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PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND URBAN STREET BEHAVIOR

ACQUISITIONS

FINAL REPORT OF A PILOT STUDY, prepared by:

The Urban Research Group, School of Architecture The City College of the City University of New York

for:

The U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice



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INTRODUCTION

Three objectives were discussed during the six month pilot project titled "Physical Environment and Urban Street Behavior":

- 1. Design and test a number of action programs that may channel the creative energies of young people and adults to constructive rather than criminal street behavior.
- 2. Provide insights into the relationship of street activities and the kinds of environments in which they take place.
- 3. Develop new graphic methods and techniques for describing information about street activity patterns and street environments.

The above objectives were designed to focus the work of the pilot project toward reasoned judgements about six research hypotheses:

- Street crime will be reduced if a sense of participation in key decisions about the design and management of the physical environment is developed by the people who use the street environment.
- 2. Street crime will be reduced if the environment is continually responsive to changing behavior, goals, and activities by being easily changed in its physical make-up.
- 3. Street crime will be reduced if some physical features of the environment are designed so that they may be readily damaged, dismantled or destroyed (and also easily repaired and rebuilt).
- 4. Street crime will be reduced if the people who are destructive and anti-social

in their behavior can gain a clearer concept of the interrelated parts of the physical systems and social groupings in their city rather than a mental image of isolated objects, places, and people.

- 5. The intensity of interaction between people and their physical environment and the intensity of information flow that is provided by that environment is a better indicator of potential criminal behavior patterns than the conventional measures such as population density.
- 6. The physical characteristics of the street environment (eg. size, shape, light level, state of repair, etc.) have a limited and indirect influence on the kind and amount of street crime in that environment.

The successful execution of the total project plan was highly dependent upon the development of a system for recording destructive behaviors, the construction of interview and observation techniques for recording constructive behaviors, and the determination of characteristics of the physical environment which may be correlated with the incidence of destructive and constructive behaviors. Our work strategy for the pilot project was to outline and test a project plan which would provide a framework needed to carry out long-range studies, proposed to extend over an additional twelve month period.

Following is an outline of the project plan:

- 1. CONCEPTUALIZE Sub-classify and define the following project components:
 - a. Destructive anti-social street behavior
 - b. Constructive non anti-social street behavior
 - c. Characteristics of the physical environment

- d. The general project study area
- e. Specific sites within the study area
- f. New street activities that embody the research hypotheses
- 2. DESCRIBE Collect data on the following three project components:
 - a. Destructive activities within the study area, focusing upon several select project sites
 - b. Constructive street activities within the project sites
 - c. Characteristics of the physical environment within the project sites
- 3. ANALYSE Determine correlations between the way patterns of activity change over time and the characteristics of their physical settings
- 4. CHANGE Introduce new street activities into each project site which embody
 the research hypotheses
- 5. RE-ANALYSE Determine correlations between activity patterns influenced by new street activities and the characteristics of their physical settings
- 6. EVALUATE Evaluate the performance of each new street activity, and evaluate the change in the patterns of destructive activities and constructive activities before and after the introduction of new street activities which embody the research hypotheses

The work presented in this final report is what was proceeding on the first four steps of the project plan, when the proposal for an additional one year period was not accepted.

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1. CONCEPTUALIZE

Early in the pilot project we had to define our understanding of destructive street activities, constructive street activities, and environmental characteristics. The definition had to provide enough boundary to permit the development of tentative lists of street activities and environmental characteristics, but they could not limit the depth of investigation of research hypotheses. Particular questions constantly arose over the limits of the term "destructive and anti-social street behavior". Could we separate constructive activities and destructive activities into two clearly defined categories? Were we refering to the destruction of property as well as injury to people? Are there different perceptions of destructive behavior for different cultural, economic, or social groups? How real are police categories for identifying destructive behavior?

Because these questions link so closely with our research hypotheses we decided to begin our work with broad definitions.

- 1. Destructive and anti-social street behavior includes activities people engage in which are primarily harmful to themselves and to other people. We do not omit the destruction of objects in this definition, however, we state in one of our research hypotheses that the destruction of certain types of objects may not always be considered anti-social.
- 2. Constructive and non anti-social behavior includes activities people engage in which produce some real of perceived benefits to themselves or to other people.

