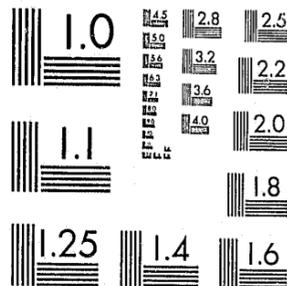


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Union Avenue, Portland, Oregon



Introduction

The environment in many communities is custom made for crime or for the fear of crime. Streets are too often poorly lighted or deserted, doors and windows easily entered, and bus and subway stops offer places of concealment for the criminal. People are afraid to venture out into such an environment. This fear is often most acute among the elderly, who are least able to defend themselves or escape from threatening situations. The result, for all fearful and victimized citizens, is a deplorable deprivation of their right to move freely about the community.

Sociologists and criminologists have offered us innumerable theories about the causes of crime and the fear of crime in our society. It is clear that law enforcement alone cannot solve these problems. In recent years, there have been growing interest and research in the direct influence of the physical environment on crime and the fear of crime.

In 1969, the National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (NILECJ), part of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), began a series of research projects to assess the relationships between design features of particular environmental settings and citizens' fear of and vulnerability to crime. Investigations by Oscar Newman found that physical design features of public housing affect both the rates of victimization of residents and their perception of security. This work led to the proposition that physical design could be used not only to deter crime, but also to encourage citizens to protect their rights and property—in other words, to create a defensible space.

In 1974, the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice began a comprehensive research and demonstration program on crime prevention through environmental design in settings other than public housing. The report that follows is about several NILECJ demonstration projects, some of which are being conducted under contract with the Westinghouse National Issues Center in Arlington, Virginia. The Westinghouse National Issues Center is heading up a Crime Prevention through Environmental Design Consortium of numerous public and private organizations, including the National League of Cities.

It is also about the role that city officials can play to prevent crime by improving environmental design. City officials have a responsibility to find ways to prevent crime. We are all struggling for new and diversified solutions in crime prevention; original ideas are always welcome. The impact that crime prevention through environmental design can have on the safety and general well-being of your community is reason enough to give the idea due consideration.

I am pleased to share with you in this Nation's Cities special report the insights of those concerned with crime prevention.

TOM MOODY
Mayor, Columbus, Ohio, and
First Vice President, National League of Cities

The CPTED Concept

Crime prevention through environmental design, or CPTED (pronounced sep-ted), is a relatively new idea in fighting crime and the fear of crime. While designing changes in the physical environment to reduce crime is not a new notion in itself, CPTED adds to this notion a combination of changes in the physical environment with changes in people's reaction to their environment—in other words, a combination of effective *design* and *use* of the environment. CPTED incorporates physical, social, law enforcement, and management techniques to achieve its goal of reducing crime and the fear of crime. It is a concept that can work not only in housing, but in businesses, parks, public buildings, transportation systems, industries, and schools as well.

The goal of CPTED is to reduce opportunities for crime that are often inherent in the structure of buildings and the layout of neighborhoods and streets—in blind alleys, unlighted streets, and dense shrubbery, for example. It involves the close cooperation of agencies, organizations, and individuals at all levels, from the federal government to the local resident who develops an interest and sense of responsibility in doing his or

her part to protect the neighborhood from crime. In fact, it is only with the conscious and active support of the residents of a neighborhood in maintaining the physical changes in their neighborhood and in detecting and reporting crimes that crime prevention through environmental design can work. A key part of CPTED is the change in attitude among residents made possible by changes in the physical environment; reducing the opportunity for crime allows people the freedom to move about their community without fear of being harmed.

Several projects have been set up across the country to examine the relationship between the environment (used here to mean both physical structures and the attitudes of citizens) and crime, including projects in Broward County (Ft. Lauderdale), Florida; Denver; San Jose; Chicago; Jacksonville; Minneapolis; San Antonio; Portland, Oregon; Atlanta; and Hartford. Many of the projects have been funded by the federal government in conjunction with state and local agencies. This report centers around demonstration projects in a commercial setting in Portland, Oregon, residential settings in Minneapolis and Hartford, and an educational setting in Broward County,



Town plaza in downtown Columbia, Maryland

Florida. The National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (NILECJ) funded the research and evaluation effort for the Minneapolis, Portland, and Broward County projects under contract with the Westinghouse National Issues Center while the Hartford project was funded directly by NILECJ. Both the Westinghouse and Hartford efforts were part of an experimental project, testing CPTED concepts and strategies, which will be completed by July 1, 1978.

The purpose of all these projects is to adapt the idea of crime prevention through environmental design to different communities so that it can be used in other cities. These CPTED projects are aimed principally at crimes such as homicide, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, larceny, auto theft, arson, and vandalism. Generally excluded from this list are white collar crimes such as fraud and embezzlement, crimes against the government, organized racketeering, morals offenses, family offenses, and disorderly conduct.

CPTED strategies include three kinds of crime prevention: punitive, mechanical, and corrective. Punitive prevention means creating an environment in which it is apparent that a potential criminal is likely to be detected, apprehended, and punished. Mechanical prevention involves placing physical obstacles in the way of the potential offender to make it more difficult for him to commit a crime. Locks and window bars are part of mechanical prevention, but equally important are the layout of streets and buildings, the location of community facilities, and other design principles. Corrective prevention is perhaps the most fundamental of the three because it involves eliminating criminal motives.

These means of crime prevention through environmental design are achieved in four ways: access control, surveillance, activity support, and motivation reinforcement. The key to access control is setting up barriers to prevent unauthorized people from entering an area, primarily through making a building or area less vulnerable to unauthorized entry. The primary aim of surveillance is to keep intruders under observation by means of police patrols, electronic devices, or organized programs among residents and users of an area. Surveillance can be aided by improving street lighting and eliminating visual barriers such as fences, shrubs, and walls. Activity support involves increasing human use of an area by making it more attractive. It might be as complex as building a recreation center or as simple as placing benches in a shopping mall. Activity support enhances surveillance because it increases the number of people in an environment. Activity support does not consist of physical changes alone but can also include activities that foster a spirit of community among residents, such as a flea market or a clean-up day. Motivation reinforcement has two goals: to encourage residents and users of an area to have and enact positive attitudes about their living and working environment and to discourage potential offenders by increasing the risk of apprehension and by reducing the payoff of crime. Altering the scale of a large, impersonal environment to create one that is smaller and more personalized, for example, can give residents more sense of community and security. Improving the quality and attractiveness of houses, schools, and subway cars; organizing occupants; or changing management policy are some other examples. Projecting a positive community image to others is a significant deterrent to criminal behavior.

