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Crime Reduction in Low-Income Neighborhoods: A Strategy for Newhallville, New Haven, Connecticut

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CRIME REDUCTION IN LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS: A STRATEGY
FOR NEWHALLVILLE, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

By

Jennifer T. Murray

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

1998

CRIME REDUCTION IN LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS: A STRATEGY
FOR NEWHALLVILLE, NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

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of
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Abstract

This research project focuses on both physical and non-physical approaches to crime reduction in low-income neighborhoods. The perception of crime is a prominent factor in the social and physical deterioration of neighborhoods. When residents feel unsafe in their neighborhood, they lock themselves in their homes or move out of the neighborhood. Perhaps the most tragic outcome is the feeling of powerlessness.

Crime reduction strategies, both physical and non-physical, have the ability to restore residents sense of power and control over crime. Physical strategies such as increased lighting and creating mini-neighborhoods, provide a community with a sense of control over the physical environment. Non-physical strategies such as community policing and block watches, open the channels of communication among residents and law enforcement officials.

This research project explores a variety of physical and non-physical crime reduction strategies used in communities with economic and social characteristics similar to those of Newhallville. Interviews with law enforcement and planning staff in Newhallville unveiled several strategies currently used to address crime in the neighborhood. Recommendations of this research project aim to bridge the gap between physical and non-physical approaches.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Neighborhoods are distinct places with residents of similar demographic, economic and social characteristics. Neighborhoods are mini-communities within a larger community providing specific opportunities for people with similar interests and needs. Residential neighborhoods provide a variety of functions such as providing opportunities for shelter, security, and recreation, child-rearing and social interaction. These social functions of a community provide residents with a sense of place and identity (Kaiser 1995, 342).

Neighborhoods have played an important role throughout the urban development of the United States. Early neighborhoods provided opportunities for people with similar cultures and values to interact while providing access to employment in the central city.

The invention of the automobile and other technological advances caused urban neighborhoods to deteriorate as many employment opportunities and residents moved to the suburbs. The shift in the economy from manufacturing industries to service and information technologies drastically decreased the number of low-skill, high-paying jobs in the city. Many minorities suffered from the loss of these jobs and as a result concentrations of low-income neighborhoods emerged (Knox 1994, 202). Low-income neighborhoods are often characterized by a strong residential base with high concentration of poor residents, increases in poverty and other troubling social indicators over time, and proximity to the city (Suchman 1994, 2).

Residential property in low-income neighborhoods is often characterized by vacant lots, poor physical condition of existing structures, concentrations of rental properties and abandoned buildings. Public areas are often poorly maintained, used for unintended purposes and strewn with litter (Suchman 1994, 3). These physical and economic conditions coupled with the lack of

community empowerment exacerbate social problems such as crime by providing opportunities for deviant behavior. Accessibility, lack of “eyes on the street” and lack of community ownership of space lead to opportunities for increased criminal activity (Crowe 1991, 31).

In recent years, many cities have tried to recapture their place in the economy through major commercial and residential revitalization projects. Improving low-income neighborhoods leads to cities that are more livable and conducive to opportunities for the residents. Many low-income neighborhoods are unclean, unsafe, isolated from the mainstream and offer few amenities (Suchman, 1994, 5). Poverty and despair within these communities lead to worsening societal problems reinforcing population shifts to the suburbs. Improving low-income neighborhoods through crime prevention strategies creates community pride while increasing desirable residential choices and promoting an attractive investment climate (Suchman 1994, 3).

A high concentration of criminal activity is a social indicator characterizing low-income neighborhoods. Crime has been addressed in these neighborhoods through a variety of physical and non-physical strategies. Physical design strategies incorporate behavioral patterns to reduce criminal activity in the neighborhood (Crowe, 1991, 10). For instance increased lighting, private ownership of public space and increased visual access to the street all aid in reducing criminal activity. Other physical design strategies include removal of vacant buildings, creating mini-neighborhoods and decreasing density to reduce accessibility of criminals to the neighborhood. The visual appeal of physical improvements combined with increased ownership and “eyes on the street” of the neighborhood are suggested to create community pride and in turn lead to reductions in crime and deviant behavior (Newman 1996). Non-physical strategies for reducing crime include programs such as community policing, live-in police officers and after-school programs (National Crime Prevention Council 1998). Combining physical improvements aimed

at crime prevention with non-physical crime reduction policies may be the best approach for curtailing crime. By combining physical improvements with social policies aimed at crime, a successful crime reduction program can be implemented.

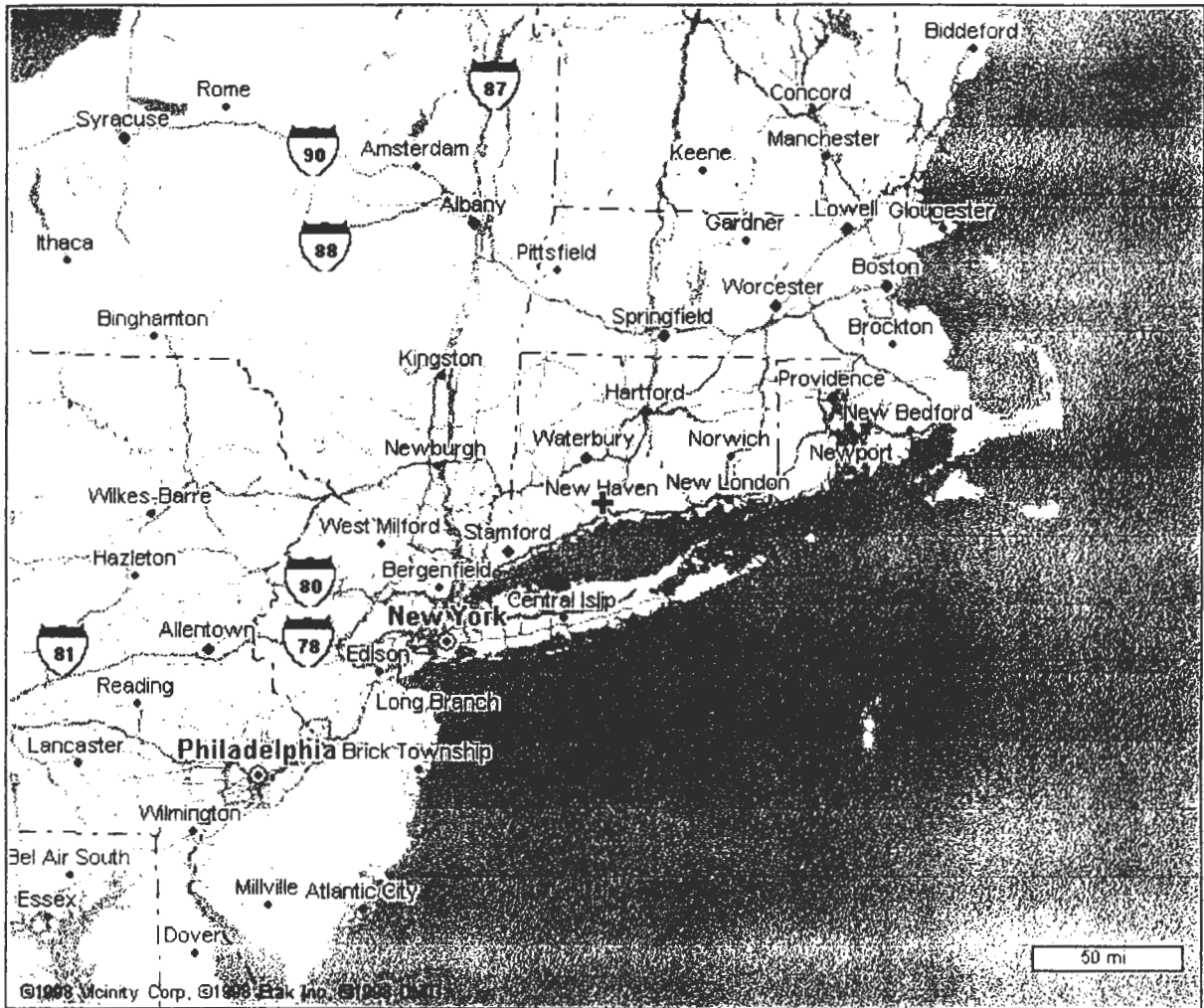
Newhallville: Historical Background

Newhallville located in New Haven, Connecticut is a neighborhood faced with many of the social problems of low-income neighborhoods (see Maps 1.1, 1.2 & 1.3). Similar to many urban neighborhoods, Newhallville suffered as New Haven experienced the effects of suburbanization and economic restructuring.

Newhallville's history is linked to changes in the local manufacturing industry. In the 19th century, the Farmington Canal linked the New Haven harbor to the Connecticut River enabling Newhallville to flourish as a center for manufacturing. George Newhall's Carriage Emporium which gave Newhallville its name, was the major employer until transportation technology changed from horse drawn carriages to the automobile in the early 20th century. The need for armaments during World War II created another major employer in the neighborhood. Winchester Repeating Arms attracted many African-Americans to the area. The war effort established Winchester Repeating Arms as a manufacturer of a wide variety of firearms and consumer goods. The strength of the company allowed it to grow to support Newhallville as a blue collar factory town. Many of the homes were built during this time as evidenced by the average date of 1939 for the neighborhood housing stock.