3. Environmental characteristics includes both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the different locations where street activities take place. The quantitative aspects include light levels, noise levels, width of streets, height of buildings, amount of pedestrian traffic, etc. The qualitative aspects include perceptions people have about the quantifiable characteristics as well as such factors as privacy, cleanliness, and freedom of action.

STREET ACTIVITIES LIST

Based on the above definitions we constructed a tentative list of street activities and a tentative list of environmental characteristics. These lists were the prelude to preliminary observations of a specific study site.

The following list of street activities is divided into two parts: actors and activities. We did not consider the clarity of each activity category extremely important at this stage. A single activity will often into several different categories. The determination of discrete activity categories is dependent upon a. how often the (listing, observation, lost readjustment) cycle is completed, and b. the specific data required for correlative tests.

STREET ACTIVITIES LIST

Actors:

people involved in street activities

residents including men, women, boys, girls, etc.
non-residents including visitors, invaders, friends, etc.
merchants including grocery owners, bar owners, clothing
store owners, etc.
delivery people including mailmen, milkmen, laundry, etc.
city, state, and federal agents including police, private
agents, social workers, etc.

resident actors who also work in their neighborhood are one example of how the role of actors will change for different times of the day or for different days of the year

Activities:

doing something with a purpose in mind

walking to school, shopping, transportation, etc.
carrying packages
walking an animal
looking for another person
fixing the fronts of buildings
fixing cars parked at the curb
stopping people for the purpose of hustling, pimping, or
panhandling
mail pick up and delivery
etc.

game playing activities (doing something in competition with another person(s))

playing small games including checkers, hopscotch, pitching pennies, cards, etc.
playing games requiring teams or larger areas including basketball, etc. vandalism including finding out who can break the most windows or how thoroughly can this bench or this car be damaged fighting, verbal or physical jiving, kidding with friends and enemies for the purpose of "putting each other on"

passive activities (activities which usually go unnoticed)

sitting on a bench, stoop, window and watching something going on sitting and talking standing on a comer and watching sleeping putting out garbage window shopping walking and talking with a friend, etc.

illegal activities (as defined by law)

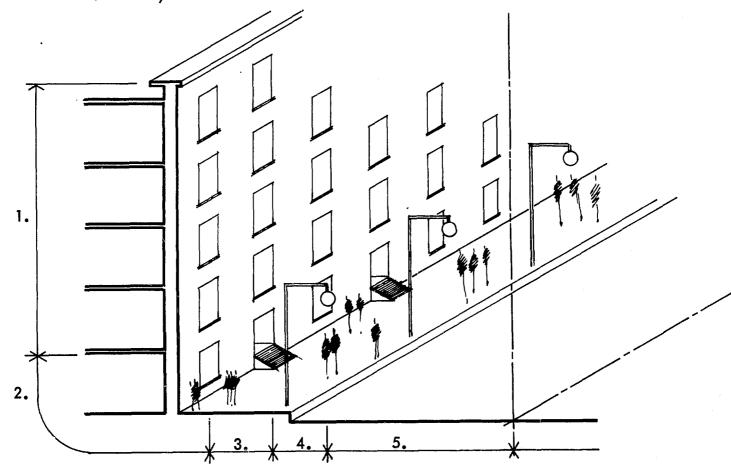
mugging
rape
vandalism (intentional or non-intentional)
stealing
intimidation by one person or a group or persons toward another

ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS LIST

Prior to developing a list of environmental characteristics we developed a section and plan classification system for locating different characteristics in space.

A typical street section can be conceived as 5 different divisions:

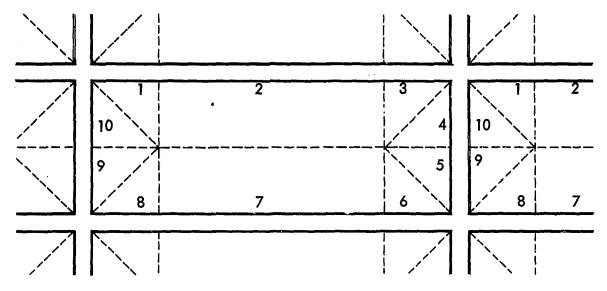
- 1. building face from the second floor to the roof
- 2. first floor building face including any extensions from the building such as, stoops, awnings, fences, basement access, etc.
- 3. sidewalk from the building front to the curb
- 4. curb area including fireplugs, street signs, parking spaces, etc.
- 5. roadway area to the center line of the street



A typical block plan can be conceived as 10 different divisions:

Corner locations are designated by areas 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10

Center block locations are designated by areas 2 and 7



Section and plan location allows us to place either a street activity or a characteristic in three dimensional space. By noting that a particular activity or characteristic is located at section 2 plan 6 (2,6) and a different characteristic is located at section 1 plan 6 (1,6), we can record and map multi-activity or multi-characteristic within the same plan location. If required the plan areas can be partitioned by street address.