It should be emphasized again that crime prevention through environmental design involves more than physical changes in a community; the changes must be backed by citizens, citizens' organizations, public service groups, law enforcement agencies, and local, state, and, in some cases, federal governments. It is precisely the combination of strategies, rather than individual strategies applied randomly or in isolation, that makes CPTED a most promising crime prevention tool for our cities. □

CPTED in a Commercial Setting

The opening of a small donut shop is, in most areas of the country, an unheralded event. But on Union Avenue in Portland, Oregon, the new Winchell's Donut Shop is looked upon as a symbol of the revitalization of a commercial strip.

Portland businessman Reuben Roth also believes in the future of the strip. In November, 1976, he announced the first major new investment on Union Avenue in more than two years—a \$225,000 BMW auto dealership on the site of his used car lot.

These events contrast sharply with the area's recent history. The Union Avenue corridor is a commercial strip 50 blocks long and 4 blocks wide running through northeast Portland. Surrounding Union Avenue are predominantly single-family residences. The corridor faced deterioration, increasing crime, and a general decline in conditions during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Violent crimes had become disproportionately high, based on the area's share of the city's population. In a 1973 survey, Union Avenue business people perceived the crime level, more than any other factor, to be the largest impediment to the successful operation of their businesses. In fact, almost one-fourth of them reported a desire to move in the next year or two.

Economic vitality is often very directly related to crime and the crime rate. Abandoned, boarded-up stores provide hideouts for offenders. Unattractive commercial areas decrease the likelihood that new business will come in. They also warn away potential customers. As businesses close, there are fewer "eyes on the street" that would give customers and nearby residents a sense of safety. As unemployment rises, so does the number of street corner loiterers. Fear of crime increases accordingly.

Until recently, Union Avenue was typical of many declining inner-city commercial areas throughout urban America. A major revitalization effort by the city of Portland that includes crime prevention through environmental design has begun to turn the area around.

In October, 1974, the corridor was selected by the Westinghouse National Issues Center to be the site of the commercial

demonstration. At that time, although the Union Avenue corridor had already been a proposed redevelopment site (a Model Cities redevelopment program had been drafted some five years earlier), little action had been taken to redevelop the area. Most improvements in the northeast section of Portland had approached the boundaries of this 200-block corridor but stopped short of the corridor itself.

The prevalent corridor crimes are assault, robbery, purse-snatching, and burglary (both commercial and residential). To guide the demonstration project development, the staff identified a number of crime prevention objectives:

- Reduce opportunities for crime and reduce fear of crime by making streets and open areas more easily observable and by increasing activity in the neighborhood
- Provide ways in which neighborhood residents, business people, and police can work together more effectively to reduce opportunities and incentives for crime
- Increase neighborhood identity, investor confidence, and social cohesion
- Provide building security surveys and public information programs to help business people and residents protect themselves from crime
- Make the area more accessible by improving transportation services
- Remove crime incentives by providing alternatives to carrying cash on the streets
- Improve the effectiveness and efficiency of police patrol operations
- Encourage citizens to report crimes

A number of these steps to solve the corridor's crime problems have already begun. A Safe Streets for People project is providing outdoor lighting, dial-free emergency telephones, and sidewalk and landscaping improvements. Also part of Safe Streets are a block watch program and a program setting up certain homes as safe havens. Residents and frequenters of the corridor have participated in neighborhood clean-ups and Sunday markets. A public awareness campaign is under way to discourage people from carrying cash on the streets. One of the alternatives suggested is carrying travelers checks, which are available at low rates, can be cashed only by the owner, and do not require check book balancing. And some banks are offering bill-paying services through which the bank will pay a customer's bills upon deposit of a Social Security or regular check.

The Union Avenue Redevelopment Plan, adopted by the Development Commission in mid-1975, provided \$4.5 million for street improvements. These funds will help construct a center strip, four-lane avenue with off-street parking. Landscaping will lend a softening touch along the roadway. The design for the avenue is nearing completion, and construction is expected to begin in 1978.

The Tri-Met system, Portland's bus authority, built specially designed bus shelters on the avenue to aid the effort. The shelters incorporate a number of crime prevention features including high visibility and adequate lighting. These, and a \$400,000 street lighting project funded by LEAA, combined to bring more people out on the street and into commercial establishments. Another transportation improvement is a bus program for the elderly and handicapped.

Dennis Wilde, the director of Portland's Bureau of Planning, notes that the CPTED program has had a positive impact on the community. He believes that strong citizen support is necessary to ensure success of the plan. "The crime reduction and prevention component of the Union Avenue Redevelopment Plan is one available ingredient but not the whole pie."

In the spring of 1977, interviews with corridor business people found that more than half had increased sales in the last two years and that 90 percent of them had no intention of relocating in the near future. In part, this turnaround could be attributed to police security surveys. A total of 210 surveys (including 176 businesses) were conducted along the corridor. Follow-up work showed that by March of 1977, roughly 55 percent of the businesses were in complete or partial compliance with the survey recommendations. In the first 10 months of 1976, there was a 29 percent reduction in commercial burglaries on Union Avenue, compared to a 9 percent reduction for the city as a whole. This reduction carried over into the first quarter of 1977, at which time a sharp decline, 61 percent, was registered. (Caution should be used in crediting this reduction solely to the building surveys or in assuming such a decrease will continue, because of the limited time period on which these findings were based.)

If renovation of existing businesses and the opening of new ones are indications of a reverse in the decline of the avenue, then the Salvation Army, which is spending \$250,000 to renovate its facility, is giving additional hope to a revitalized strip. The Salvation Army has been joined by approximately 20 new businesses in the last year.

While Portland's Union Avenue might not be characterized as a glowing success story, the neighborhood is recuperating, if not yet fully recovered. The vital signs are good, and the prognosis is very promising. Crime prevention through environmental design is being used in surrounding residential areas in Portland, as well. For example, the Portland Crime Prevention Bureau used Department of Housing and Urban Development funds to buy locks that were installed by local veterans working with a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act grant from the Department of Labor. The Crime Prevention Bureau emphasized that locks were only one part of any successful burglary prevention program, neighborhood cooperation being another and perhaps a more important element.

While the Portland residential program has not been in operation long enough to be declared a success, Seattle's community crime prevention program has and is. Relying on neighborhood cooperation, block watches, property identification, and security inspection, Seattle reports a 48 to 61 percent reduction in household burglaries for participants. In fact, the program has been so successful that LEAA's National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice has recently selected it as an exemplary project.

