INTRODUCTION

In the past ten years there has been a growing interest in environmental design as a possible means to prevent crime and reduce the fear of crime. From the academic perspective, it has long been recognized that the physical environment can influence human behavior. One academic study has played an especially important role in alerting criminal justice professionals to the potential of environmental crime prevention. That study, Oscar Newman’s Defensible Space concept, has become a handbook for police, planners and scientists alike. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) has funded and published the concept into usable guidelines.

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Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design

of Crime Prevention Bulletins: Crime Prevention Through Physical Planning, prepared and published through the Southern California Association of Governments. This handbook remains one of the best available guidelines for evaluating site designs from a crime prevention perspective.

Many of California’s local police and sheriffs’ departments have a crime prevention unit and engage in some kind of environmental crime prevention activities. Design review may be the responsibility of one officer in large departments, but in most departments environmental design evaluation work is just one of many responsibilities held by the crime prevention officer. Providing training and guidance for these crime prevention officers is an important task if environmental measures are to live up to their theoretical potential. The single most important source of training has been the California Crime Prevention Institute’s programs. Supported by the California Commission of Peace Officers Standards and Training (P.O.S.T.), these classes have been held at California State Polytechnic University at Pomona. Training is also available at the National Crime Prevention Institute in Louisville, Kentucky.

In our interviews with community groups, academicians, planners and crime prevention officers throughout the state we found a variety of programs and approaches to environmental design for crime prevention. The initial step in many communities is to enact a security ordinance specifying minimum standards for construction, materials and locking hardware. The details of these codes and the responsibility for their enforcement varies from one community to another. Another frequent and highly recommended approach (often used in conjunction with security ordinances) is police review of proposed new development. The degree of police involvement in plan reviews ranges from voluntary consultation on request to mandatory attendance at regular development review meetings. These meetings or committees usually consist of representatives from each department with concerns relating to the physical design of the community (public works, planning, parks and recreation, police, etc.). Different communities organize and refer to their committees differently, e.g., Simi Valley’s Development Advisory Board, Davis’ Development Review Committee, Sacramento’s Subdivision Review, etc. All of those interviewed stressed the importance of a cooperative approach and extensive communication among all levels of local government in implementing successful crime prevention programs. Overcoming differences among departments was cited as the first and most important task of plan review committees.

Among the people interviewed there appears to be consensus on certain issues. First, there are few readily available guides to literature on crime prevention through environmental design. Second, more and better instruction and information is needed—not only for crime prevention officers but also for planners, developers, public works, etc. Third, police officers need more instruction in reading and interpreting blueprints and plans. Lastly, all concerned recognize the need for community crime prevention programs to support good design and alleviate some of the problems inherent in poor design. No one feels that design alone can solve crime problems, all those consulted agreed that people within the community must be aware of measures they themselves can take to protect themselves and their property.

The following resource guide is designed to fill the first mentioned need. It includes selected literature and human resources. It is not exhaustive, but rather represents works and people we have found and think are especially useful.

RESOURCE GUIDE

National Level Resources

1. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of the U.S. Department of Justice has demonstrated an early and continuing interest in crime prevention through environmental design. The LEAA has sponsored some of Oscar Newman’s publications (Architectural Design for Crime Prevention, stock #2700-00161, price $2.60, and Design Guidelines for Creating Defensible Space, stock #007-003095-8, price $2.95, both available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402) and a recently concluded crime prevention through environmental design pilot project program carried out by the Westhouse Consortium. These pilot projects include studies of two residential areas, one commercial setting and a school. Nation’s Cities, December 1977, includes a preliminary report on these projects (pp. 14–28). The November 1977 issue of Planning (Volume 12, No. 10, pp. 3–13) contains an article by Larry Bell and Kenneth O’Kane, “Portland Curbs Crime Through Urban Design,” describing the commercial area project.

Also available from the Superintendent of Documents and published by the LEAA is Policy Development Seminar on Architecture, Design and Criminal Justice: Rochester, Michigan, 1975 Proceedings ($2.00). This seminar covers a wide spectrum of design concerns including public design, the Westhouse Consortium demonstration projects, airport security, mass transit security, Newman’s defensible space concepts, school security, commercial security, hardware technology and problems in implementing design changes.