Following is a listing of environmental characteristics categorized by section location.

ENVIRONMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS LIST

General characteristics

time of day
day of year
weather conditions
lighting conditions
height of buildings
width of streets
type of construction
repairs or renovations
spaces between buildings
noise
odor
sun orientation
shadow patterns
vacant lots
assessed value

section area 1

number and size of windows building use, apartments, storage, manufacturing, etc. signs on the surface of the building color of the building, light or dark

section area 2

number and size of windows
specific use of the first floor
signs on the surface of the building
color of the building
stoops
fences
basement entrances
width of the building entrance
lighting within immediate area
spaces between buildings
specific noise or odors
building with depressed area in front
building that is set back from the sidewalk
number of alleyways between buildings

section area 3

garbage cans on sidewalk
sidewalk obstructions
type of material
light level on the surface
width of sidewalk
gratings over underground installations
noise levels
amount of garbage on the sidewalk
merchandise on the sidewalk
store signs and canopy hanging over sidewalk
pedestrian access points
pedestrian paths

section area 4

height of curb
street signs and fire plugs
number and type of parked vehicles
parking meters
driveway curbs leading from street to building
width of curb
street light poles

section area 5

width of street street surface amount of traffic on the street amount of light on the surface of the street

SITE SELECTION

During the construction of the Street Activities List and the Environmental Characteristics

List we had made the decision to work within the 26th and 30th New York City police

precincts. Since this study area comprises approximately 160 blocks it would have been

essential to obtain a preliminary indication of the locations within the precinct which fall
into the following categories:

- 1. those with relatively high street crime
- 2. those with relatively moderate street crime
- 3. those with relatively low amounts of street crime

Potential study sites could be identified in a preliminary way through interviews with precinct personnel who would be asked to identify and indicate the types of crime which are most frequent. Since one of the objectives of this project is to determine whether there are correlations between environmental characteristics and patterns of street activity, precinct personnel would be asked to locate at least ten blocks within each of the three categories listed above. It would be expected that a total of thirty areas should result in sufficient variation in criminal activities and environmental characteristics so that they may be meaningfully compared through a number of analytical techniques.

In line with the overall objectives of this project specific criteria for the selection of study sites onclude:

1. Areas to be studied must show sufficient variation in the incidence of destructive and constructive behavior so that any environment changes might result in behavior changes easily detected.

- 2. If possible, study sites should be camparable in social class characteristics such as income level, educational level, and cultural background.
- 3. To the extent possible, sites should be selected where opportunities may exist to impliment the street action programs, discussed in the first quarter report and in the section titled "Change" in this final report.

IDENTIFYING STUDY SITE BOUNDARIES

Since a large number of sites are required for comparison, more clearly defined concepts are needed to identify the physical perimeter of each particular study site.

Two questions, in particular, required answering:

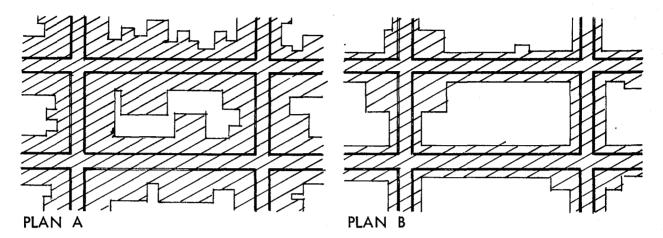
- 1. What are the limits of the "Street"?
- 2. How can we identify the perimeter of a study site once the general center of that site has been identified?