Other cities, too, recognize the need to control crime to improve the health of urban businesses. Jacksonville, Florida, for example, has under construction in its downtown plan a street improvement program that uses crime prevention through environmental design, which the city hopes will promote greater downtown activity and public and private investment. Improvements include high-intensity lighting, a uniquely de-

signed traffic control system, landscaping, and pedestrian crossing improvements. The street improvement program is designed to allow buses to circulate more freely and to allow riders to transfer between these more easily; it includes a fringe and peripheral parking system for cars.

San Antonio, Texas, the picturesque Spanish town with the San Antonio River flowing through the downtown area called the Paseo del Rio, presents a unique illustration of crime prevention techniques. The Park Rangers were established in 1968 to patrol the river's mixture of commercial establishments and residences. They wear distinctive uniforms and must qualify under the state statutes as peace officers and, as such, receive regular training from the police academy. They patrol on foot and in light boats along the river. Their patrol has been made more effective by the upgraded lighting along the Paseo del Rio. They carry portable radios to maintain complete communications with the police department.

The positive impact of crime prevention on the economic health of cities is a good sign. The fact that cities such as Portland can reverse the deterioration of commercial areas and increase business through a combination of strategies gives rise to hope that the social, economic, and physical decline of our cities can be reversed. Crime prevention through environmental design is one important element in the formula for better health. □

CPTED in a Residential Setting

Crime prevention brings to mind images of police officers on every corner, but the cities of Minneapolis and Hartford have found that these images aren't always necessarily true. Crime prevention programs begin with people—people familiar with crime prevention, people active in their community. Changes in people's behavior, changes in the environment (installing street lights or locks, for example) and cooperation among city services (public works, economic development, building inspection, housing and redevelopment authority) add up to comprehensive crime prevention programs. Two crime prevention experiments in Minneapolis and Hartford might well be called experiments in urban conservation.

In 1975, Minneapolis Mayor Al Hofstede and City Council President Lou DeMars asked the state of Minnesota to use part of an LEAA technical assistance grant to develop a crime prevention plan for Minneapolis. Both were concerned with the need to revitalize inner-city neighborhoods and improve an atmosphere that fostered crime and the fear of crime. Crime was seriously affecting not only tangibles, such as property values, but also citizen attitudes and behavior.

At the same time, the Westinghouse National Issues Center,

under contract with the National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice of LEAA, had selected the Willard-Homewood neighborhood in Minneapolis as a residential demonstration site for the NILECJ-sponsored crime prevention through environmental design program. A close working partnership was formed among Westinghouse, the Governor's Crime Control Planning Board staff, city officials, and citizens. Support and leadership from the city and contributions by individual citizens and citizens' organizations were major catalysts in launching a dramatic experiment in crime prevention.

The major criteria used to choose the Willard-Homewood neighborhood included: the severity of the crime problem, the types of crimes most often committed in the neighborhood, the presence of active community organizations, and the presence of ongoing city activities to which projects could be tied. Because the project generated a great deal of enthusiasm and showed potential in preventing crime in the neighborhood, the Governor's Crime Control Board expanded the demonstration to include two other neighborhoods in Minneapolis, Lowry Hill East and Hawthorne. Planning in the Willard-Homewood area was funded by NILECJ, while the Minnesota Governor's Crime Control Planning Board funded planning for the other two neighborhoods. LEAA funds were provided to implement all three demonstrations. Willard-Homewood is composed mainly of single-family homes. Thirty-five percent of its residents are members of a minority. It is the only neighborhood of the three with a significant minority population. Lowry Hill East is mainly young, single, and transient. The area is one of the most densely settled in the city, with a population of just under 8,000, 36 percent of whom are between the ages of 18 and 24. Lowry Hill East is characterized by large, older houses and new and old apartment houses; 80 percent of the property is rental. In Hawthorne, 57 percent of the homes—mostly one- and two-family—are owner-occupied. The neighborhood is made up of many families with children, 23 percent of which are on AFDC. Twenty-two percent of the residents are 62 years or older.

The residents of Willard-Homewood demonstrated a disproportionate level of fear of crime compared to residents of other neighborhoods. Both Westinghouse and the Governor's Community Crime Prevention staff tried to pinpoint the characteristics of fear of crime, crime patterns, offender-victim behavior and attitudes, and environmental factors that affect crime. Some of the items they looked at were housing values, street and alley layout, pedestrian uses, location of bars, and lighting. They conducted victimization and fear surveys. To promote citizen involvement and interaction, a major element of the CPTED program, they held more than 85 local meetings in Willard-Homewood to inform citizens and elicit their ideas about how to deal with residential burglary, robbery, assault, theft, and vandalism. Residents sometimes found these studies and meetings frustrating. Willard-Homewood Neighborhood Coordinator Van White, a long-time local activist, explained, "Over the years our neighborhood has been studied to death. We want action now." But citizen interaction does pay off. The foundation of the crime prevention strategies in these neighborhoods is built on existing citizen support groups; several strong community organi-



Police officers make a security inspection in a Portland, Oregon, store.

zations in Willard-Homewood, the existing block-club structure in Hawthorne, and the Lowry Hill East neighborhood association. Neighborhood crime prevention coordinators have been hired to keep the neighborhoods in touch with the city.

While the police were not ignored in the Willard-Homewood project, they no longer have sole responsibility for crime prevention. The city designed a strategy that included citizen participation, agency interaction, and the support of the police department. Police surveillance and patrol supplement activities by individual citizens, such as voluntarily adding locks and alarms to residences and businesses; providing surveillance for houses that are empty because residents are at work all day or out of town; watching over the neighborhood and reporting suspicious events or people; and helping to keep youth productively occupied. Residents and business people were encouraged to take a more active role in their neighborhoods. Physical improvements planned for Willard-Homewood include housing rehabilitation, better lighting, altered traffic circulation, and amenities such as gateways and street signs that promote neighborhood identity and positive community image. These same strategies, with some local variations, were also used in the other two Minneapolis neighborhoods.

Dorothy James, the neighborhood coordinator in Hawthorne, says that her biggest job is to convince people that this

time something really will be done about crime, and she thinks she's succeeding. Because Hawthorne is a Housing and Redevelopment Authority emphasis area, many programs already under way can aid in community crime prevention. Close coordination with HRA will be provided by the neighborhood coordinator and its Crime Prevention Task Force.

Lowry Hill East presents an interesting contrast to Willard-Homewood and Hawthorne. The emphasis there is almost exclusively on organization. Lucy Gerold is beginning the arduous task of establishing block clubs in a neighborhood that had no strong community organization. Gerold's work already has paid off. On a Sunday in August when police came into the neighborhood searching for a suspect, it was a new block captain who told police where to find the suspect.

