In this context, The Hague now profiles itself as the international capital of peace, justice and security. The centerpiece to realizing this ambition is its International Zone, which is home to institutions such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), Europol and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The Hague’s global standing has been further boosted through the Nuclear Security Summit (NSS), the largest conference ever held in the city involving the most comprehensive security precautions ever seen on Dutch soil.

A threefold concern
A greater concentration of economic activities and populations makes cities more vulnerable to security challenges such as pollution or crime (see Box 1). Dealing with these risks is an ongoing concern for the municipality and citizens alike.

International profiling initiatives yield a wide range of opportunities, but they also add to these risks as they have consequences for local economic activity and urban livability. On the one hand, as international organizations are drivers of employment and attract businesses, additional revenues contribute to making a city more livable. On the other, imposed security measures can negatively impact economic activity and livability if access to residential and business areas is hampered. The presence of high-profile security-related organizations can also invite added security risks.

Many global cities today are developing a recognizable international profile to become vibrant and attractive hubs to live, work and play. They maximize the attention they receive for particular attributes such as their architecture, historical buildings, quality of life, or creative industries. Hosting prominent international institutions can also be an important asset enhancing a city’s international reputation. In addition, global summit meetings are now seen as great opportunities for cities and countries to demonstrate their global citizenship credentials.
Hence the question is how to turn potential drawbacks resulting from security imperatives into advantages. One way to simultaneously enhance economic activity, livability and security is to employ smart security means. However, experience has shown that being able to strike a satisfactory balance between these objectives is not always a given (see Visual 2).

Organizing events, hosting organizations
Being home to high-level organizations or hosting high-level and security-sensitive international conferences requires adapted kinds of security preparations, whether temporary or permanent. These may go well beyond what is usually considered sufficient for securing international organizations, as was the case with the recent NSS in The Hague, which was considered ‘extraordinary’ due to the presence of high-profile delegates and to the sensitivity of the topic in question. Given the complexity of the security plan and the need to coordinate the demands of all parties involved, the organizers decided to adopt ‘traditional’ security means such as tall fences and extensive CCTV surveillance rather than adopting ‘smart security’ solutions. Such measures have different impacts on a city’s economy and livability, raising questions about how long-term security and livability priorities can be met simultaneously.

The need for public support
A key precondition for a city to be a successful host is to be able to rely on public support. In the short term, this could mean weighing the pros and cons of hosting meetings that are seen as controversial, witness the 1999 Seattle WTO summit and the 2001 G8 summit in Genoa. The experience from these and other meetings, held in downtown areas, prompted world leaders to organize subsequent summits in remote locations such as Gleneagles (G8, in 2005) and Heiligendamm (G8, in 2007).

In order to secure public support, citizens and business owners need to be sufficiently informed about security strictures that potentially affect their freedom of movement and privacy rights. But given the nature of the security risks, complete transparency can rarely be ensured. What is more, given the sensitivity about infringements on civic rights, such restrictions should be considered very carefully for otherwise they could significantly affect the reputation of city authorities. In addition, while new types of security measures should be experimented with, turning temporary measures into permanent fixtures may be perceived negatively if no compelling reason exists.

Relevance to urban security
Security concerns related to hosting high-risk profile organizations or major events are diverse, and their impacts on economic and residential livability may vary. Such security measures can relate to physical, cyber or psychological threats, or have an adverse impact on the local economy.

Physical and territorial security
The types and levels of risks involved depend on the significance of the gathering, the dignitaries present, and the vulnerability of the location. The main risks usually considered include terrorism, crowd disorder such as public protests, increased crime, assault, vandalism, logistical failure (which may lead to accidents), and even inclement weather. Cyber security risks are increasingly taken into consideration as well (see Box 2). As a result, the full array of security measures that address these risks, could in special circumstances benefit from the support of the military and intelligence agencies.