As a solution to the first question we defined the limits of the street as the space between the first private locked door on either side of the street. This space would include:

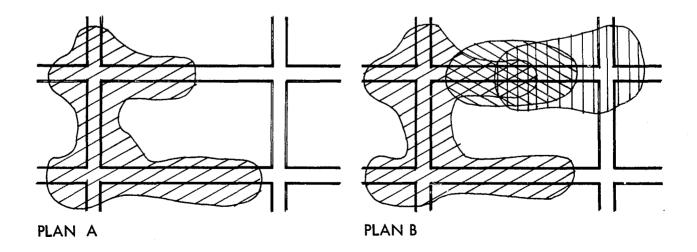
- 1. The sidewalk and street surfaces from building face to building face.
- 2. Ground floor facilities when open, such as school entrances, playgrounds, and side yards with an entrance to the street, private unlocked vestibules, ground level stores during business hours, and alleyways leading from the sidewalk.
- 3. The building faces above ground floor, this would include fire escapes and windows.

Using this definition the limits of the street would vary over different times of the day and different days of the year. For example, a typical commercial street may look like

plan A during working hours, and during night hours it may look like plan B.



Rather than using a measured grid system, we chose to answer the second question by defining the perimeter of a particular study site as a "contour line". The contour line describes a change in the pattern of the type, amount, or distribution of street activities or environmental characteristics. Using this definition the perimeter of a study site would vary depending upon the number of activities or characteristics being measured and compared. For example, the perimeter of a study site while observing only one variable could look like plan A. The perimeter of a study site while observing three different variables, over the same period of time, could look like plan B.



DATA GATHERING TECHNIQUES

From each study site we require three types of data: a. destructive activities, constructive street activities, and environmental characteristics. Of the three types of data the most difficult to retrieve is information about activities. Most of the data under this category is found in police records. We were faced with three problems: Unreported crime statistics, the reliability of reported crime statistics, and the availability of detailed police statistics in general.

A complete system for acquiring data on destructive activities in each study site involves the following steps:

- To the extent possible, obtain area statistics from prior police
 to determine the degree of stability or variation in the incidence
 of destructive activities which may be expected over time.
- 2. Since amount and degree of destructive activity is correlated with social class, obtain social class information for each selected study site.
- 3. Develop record forms for each area which will indicate the type of crime, the time at which it was committed, the location of the reported crime, and an indication of environmental conditions at the time when the crime occured. To the extent possible these forms would be kept by precinct personnel.

A system for acquiring data on constructive street activities requires a different strategy.

- 1. Survey block association and recreation organization records for the type amount and location of organized street activities and participation in each activity for each study site.
- Organize resident and non-resident personnel to observe and
 record street activities
- Organize questionnaire and interview patterns within each site to obtain information about the types of behavior residents consider constructive or destructive.
- 4. Develop record forms for each area which will indicate the type of street activity, the time at which it occurred, its location, and an indication of environmental conditions at the time when the activity occurred.
- 5. Construct a tentative list of street activities and make preliminary observations on the street to determine whether the categories are inclusive of the types of behavior which are actually observed there.
- 6. Readjust the street activity categories on the basis of observations of street behavior and the development of further data requirements.

2. DESCRIBE

The purpose of the describe step, as outlined in the project plan, is to build a data file of destructive activities, constructive activities, and environmental characteristics for each project site. A test case was undertaken and three objectives were outlined:

- 1. Determine whether our categories for street activities were inclusive of the types of behaviors which we may observe on the street.
- 2. Develop record forms which would indicate the type of activity, the time at which it occurred, the location of the activity, and indications of environmental conditions.
- 3. Establish observation techniques and observation schedules.

An initial attempt was made to identify the location of a test case site by running a sample survey of selected individuals in the East Harlem community. We did not want to engage in a test in the 26th or 30th precincts which could destroy opportunities for observations at some later date.

The survey was conducted through interviews by two residents of the East Harlem community.

Two questions were asked:

- 1. What places in your area would you avoid walking through?
- 2. What specific things and people keep you away from these areas?

Response to these questions was divided almost equally between the residents of the community and the people who only worked in the community. In general, the residents

would not avoid any particular area, and the non-residents would try to avoid any part of the area if possible. After several discussions with the residents who conducted the survey, we selected the area of 110th Street and Lexington Avenue as a moderately active and environmentally typical location.

Since street crime statistics were not available to us at this date, we had to rely on the identification and measurement of observable street activities. The observation of street activities along the lines of our street activity list did permit us to formulate several judgements in response to the test case objectives.