No less important than citizen involvement is city hall involvement. In an interview, Minneapolis CPTED Project Director Sheldon Strom and former Project Director Bob Viking, stressed the importance of locating the program management right in city hall. According to Strom, "the neighborhood residents now have a spokesperson in the city. We can get things done for them that they had a hard time calling attention to before. And it gives the program real political visibility." Adds Viking, "If we can prove the cost-effectiveness of some of the things that we are going to do with federal funds, such as installing traffic diverters [and] constructing alley modifi-

cations, then we can get [CPTED] built into the normal city processes and programs. Crime prevention will be brought into our planning on a routine basis, something that's just not done now."

The three Minneapolis projects were funded in May, 1977 with \$476,000 in LEAA money from the Governor's Crime Control Planning Board to improve the quality of life; reduce crime and the fear of crime; test and evaluate these crime prevention strategies; develop a model process for comprehensive community crime prevention; and increase residents' involvement in the project. Council President DeMars is sure that if the projects are successful, the city will expand and support these concepts when federal funding expires. "We're committed to finding new ways of preventing and reducing crime in Minneapolis. We've relied for too long solely on our police department. The city is going to make other departments accountable, too. This project shows us that the building inspection department, the public works department, the social services department, and others all must consider crime prevention when they initiate their activities."

Recommendations based on the three Minneapolis projects were included in a publication of the Governor's Crime Control Planning Board staff.

Among the report's recommendations are:

- Adoption of a security ordinance requiring residences and businesses to meet minimum security standards
- Police participation in review of commercial and housing developments to ensure that adequate crime prevention measures are built into them
- Programs to inform residents and businessmen of steps they can take to make their homes and buildings more secure
- Redesigning streets to make them less accessible and vulnerable to burglars
- An experimental lighting program in residential areas

The workplan for each demonstration neighborhood shows the variety of approaches each undertakes. Common features among the three neighborhoods are the home and business security surveys conducted by police and a neighborhood coordinator with one or two aides to staff the programs. One of the most significant features of the Minneapolis program is the system for coordinating city and neighborhood proposed by Westinghouse in its Willard-Homewood demonstration plan and the attempt to build upon what already exists in each neighborhood.

In Hartford, a similar program began several years earlier when NILECJ asked the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice to develop a program to investigate how social and physical environment changes, coupled with a different response by police, could result in a reduction in crime and the fear of crime. The project was to be aimed at specific crimes—robbery, burglary, and purse-snatching—all crimes that involve a confrontation between people, often strangers, and that tend to enhance the level of fear in a community. The city of Hartford would work with NILECJ and the Hartford Institute, but it was understood from the beginning that the city would provide funds only if the residents of the area approved the plans. A key figure in coordinating all groups and obtaining support was City Council Majority Leader Nicholas Carbone. As in Minneapolis, a close working partnership and the

support of local government were essential to setting up the crime prevention project.

Planners in Hartford chose the North Asylum Hill area as the site of their demonstration project. This is an area in transition, a residential area characterized by apartment houses, multi-family homes, and an increase in minority population; one that is beginning to see some deterioration in the form of abandoned buildings. The area has a range of income levels and a high crime rate, although not the highest in the city. While there is no new development in North Asylum Hill, the neighborhood is located close to the center of the city and is ringed by commercial and other urban development. The area is also a major commuters' route.

The CPTED project in Hartford has three major goals: (1) restructuring the physical environment in order to reduce crime and the fear of crime (the principal crimes there are burglary, robbery, and purse-snatching); (2) involving area residents and merchants in individual and group activities to help reduce crime; and (3) encouraging more responsive and effective police activity in the area.

The CPTED project was unique in Hartford because it was the first such project tried on a neighborhood scale rather than just in a building or on a single block. A team of urban designers, criminologists, and community organizers arranged for site surveys, crime analyses, interviews with offenders, physical design analyses, traffic and pedestrian counts, household surveys, and observers on the street watching the movements of people in the area. The surveys yielded several important findings. First, burglary, robbery, and purse-snatching were occurring mainly on residential side streets, rather than on the major thoroughfares. Second, there was a tremendous degree of anonymity in the area, and residents were extremely reluctant to use public ways. Third, the level of fear was disproportionately high for the rate of crime (a similar finding was made in the Willard-Homewood neighborhood). Fourth, residential side streets had become major thoroughfares for commuters, dividing and disturbing the neighborhood. Fifth, most offenders in the area did not live there but traveled from adjacent areas. And finally, the police had done all they could on the crime problem; a new approach was needed.

To help restore the residential character of the neighborhood and give residents more control over and pride in their area, the team focused on changing traffic patterns by closing some streets, narrowing entrances to others, and converting some to one-way. The role of the residents was enhanced by the creation of two new community organizations and the strengthening of a third, existing group. The citizens' groups and a Police Advisory Committee (which included representatives from the citizens' organizations and police) also helped greatly in establishing communication among the project directors, the police, the city, and the citizens. The Hartford Police Department was "extremely cooperative," reports a project team member, in agreeing to assign permanent police teams to an area to foster a cooperative attitude between police and residents and to enable the police to understand better the needs and concerns of the residents.

Citizen support was the key to all these plans since, without it, there would have been no local program funding. The actual

changes made, after discussions with residents, were quite different from those designated by planners, but they represented a workable compromise which was completely carried out in summer, 1976. The city council voted to fund the project through CETA and community development funds. Evaluation of the project is now under way.

The Hartford experience pointed out several important points which should be considered in any area planning a CPTED approach to crime prevention. First, it is important to develop among residents an understanding of what the problems are and what solutions are proposed. Second, it also is important to involve the police in the planning process and to have the support of the local government. Finally, the lesson learned in both Minneapolis and Hartford is that each area is unique, and solutions must be addressed to a given community.

Residential crime prevention through environmental design is catching on in other cities as well. Inglewood, California, has just begun a program to include security planning in all new commercial, residential, and recreational buildings. Cincinnati has incorporated security improvements and renovations into a public housing project. Boston has a similar project in public housing with the added objective of increasing tenant involvement and concern about crime control. Coordination of city services and involvement of neighborhood residents may not be panacea. But our frustrated attempts to control crime through law enforcement and our inability to prevent crime through the improvement of social and economic conditions may lead to the conclusion that CPTED is the best way for city government to decrease the crime rate. □

CPTED in Schools

"Far too often, youngsters arriving at our public schools today are faced with an environment dominated by fear, destruction, and chaos. . . . The primary concern in many modern American schools is no longer education but preservation." Thus concluded Senator Birch Bayh, former chairman of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, in reviewing the results of his subcommittee's investigation of the juvenile delinquency problem. Included in that investigation were a nationwide survey and a series of public hearings on school violence and vandalism. Statistics collected by the subcommittee highlight the extent of the problem. Between 1970 and 1973:

- School-related homicides increased 18.5 percent.
- Robberies increased 36.7 percent.
- Rapes and attempted rapes increased 40.1 percent.
- Assaults on students increased 85.3 percent.
- Assaults on teachers increased 77.4 percent.
- Burglaries of buildings increased 11.8 percent.
- Drug and alcohol offenses on school property increased 37.5 percent.