Box 2 Cyber and Operational Technology security

Leo Freriks, City Account Manager for Siemens, points out the significant security risks to critical infrastructure. “When organizing a major event, many security measures are directed towards ensuring physical security – however, a strong focus should also be placed on cyber security, that is, the aspects of the operational technologies that increasingly automate our critical infrastructures (such as CCTV cameras or access management systems). Smart, innovative solutions are thus increasingly needed to prevent such risks, but they must be tried and tested well before the event”.

Economic security
In protecting high-level dignitaries, the natural response of authorities may be to reinforce security by shutting down some parts of the city, thus reducing local economic activity and limiting mobility. In addition, the investments required to secure infrastructure or facilities may be funded from public money or on the basis of private sector investments (e.g., hotels, IT support, ticketing services).

It may often be very hard to estimate the true costs and revenues of organizing major events or hosting international organizations, especially because the gains generated by a city’s enhanced reputation are difficult to express in monetary terms. The true costs for securing an organization’s premises or hosting a single event may well be impossible to estimate, or will never
be disclosed. But the cost issue can be critical to secure sustained public support, as demonstrated by the outcry over the costs of the 2010 Toronto G8 summit. Recently compiled figures for G8 summits shown in Table 1 provide us with some rough indications about the total costs and share of security costs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Cities, countries</th>
<th>Overall costs (in million $US at time of summit)</th>
<th>Security costs (in million $US at time of summit)</th>
<th>Share of security costs (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Genoa, Italy</td>
<td>100-225</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17.8-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Kananaskis, Canada</td>
<td>127-199</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>46.7-73.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Evian, France</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Sea Island, US</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>139.5</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Gleneagles, UK</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>St Petersburg, Russia</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Heiligendamm, Germany</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Toyko, Japan</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>L’Aquila, Italy</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>G8/G20 summit, Canada</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>883.6</td>
<td>91.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 G8 Summits, overall and security costs
Source: G8 and G20 Research Groups, University of Toronto, 2010

Perceptions of security
Finally, perceived and actual security and safety are a major factor of urban attractiveness and of livability. Among citizens, the perception of insecurity is often higher than the actual level of security thus not justifying such concerns. While increased security measures such as visible protection mechanisms can give people the feeling that all is being done to ensure the safety of both delegates and the public, they can also implicitly suggest that the area is subjected to a massive security threat. This may in turn create an unwarranted sense of insecurity.

Ways forward
In light of the challenges faced in relation to managing security, economic and livability priorities, various opportunities for innovation and to improve the city’s economic and societal fabric can be pursued. In fact, the overall quality of life, image and governance of a city can be enhanced by the facilities built for the event, through the experience of organizing the city in a smart way, and by using new security innovations. To ensure the highest level of preparedness, cities and governments can adopt and implement a comprehensive approach in which security is part of the vision of a city itself (see Box 3).

According to Arjan Jonge Vos, Program Manager Security at the Nuclear Security Summit 2014, “an entire, integrated, vision is needed when organizing security in a city – from the location, to the community, to the interlocutors qualified to select security measures. The outskirts of a city are probably a cheaper location to organize a high-level security event. However the city itself includes social activity: citizens that live, socialize, and interact may be the best providers of security if their security awareness is increased (e.g., to notice something suspicious). As security is just one of the leading principles when selecting a location, it is always a matter of balancing between different interests. Technologies are not the only answer when approaching security”.

Box 3 Developing new approaches
Involving the local population
Generating a sense of community and local pride, and showcasing the city’s capacity to involve citizens may inspire and facilitate new initiatives, for instance through volunteering for side events or by generating initiatives in other sectors. Moreover, collaborating with multiple relevant stakeholders in the organization of a high-level event helps to bring together existing expertise and to build organizational know-how (see Box 4). The successful organization of a high-level event can also contribute to building a positive legacy for the city as residents and businesses come to trust the city’s capacity to take on this role without unduly infringing on daily urban livability, or inviting higher risks. The enhanced reputation of the city can help attract entrepreneurs and other high-skilled personnel. In relation to this, hosting events can be an opportunity for urban regeneration, and enhance social inclusiveness. Finally, media coverage is a powerful short-term return on investment for the city’s image.