1. Since the observer was required to write a short description of the activity he observed, we began to receive some interesting personal interpretations of what would seem to be normal street activities. For example, two fat women walking, man walking fast, junkies on the block, etc. Upon finding difficulty in trying to respond to these qualitative interpretations we decided to deal with four omni-categories of street activities. These categories, described on page , include: doing some activity with a purpose in mind, game playing with a competition motive, passive activities which usually would go unnoticed, and illegal activities as defined by law. Under each of these headings we would attempt to identify activity descriptions which would provide a greater sense of motivational requirements people might have when engaging in a particular street activity. By using this technique we would have hoped to retain specific interpretations when describing street activities

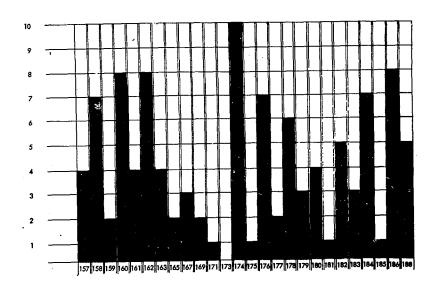
while allowing the observer to use his qualitative descriptions in a more effective manner.

- 2. In providing only blank spaces on recording forms we also ran into difficulty when trying to transcribe the written activity descriptions into some set of activity categories. A new form would have been developed which would have included the categorized list of activities with empty spaces for additional notes. In this way the observer could simply check off the time a particular activity took place or could add a written description of the activity under the proper activity heading.
- 3. The last and perhaps most important judgement which came out of the test case involved the reliability of any king of observational information from an area where many people who engage in street activities are hostile toward beein observed. During the test case our observers used their descretion to either carry a pad and pencil with them or to walk around the area and fill in the observation forms at a later time. With more time we would increase the observation force to include resident surveys, and resident observers in an attempt to average-out a more complete description of activities within the study site.

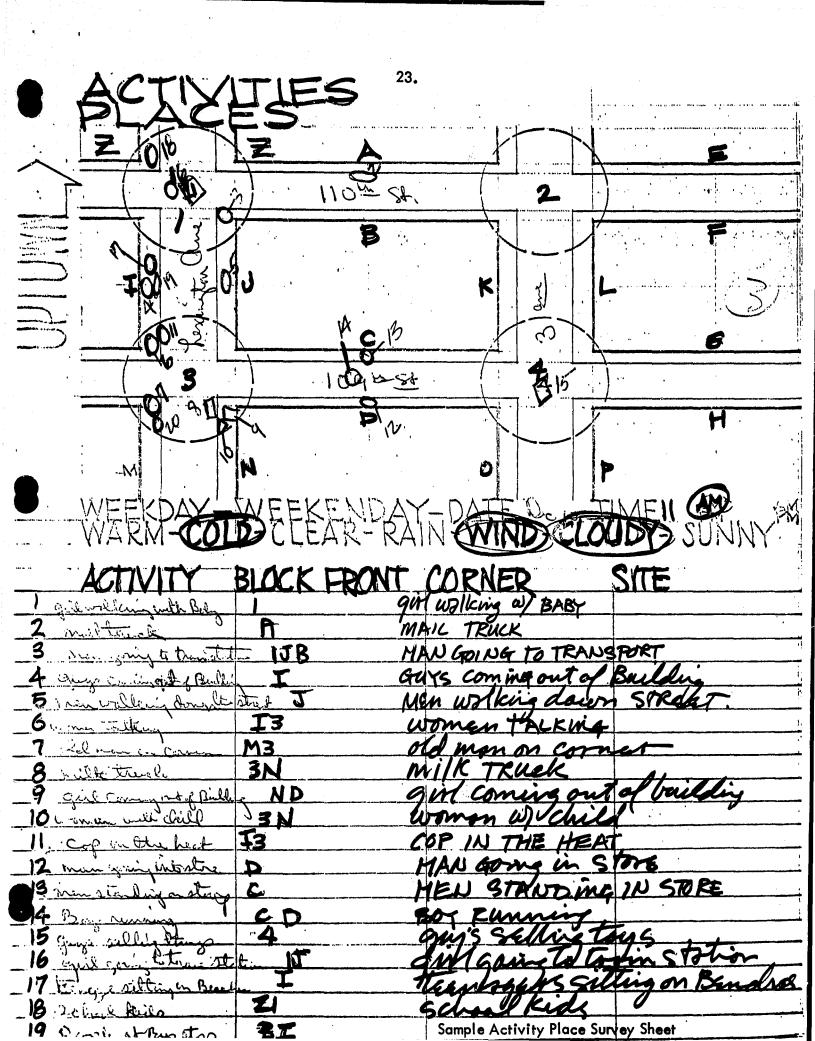
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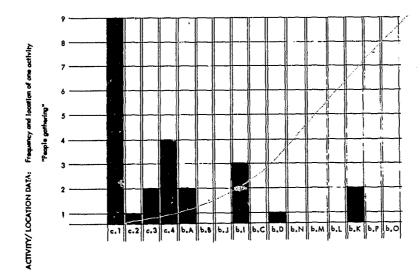
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•	club activities	Γ				Г								2								1						3
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BUILDING FRONT DATA: Frequency of activities at black address