Most disturbing is the increase in the number of dangerous and deadly weapons on campus. Cleveland City Council Member John Barnes estimated on the basis of a random sampling that there could be as many as 350 Saturday night spears in just five of his city's high schools on any given day.

Testimony during the subcommittee hearings from teachers and administrators dispelled the popular notion that school violence and vandalism are found only in large metropolitan and inner-city schools. Affluent and rural communities reported that they, too, experience escalating problems with drugs, weapons, violence, and vandalism. While not every school suffers from serious violence and vandalism problems, no school can afford to think that "it can't happen here."

The effects of such incidents—increased fear among students and teachers and the consequent decline on morale and the quality of education—are debilitating. A Philadelphia study found that 54 percent of all boys thought the streets to and from school were dangerous; 44 percent rated school yards as dangerous; 21 percent thought school rooms were dangerous. A significant portion of the soaring absentee rates (for example, on any given day 200,000 of New York City's 1.1 million students, or 18 percent, are absent) can be attributed to fear of violence.

Estimated nationwide losses for school thefts, vandalism, burglary, and arson are enormous—\$590 million in fiscal 1975 alone, more than was spent on textbooks. "My system suffered \$3.5 million in property losses alone in 1974," said Dr. Manford Byrd, deputy superintendent of schools in Chicago, "to which can be added \$3.2 million for our security programs and \$3 million for watchman services. This \$10 million must be taken from funds that would otherwise be available for education programs at a time when funds for education are severely limited."

Vandalism has its hidden costs as well. One is the increasing price a school district is forced to pay for insurance coverage with larger deductibles. Other hidden costs are reflected in the



Cheerleaders at Boyd Anderson High School practice their routines in a patio built as part of a crime prevention project.



A teacher lectures in front of an observation window placed in the wall of a Broward County high school classroom as part of a crime prevention project.

inventories of paint, glass, and other repair tools and materials that must be kept on hand. Perhaps the worst cost is the interference with the teaching program caused by the destruction of equipment and supplies.

The need to restore personal security and a safer environment in our schools is obvious. A most encouraging sign is the number of crime prevention programs being put in place by schools across the country. Many of these schools are incorporating CPTED strategies.

The CPTED demonstration program, developed by the Westinghouse National Issues Center for NILECJ in four Broward County, Florida, high schools, addresses four distinct concerns: property protection, personal defense, educational policy, and restoring confidence. Within these broad concerns, each strategy is designed to treat crimes and fears specific to each school's environment: breaking and entering in parking lots, assaults in restrooms, and vandalism in corridors, for example.

To protect property, the CPTED program has tried to increase surveillance of school grounds, equipment areas, student lockers, and other areas. Surveillance devices, such as audio burglar alarms, are used during nonschool hours, and the use of some parts of buildings is limited because of high crime rates. For example, locker rooms are kept locked except at the beginning and end of each class period, some parking lots are locked throughout the school day, and vulnerable areas such as bicycle compounds are located in easily observed areas.

To improve personal security, the program is increasing "natural surveillance" by putting windows in corridors and classroom doors, promoting self-policing programs, reducing or eliminating causes of congestion in crowded areas, controlling access to various areas, and trying to foster a sense of belonging to and responsibility for the school environment.

The educational policy component of the CPTED program involves instilling a sense of responsibility in teachers, students, and administrators, primarily with respect to security

problems but also with respect to identifying and helping students who may be having problems adapting to the school environment. School security staff members are also being used to prevent, report, and investigate behavior problems, and students and teachers are helping in providing active surveillance of school property. Scheduling activities in otherwise little-used areas increases natural surveillance, thereby lessening the fear of using those areas.

To restore confidence, the program is encouraging activities within schools that increase community involvement and support for CPTED educational priorities, enhance school pride, and improve and humanize the physical quality and image of the school buildings. These strategies are designed to provide uses of school facilities that attract public involvement; promote public awareness of school, faculty, and student achievements; develop extracurricular activities that encourage social interaction by all segments of the student population; and allow for informal social activities away from unsafe and unsupervised areas.

By itself, each change in the school's environmental design or use can have only a limited impact. Taken together, however, they can have far-reaching changes, one of which is a change in attitude.

Broward County students and teachers were surveyed to determine the incidence of crime and the fear it generated. This information serves as baseline data for future comparisons. According to the survey, the most crime-prone areas in the schools were parking lots, classrooms, locker areas, restrooms, and corridors. The major crimes: theft, assault, rape, breaking and entering, vandalism, and extortion. With these survey results in mind, the schools set about making some changes. An empty, unused courtyard is being transformed into a mini-plaza to attract informal social activities away from unsafe and unsupervised areas. An LEAA grant is paying for this transformation. Aesthetically pleasing hedges and wood pole gates were installed around parking lots to define boundaries, control access by cars, and improve parking lot surveillance. Buses were rerouted to reduce the congestion, which often led to incidents of crime. Fear-producing areas such as restrooms, stairwells, and unused corridors, were redesigned to make surveillance easier. Portable two-way radios were given to school staff to enable rapid response to problems and improve communications.

A continuing evaluation of Broward County's CPTED program has implications for school districts throughout the nation. There are encouraging signs that other school districts are ready to use the lessons.

Since most vandalism takes place when the schools are unoccupied, one way to reduce opportunities for crime is by increasing the use of school buildings in evenings and on weekends. Adult education classes, parent effectiveness classes, recreation programs, and student hobby programs are some ways to expand usage.

Financially strapped schools may want to consider the unusual approach taken by San Antonio. During closed hours, all the lights of the school are turned off. According to Sam Wolf, director of safety and security services, "A lighted school is to kids what a lighted candle is to moths—it attracts them." He decided to test this idea as a way to reduce the city's annual

burglary and vandalism toll (\$157,435 in 1972). Despite some initial confusion that resulted in helpful citizens calling him during the night to suggest that burglars were turning out all the lights or that there must be a power failure at the school, the experiment resulted in a 31 percent decrease in the costs of repairing vandalism, with a savings of \$45,000 after three months. An additional \$90,000 in utility costs was saved during the same period. In five years this blackout policy has reduced vandalism and burglary by 66 to 80 percent.