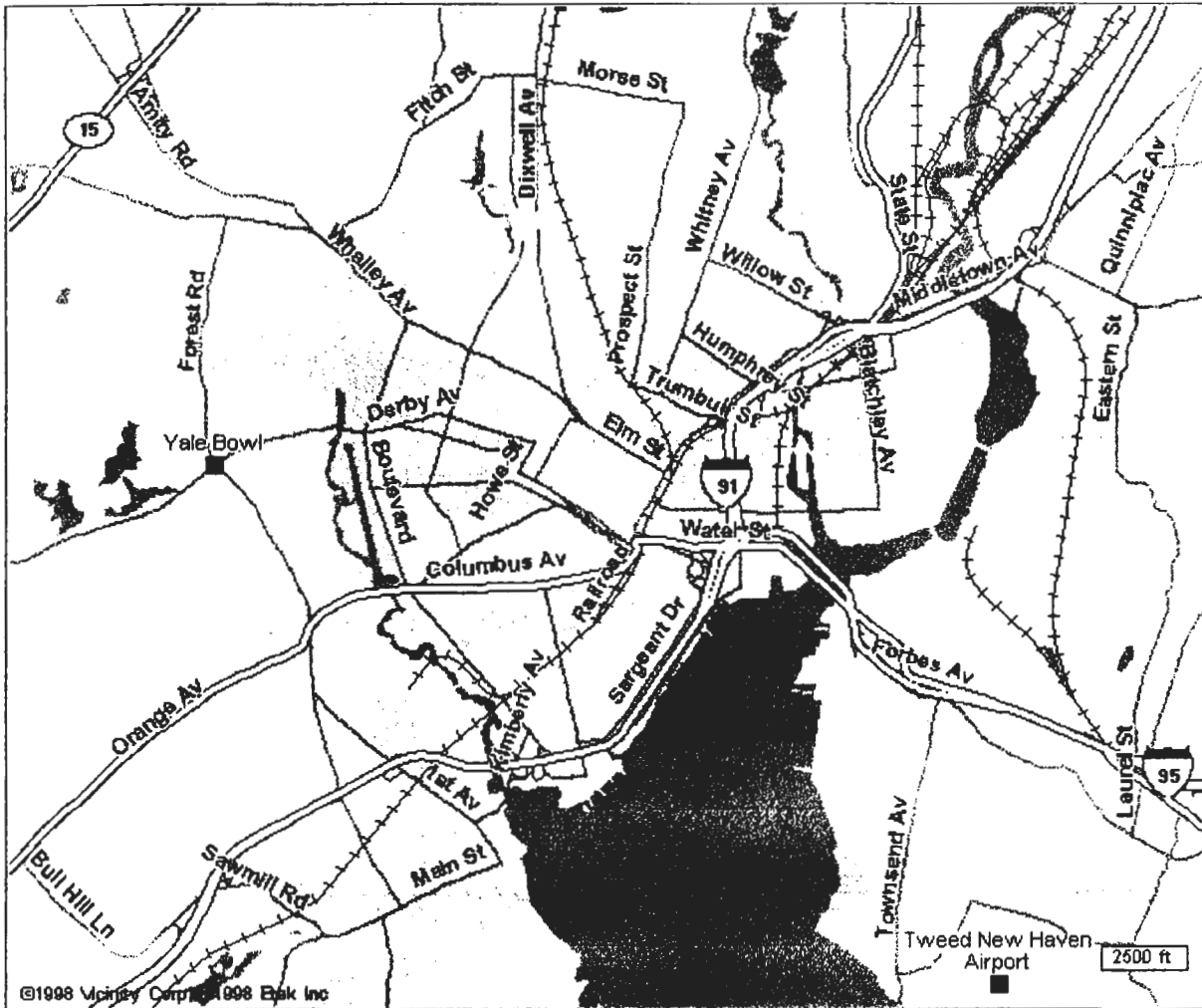
In the 20th century, the Winchester plant changed ownership several times and was eventually closed, as the facility became outdated for modern manufacturing. The remaining structures were ascertained by a collaboration of the City of New Haven, the state and private investors for redevelopment as a not-for-profit technology incubator corporation. . The Science

Map 1.1 New Haven, Connecticut



Source: MapBlast 1998, <http://www.mapblast.com>

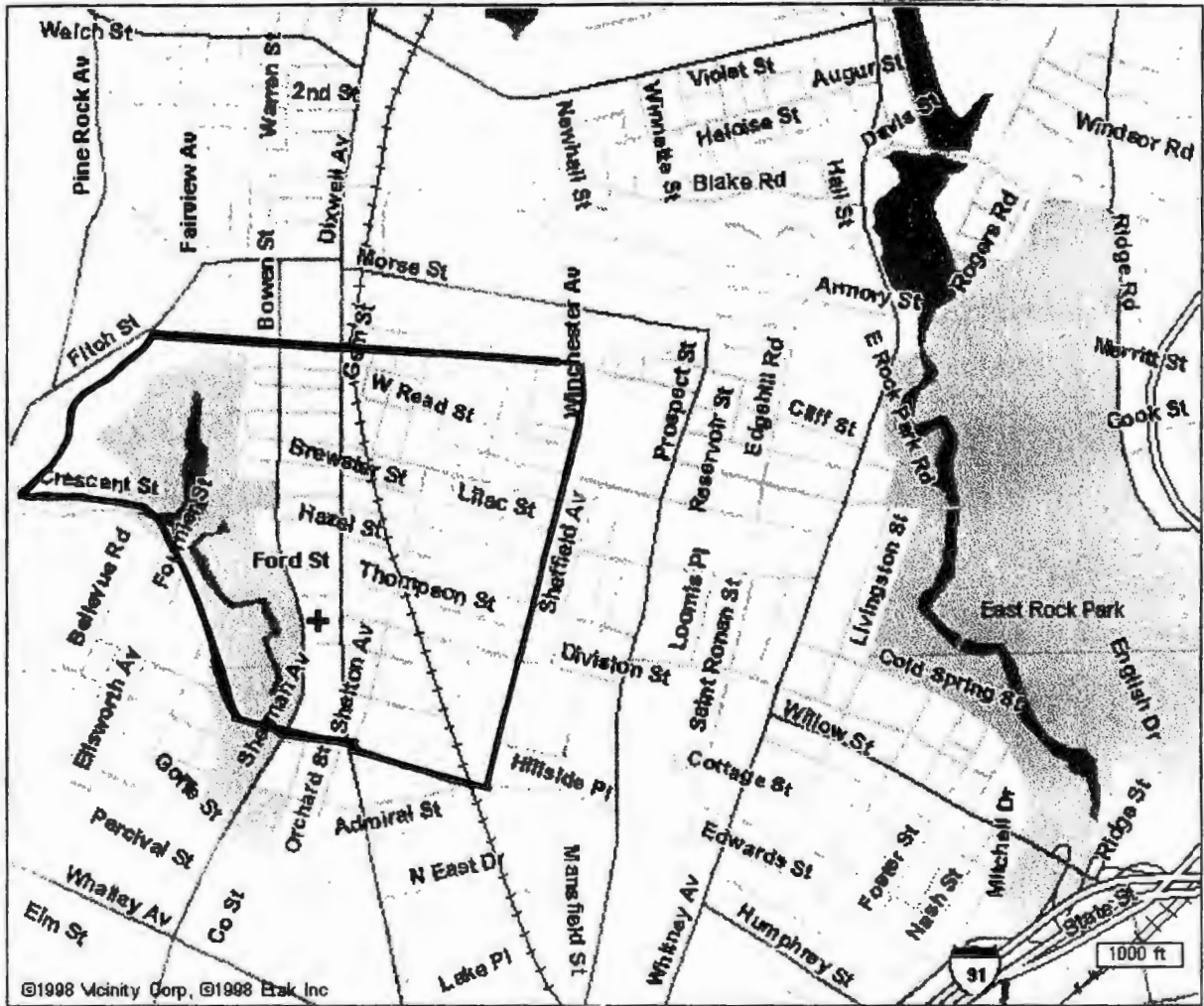
Map 1.2 New Haven, Connecticut



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Source: MapBlast 1998, <http://www.mapblast.com>

Map 1.3 Newhallville Neighborhood, New Haven, Connecticut



Source: MapBlast 1998, <http://www.mapblast.com>

Park Development Corporation, although good for the overall economy of the city, displaced many of the blue-collar jobs that Newhallville residents relied on to make a living.

The shift from manufacturing jobs to high technology jobs in Science Park has affected this former blue-collar neighborhood. The lack of accessibility to jobs has led to a variety of social and economic problems. One of the social problems Newhallville faces is increased levels of crime. Crime increases as the social system breaks down. Newhallville's crime issue was brought to national attention when the New Yorker published an article about a young drug dealer's experience in the "mudhole" (Finnegan 1990).

Today, vacant lots and abandoned buildings, a lack of significant commercial opportunities and physical degradation demonstrate the security issues related to the physical design of the neighborhood. Vacant housing units composed 10.7 percent of the neighborhood housing stock in 1990 slightly higher than the citywide average of 9.4 percent (Harrall-Michalowski 1993). The lack of property ownership, community empowerment and surveillance provides opportunities for criminal behavior such as gang-related activities and drug trafficking.

Newhallville demonstrate a need for crime prevention strategies that will work in low-income deteriorating urban neighborhoods. The physical structure of the neighborhood must be addressed in combination with other crime prevention programs in order to successfully reduce crime in low-income neighborhoods.

Significance of the Study

One of the functions of a neighborhood is to provide security (Kaiser 1995, 342) Without security the neighborhood is no longer able to supply positive opportunities for social interaction, child-rearing and recreation. Planners need to participate more in physical design programs directed at crime prevention. Working with social behavior

scientists, criminal justice experts and law enforcement officials will enable planners to design safer and more livable communities. This study aims to determine a successful strategy for reducing crime in the low-income neighborhood of Newhallville. Physical design approaches will be emphasized to create a safe environment and foster a sense of community.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are to:

1. Recommend a crime reduction strategy for Newhallville. The strategy will be based on case studies of successful crime reduction programs in similar low-income neighborhoods. Recommendations will emphasize physical design strategies.
2. Determine an implementation program for the crime reduction strategy. Implementation will be focused on agency responsibility and funding sources for both physical design and non-physical recommendations.

Methodology

Objective 1. Recommend a crime reduction strategy for Newhallville.

Task 1) Inventory current social, economic and demographic census data for Newhallville.

Task 2) Inventory crime statistics, current crime reduction programs for Newhallville.

Task 3) Interview neighborhood residents, community organizers, and leaders about neighborhood crime and history.

Task 4) Evaluate current land use.

Task 5) Research successful physical design and non-physical crime reduction strategies used in similar neighborhoods.

Task 6) Create a crime reduction strategy for Newhallville with an emphasis on design solutions.

Objective 2. Determine an implementation program for the crime reduction strategy for Newhallville.

Task 1) Identify funding sources for implementation of physical and related non-physical recommendations.

Task 2) Identify agency responsibility implementation of components of the crime reduction strategy.

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations to the study of crime reduction strategies in Newhallville.

Limitations included: time constraints, limited availability of study area data and the lack of statistical information on techniques used in other communities. More time to complete the research would have allowed several obstacles to be overcome.

The size of the study area was often an obstacle in collecting data. Obstacles such as concern for personal safety affected the ability to conduct a complete and overlapping 'land-use' and 'hot-spots' surveys. Having used a smaller study area would have reduced the dramatic differences in the data collection areas. There were several multi-family housing units in the study area that were also not relevant to the study. The size of the study area also affected the collection of statistical information on crime. Data available on crime was general to the City of New Haven providing only an understanding of the types of crimes facing Newhallville.

Finally, the lack of available research and statistical data on successful crime prevention techniques used in other communities did not allow for recommendations based on success rates in other areas. The availability of statistical data on the success of various physical and non-physical programs would have been useful in recommending which crime prevention technique should be implemented first.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction: Crime in Low Income Neighborhoods

The purpose of this chapter is to review the studies that have examined the strategies to fight crime. The literature on crime can be divided into three categories. The first group of studies examined ways to use physical strategies to reduce crime. Planners, architects and law enforcement officials have written most of the literature on physical strategies. This group includes studies by Jane Jacobs (1961), Newman Oscar (1972) and Crowe (1991). A second group has studied the use of non-physical means, such as community building techniques, to reduce crime. Proponents of non-physical programs include Kapsis (1976), Merry (1981), Krivo (1996) and Bellair (1997). Finally, Wekerle and Whitzman (1995) have introduced a new strategy involving both physical and non-physical approaches to crime reduction.