Within the LEAA, Allan Wallis has responsibility for the “Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design” program, phone (202) 567-3994. Emily Johnson is the librarian at the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS) where many of the LEAA documents are deposited, phone (202) 862-2900. Some materials are available free of charge, others only through inter-library loans. Unless there is one specific document desired, the best strategy is to write to NCJRS and request an application for their reference service mailing list. The address is: National Criminal Justice Reference Service Law Enforcement Assistance Administration United States Department of Justice P.O. Box 24036, S.W. Station Washington, D.C. 20024

They will return a form on which to indicate specific interest areas, for which they will send materials abstracts and order cards.

2. Another national level organization is the Crime Prevention Institute at the University of Louisville, Shelby Campus (9001 Shelbyville Rd., Louisville, Kentucky 40222). Barbara Bomar at the Institute (which was estab-
lished with LEAA funding) reports that their courses deal with all aspects of crime prevention, particularly target hardening and physical security, and include a section on environmental design, phone (502) 388-6987. The courses carry college credits and draw students from all over the country. Tuition ranges from $100 for a one-week program to $750 for four weeks.

**California State Government Resources**

1. At the statewide level, the California Attorney General's office includes a Crime Prevention Unit. Within the unit, Anthony Francis (335 Capitol Mall, Suite 802, Sacramento, California 95814, phone (916) 322-2574) heads the Environmental Crime Prevention team. The Crime Prevention Unit organizes seminars and symposiums, participates in projects and research efforts, provides information and resources to local agencies, and publishes the *Crime Prevention Review*.

2. The California Crime Prevention Institute offers courses in many aspects of crime prevention including security codes, physical hardware, environmental design and police participation in the planning process. As mentioned previously, the training sessions, usually held in Pomon a, are POST-sponsored. A private corporation, headed by Paul DuBois, Loss Prevention Inc. (Box 613, Sonoma, California, phone (707) 938-3656) provides the instructors and materials for the Institute.

3. Ron Bedford, Design Review Office, California Housing Finance Agency (2351 Powell Street, #502, San Francisco, California 94112) reviews multi-family housing designs at the state level. He agrees with many others who do security design reviews that there are no comprehensive guidelines available. He relies on background knowledge, experience and common sense in his evaluations and finds that Newman's *Defensible Space* is the most useful reference available.

**Local Agency Resources**

Throughout the state, there are many people in local agencies with considerable experience and expertise in the area of environmental design for crime control. The following are some people we have contacted and who agreed to be listed as resource people:

1. Chief James Frank, Brentwood Police Department, phone (415) 634-3518.
   - Chief Frank has been active in the practice and teaching of techniques for crime prevention through environmental design for many years, and his experience constitutes one of the nation's best resources in this field. His familiarity with commonly encountered design defects stems in part from his extensive work with the innovative Fremont Police Department design review procedures. A recent *Crime Prevention Review* article (October 1978) discussed some of the design defects that Chief Frank urges his students and fellow design reviewers to detect: establish a logical and legible street numbering and labeling system in all high density housing; permit emergency or patrol vehicles access to parks and open spaces; require adequately illuminated house numbers.

2. Dennis Dalton, Fremont Police Department, phone (415) 791-4444.
   - Fremont is a planned community with a twenty-year history of cooperation between the planning department and law enforcement. Security concerns are addressed in planning documents, a security ordinance which is part of the building code (applying to commercial, residential and industrial development) and during weekly meetings of department representatives, all new development plans are reviewed. Dalton feels that the review process is effective in the rapidly growing community of Fremont, and that the history of cooperation among departments has generally raised the consciousness of all participants regarding good design elements and mutual concerns.

   - San Francisco, while not far geographically from Fremont, presents a different environment to the crime prevention officer. Here, new construction is largely commercial, offices (often high-rise), motels and apartments. Redevelopment or renovation is more common than new construction of single family homes, and public housing projects assume an importance not found in more suburban communities. Currently, San Francisco is developing a security ordinance applying to hotels, motels, and apartments (projected for 1979 enactment). The Bureau of Building Inspection checks these structures annually and is now consulting the police department regarding criminal security elements. The police department has developed an informal communication network with other city departments as well as with designers and architects and is often asked to review plans and provide design related input. Devine specializes in business security and has many specific suggestions for design of commercial and office buildings.

   - For the last four years, Sgt. Haddock has been reviewing subdivision plans for the city of San Diego. For a closer look at new developments he requests building plans from the building codes division. During this time he has developed his own review methods based on considerable experience regarding design elements to promote public safety and deter criminals. San Diego has experienced both extensive new construction and increased interest in renewal and redevelopment in the past few years. Haddock stresses the attention to street patterns in new developments—long, straight streets often lead to speeding problems while short cul-de-sacs and loop streets reduce traffic while promoting community identity among residents. He also points out that new higher density residential developments (such as townhouses and condominiums) often sacrifice good defensible space elements for increased privacy. Police in San Diego give particular attention to senior citizen developments in evaluating the security features provided. Haddock advocates the "seniors only" housing with highly legible territorial boundaries and controlled access.