Modern technology eased at least three problems in Washington, D.C., where the number of broken window panes dropped from 47,000 in 1973 to 24,000 in 1976 following the replacement of glass panes with plastic. Nonporous epoxy paints that are resistant to most writing materials and relatively easy to clean provided a partial solution to the recurring problem of graffiti on walls. Computerized serial numbers placed on school equipment helped police uncover fencing operations and recover \$30,000 worth of materials.

CPTED calls for school policies to encourage student involvement and participation. If students develop a proprietary interest in their schools, they are more likely to want to preserve and defend them. In a successful program in San Francisco, students are told that any money not spent to repair damages during the year may be spent by them for anything they want, within reason, at year's end.

The charge of our educational system, we must remember, is to establish an atmosphere in which education can best take place. Accelerating crime and vandalism have crippled this mission, but so have outmoded education policies and practices. A proper learning environment is designed to facilitate involvement and not to frustrate it.

School property and structures are much safer these days, thanks in part to the surveillance of human and electronic eyes and ears. The key to preventing crime involves a combination of physical design, community organization, citizen action, and law enforcement. Programs having elements of participation and interaction succeed because they develop a proprietary interest in the school and a concern about what happens to it. □

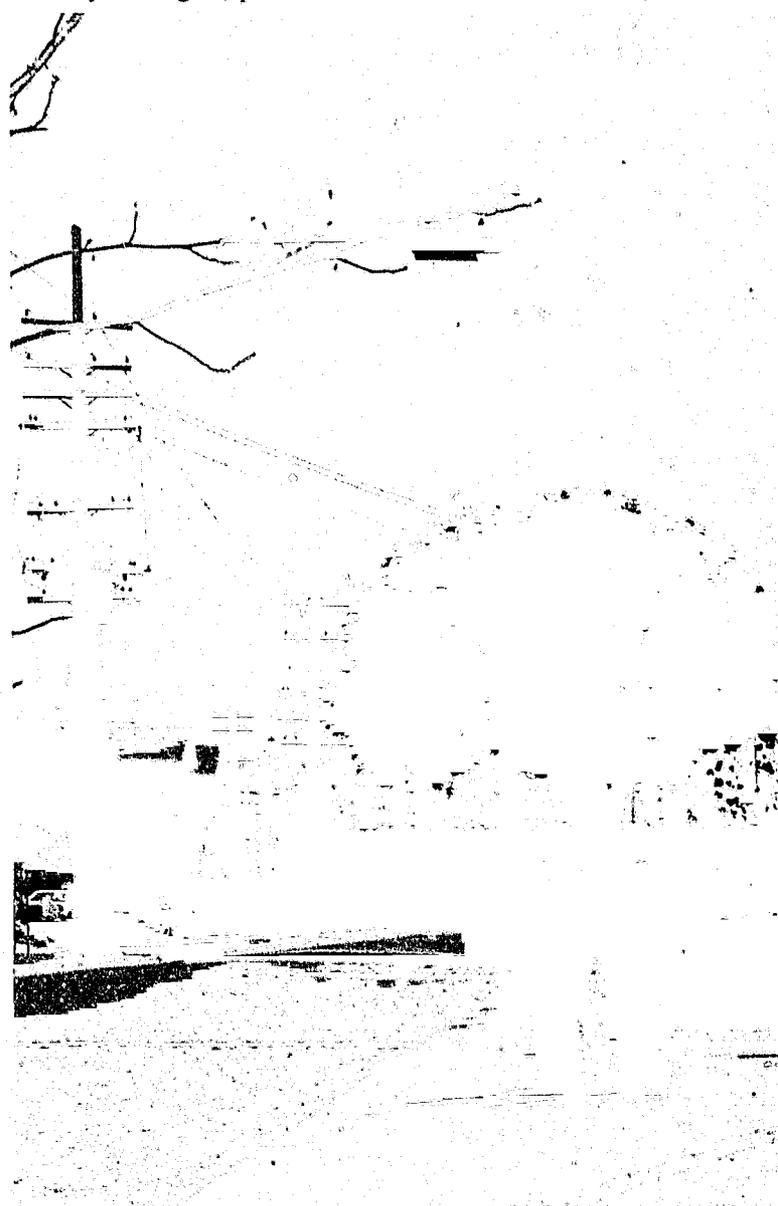
CPTED and Street Lights

Street lighting is one of the major physical strategies in many CPTED programs for both residential and commercial areas. Preliminary results of a NILECJ-sponsored national evaluation in 15 projects across the country indicate that increasing street lighting reduces the fear of crime. There is also some indication that, all other things being equal, people feel safer at night in streets with more uniform lighting levels; however, the actual effects of lighting on the rate of crime are as yet undetermined. The 15 projects yielded some other interesting results. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, found that the

new street lighting improved the reaction time of police, as well as their ability to "cover" fellow officers and to identify suspects. Milwaukee police also reported that new lighting made their patrol more effective. An LEAA-funded street lighting project in the Capitol Hill section of Denver has proven particularly successful. Although this district included only 2 percent of Denver's land area and only 8 percent of the city's residents, the area was the site of 25 percent of the city's rapes, 21 percent of the robberies, 13 percent of the burglaries, and 12 percent of the aggravated assaults.

The characteristics of Denver's Capitol Hill made it an ideal site for the project. Earlier, the area was lighted only minimally by street lights located at the corners of 600-foot-long blocks although it was an area heavily used by pedestrians at night. This lighting was rendered even less useful by tall trees lining the sidewalks. The area is active at night, with many businesses located along a major thoroughfare in the center of the district. The population is made up largely of young and mobile residents, but contains a large concentration of older citizens.

Thirty-foot lights, placed mid-block and on the corners,



made a substantial difference in the attitudes of residents of the area. A survey of citizens showed that most felt safer in the area following the installation of the street lights; some even said they now went out more at night because of the lights. Another immediate result was a reduction in violent crime. A less tangible benefit is the fact that the lights made other crime prevention methods possible: for example, a new motorcycle police patrol is more visible and, therefore, more effective. □

CPTED and Mass Transit

Critics did not hesitate to express skepticism about safety in the newly opened Metro, Washington, D.C.'s subway system. They speculated that the crime rate would result in low ridership and questioned the possibility of establishing a safe, crime-free environment in the subway. These critics have been proved remarkably wrong. During the first year of operation, just ended, Metro experienced only 46 incidents of crime involving minor offenses.