ACTIVITY/LOCATION DA	ATA		what; what street activities take place variables place of occurence													which acti- vities occur	
people gathering	9	1	2	4	2			3		1	Ι			3			r most
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c. = corner b. = block TOTALS of where activitis occur most frequently	41	7	24	19	5	5	6	10	4	4	1	1	1	4		2	-



3. ANALYSE

The general objective of the analysis step is to determine any correlations between the way patterns of activities change over a period of time and the characteristics of the environments in which the activities take place.

In both the first quarter report and the experimental framework report we had outlined three different analytic techniques we would use. These different techniques include:

1. Graphic analysis:

Transparent maps were to be used to plot symbols representing patterns of destructive activities and patterns of constructive activities. We would also develop maps to plot symbols representing particular characteristics of the physical environment. Once a file of maps was produced for each project site we could over-lay different combinations of maps for the purpose of correlating activity patterns with environmental characteristics. From past experience we know that the production of hand drawn maps is limited by the amount of time required to draw each map. Hand mapping techniques are also limited by the number of symbols, scales of gray, and colors available to represent different activities or characteristics. It had been our plan to produce maps for graphic analyzation through the use of "Symap". Symap is a computer program, developed at Harvard University,

for the purpose of producing several different types of maps from statistical data. With Symap we could aggregate data and present several variables on the same map. This process would increase the number of correlations possible with the graphic technique and decrease the potential for confusion when using hand drawn symbols.

2. Statistical analysis:

Several members of the City University of New York, Department of Environmental Fsychology were contacted to aid us in the use of existing analytic techniques and in the design of statistical programs for our specific needs. Due to the shortened time table this relationship did not develop into the operating stage.

3. Some combination of #s 1 and 2:

We had discovered with Symap that we could produce mapped patterns in conceptual space as easily as in real space. Rather than producing graphic patterns in geographic coordinates we could use a two dimensional matrix. With the potential for aggregating data we could increase our conceptual grid to three dimensions. In an attempt to test this idea we set up several test cases using dummy data similar to the type of information we were receiving from the test case observations at 110th Street and Lexington Avenue. By plotting the dimensions of one variable on

either leg of a two dimensional matrix and plotting the number of incidences on the matrix field, the Symap program would produce both topographic maps and histograms representing the pattern of correlation between the variables.

In our test cases we attempted to correlate several of the variables from the following table:

OBSERVATIONS	TIME OF DAY *	NO. OF PEOPLE	NO. OF CARS	SIZE OF SPACE**
1	1	2	30	5
2	3	2	30	2
3	6	3	28	4
4	10	4	20	2
5	12	8	34	1
6	15	7	38	2
7 .	18	9	22	1
8	18	10	33	1
9	20	8	40	2
10	20	7	38	3
11	21	4	47	4
12	21	<u>2</u>	38	5
13	21	1	40	4
14	23	2	38	3
15	23	3	37	5
16	20	7	36	4