5. Gloria McGregor, Director, Davis Community Development Department, phone (916) 756-3740.
   - Gloria McGregor provides the planner's point of view in environmental design for crime prevention. In Davis (a moderately sized, reluctantly growing, college-based community), it was McGregor who initiated cooperation among departments regarding community design. Davis now has a Development Review Committee, made up of representatives from all departments, which reviews and makes recommendations on all proposed de-

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developments before they are seen by the planning commission. Davis has a security ordinance requiring deadbolt locks (or the equivalent) on all rental units and new construction. Another ordinance dealing with sliding glass door security is pending. McGregor stresses, however, that it is the communication and support among departments and at all local government levels that provides the greatest impetus to good security design in Davis. She acknowledges that there are sometimes conflicts between law enforcement’s design preferences, stressing visibility and security, and the planning department’s concern with community aesthetic standards. This is where good communication and understanding lead to workable compromises.

She also points out that planning schools often do not provide the kind of practical “nuts and bolts” instruction (such as numbering systems in apartment complexes, kinds of lighting, etc.) that the local planner needs. Here again, experience and communication are the teachers.

Guidelines for Reviewing Proposed Construction

None of the crime prevention officers interviewed use a specific set of written guidelines when reviewing plans. All rely on experience and previous training in making evaluations. Most officers feel that better written guidelines would be helpful, although flexibility in analyzing each individual setting is necessary. The following is a list of the guidelines that are presently available:


   This collection of guidelines predates Newman’s defensible space postulates, although it includes many of the same aspects, visibility and territorial definition. It is a compilation of many individual qualitative checklists for evaluating various types of developments in terms of design for security. Included are guidelines for industrial parks, industrial subdivisions, apartment complexes, public buildings, schools, public parks and open space, closing streets and alleys, mobilehome parks, second home developments, commercial recreation, personnel training, and building permits and codes. This document is currently out of print, but inquiries regarding its availability and/or revision may be directed to Rube Diamond, Chief of Human Services, Southern California Association of Governments, 600 S. Commonwealth Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90005, phone (213) 381-1000.


   This manual is provided to each graduate of the Crime Prevention Institute’s courses. The sections on design, physical security and lighting serve as reminders of materials covered in the training sessions and in, some cases, provide specifications and standards.

3. Design Guidelines for Creating Defensible Space (National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Department of Justice, 1976) Stock #027-000-00391-8, $2.95 (213 pages).

In this document, Oscar Newman presents the basic tenets of his defensible space concepts. The underlying patterns and factors of residential crime are explored, the evolution of multi-family housing is traced, and specific design guidelines for various types of housing are offered. Buildings are classified by architectural type and living unit density (single family detached through elevator high-rise apartments), and by type of occupants (families with children, elderly, singles and working couples). Newman offers suggestions for site planning, design of mailboxes, doors and windows, construction materials and methods, and gives specific examples of good and poor design as well as a comparative cost analysis for different building types. This and the following two reports by Newman are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.


   Here are the findings on which Defensible Space is based. The study, written by Oscar Newman, involves primarily public housing in New York and contrasts high-rise and low-rise developments, and examples and recommendations are included.


   This is an abbreviated version of Newman’s other work with specific recommendations regarding architectural design, security hardware, electronic devices, and security personnel.


   This publication presents, in a useable format, standards for security hardware, visibility and police access and design and for facilitating territoriality. The guidelines apply only to residential structures. General guidelines are included as well as discussion of specific types of housing (detached homes, townhouses, apartments, housing for the mentally retarded and elderly) are offered. Sections on design standards, equipment/material specifications and security programs are included. Oscar Newman’s influence is visible throughout. It can be obtained from David L. Froh, Executive Director, Plaza One, Fourth Floor, 401 South Washington Square, P.O. Box 30044, Lansing, Michigan 48909, phone (517) 371-1181, $10.00.


   This is the basic research report on the hardware aspects of building security. Extensive laboratory tests of materials and designs are included as well as illustrations of possible threats to these materials and designs. This is a report to the Office of Criminal Justice Planning (7171 Bowling Drive, Suite 730, Sacramento, CA 95823) from the California Crime Technological Research Foundation (7171 Bowling Drive, Suite 190, Sacramento, CA 95823).