Metro's success represents a perfect illustration of the CPTED concept in operation. After visiting the world's major mass transit systems to compile workable ideas, Metro architects determined that one of their concerns in planning and designing the transit system would be to achieve a sense of well-being in the environment. As a result, Metro was designed to instill a sense of security in its riders as well as to minimize opportunities for crime.

Metro architects hoped to diminish people's fear of going underground by creating a spacious environment in which passengers would be able to see everything. A minimum of columns and centrally located attendants' booths help this wide-open design to offer the rider almost complete visibility throughout the station. In addition, there are no long passageways; instead, the route between surface and station is relatively short so that riders do not lose their orientation once they are underground. The absence of long passages also discourages people from lingering after trains have departed.

Metro stations are virtually free of hiding places where criminals might conceal themselves. The installation of indirect, soft lighting provides ample illumination of stations and, at the same time, reduces glare and eliminates shadows. Finally, because of the criminal activity public bathrooms tend to foster in subways (across the nation they have been closed) Metro opens public bathrooms only on request.

In areas where the system is in full operation, how does Metro plan to protect its stations and facilities? Metro Security Director Angus B. McLean says that "there is no substitute for manpower." During the first phase of the Metro security program, uniformed transit police heavily staffed all trains. "Our objective," McLean continues, "is to prevent crime from occurring. We have to demonstrate to potential

offenders that they have little chance of getting away should they decide to commit a crime." According to the study *Improvement of Mass Transit Security in Chicago*, "potential offenders do in fact try to estimate the risks of criminal activity and are deterred if they perceive an increased threat of apprehension. . . ." This is precisely what Metro security officials plan to do—increase the risk to criminals.

Metro has also developed a sophisticated communications system that connects its station attendants and police to the operations control center. The control center, in turn, can communicate directly with all local police, fire, and rescue teams in case of an emergency. Closed-circuit television cameras placed in blind spots can be monitored from the attendants' booths. These are only two examples of crime prevention design concepts that have been successfully demonstrated in the Metro system. Metro's overall success in preventing crime is substantial proof that with sufficient, effective manpower and planned architectural design, environments can be made safe. □

CPTED and Public Works Departments

The public works department must be a partner in the development of an urban or suburban CPTED program. This department has the responsibility for the planning, construction, and maintenance of many of the physical strategies included in a CPTED effort. In addition, building inspection is often part of public works and should include a review of crime prevention barriers as part of the normal inspection of renovated or rehabilitated premises. Public works personnel provide a practical point of view in CPTED program planning and implementation. They may be able to identify potential impacts of CPTED strategies on municipal services; street closings, for example, may require rerouting of refuse pick-up trucks. Public works' involvement during design and engineering of a CPTED physical strategy may help reduce the ultimate costs of strategies since crime prevention can be introduced at the outset of a public works project at no additional or modest cost. But perhaps the most conspicuous opportunity for public works in crime prevention through environmental design is through the building inspection program. Many cities are developing security checklists to aid building inspectors. At present, compliance with security improvement suggestions is usually voluntary. In the future, it is likely that a trend will develop requiring building owners to comply with minimum security standards. Meanwhile, the building inspection program provides a mechanism for public works departments to suggest security-related modifications that can reduce crime within a community. □

CPTED and Law Enforcement Activities

Law enforcement agencies can support community-based prevention efforts from the CPTED point of view by improving the efficiency and effectiveness of police actions in deterring crimes and in responding to calls for assistance; involving citizens in cooperative efforts to prevent crime; and promoting sound resident security practices. Law enforcement activities can be very helpful in providing residents with a means of controlling their environment; however, the effectiveness of any policing action depends on the cooperation of residents. The police can encourage citizens to safeguard their homes by developing brochures telling homeowners, renters, and business people how to improve security; carrying out security inspections and follow-ups; sponsoring property identification programs; and providing personnel to advise builders, architects, and urban planners. Police crime analysis and patrol practices can also be effective. For example, in Minneapolis residents complained about the danger of being victimized behind their rows of houses in alleyways that provided an undetected approach and escape route for burglars and muggers. Extra police units, both bicycles and cars, were assigned. The early results show a reduction in burglaries and a generally reduced feeling of fear among residents. The police also found that less frequent patrols conducted at irregular intervals worked as well as continuous patrols in discouraging offenders and enhancing the residents' sense of security. □

CPTED and City Planning Agencies

Crimes against property increased drastically in the past decade and victimized a huge number of Americans. In 1974 there were an estimated 16,863,020 attempted or completed household offenses, including burglary, larceny, and vehicle theft. In other words, approximately one out of thirteen U.S. residents fell prey to these crimes. The rates for businesses were much higher—approximately one out of four businesses were victimized.

City planning agencies can play an effective role in preventing such crimes by establishing zoning ordinances that prevent land use that is incompatible with the security interests of the community and by setting public management

policies to avoid placing public facilities in locations with crime problems. City planning agencies also can review the crime-related implications of proposed public developments. Urban planners should consider new developments from the standpoint of potential impacts upon victim and offender populations, that is, whom will they attract and how will they be used. Planners can also determine what special security measures might be required for a particular location in terms of crime statistics for that area.

City planning agencies also can play an important part in preventing the construction of buildings that pose crime hazards to occupants. Such building performance specifications should center around the ability of a building or facility to withstand break-in. Security can be increased by installing various kinds of hardware devices on building doors and windows. For instance, many recent building security codes require the installation of deadbolt locks on exterior doors. These added security measures make it harder for a criminal to enter a building, thereby increasing the risk of being discovered.

Cities' attempts to adopt building security ordinances have produced positive results in many localities. But security codes differ from one community to the next, making the responsibility to develop and distribute security products difficult for the manufacturers and suppliers. Generally speaking, suppliers and manufacturers are very interested in providing equipment which will meet the city's minimum security regulations. But their problems, and the cost to the taxpayer, increase if unique designs are required for every jurisdiction.

One solution at the local level might be for communities to agree on a compromise between their various security ordinances in order to stabilize these costs and, at the same time, develop mutually effective performance specifications for security codes. Even better would be the acceptance of a model code detailing the most effective security products and procedures that could be adopted by individual cities. One such code has been prepared by the Model Ordinance Service of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Another has been drafted by the International Conference of Building Officials, an organization that sets the pattern for code development in all parts of the country. According to the February 1977 edition of *Hotline*, the National Crime Prevention Institute's newsletter, the ICBO code, which has been "thoroughly researched . . . meets the requirements of law enforcement agencies, equipment manufacturers, and the construction industry . . . [and] can be adopted quickly by communities across the country." □

Policy Implications

"The idea that people will respond to their environments is nothing new. Using the idea to reduce crime is new, and has exciting possibilities." So says B. M. Grey, director of the National Crime Prevention Institute at the University of Louisville.