Crime has been identified as a key issue that must be addressed in low-income neighborhoods before revitalization programs can be successful (Suchman 1994, 4). Depressed social and physical characteristics of low-income neighborhoods are stimulants to rising crime levels. Residents in low-income neighborhoods are often socially isolated from the mainstream with less access to jobs and conventional role models (Krivo 1996, 620). Few middle or working class families reside in these communities to off-set the effects of poor economic conditions. Therefore low-income neighborhoods have little or no basic structure to ensure social order.

Communities experience heightened levels of crime due to the lack of social control mechanisms combined with pronounced physical conditions encouraging criminal behavior (Krivo 1996). Social control is an unspoken communication between neighbors that sets up rules

of acceptable behavior within the community. Social control mechanisms include community pride, ownership of property and open lines of communication with other community members (Donnelly 1997, 495). Pronounced conditions encouraging deviant behavior are “broken windows”, abandoned property and lack of community activity (Wilson 1982, Krivo 1996). In many low-income neighborhoods, vacant buildings, lack of ownership of property and fears held by residents all aid in the increased levels of crime.

Two Approaches to Crime Prevention

James Q. Wilson addresses the translation of depressed physical features of a neighborhood to increased levels of crime in his “Broken Windows” theory (Wilson 1982, 31). Wilson discusses the mutual link and reinforcing effects between disorder (“broken windows”) and crime. Neglected property in a community becomes fair game for mischievous behavior. The lack of control over the property and the activity occurring on the property leads to the breakdown of community social order. Teenagers hanging out at abandoned property and litter accumulation signals distress and lack of social control over individual behavior. As a result, residents modify their behavior to the perceived increase in crime. Fewer people will use the streets, those who can afford to will move out of the area and the elderly lock themselves in their homes. The decreased number of people on the streets, broken communications between neighbors and unmaintained properties leave an area vulnerable to criminal invasion (Wilson 1982, 32).

Crime prevention is a process aimed at reducing or eliminating the opportunity for a criminal offense to be committed (Crowe 1991, 17). As a rational offender, the criminal makes a decision to commit a crime based on the perceived level of risk. A potential offender consciously decides to commit a crime based on four factors, the ease of passage to and from the

crime scene, the vulnerability of the targets, the chance of being seen, and whether residents will intervene in the crime (Taylor & Harrell 1996, 2). As Wilson discusses in his “Broken Windows” theory, the potential offender can determine the answers to these questions through environmental clues (Crowe 1996, 8). Crime prevention deals with the combination of physical social and economic problems plaguing local communities. Preventing crime aims to promote the health and quality of life in a community by addressing immediate concerns as well as addressing underlying causes. Crime prevention relies on active participation of community members as well as law enforcement, planning departments and social services (National Crime Prevention Coalition 1997).

There are two strategies of crime prevention: opportunity blocking and the community model. Opportunity blocking and the community model are efforts to change environmental clues of disinterest to discourage criminal behavior. Opportunity blocking relies on the physical alteration of the environment to block a potential offenders ability to commit a crime (Eck 1997). Physical approaches to crime prevention generally focus on four complementary issues: (1) housing design features and building layout, (2) land use and circulation, (3) resident generated territorial signage and (4) controlling physical deterioration and disorder (Taylor & Harrell, 1996, 3). Housing design and layout involves reducing access to crime targets, increasing obstacles to committing crime, and removing barriers to visibility of crime (Newman, 1972). Changes to land use and circulation pattern in the neighborhood reduce opportunities for a crime to occur by removing or limiting the access of the potential offender through street closures and locating public open spaces in areas with high visibility. Marking of individual and community territory in order to deter criminal activity forewarns the criminal of community vigilance (Wilson 1982). Finally, controlling physical deterioration will reduce the perception of

the community's vulnerability to crime as discussed in the "Broken Windows" theory (Taylor and Harrell 1996, 3).

The community model is a non-physical approach to crime prevention that emphasizes creating networks between members of a community to increase the likelihood of an individual community member becoming involved in the crime prevention process either through reporting crime or personal intervention (Donnelley 1997, 495). Non-physical approaches to crime prevention are aimed at strengthening community networks. Concentrations of poverty and other characteristics of a low-income neighborhood result in fewer networks of information exchange and less viable community based organizations discouraging crime. Families and neighbors in depressed communities are less likely to form networks to intervene in crimes, protect each other's property or supervise youths (Krivo 1996, 622). Low income-neighborhoods often do not have the internal resources to organize peacekeeping activities such as volunteer patrols, home security surveys and neighborhood crime watches (Garafolo 1989).

There are three primary methods for increasing community involvement to deter criminal activity: community policing; coalition building; and social services. Community policing has seen a renewal in popularity in the last 10 years (Zhao 1997, 347). Community policing involves a commitment to broadly focused, problem-oriented policing and requires police to be responsive to citizen demands when deciding what local problems are and setting agendas (National Crime Prevention Coalition 1997). Coalition building involves empowering community members to act against crime by reporting crime and reducing fear. One of the most highly recognized coalition building programs is the Neighborhood Watch program (National Crime Prevention Coalition 1997). Recent efforts to reduce crime have reached to neighborhood religious organizations as foundations for social control (Cisneros 1995). Social services directed at reducing crime by

addressing the underlying causes of crime in the neighborhood is the third form of community based crime prevention. Social services such as crime hotlines, drug-related programs and prevention programs geared at youth may provide some relief to the expansion of crime in the neighborhood.

Historical Evolution of Crime Prevention Strategies

Crime prevention has a long historical root dating back to early settlements designed to protect against invasions. Medieval societies in Europe used walls and gates to mark the territory of the city and to provide defense (Crowe 1991). In more modern times, people defend private property through similar means of defining territory including gates, walls, signage and landscaping.

Law enforcement has always had a strong neighborhood foundation in the United States. Before the advent of the automobile and housing mortgages allowing people to move away from crime, residents depended upon community members to correct crime. Community policing in the United States was a means of order maintenance. The role of the police officer was to support the residents in keeping the peace (Eggers 1995, 4). Oftentimes, police reaffirmed community authority by using violent force to create fear in offenders (Wilson 1982, 33). There was a mutual relationship between the police and residents of neighborhoods in protecting against crime. As stated by Sir Robert Peel, the father of community policing, in the early 19th century, “ the police are the public and the public is the police”(Bureau of Justice Administration 1997).

There were several factors responsible for transforming the policing profession in the 20th century. In the early part of the 20th century, policing came under a great deal of scrutiny as a wave of professionalism moved across the country. The profession was overcome by corruption

and as a result police organizations were restructured as a means of eliminating the corruption. The end of the 1950's saw the disappearance of "beat integrity" the act of charging small groups of officers the responsibility for a small area (Eggers 1995, 4). This wave of professionalism separated the police from the community by centralizing control to middle-management, rotating shifts of police officers and creating larger geographic coverage. Police officers no longer worked in the same community everyday and individual officers who knew and understood the interests of the community were no longer available to the residents. Technological advances also aided in altering the profession from community-oriented preventative measures to a crime response orientation. The automobile replaced foot patrols, further dividing the police from the community. Installation of 911 emergency systems in the 1970's created policing dependent on responding to crime and no longer focused on crime prevention (Bureau of Justice Administration 1997).

Opportunity Blocking Strategy

Jane Jacobs was the first to offer solutions to crime and fear in the cities. In her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* published in 1961, she outlined the elements that make cities livable. Jacobs encouraged "eyes on the streets" through neighborhood surveillance of public spaces, orientation of buildings to the streets, and mixed uses. Jacobs argued pedestrians and users of the street would increase safety and public interest. Promoting mixed uses at the street level would provide opportunities for pedestrians, encourage residents to travel to the street and encourage surveillance as individuals became involved in the activities on the street (LeGates 1996, 104). Mixed uses as a way to reduce crime has been criticized in recent years. A research study conducted in 1978 disputed Jacob's theory of mixed use as a basis for informal "eyes on the street". Research warns against mixed use stating increased access of an

area to outsiders and increased targets make an area more vulnerable to crime (Greenberg & Rohe 1984, 59). Besides mixed use, Jacobs advocated clearly defined private and public space. Clearly defined public and private space aid in creating a sense of personal belonging and social cohesion to a neighborhood.

In 1972, an architect named Oscar Newman introduced the concept of defensible space. Defensible space captured the essence of Jane Jacobs' arguments for "eyes on the streets" and clearly defined space and took the ideas a step further. Defensible space is defined as "a model for residential environment inhibiting crime by creating the physical expression of a neighborhood that defends itself" (Newman 1972, 3). Defensible space relies on architecture and target hardening techniques to reduce the opportunity for a potential offender to commit a crime. Target hardening techniques require the use of locks or gates- creating physical barriers to crime opportunities (Eck 1997).

Newman's observations of a failed public housing complex, Pruitt-Igoe in St. Louis gave birth to the concept of defensible space. The housing project opened in 1955 with common areas for laundry facilities, mailboxes and gathering as well as large public open space. These common areas were badly vandalized and were no longer safe for use by residents just several years after the project was completed. The fear of crime in the complex kept the project from ever reaching full capacity and was demolished ten years later. Newman found in his study of Pruitt-Igoe, crime to be substantially lower in outdoor and indoor areas where fewer people shared the space. Landings shared by only two families remained intact and maintained. In contrast, public areas shared by a large number of residents were overcome by vandalism (Newman 1996, 158). Newman also found the same results when he compared Pruitt-Igoe to a neighboring residential area Carr Village. Carr Village was a residential area of row houses

occupied by a population with similar characteristics and remained trouble-free. As a result of his study, Newman identified four interrelated elements of physical design contributing to secure environments: (1) territoriality, (2) natural surveillance, (3) image and (4) milieu.

Territoriality refers to the creation of a sense of proprietorship in community members based on natural human behavior. Identifying ownership of “turf” through the use of real or symbolic measures decreases potential crime by stating that the area is controlled (Newman 1972, Crowe 1991). Gates, fences, doors, walls are examples of real barriers that identify space as belonging to an individual or a small group of individuals. Access to these spaces requires a key or access card. Symbolic barriers include plantings, lighting, open gateways and changes in sidewalk textures. Symbolic barriers require knowledge of community’s unspoken rules about the use of space (Newman 1972). Newman argues that clearly defined ownership of space leads to individual or collective defense of space when it is not being used properly or by the allowed users. Defining property is aimed at increasing the responsibility of the users of the space to defend it (Crowe 1991, 89).

Related to the creation of public and private areas, is the use of natural surveillance to deter crime. Crime usually occurs in areas that are visually deprived. Positioning windows to overlook public space, increased lighting and dividing space into recognizable enclaves creates a perception of risk for the potential offender (Newman 1972, Crowe 1991). Normal users of space feel safer when their entrance into an area is acknowledged (Crowe 1991, 88). Based on the rational offender model, an offender is less likely to risk a crime in an area where there is a chance of being seen (Taylor and Harrell 1996).