   This information is contained in a document printed by the Department of Justice, Office of the Attorney General, October 1978. Included in this
CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

This extensive report on crime and elderly victimization offers insights into victimization patterns and environmental security for the elderly. Hardware security is discussed and defensible space recommendations are offered. It is an excellent resource for agencies interested in providing housing for the elderly or with design review responsibilities.

Defensible Space

This 53-page handbook, written for the senior citizen, advises how to be less vulnerable to burglary, robbery, arson and fraud. It includes physical security (from burglary) and practices/habits to avoid victimization. It is well written with many illustrations, but the typeface may be too small for some readers.

Midwest Research Institute, 425 Volker Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri 64110.

Academic Perspectives: Defensible Space

Oscar Newman's work in environmental design for crime prevention has stimulated the interest of academicians in a variety of fields. The following examples illustrate the range of response to Newman's ideas and attempts to replicate his findings (entries are in chronological order of publication): 1. Oscar Newman, "Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Design" (New York: MacMillan, 1972). He finds Newman's hypotheses simplistic and his findings contradicted by his own data. Hillier points out intervening social influences in Newman's comparison of low-rise and high-rise housing.


In a study of seven housing developments, Becker finds that "residents more often attributed a sense of security to the presence of guards than to design factors per se, but analysis of past and present models of criminal behavior and environmental security (from burglary) and practices/habits to avoid victimization. Being able to identify a person as a neighbor did not correlate significantly with residents' sense of security, but the number of 'good friends' that residents had in the development did. Territorial delineation of semi-private spaces and exterior person-

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alization are discussed as means of increasing residents' sense of community and strengthening a mutual support structure." Increased outside lighting levels and suburban rather than urban locations were also found to decrease residents' fear of crime. Becker warns, however, against designing low-income housing with good defensible space but very different in appearance from middle-class housing. This can be perceived as another design stigma, enforcing social barriers between low-income people and the middle-class lifestyles to which they aspire.

3. R. I. Mayby, "Defensible Space: A Theoretical and Empirical Appraisal" in Urban Studies, Volume 14, No. 2, pp. 169-179. Mayby tests Newman's defensible space theories in Sheffield, England and finds no strong support for Newman's hypothesis. He calls for a more rigorous measurement and definition of defensible space characteristics and notes weaknesses in the studies done to date. He does find that areas with high offender rates (many local offenders are residents) and areas of high social class have high offense rates. Further, in investigating burglaries, he finds that whereas shops are integrated into the housing stock they experience fewer burglaries (being more easily surveilled from surrounding residential areas), and that burglaries are more common on the periphery of developments than in the middle.

4. Dennis J. Dingemans of the University of California Geography Department, phone (916) 732-0794.

Dr. Dingemans has written several articles on evaluating non-public housing in terms of defensible space. In "Defensible Space Design of Housing for Crime Prevention" (with Robert Schinzell in Police Chief, November 1977, pp. 34-36), specific improvements in defensible space characteristics of multi-family housing are called for. For example, less isolation of garages and parking areas and raising houses a few feet above ground level to allow good surveillance from windows sacrificing privacy is suggested. Developers (or development review boards) are cautioned to consider possible changes in tenancy as units age or change management. Specifically, housing designed for adults only may develop crime problems if children are allowed to live there without significant design modifications. "Evaluating Housing Environments for Crime Prevention" (Crime Prevention Review, Volume 3, No. 4, July 1978, pp. 7-14) offers a format for measuring surveillance and territoriality in townhouse developments. Problems involved in applying defensible space design principles and in implementing design changes are discussed.

Other Academic Perspectives

The relationship between crime and the environment has been investigated from several perspectives. The physical characteristics of the crime site are often evaluated and, in many studies, the spatial distribution of criminal offenders and/or offenders' home areas are analyzed. The following books and articles represent a selected sample of these works:


latter. He reviews and critiques work to date on crime prevention through design and develops a model of prevention based on understanding human behavior from a biological and social-psychological viewpoint. His ideas are progressive, persuasive and controversial. Although the book is very theoretical, it is highly recommended for anyone interested in criminology, human behavior or sociology.


Sommer and Becker demonstrate an attempt to solve a behavioral problem (or perceived problem) through environmental design. The effort fails due to a simplistic approach that does not consider the many other factors contributing to the situation. While the city hoped to discourage public drunkenness by making a popular gathering point uncomfortable, an alternative location or behavior possibility was not provided. Furthermore, legitimate park users were made uncomfortable. This study provides a good cautionary note to enthusiastic application of physical design solutions to social problems.