Crime prevention through environmental design is one of the only crime control policies presently being advocated that would reduce the pressure for expansion of the criminal justice system. It should decrease the number of offenses, and consequently the number of arrests, trials, and people jailed. If this is the case, should other criminal justice programs that are successful in the detection, apprehension, prosecution, and incarceration of offenders be given a lower priority? Definitely not. Criminal justice is not an either/or proposition. It is an extremely complex process established to handle complicated human difficulties.

Five key questions should be considered before any CPTED principle or program is adopted:

1. Appropriateness of CPTED—Is the CPTED concept appropriate for the perceived problems and required solutions?
2. Scope of Coverage—What should be the scope and emphasis of the policies?
3. Authority and Responsibility—What mix of skills is desired and who should be responsible for seeing the policies become part of everyday actions by various departments and agencies?
4. Community Participation—To what extent should community participation be included?
5. Strategy Priorities—What CPTED strategies are preferred or applicable, and in what areas of the city?

Once these questions have been answered, it is important to define the areas in which CPTED can be applied. These might include efforts to beautify neighborhoods, develop recreation facilities, improve transportation services, and take on other quality-of-life projects that relate, however indirectly, to crime prevention. CPTED principles can also be used in the design of new communities or locales where crime may occur in the future.

Many programs have priorities that are not consciously oriented to crime prevention, but, when viewed from a CPTED perspective, they may have important crime-related implications. For example, public transportation programs can be planned in ways that will improve the security of passengers in waiting areas and reduce exposure of riders to street crimes. Changes in street traffic patterns can be made to increase the number of "eyes on the streets" (motorists and pedestrians) or to reduce tendencies for outsiders to pass through private neighborhoods. Insurance and business or home loan programs can provide incentives for clients to improve the security of their premises. Banks can provide special programs that encourage residents not to carry cash on the streets.

Policy decisions must be made in terms of the size of the target area and the diversity of the crime prevention program activities. If the idea of CPTED is applied on a limited scale to a geographically cohesive community, should a local planning team concern itself with what happens outside of that community? If yes, then to what extent? A key decision has to be made about the extent to which individuals and groups outside of the planning area should become involved in the planning process.

In most communities, there is a variety of programs, either planned or under way, in which CPTED concepts can be used.

If crime prevention through environmental design can be incorporated into existing programs, personal security and the quality of life can be improved that much more cost-effectively.

But many communities will not have what it takes (receptive political climate, management capacity, etc.) to integrate CPTED into existing city operations. In such communities, it is important to assign responsibility for the planning and incorporation of CPTED principles. This responsibility might be vested in existing agencies and departments, a new division of an agency or department, or a new and separate agency. Obviously the group that will be assigned responsibility will be determined by a number of factors, which should include these: legislative constraints and charter requirements, ability to interact with different groups and agencies, access to key decision makers, available resources and qualifications of personnel, workloads and commitments, and interest in the problem.

The successful use of CPTED ideas will require the assistance, support, and cooperation of many agencies, organizations, and individuals within the community. It is important to identify potential participants and what form their participation might take. If CPTED has support from the key elected and appointed city officials and a strong coalition of citizen groups, it is highly probable that other types of support will follow.

People can make a difference. Former Attorney General Edward Levi once remarked that he was amazed that people tolerated a crime rate as high as this country's. Citizen attitudes and tolerance levels are tied directly to the probable success of a crime prevention program. A citizen must be able to see that his or her involvement and support contribute to the success of a program that benefits him or her.

Throughout the accompanying articles, the role of the citizen is stressed. Not only does crime prevention through environmental design affect the physical design of the community, ideally it also affects the interaction of the citizens. Criminals will respond to the environment, and the citizen has a major role to play in creating an environment which will bring a noncriminal behavior response.

Citizen participation can be passive (monthly reports or newsletters to the local civic group) or active (residents assuming roles in the planning and implementation process). Experience in the CPTED projects thus far suggests encouraging active participation in the design and development of CPTED activities. Participants need specific roles and functions—field surveys, data collection advisory boards, educational meetings, and monitoring changes in the physical and social setting of the target site are a few possible ones. Active participation not only provides an additional resource base for city planners and officials, but also permits continuous education about the effective design and use of the environment.

There are endless choices to be made in crime prevention through environmental design. For example, if a planning decision calls for physical improvements in a neighborhood, choices must be made among installing better street lighting, converting through streets to cul-de-sacs, changing the color and texture of streets and sidewalks, creating parks and playgrounds out of empty lots, and so forth. And each type of change involves varying degrees. Street lighting, for example, can be improved on every street, every third street, or on only

the most heavily used streets. Furthermore, types of street lamps differ in cost. It is important, then, to set priorities.

Priorities for implementation should be developed after:

- Discussion of alternatives with community leaders
- Review of existing (funded), planned, and potential physical and social programs
- Review and analysis of crime patterns (when? where? how?) with attention to possible changes in the physical environment to prevent these crimes
- Consensus among the decision makers, planners, and implementers on whether the program should emphasize territorial defense, personal defense, law enforcement, confidence restoration, or a combination of these

It should be said again here that crime prevention through environmental design does work in reducing and preventing crime. It works because people can do something about crime, people do respond to their environment, and people do take responsibility for their own safety.

The criminal justice system cannot be viewed as solely responsible for preventing crime. Crime is too complex a human activity and affects too many of us. Municipalities need to draw on all their resources to attack the problem of crime.

CPTED is one element municipal personnel should keep in mind in all aspects of city government. Even without massive implementation funds, individual CPTED strategies can be incorporated into such everyday municipal activities as zoning, planning, construction, and public works. Municipalities can use their own initiative in involving CPTED strategies in routine agency operation and funding at the local, regional, and state level. The lesson to be learned from CPTED is an important one: crime is not an isolated phenomenon. It is built into all elements of our everyday lives, but it can be minimized through a concerted and imaginative planning effort.

Crime prevention through environmental design is not *the* solution to the crime problem in our cities. It is one element, one piece of a rather obscured and fuzzy puzzle, which, in combination with other solutions, will forge a new atmosphere and vitality in our urban areas. □

A comprehensive CPTED program manual with technical guidelines for planning, designing, and implementing CPTED projects at a local level will be available in 1978. For more information, contact the Westinghouse National Issues Center, 2341 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Virginia 22202. Copies, when available, will be distributed by the National Criminal Justice Reference Service at its new location, Box 6000, Rockville, Maryland 20850.

To receive environmental design information on a regular basis, contact the Reference Service in order to register for this service.



Disclaimer

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