1 - 24 hours 1 = 1:00 am

** I = very small (lobby, side-yard, alley-way, etc.)

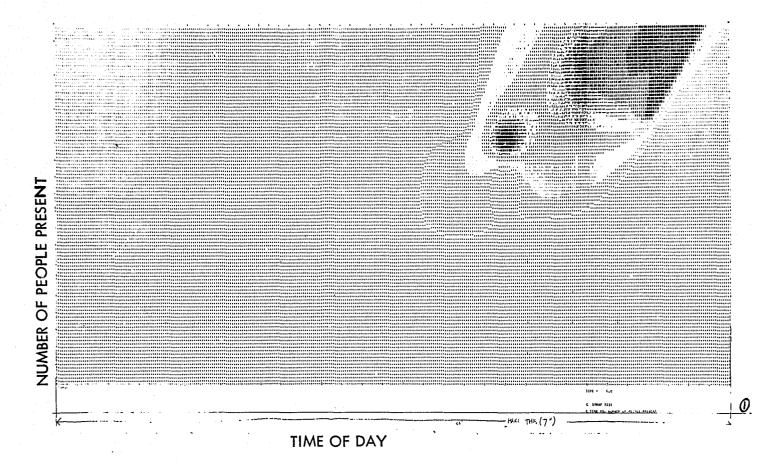
2 = small (vacant lot)

3 = medium (side street)

4 = large (street)

5 = very large (large street, open park, etc.)

On the following two pages are examples of Symaps in conceptual space:



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4. CHANGE

The first five research hypotheses listed in the introduction require A. that people be involved with attempting to change their physical environments, or B. that the physical environment be designed and managed to respond more closely to changing human needs. To test these hypotheses we would have to first select a broad sample of study sites, describe existing activities that take place there, and see how these activities correlate with parts of the physical environment. Secondly, we would have to somehow bring about change in existing street activities to street activities that embody our research hypotheses. And thirdly, we would have to compare how the patterns of activities might have changed after the introduction of street activities which embody the research hypotheses.

Two actions were taken to build a guideline for the future implimentation of the "change" step in the project plan:

- A listing of street action programs was developed and presented in the first quarter report. These programs included, actions people could take to:
 - a. learn specific things about their environment
 - b. communicate information about their environment
 - c. design, plan, and manage their physical environment
 - d. build, dismantle, rearrange and rebuild parts of their environment
- 2. A "community film program" was selected from the activity list and implimented in a pilot test. The following is an outline of the community film program:

Community Film Program

Urban Research Group

Director: Hiram Maristany

Research Coordinator: Carmi Bee

Participants: Troy Lancaster (photographer)

12 students from the East and West Harlem communities, ranging in age

from 13 to 18 years, who have a limited experience in filming

Meeting Headquarters: School of Architecture - 3300 Broadway - Room # Q106

Filming Strategy: The 12 students will be broken up into 6 teams of 2 students each.

Each team will be responsible for filming a specific area. The students will each be given 2 rolls of 50 feet of film for each filming session.

Editing Strategy: A duplicate copy of the raw footage will be made. The original footage

will be edited by the students.

Filming Assignments: Film your area and the activities that take place in it; film those

things in your area which you feel are unique to that area, such as churches, trees, people; film what you like and what you don't like about your area and the things in it; film topic to be decided

by group.

At the first meeting the cameras and film techniques will be introduced. Each succeeding meeting will deal with answering questions about students' problems in filming and reviewing the film shot from the previous week.

The final edited film will be combined with a sound track of the film group's meetings and sounds recorded on location in the street.

The objectives of the film program were:

- 1. To determine the logistics necessary to coordinate the required equipment, time schedules, and supervision necessary to carry out the program.
- 2. To determine the extent which the program is self-sustaining.
- 3. To determine if the participants perceive a more clear concept of the interrelated parts of the physical systems and social groupings of their city.

Although results from this program are still in the final stages of completion, several conslusions can be drawn in response to the pilot test objectives:

- 1. The logistics required to carry out only one action program were complex by our standards. The allegiance of groups with associates and personnel capable of introducing action programs into each study site is a necessary prerequisite. In conjunction with introducing new action programs, study sites could be chosen based on a potential for change. This could mean a highly transient population or a resident population that has adapted to changes in their street activities in the past.
- 2. Response from the participating teen-agers has been highly enthusiastic. The film program could develop into a self-sustaining activity with limited input from us. The use of photographing and editing equipment is an attractive drawing card and could be used to maintain this program for several years.

A final edition of the film produced during the program will be supplied within the next four weeks.

Conculsion

The pilot project had the goal of formulating potential research procedures for the correlation of street behavior and physical setting. If carried forward, we believe that the plan has potential of providing invaluable information or crime detection and prevention for law enforcement agencies, city planners, and architects who have the responsibility for bringing about changes in the physical environment.

END