This detailed study of robberies and burglaries in the Boston metropolitan area profiles burglars, robbers and their targets. Reppetto finds that "the probability of an area's residential burglary victimization follows in ascending order: (1) Areas with a highly cohesive population or a concentration of access-secure buildings regardless of location; (2) outlying, non-affluent areas; (3) outlying affluent areas; (4) Inner areas that are not highly vulnerable; and (5) Inner areas that are highly vulnerable." Recommendations for deterrence and planning are offered. This book is a good source of detailed information on these specific crimes.


Pyle illustrates and develops a "procedure for adequate accumulation of statistics about crime so that local communities contributing the information could in turn help design a criminal justice program that would better meet their needs." He examines theories of crime, statistical correlates of crime, spatial dimensions of criminal behavior, adequacy, availability, and meaningful crime statistics, and includes a case study from Chicago using the methods he recommends. The paper is available from the Department of Geography, University of Chicago, 5828 S. University Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637, for $1.00.


In a case study of Tallahassee, Florida, the Branthinghams find higher burglary rates in zones of transition between gray neighborhood and more then within either neighborhood. They suggest that transition areas between apartment house and single family home neighborhoods are especially susceptible, and recommend a very gradual transition rather than abrupt delineation. A methodological appendix is included.

CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN


This early, speculative paper has been widely cited as a pioneer effort to relate urban design to crime control. Angel emphasizes reducing the opportunity to commit violent street crimes. Behavioral characteristics of offenders and victims are discussed, as well as social deterrents of crime. A case study of Oakland, California, is presented as an example of his "critical intensity zone" concept. Angel says that most street crimes occur in "critical intensity zones" where there are enough people to provide criminals with victims but not enough to provide safety through mutual surveillance. He recommends manipulating land uses and channeling pedestrian traffic to maintain safe pedestrian levels.


Stree discusses territorial hierarchies, the ways they are defined and their importance in group formation, stability and morale. He remarks on the importance of recognizing the nonverbal implications of various designs and management approaches. He points out the importance of allowing individuals control over their home environment decision making. Vandalism as a form of protest and territorial markers are considered. Recommendations for better management of multi-family housing are offered. This book is excellent reading for policymakers and designers.


Gold discusses how urban design may interact with social factors to encourage, discourage, or avert violence. He outlines both traditional and current approaches and warns against trends to barricade affluent areas at the expense of social fragmentation and the victimization of the less fortunate.


The study of an upper middle class high-rise apartment complex in New York finds that residents are concerned with security but depend on technology and institutional measures rather than on their neighbors. Few people were acquainted with their neighbors and few expressed a desire to be privat. But was found to be highly valued.


General guidelines to designing space to meet human needs are presented. They mainly contrast high-rise to low-rise high density housing based on New York's Urban Development Corporation study.


Clare Cooper Marcus has worked extensively in evaluating user satisfaction with residential environments. This article contains specific qualitative recommendations for age groups from tots to teens. Many of the suggestions are compatible with defensible space recommendations and since children are often sources of concern, both as victims and perpetrators of crimes, the information should be useful to people with responsibilities in both planning and law enforcement.


Marcus and Hogue address several issues relevant to high-rise housing and user satisfaction with particular attention to family needs. They provide specific recommendations for design, redesign and management.

14. Franklin D. Becker, Housing Messages Community Development Series 10, (Dowdes, Hutchinson, and Ross, Inc.: Stroudsburg, PA, 1977.)

Becker gives a detailed treatment to the images of various types of housing in our culture. He discusses the importance of recognizing the nonverbal messages incorporated in the residential environment and the behavioral implications of various designs and management approaches. He points out the importance of allowing individuals control over their home environment decision-making. Vandalism as a form of protest and territorial markers are discussed. Recommendations for better management of multi-family housing are offered. This book is excellent reading for policymakers and designers.


This bibliography can provide further information on specific residential environments.

SUMMARY

The issue of crime prevention through environmental design has received increasing attention during the last decade. Through state and local crime prevention leadership in California attention is being increasingly focused on this subject.

As more communities institute design review committees with representatives of each agency concerned with physical planning, the increased communication and cooperation will give us safer and more livable environments. Academic interest in the area is increasing and, while research results are not conclusive, they are encouraging. It will require more time and communication between the researchers and the people who carry out crime prevention responsibilities, but the future holds great promise in increasing our knowledge of how humans relate to their environments and each other.