Newman’s recommendations for image and milieu are a precursor to Wilson’s “Broken Windows” theory. Defensible space aims to put forth an image of cohesion. The removal of

graffiti and other neighborhood beautification projects reduce the stigma associated with the neighborhood as tolerant of crime. Differentiating between public, semi-public and private spaces through the creation of boundaries creates ownership over property and enhances a sense of responsibility for the maintenance of the area. Increased sense of ownership will encourage residents to plant flowers, maintain lawns and take care of buildings. Finally, Newman reiterates Jane Jacobs mixed use concept to create opportunities for people to interact on the streets. Placing residential areas within short distance of other functional facilities such as entertainment, institutional and commercial will create opportunities for people to use the streets. Bolstering street level interaction will dissuade potential criminals (Newman 1972, 109).

Early applications of Newman's defensible space techniques were used for public housing units. These applications were primarily concerned with physical arrangement, ownership and image. In 1991, Newman's concepts were applied to the Five Oaks Neighborhood in Dayton, Ohio. The Five Oaks Neighborhood had changed between 1960 and 1990 from a white middle class neighborhood to a neighborhood with a high minority population and high number of converted rental properties. Residents were becoming fearful and withdrawn from the community as vehicular trade of drugs and prostitution besieged the neighborhood (Cisneros 1995, 16). The plan for Five Oaks had four components, the major component being a series of street closures. The street closures were designed to change the grid layout of the neighborhood to a series of cul-de-sacs. In total 35 streets were closed, 11 leading into Five Oaks from surrounding areas and 24 inside creating several mini-neighborhoods within the larger Five Oaks neighborhood. The street closures were aimed at reducing the permeability of the neighborhood to potential criminals (Donnelly 1997, 498). The street closures combined with programs to

increase home-ownership were designed to increase territoriality and improve surveillance of the neighborhood.

An evaluation of the Five Oaks Neighborhood defensible space strategy one year after implementation suggests that physical changes to the environment may not be enough to reduce crime (Donnelly 1997, 499). The evaluation of Five Oaks divides defensible space into two elements; opportunity reduction and a community model. Evaluations based on opportunity reduction found street closings to affect the number of crimes committed by outsiders. Total traffic volumes decreased 36 percent, with cut-through traffic reducing 67 percent (Donnelly 1997, 504). Property crimes, usually committed by members of the community had minor decreases but the largest decrease was in violent crimes and drug related arrests.

The street closures had more of an affect on opportunity reduction than creating community territoriality. After one year of implementation, the street closures had not significantly affected resident's territoriality, social cohesion or commitment to the neighborhood even though the plan had been developed with meaningful citizen participation. The study found little change in resident intervention in suspicious activity. Changes to the street pattern seem to immediately affect criminal decision-making but is slow to change resident attitudes (Greenberg 1984, 57 & Donnelly 1997, 509).

Another result of the study was slight increases in criminal activity after the first year of closure. This suggests positive affects of street closures to be short-lived, given that neighborhoods are not static entities (Donnelly 1997, 510).

Two other components of the Five Oaks Plan, increased relations with local police and code enforcement are contributions of the CPTED movement. The CPTED (Crime Prevention through Environmental Design) program is an outgrowth of Newman's defensible space

conceptual model. CPTED is a behavioral science methodology used by professionals to manipulate the environment as a means to change behavior, reduce fear and incidence of crime while increasing the quality of life (Crowe 1991, 5). CPTED relies heavily on the interaction between community leaders, police officers, planners and architects to create livable communities. In addition to the three principles of Oscar Newman's, territoriality, image and milieu, CPTED adds the fourth principle of management and maintenance. Management and maintenance refers to the continued use of a space for its intended purpose. Once a space is allowed to deteriorate, it can become victim to undesirable activities and conditions (Planning Center 1998). Crime prevention through environmental design differs from defensible space because it places more emphasis on community and police involvement in creating strategies for crime reduction.

CPTED Strategy

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design as a methodology relies on information from different professional sources to develop a successful plan. Successful plans rely on complete demographic information, land use analyses, crime analyses, and interviews with users of the space. There are three elements of a land use analysis for creating a CPTED plan. The elements include the definition, designation and design of individual spaces in the community. Definition is concerned with how the space is defined socially, culturally, legally and physically. Issues of spatial definition include clearly defined ownership of the space, clearly marked borders, and the existence of rules for reinforcing definition. Designation deals with the intended purpose for the space. For example: How well does the space support its intended use? Is there a conflict? And what was the original use? Finally, design determines the suitability of the physical design for supporting the intended function. Analyzing the definition, designation and design of

spaces within the community can lead to a better understanding of focus areas for territorial enforcement, natural surveillance, and access control techniques application (Crowe 1991, 33).

The third element of the CPTED methodology is to conduct a crime analysis (Crowe 1991, 35). A crime analysis consists of mapping reported crimes within the community to determine patterns of criminal activity. A study conducted in Minneapolis supported the idea that places can encourage or deter crime. Based on reported crime, the study suggested that there were relatively few “hot spots” where crime occurred but these places produced a high numbers of reported crimes. This suggests that crime is concentrated in distinct places. Acknowledging crime as place-specific, encourages the use of physical crime prevention strategies such as target hardening, increased surveillance and reduced access (Sherman 1989, 27).

Finally personal observations and interviews with residents and users of the space provides valuable information for developing a comprehensive and successful plan. Personal interviews may reveal unreported information to local police departments, resident attitudes and priorities of community members.

Criticisms of Opportunity-Blocking Strategies

Criticisms of opportunity-blocking strategies demand further studies linking crime reduction to changes in the physical environment. There is a lack of substantial evidence linking opportunity-blocking strategies and residential crime reduction (Eck 1997). One criticism of opportunity-blocking measures is the creation of “Security-Zone Communities”; low-income gated communities that further alienate low-income residents from opportunity and the mainstream (Baldassare 1994). Street closures and gating communities with high crime levels in an effort to reduce crime has been suggested to produce negative residential effects.

Opportunity-blocking efforts that reduce access to a neighborhood reify the fear of crime. Street

closures and the placement of gates can displace crime to surrounding communities, create traffic problems, slow emergency vehicle response time and inhibit police patrols (Blakely & Snyder 1998, 42). In addition, gates and street closures can lead to increased racial tensions and conflicts if not implemented with high degrees of community involvement (Donnelly 1997, 509).

Opportunity-blocking strategies have also been criticized as unsuccessful when the social fabric and necessary social institutions are unavailable to support intervention in criminal activity. Physical changes to the environment to reduce the access and attractiveness of a place for criminal activities will not succeed if residents do not share social control over an area. Individual fear of retaliation, lack of courage, learned patterns of responsibility and fear of acting without support of others all lead to breakdown in social control. A potential offender's knowledge of the social fabric will also increase the likelihood of a crime being committed in the neighborhood (Merry 1981).

The Community Model Strategy

In the late 1980's and early 1990's, a quiet revolution shifting crime reduction strategies away from pure opportunity-blocking and crime response to an approach involving police, community members, local government and defensible space programs. The new multi-participant approach to crime prevention began with changes in the police community. The return to community policing was the first major reform since the police community had moved to a more bureaucratic system nearly a half century ago. A series of initiatives were passed aimed at reducing the fear of crime through targeting and solving specific problems in communities (Zhao 1997, 347). The foot patrol was reintroduced in a number of cities as well as storefront police substations (Eck 1997). Recently with the passage of the 1994 Public Safety Partnership and Community Policing Act (also known as the 1994 Crime Bill), community

policing has become the front of a redesigned police organization and the link to the community. The reallocation of resources to community-oriented policing has enabled the police to create community partnerships and take part in creative problem solving in order to reduce crime through prevention (Bureau of Justice Administration 1997).

Creating community partnerships enables police officers to establish and maintain a relationship with the community based on trust. As an integral part of the community, police officers are able to help define problems and allocate resources to target specific problems. Conducting security surveys for residents, patrols of public spaces and involvement in the community planning process are examples of programs which officers can build relationships of trust with the community. Problem solving requires officers to be active in order maintenance. As previously mentioned many low-income areas facing crime issues lack the social cohesion and leadership necessary to be active in crime prevention (Krivo 1996, 623). Order maintenance is based on the “Broken Windows” theory that criminals will make a rational choice to commit a crime based on the physical and social characteristics of an area (Bureau of Justice Administration, 1997). Community police can reinforce litter laws, check on vacant and abandoned property and also provide a community with a sense of social control.

Along with the return to community policing, community involvement in crime prevention has occurred simultaneously. Studies suggest areas with higher levels of crime are more likely to have a higher degree of alienation amongst community members (Bellair 1997, 678). A 1978 study found that among three predominately poor black communities in San Francisco, the community with the lowest delinquency rate had substantial contact with a local settlement house (Kapsis 1976, 1978). This suggests the importance of local institutions in providing a foundation for social control of a neighborhood. Furthermore a 1989 study

conducted in Britain, suggested that as the size of a community network increases, informal social controls become stronger reducing delinquency and crime (Bellair 1997, 675). Critics of defensible space techniques also suggest that creating neighborhood networks along with physical changes would yield stronger results in crime reduction (Merry 1981).

Neighborhood coalitions must meet at least once a year in order to have an impact on crime. Getting together in an informal setting enables social interaction to occur between neighbors. Regular meetings between neighbors have the strongest effect on reducing burglary, motor vehicle theft and robbery. Regular meetings also encourage daily social interaction, the most effective means of crime reduction (Bellair 1997, 677). Neighborhood organizations are more likely to work together to solve community problems and develop “rules” for behavior within the community in effect harnessing social control. Individuals belonging to the organization are more likely to intervene in local disturbances and engage in surveillance activities (Frudedenberg 1986).

Social services aimed at the underlying causes of crime are also utilized in modern crime reduction techniques. Many of the social service programs are focused on youth programs to prevent potential future offenders from becoming involved in criminal activity. These programs provide alternatives to criminal activity. Examples of youth programs are peer-to-peer instruction, curfews, youth designed community service, mentor programs and youth organizations and clubs (National Crime Prevention Coalition 1997).

Safer Cities Initiative

A new approach, the Safer Cities initiative, being used throughout Europe, makes use of both the community model and the opportunity-blocking approaches to crime prevention. The trademark of the Safer Cities program is solutions that are grassroots in nature designed for

specific communities evolving from the citizens who must deal with crime and fear of crime on a daily basis (Wekerle & Whitzman 1995, 7).

The new approach emphasizes partnerships among national governments, cities, neighborhoods and citizens. The function of the Safer Cities Initiatives is to collect and distribute information between projects, create “good practice” models and disburse national funds to the local level. In the United States, federal involvement at the local level has been limited to allocating money to put more police on the streets (1994 Crime Bill) and creating community boot camps for youth offenders. Coordinated support for city crime prevention programs is limited to particular state or city initiatives and no national clearinghouse exists for crime prevention information (Wekerle & Whitzman 1995, 7).

