gewahrsam, Diebstahl, Körperverletzung: Der zweite Abend des Stadtfestes	Detention, robbery, assault: The second evening of the city festival	sexual harassment; bodily harm; grievous bodily harm		27.08.2017	

Stadtfestfreitag: Polizei hat alle Hände voll zu tun	City Festival Friday: Police have their hands full	illegal possession of drugs; bodily harm; physical attack; grievous bodily harm		26.08.2017
Unbekannter schlägt 43-Jährigem ins Gesicht	Unknown man punches 43-year-old man in the face	physical attack; bodily harm	Ladestr./ cemetery	04.06.2017
Frau auf offener Straße attackiert und beraubt	Woman attacked and robbed in the open street	physical attack; bodily harm; robbery	other	29.05.2017
Körperverletzungen und Bedrohungen bei handfestem Streit	Bodily harms and threats in a tangible dispute	bodily harm; threat	square "Deisterplatz"	01.01.2017

Statutory Declaration

I declare that I have authored this master thesis: "Public Space and the Feeling of (Un)Safety: Between the need for improvement and social appropriation of Urban Competence" independently, that I have not used other than the declared sources / resources, and that I have explicitly marked all material which has been quoted either literally or by content from the used sources.

Barsinghausen, 25th of march

.....

Place and date

Frederik Reher

.....

Signature