According to Marije Meines, Senior Consultant in Public Security and Safety at Twynstra Gudde, “cities need the expertise of other players and additional economic resources. Veiligheidsregio’s (‘security regions’ in the Netherlands) are key, indispensable players for the logistics and the coordination of different security units (fire department, police, medical assistance services, etc.). The national government has the expertise necessary in security and containment (for example, crowd management) and risk assessment”.

Box 4 Involving stakeholders
Zoning and security by design
Cities can use creativity in establishing zoning plans. Integrating security by design can ensure that an International Zone remains...
a pleasant part of the city to work and reside in. Replacing physical barriers with natural ones (dunes, trees, brushes) is an example of how local livability and be preserved and enhanced. Although security measures (including technology solutions), are needed to secure focal areas, the design of public spaces including the presence of clean, safe and green areas is critical to building the necessary level of trust among residents and business owners alike.

Smart security solutions
Among the many innovations that are being developed and implemented to enhance security and livability, new technologies and smart systems offer many opportunities to improve governance and mitigate privacy concerns. Software that generates visual comparisons of proposals for the organization of events can be used to facilitate decision-making processes.

Other technologies are labeled ‘legal by design’ and enable access to verifiable and transparent information in compliance with the law. Some innovations that monitor messages exchanged on social media may be able to filter only suspicious ones only (malware infections, for instance) so as to respect the privacy of ordinary users.

One way to capture the long-term benefits of the city’s experience would be to create a living lab where new tools can be tested, and where security can be turned into a business opportunity. This helps to establish the city as a benchmark for the organization of future events. The city of The Hague, together with The Hague Security Delta have set up a Living Lab ‘Integral area security’ for the protection of the International Zone, which allows new technologies to be tested, and intelligence and operational information to be shared among stakeholders.

Literature
2 In support of the operation, navy vessels were deployed off the coast of The Hague and anti-aircraft systems installed in the vicinity, while AWACS planes permanently surveyed the skies over the city.
3 Nevertheless, the NSS provided an opportunity for businesses to showcase their security innovations, particularly technology solutions for large public gatherings, including screen and detect risks devices that monitor social media, blogs and tweets, and filter pictures posted by the population on site.
4 One example is the mass arrests of protestors made on the eve of the European summit meeting in Amsterdam in 1997, which cast a shadow of controversy over the event.
5 Stacey A. Hall et al., Security Management for Sports and Special Events. An Interagency Approach to Creating Safe Facilities, 2012. Beyond the security dimensions mentioned here, security processes may have environmental impact (for instance, when temporary constructions affect health security or the use of resources).
6 A comprehensive security plan for a high-profile event or International Zone invariably comprises a thorough assessment of risks and targets security for high-profile guests at the venue and their hotels; securing IT communications and systems; increasing access control (perimeter and borders); rerouting traffic and blocking streets and key arteries; and crowd management. There are different documents that have checklists on how to organize events. One of these is the UNICRI’s IPO Security Planning Model. Another is the US Department of Justice’s “Planning And Managing Security For Major Special Events: Guidelines for Law Enforcement”. The EU has itself published a Security Handbook, relating to the logistics of organizing major EU summit meetings. In 2003, the UN created an International Permanent Observatory on Security During Major Events.
7 In contrast, security-sensitive premises belonging to international organizations or governments can also be moved away from high-density areas. Examples are the relocation of the US Embassy in the Netherlands to a Hague suburb, or the construction of the ICC on the edge of The Hague’s International Zone near the Alexanderkazerne.
10 “In many cities the actual security situation seems to be improving (with decreasing crime rates), while simultaneously perceptions of security seem to be worsening.” See Leo van den Berg (ed.), The Safe City: Safety and Urban Development in European Cities (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), p. 268.
14 Malfas et al., 2004.
15 Interview with Leo Freriks, City Account Manager for Siemens.

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The Hague Security Delta (HSD) is the largest security cluster in Europe. In this Dutch cluster, companies, governments, and research institutions work together on innovations and knowledge in the field of cyber security, national and urban security, protection of critical infrastructure, and forensics. They have a shared ambition: a secure world and economic development.

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