The Safer Cities initiative uses concepts of defensible space, partnerships from CPTED approaches and goes further to stress management and community involvement in crime prevention strategies. The Safer Cities approach recognizes that community members are the experts in the problems of their communities, capable of generating new information and solutions. The approach expands upon the partnerships of the CPTED approach to include public and private sectors, federal, state and local government, community groups, and the police to define problems and implement solutions. Finally, the approach concentrates on the needs of women, low-income communities, the elderly and people with disabilities (Wekerle & Whitzman 1995, 13).

The Safer Cities Strategy has been used in the City of Phoenix. The city has implemented a safety audit for residents to determine areas that present dangers to the community. The city has combined the efforts of the planning department, local police officials and community residents to combat crime in the community (see Appendix B: Phoenix Safe Communities Program).

Summary of Findings

Tracing the history of crime prevention strategies has revealed two distinct approaches involving the planning profession (see Table 2.1). The first generation of crime prevention strategies grew out of the restructuring of law enforcement in the 1950's. The lack of police on the streets required a different approach to reducing crime opportunities. The first generation of crime prevention, based purely on physical changes to the environment, were thought to impact the perception of the neighborhood by community members. Redefining territory, increasing natural surveillance and improving physical conditions would increase social responsibility of the residents and users of the space in crime prevention. Individual residents would have a greater "stake" in the community if ownership of space were clearly defined. Relying simply on physical changes in low-income communities has been disputed as an effective means of crime prevention. Other factors such as the degree of social cohesion, individual sense of responsibility and cultural differences, play an important role in a resident's likelihood to get involved in crime prevention.

The second generation emphasizes community empowerment as well as employing physical changes to reduce opportunities to commit crime. This new approach to crime prevention developed as crime rates continued to increase across the nation. The return of law enforcement to community policing has played a major role in the evolution of crime prevention strategies. Creating partnerships between community members, law enforcement officials, planners and other governmental personnel provide many multiple levels at which crime prevention can occur. Developing trust between the various players enables changes to the physical environment to work efficiently and provides opportunities for effective communication

between officials and residents. As a result, crime can be reduced in low-income neighborhoods and the foundation for further revitalization has been set.

Table 2.1 First and Second Generation Crime Prevention Strategies

	<i>First Generation (1960's, 1970's)</i>	<i>Second Generation (late 1980's, 1990's)</i>
Main Activities (Programs)	Making physical changes to define territory, increase natural surveillance and improve physical conditions. Promotes mixed use. Mostly used in public housing projects.	Combining physical changes with programs aimed at empowering community members and preventative programs. Used in low & moderate income neighborhoods and public housing projects.
Historical and Ideological Background	Urban Design Advocacy Planning	Behavioral Sciences Post-Modern Planning
Main Players	Architects, Planners Limited Resident involvement	Relies heavily on the interaction between community leaders, residents, police officers, planners and architects to create livable communities. Specifically targeting women, low-income communities, and the disabled and elderly persons.
Role of Planners	Architects and planners advocate for low-income residents. Facilitate changes within the community.	Efforts lead by law enforcement officials and community leaders. Planners role to facilitate discussion between residents and city officials.
Principal Lessons	Physical changes alone will not reduce crime. Social factors (i.e. alienation and fear) play a role in individuals involvement in crime prevention.	Reducing crime relies on community effort. Communication must be encouraged between residents, community leaders and officials.
Adapted from: Carmen, N. 1997, Neighborhood Regeneration: The State of the Art. <i>Journal of Planning Education and Research</i> 17:131-144		

Chapter Three

Neighborhood Analysis

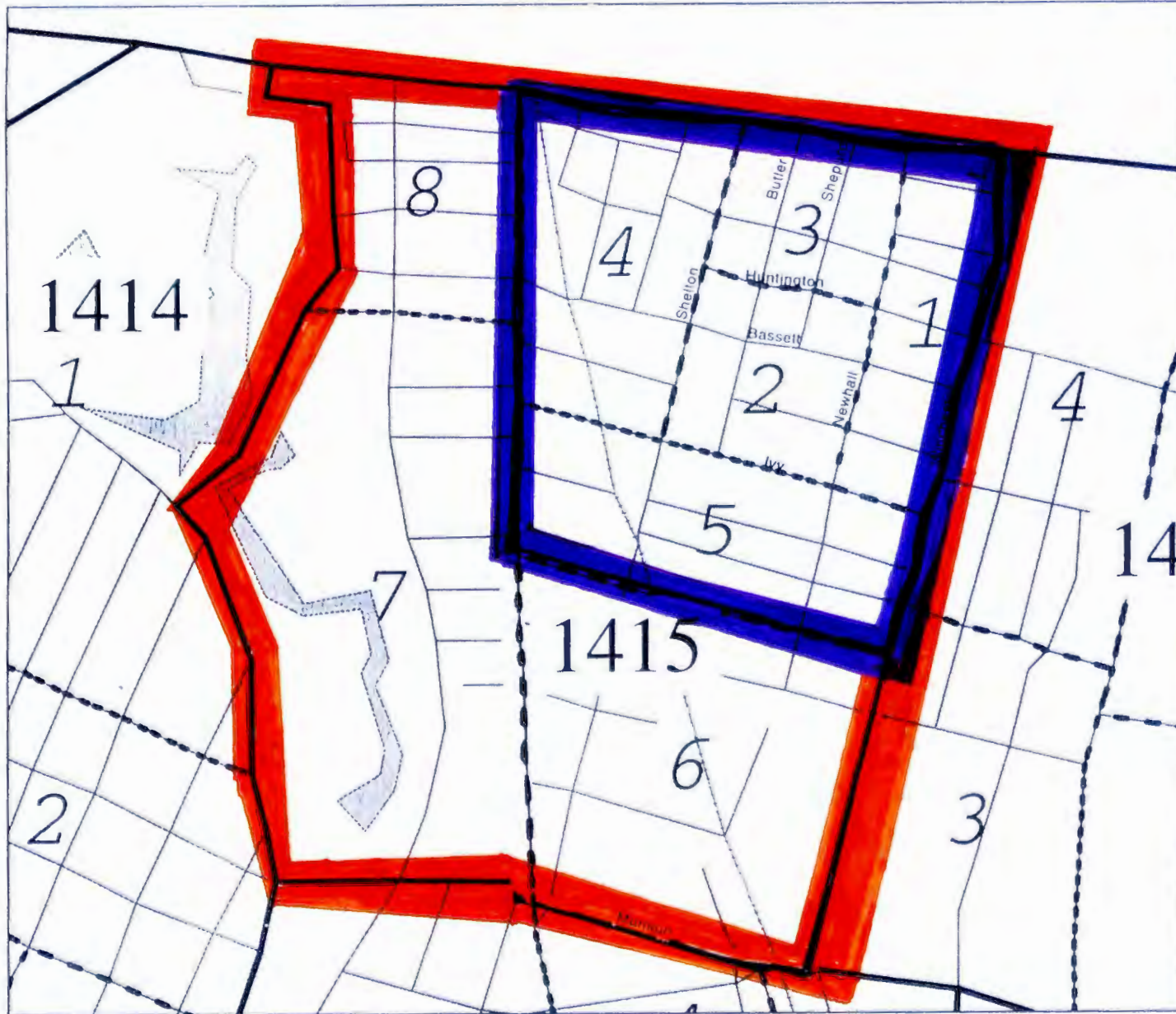
Crime Prevention through Environmental Design strategy promotes the use of five basic types of information to develop good crime prevention plans. These include demographic, land use, crime analysis, observations and user interviews. The data collected for each variable does not have to be complex or sophisticated. However, the data should be informative and specific to the community. For example, general figures of city crime rates will not aid in determining a proper crime prevention program for the neighborhood (Crowe 1991, 35). This chapter uses the methodology developed from the Crime Prevention through Environmental Design strategy in order to analyze the Newhallville neighborhood.

Demographic Analysis







Newhallville roughly fits to census tract 1415 including approximately eighty-four people that live just over the New Haven line in the neighboring city of Hamden. The neighborhood boundaries are the Hamden City line to the north, Winchester Avenue to the east, Munson Street to the South and Fournier and Crescent Streets to the west. (see Map 3.1). The census tract, not including the portion in Hamden, will be used to examine the economic and social conditions of the neighborhood. Table 3.1 compares Newhallville to the city of New Haven and the study area. The study area is composed of block groups, one through five, concentrating on the area directly adjacent to the Science Park complex (see Map 3.2). Little difference exists between the census tract data and the study group area since Newhallville is a homogenous area.


By comparing the 1990 census data for the study area, Newhallville and the City of New Haven, significant differences are identified in the social, physical and economic composition of the neighborhood. Identifying the characteristics of the population will aid in understanding the

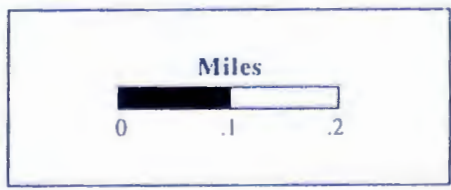
Map 3.1 Boundaries of Census Tract 1415 and Study Area, Newhallville



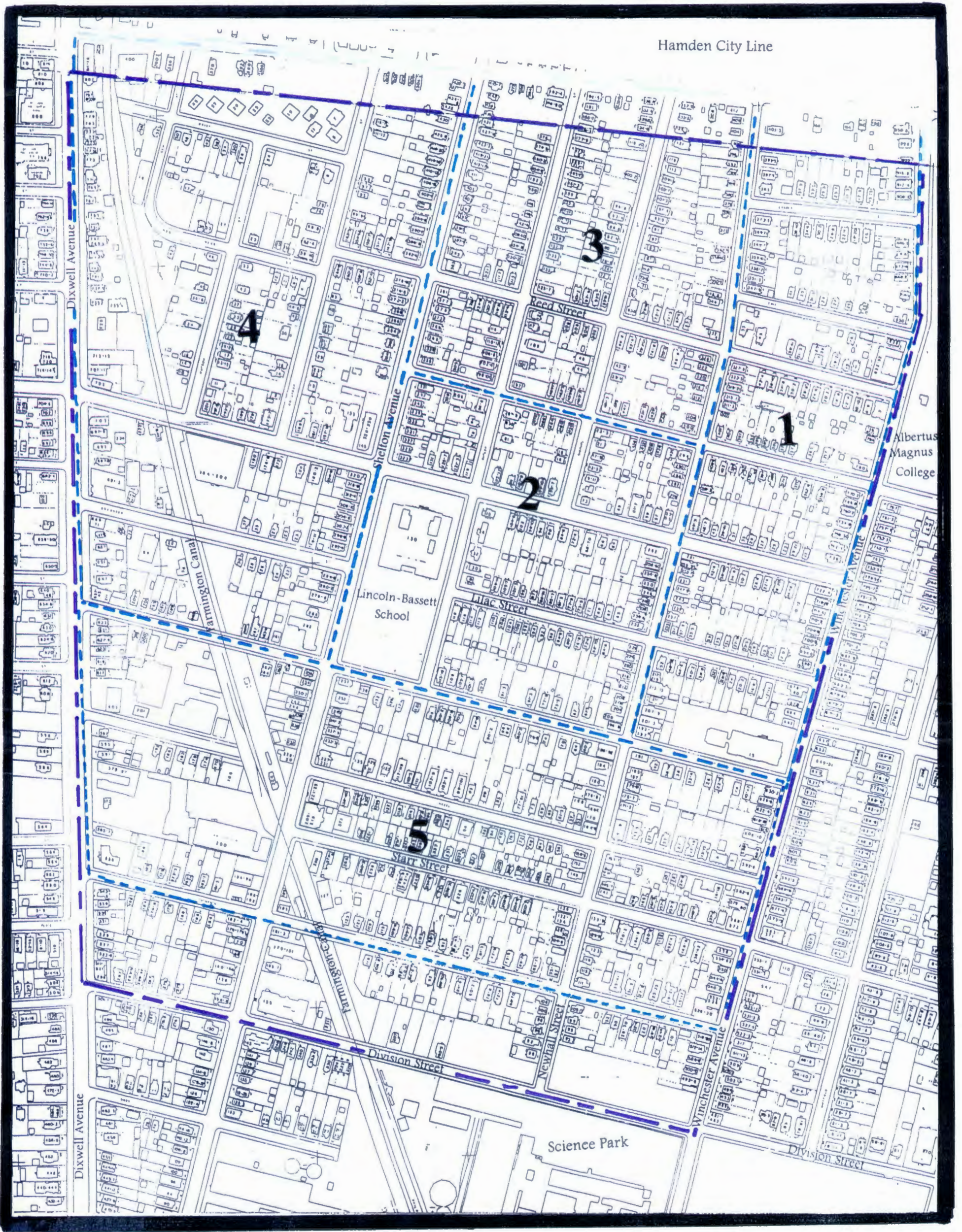
Layers

-  BLOCK GROUP 1990
-  Roads
-  Highways
-  Hydrography
-  Railroads
-  CENSUS TRACT

-  STUDY AREA



Source: Leslie Sprague, Harrall-Michalowski, Associates; 1990 Census



MAP 3.2

Newhallville Study Area



- - - - - Study Area Boundary
- - - - - Block Groups

population for which crime prevention strategies are to be developed. Specifically, data on racial composition, income and housing should be analyzed in order to identify the characteristics of the neighborhood.

One of the most noticeable demographic characteristics of the neighborhood is the racial composition. Newhallville differs greatly in racial composition from the rest of New Haven and the census tracts. Newhallville is the largest census tract in New Haven with a total population of 7,722 in 1990. Newhallville composes approximately six percent of the city's population. According to the 1990 Census, Newhallville had the highest minority population of all census tracts within the city (Harrall-Michalowski 1993). Newhallville's minority population of nearly 97 percent far exceeds the citywide minority population of just below fifty percent. The population of Newhallville is largely African-American with less than three percent of the population being Hispanic.

The age of the population in Newhallville does not vary significantly from the citywide averages. The average age of 29.9 years in Newhallville is representative of the median age citywide. However, the percent of population under the age of eighteen is slightly higher than the citywide average of 23.7 percent. The population over the age of sixty-five is lower than the citywide average. Age is an important factor in understanding the perception of crime in a neighborhood. A neighborhood with a large number of adolescents hanging out at corners creates fear among residents. The lack of an older more stable population decreases the social control in a neighborhood (Wilson 1982).

Table 3.1 Census Tract 1415 Demographics Newhallville, 1990

1990 Census Category	Study Area*	Census Tract 1415**	City of New Haven
Population Characteristics			
Total Population	4405	7722	130474
Number of Households	1589	2682	48986
Number of Families	1112	1877	28042
Median age	N/A	29.9	29.2
Percent of population under 18	29.1%	30.2%	23.7%
Percent of population over 65	9.3%	9.1%	12.3%
Percent Minority population	97.5%	96.9%	46.1%
Percent Hispanic population	N/A	2.8%	13.2%
Income			
Median Household Income	\$21,016	\$20,569	\$25,811
Median Family Income	\$25,573	\$22,235	\$31,163
Per Capita Income	\$9,684	\$9,992	\$12,968
% of Families below poverty level	N/A	24.2%	18.2%
% of Population below poverty level	N/A	26.6%	21.3%
Housing Stock			
Total Housing Units	1732	3005	54057
Percent Occupied	90.2%	89.3%	90.6%
Percent Vacant	9.8%	10.7%	9.4%
Percent Owner Occupied	34.1%	37.4%	31.8%
Percent Renter Occupied	56.2%	62.6%	68.2%

Source: 1990 US Census STF3A, Harrall-Michalowski Associates, 1993. 1990 Census Profile City of New Haven, City Plan Department ,

* block Groups 1-5, includes portion of Hamden and excludes properties south of Thompson Street

** New Haven Portion of Tract 1415 only.

The second demographic variable of interest in developing an understanding of the nature of the population in Newhallville is income. Income levels are often associated with increased levels of crime in low-income neighborhoods (Suchman 1994). As shown in Table 3.1, the median household, median family and per capita incomes for Newhallville are significantly lower than the average for New Haven. The median family income for the neighborhood was only 70 percent of the city average in 1990. The per capita and median household incomes follow the trend at about 75 percent of the city average. The percent of families below the poverty line was one third higher than the average for the city of New Haven. Approximately a quarter of all families in Newhallville had income levels below the poverty line in 1990. According to income statistics, Newhallville is a low-income neighborhood in the City of New Haven.

Finally, it is important to look at the housing stock of the neighborhood. The housing stock will be examined further in the analysis of land use, but certain characteristics are important to understanding the nature of the neighborhood at large. The 1990 Census data for Newhallville housing stock characteristics do not differ tremendously from the citywide average. However, an interesting note is the substantially lower percentage of renter-occupied units in the study area as compared to the city. The higher percentage of owner-occupied units for the entire neighborhood is also of interest.

Comparing block groups will enable a better understanding and identification of locations within the study area faced with greater issues of social and economic concern. Table 3.2 compares block group census data for the study area composed of block groups one through five. The most interesting finding from this comparison is the correlation between the percent of minority population and income level. Both Block Groups Two and Three had one hundred percent minority populations and also the lowest median household and family incomes in 1990. Block Group Two also had the second highest renter-occupied housing.

Housing stock data for the study area suggests that Block Group Five, had the highest number of abandoned and vacant buildings. Block Group Five had the least number of owner-occupied housing units comprising less than a quarter of the housing stock. About seventy percent of the housing were rental in this Block Group. Overall, the data collected for Block Group Five suggests that this portion of the study area faces the greatest social and economic problems.

Table 3.2 Study Area- Block Groups 1-5, 1990

Census Categories	Block Group One	Block Group Two	Block Group Three	Block Group Four	Block Group Five*	Block Groups Total
Population Characteristics						
Total Population	984	412	530	963	1516	4405
Number of Households	357	184	159	302	587	1589
Number of Families	279	111	105	253	364	1112
Percent of population under 18	29.8%	24.5%	36.7%	19.5%	34.9%	29.1%
Percent of population over 65	9.5%	4.6%	6%	17.8%	8.9%	9.4%
Percent Minority population	97.2%	100%	100%	88.8%	96.8%	97.4%
Income						
Median Household Income	\$31,289	\$12,500	\$13,990	\$29,423	\$17,878	\$21,016
Median Family Income	\$32,337	\$30,662	\$14,183	\$31,116	\$19,565	\$25,573
Per Capita Income	\$12,742	\$10,561	\$5,587	\$11,140	\$8,391	\$9,684
Housing Stock						
Total Housing Units	377	227	264	319	545	1732
Percent Occupied	88.3%	88.1%	100%	93.7%	85.7%	90.2%
Percent Vacant	11.6%	11.9%	0%	6.2%	14.3%	9.7%
Percent Owner Occupied	39.2%	31.2%	46.2%	48.2%	17.4%	34.6%
Percent Renter Occupied	49.0%	56.8%	53.7%	45.4%	68.2%	56.1%

Source: 1990 Census STF3A; block group five does not include the south side of Thompson Street

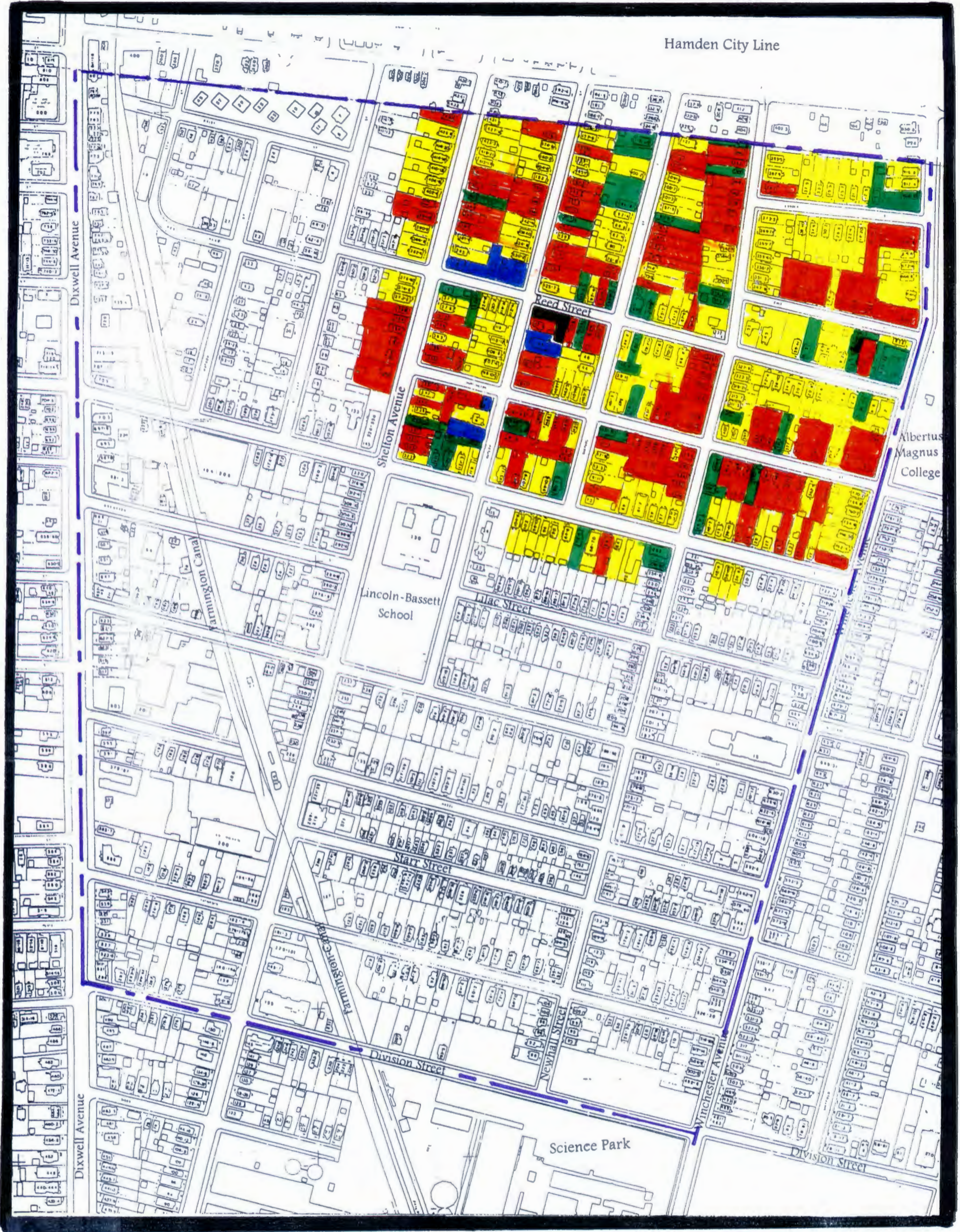
In summary, the demographic data collected for Newhallville establishes a clear understanding of the social, economic and physical issues facing the neighborhood. There are several findings that can be drawn from the demographic analysis. First, the population of Newhallville is primarily African-American and has the highest concentration of minorities throughout the city. Second, Newhallville has below average income levels compared to the City and suffers from above average levels of poverty as compared to the city. Third, Newhallville is similar to the average for New Haven in terms of the condition and ownership of the housing stock. Lastly, comparing the Block Groups composing the study area, the southern part of the study area, adjacent to Science Park, is faced with the highest degree of disparity compared to citywide averages.

Land Use Analysis

Understanding Newhallville's land use is important in understanding the physical setting in which crime prevention techniques will be applied. Components of land use of particular interest are the study area boundaries, the location of residential, commercial, industrial and institutional uses, vacant lots and buildings. The existence of these various components in the neighborhood are important in analyzing where and when crime occurs. A land use survey was conducted on February 21, 1998 for only a portion of the study area because of safety concerns. The city of New Haven is in the process of updating its land use maps at which time a better understanding of the land use in Newhallville will be obtainable. However, the land use map of the February 21 survey covered about twelve blocks of the study area between Shelton Avenue and Winchester, the Hamden City line and Bassett Street. This is a good representation of the land use patterns for the entire study area (see Map 3.3).

Residential, Commercial, Industrial and Institutional Uses

Newhallville is a residential neighborhood located in the northern part of New Haven. The neighborhood originally built as a company town for George Newhall's Carriage Company in the early part of the 19th century is laid out on a grid pattern. The study area is bound by Science Park to the south, Hamden City line to the north, Dixwell Avenue to the west and Winchester Avenue (and Albertus Magnus) to the east (see Map 3.2). The study area is primarily residential in character with very little commercial businesses. The housing in the neighborhood is comprised mostly of three-story tract housing (see Figures 3.1 & 3.2). As indicated in Table 3.3, most of the housing in the study area is multi-family with two to four units in each structure as of the 1990 Census. Block Group Four contains the highest number of single family detached units. In contrast, Block Group Five has the highest concentration of



MAP 3.3

Newhallville Study Area Selected Land Use Study



Study Area Boundary

- Single-Family Residential
- Multi-Family Residential (2-4)
- Vacant /Abandoned Properties
- Other (Commercial, Church, etc.)

Source: City of New Haven Base Map, 1965



Figure 3.1 Typical Three Story Housing Unit in Newhallville



Figure 3.2 Typical Streetscape in Newhallville

multi-family structures. The high number of structures in this block group composed of five or more units is a result of Presidential Gardens, a large multi-family housing development.

One of the land use issues in Newhallville related to the residential nature of the area is the lack of off-street parking. Very few of the homes in Newhallville have driveways or garages where cars can be parked off the street. This is of concern for the city, especially in the winter when snow has to be plowed.

Table 3.3 Housing Unit Composition, 1990

<i>Units in Structure</i>	Block Group One	Block Group Two	Block Group Three	Block Group Four	Block Group Five	Block Group Total
Single Family						
<i>one detached</i>	38	31	83	103	33	288
<i>one attached</i>	12	0	0	8	0	20
Multi-Family						
<i>two units</i>	167	83	88	112	104	554
<i>three to four units</i>	77	113	93	78	201	562
<i>five or more units</i>	71	0	0	10	207	288
<i>other</i>	12	0	0	8	0	20
Total Number of Units	377	227	264	319	545	1732

Source: 1990 Census Data

As previously mentioned, there is very little legal economic activity within Newhallville. Science Park is the major industrial component of the neighborhood. However, the high technology character of the businesses in the complex offers little opportunity to residents of the neighborhood. Commercial activity within the study area is limited to local corner stores, bars and social clubs. Most of the commercial activity within the study area is located on Winchester Avenue. Historically, Winchester Avenue was an important commercial street for the neighborhood in the earlier part of the century because of the relationship between the neighborhood and the former Winchester Repeating Arms factory located where Science Park is today. The commercial activity in this area has continued to decline in recent years.

Institutions located in Newhallville include the Newhallville police substation located on Winchester Avenue, Lincoln-Bassett Elementary School and various religious organizations. Albertus Magnus College although not inside the study area, borders the neighborhood on Winchester Street. Gates separating the institutes from the study area and the neighborhood in general surround Albertus Magnus as well as Science Park (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4).

Abandoned Buildings and Vacant Lots

Newhallville was originally built as a compact neighborhood with small lots and very little open space. Over time, as the neighborhood's population has declined and many middle class families moved to 'better' neighborhoods, many houses have been abandoned and have rapidly deteriorated. The buildings have become havens for illegal dumping, drug dealers and squatters (Ragsdele 1998). Illegal dumping poses health and safety issues for the neighborhood and creates an unsightly appearance for the neighborhood. Drug dealers use the abandoned houses to store their drug supply and in the winter months the homeless use the buildings to shelter themselves from the cold. Both users of the abandoned structures create hazardous situations. The squatters present a potentially dangerous situation, if they are building fires inside the building or using kerosene heaters to keep warm. The use of the abandoned buildings for drugs creates turf wars to protect the dealer's supply of drugs.

In an effort to reduce the number of abandoned buildings in the City, New Haven has instituted the *Livable Cities Initiative*. The program was started in 1996 to deal with the issue of blight in the city. The initiative has been used to demolish 45 properties in the Newhallville neighborhood, decreasing the number of abandoned buildings used for illegal purposes. However, demolition also creates vacant lots in the community. There are many vacant lots in the study area overgrown with weeds, strewn with litter and generally unmaintained. New homes



Figure 3.3 Fence separating Albertus Magnus College from Newhallville



Figure 3.4 Fence separating Science Park from Newhallville

can not be built on these properties because of changes in the zoning requirements reducing the density of the neighborhood. The city has dealt with this issue to some degree through the community gardens program and allowing adjacent property owners to buy the property at a discounted price (Ragsdele 1998). However, the property is not clearly defined through fences or ownership and provides opportunities for criminal activity.

Crime Analysis

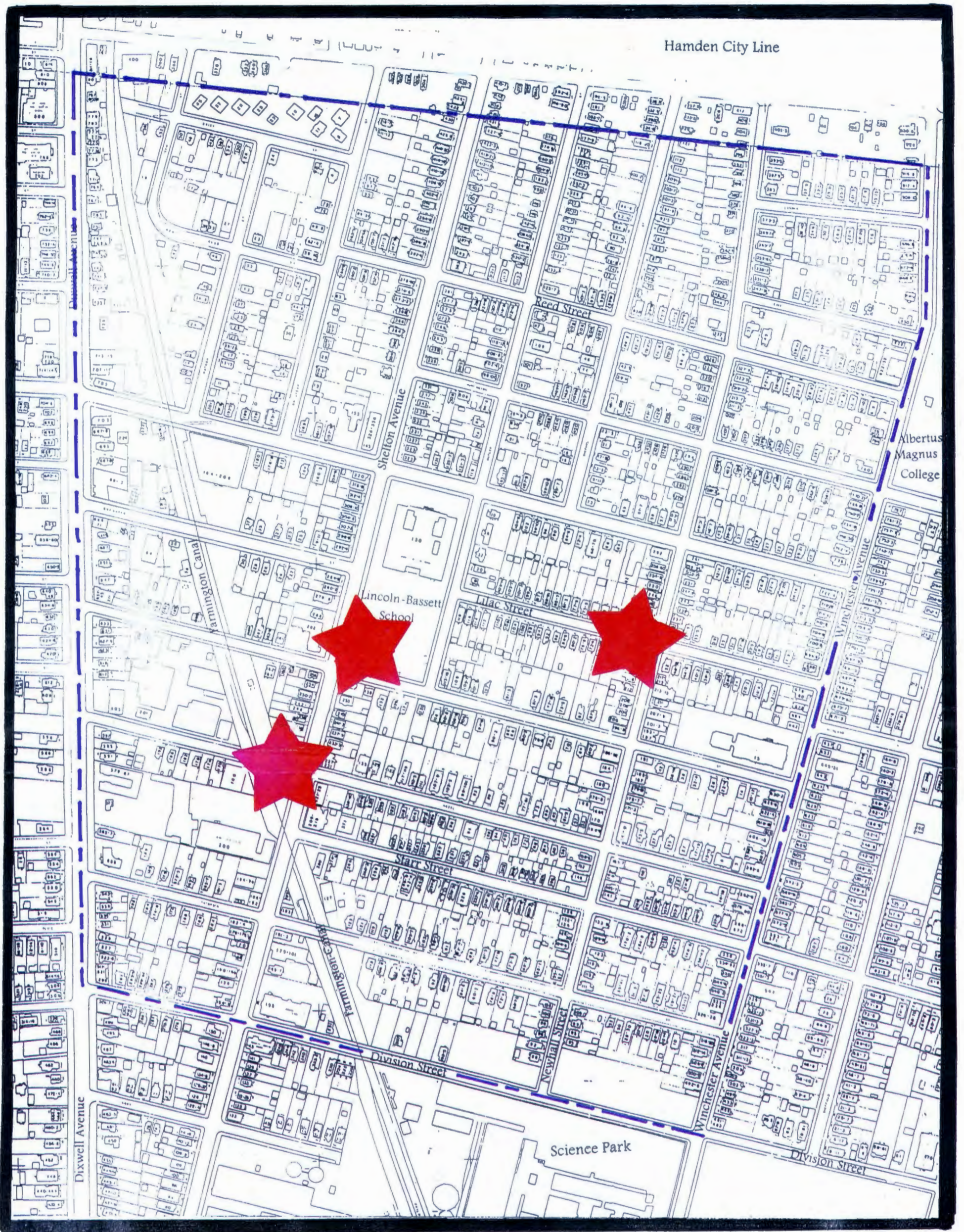
In order to fully understand crime in Newhallville it is important to understand what crimes are committed, who is committing the crime, and the geographical location of crime in the study area. As shown in Table 3.4, there are several tools that can be used to measure potential criminal activity at a place: the Three-D Approach (Crowe 1991, 33), the Delft Checklist (van der Voordt, 1993) and the Safe Cities Approach (Wekerle, 1995). Each of these methods acts as a guide for determining the likelihood of criminal activity occurring at a place and what programs can be employed to reduce crime in the area. Given the general crime information collected about Newhallville, and the intensity levels of some of the approaches requiring attention to each individual parcel, this study uses the Delft Checklist to analyze crime in the neighborhood. There are three basic components to the Delft Checklist; determining the presence of potential perpetrators, accessibility and escape routes, and attraction of the potential target. Table 3.4 lists the types of questions asked of crime experts in Newhallville.

General information about criminals, criminal activity and the location of crime was readily available by speaking with Sergeant Rolaff and Officer Greigo at the Newhallville police substation. Officer Greigo has been a police officer in Newhallville for eighteen years and was a wealth of information about the criminal activity in the neighborhood. Map 3.4 identifies

Table 3.4 Three Approaches to Identifying Crime in Places

Approaches	Contributor	Elements	Types of Questions
The Three-D Approach	Crowe 1991	Designation Definition Design	What is the intended purpose of space? How well does the space support its attended use? Where are the borders of the space? Is it clear who owns the property? Are there social or administrative rules for the use of the space? How does the physical design support the intended function? Does the physical design impede productive use or intended activity?
The Delft Checklist	van der Voordt 1993	Presence of Potential Perpetrators Accessibility and Escape Routes Attraction of the Potential Target	Is there a concentration of potential problem groups? Is there a presence of undesirables: drug addicts and vagrants? Is there a clear distinction between public and private spaces? Are there a large number of access points? Is there a concentration of criminal activity? What is the design of public spaces?
Safe Cities	Wekerle & Whitzman 1995	Design	Is there sufficient lighting? Is the street layout predictable? Do essential routes through the neighborhood provide clear sightlines? Are there positive activities occurring in vacant lots? (ex. community gardens?)

Source: Crowe, 1991 *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* pp. 33-34; van der Voordt, 1993 *The Delft Checklist on Safe Neighborhoods*; Wekerle & Whitzman, 1993 *Safe Cities*



MAP 3.4

Newhallville Study Area

'Hot Spots' of Criminal Activity



Hot Spots

Study Area Boundary

locations that have been or are currently 'hot spots' for criminal activity in the study area as identified through a tour of the study area.

As in many low-income inner-city neighborhoods, the major crime in Newhallville is drug dealing. This issue was brought to light in a 1990 article in the *New Yorker* entitled “ *Out There* ”. The two part series written by a journalist who followed a drug dealer from Newhallville for several months, brought national attention to the world of drugs in Newhallville and throughout the city of New Haven (Finnegan 1990). Closely linked to the drug problem is the issue of gangs. There are two major gangs in the neighborhood controlling the supply of drugs to residents and outsiders. At times the rival drug gangs will war over turf especially when a drug lord, the person supplying the drugs, is removed from the streets. Often when rival gangs are warring there will be shootings and a rise in other violent crimes. Other crimes that are problems in the community, though not as prevalent, are burglary and robbery (Greigo 1998).

According to Officer Greigo, the residents of the neighborhood are committing the crimes in the community. This makes policing difficult in the neighborhood because the drug dealers know the neighborhood so well that they are able to hide in a variety of locations. Also, the difficulty in policing arises because the residents of the neighborhood do not report drug activity out of fear or allegiance to the dealers. A majority of the criminals in the neighborhood are young African-American men, who feel trapped in the community (Greigo 1998). For example, while walking the neighborhood with Officer Greigo, we passed a known drug dealer who had been shot and now uses a wheelchair. After being shot, the young man returned to the street to continue dealing drugs and was shot again. Officer Greigo relayed that the dealer had been asked why he still deals drugs today after being horribly wounded twice to which his answer was “ What else am I going to do? Who would hire me?”

The “hot spots” of criminal activity in Newhallville change frequently. The drug dealers in the community are able to move their location often since they have intimate knowledge of the neighborhood. While conducting the interview with Officer Greigo, he pointed out several locations that were at one time hot spots for drug dealing. The infamous ‘mudhole’ named in the *New Yorker* article was one of the locations visited during the interview. The mudhole notorious as a place for buying drugs had been a vacant lot littered with old couches, tires and baby carriages, with easy access for both pedestrians and cars. The location next to an old railroad bed and a liquor store allowed drug dealers to escape quickly either along the tracks or blending in with customers at the liquor store.

Another ‘hot spot’ for drug selling in the past has been a basketball court next to the Lincoln-Bassett School located at the corner of Shelton Avenue and Ivy. The basketball court was not well lit providing a perfect opportunity for selling drugs. At one point the basketball court had a half dozen to a dozen dealers using the grounds at the same time to sell drugs to either community members or outsiders.

Drug dealers prefer to sell drugs somewhere in proximity to an abandoned building. The location next to a vacant building allows the dealers to hide the drugs in a building not far from where they are being sold. Currently one of the ‘hot spots’ for drug dealing is on the corner of Lilac and Newhall Streets. Another concern is the possibility of increased drug activity in the area known as the Presidential Gardens, a multi-family housing complex.

Personal Observations/ User Interviews

Personal Observations and User Interviews are an important element to understanding the physical character of the study area. Interviews and visual reviews of an area give first hand knowledge of how, when and where problems may arise. Observations of the neighborhood and

interviewing residents provides insight to the environmental clues that offenders and normal users rely on to determine their behavior. Observations include collecting informal data about on and off-street parking, the presence of control devices, maintenance of yard and buildings, and percentage of drawn blinds (Crowe 1991, 37).

The previous sections on land use, crime and demographics paint a fairly clear picture of the neighborhood dynamics. Visiting the study area reinforces issues represented in demographic and land use statistics. Abandoned buildings, vacant lots, graffiti and strewn litter create a depressed atmosphere in the neighborhood (see Figure 3.5). The fear of crime is demonstrated through the types of security devices residents in the neighborhood have installed. Many homes have iron grates across the windows to prevent burglaries. Other homes have high fences surrounding the property. As an extreme, one resident of the study area has barricaded his home by hammering nails into his front door and around his fence that face outward to prevent break-ins. Another extreme example of defended space, is a rehabilitated home with only one window in the front of the house (see figure 3.6).

However, there are many well-maintained homes in the study area and entire blocks are being rehabilitated. There are residents interested in fixing the neighborhood and programs in place to rehabilitate homes and vacant lots. Although the area is depressed, it has seen a decrease in crime in the last several years and there are many groups and individuals who are willing to fight for renewal of the neighborhood (Greigo, 1998). As a result, some physical and non-physical strategies have already been implemented to reduce crime in the neighborhood.



Figure 3.5 Example of Abandoned Buildings in Newhallville



Figure 3.6 Example of Extreme Defensible Space

Chapter Four

Existing Crime Reduction Strategies

This chapter will examine and evaluate the existing crime prevention strategies being used in Newhallville. Interviews with law enforcement officials, Sergeant Roloff and Officer Greigo as well as with the Livable Cities Neighborhood Coordinator, Thelma Ragsdele, provided information about the crime reduction strategies being used in the neighborhood. This chapter will evaluate both the physical and non-physical crime reduction strategies being used to determine if other crime reduction techniques can be incorporated.

Physical Crime Reduction Strategies

Oscar Newman and the CPTED approach promote four interrelated elements of physical design contributing to a secure environment (Newman 1972, Crowe 1991). The four elements of territoriality, image and milieu, natural surveillance, and management can be used to evaluate the physical crime reduction strategies utilized in Newhallville. Success can be measured by determining each technique's ability to reduce opportunities for an offender to commit a crime at a particular location.

The physical crime reduction strategies used in Newhallville are aimed at increasing territoriality, surveillance and improving the image of the neighborhood. Maintenance is an integral piece of physical crime reduction strategies and has been used to upgrade and continue several of the strategies. Many of the strategies adopted in Newhallville address more than one of the physical design elements contributing to a secure environment (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Newhallville Physical Crime Reduction Strategies

Design Strategy	Design Element	Responsible Agency
Livable Cities Initiative Removal of Vacant Buildings Selling or Improving Vacant Lots Paint Grant Program	Image & milieu Surveillance Territoriality Ownership Maintenance	Planning Office Livable Cities Program Mayor
Housing Rehabilitation	Ownership Image & milieu	Newhallville Restoration Corporation Habitat for Humanity Livable Cities Program
Establishing One-Way Streets, Four-Way Stop	Territoriality	Planning, Department of Transportation
Community Gardening	Territoriality Image & milieu	New Haven Land Trust Livable Cities Program
Recovery of Mudhole Area	Territoriality Image & milieu	Livable Cities Program Building Inspector
Increased Lighting	Surveillance Ownership	Utility Company Newhallville Police
Bulletproof Light Fixtures	Maintenance	Utility Company Newhallville Police

Perhaps the most influential and most publicized strategy has been the *Livable Cities Initiative*. This initiative began in 1996 by Mayor John Stefano to eliminate blight throughout the neighborhoods of New Haven. The purpose of the initiative is to coordinate and implement comprehensive blight elimination and neighborhood improvement projects. To date the program has eliminated blighted buildings, reduced density, provided off-street parking, improved vacant lots and provided neighborhood beautification projects in Newhallville (*Livable Cities Initiative* 1996).

The City of New Haven is interested in demolishing the abandoned buildings to abate opportunities for illegal dumping, squatters and drug storage as well as reducing the density of the neighborhoods. Many of the abandoned buildings have been empty for years and have been exposed to extreme weather conditions by illegal users. The declining population of the city has created an imbalance in the housing stock rendering many properties inappropriate for

rehabilitation. This combined with the the condition of the abandoned properties makes some buildings ripe for demolition. Since the initiative was implemented in 1996, forty-five abandoned buildings have been demolished in Newhallville. The removal of abandoned buildings increases territoriality and can enhance the image and milieu of the neighborhood if the newly created vacant lot is properly addressed.

The initiative addresses the vacant lots left behind when a building is removed by allowing the adjacent property owners to buy the property at a reduced price. The city ordinance no longer allows new buildings to be built on small sliver lots decreasing the likelihood of development unless the property is adjacent to other vacant properties. As a result of the new zoning ordinance and in an effort to reduce on-street parking, the city offers the adjacent property owners the ability to buy the property. The property is sold at a rate of ten cents per square foot and can be divided in numerous ways. The city is flexible in dividing property in a variety of ratios among adjacent homeowners in an effort to sell the property. Approximately ten lots in the neighborhood have been sold to the adjacent property owners.

Selling the vacant lots to adjacent property owners is a physical crime reduction strategy that incorporates many of the five elements of defensible design. The selling of the property to an individual within the community provides ownership and increased natural surveillance over the property, which will decrease the likelihood of illegal activity taking place in the space. The new owner of the property freely accepts the responsibility of maintaining the property. A well-maintained property enhances the image and milieu of the community and removes it from a list of degenerated properties that are overgrown and litter strewn.

Another component of the *Livable Cities Initiative* is the paint grant program. This program grants money up to three thousand dollars for exterior house painting. There are only

100 grants available citywide and all back taxes on a property must be paid in order to be eligible for the grant. There have been no properties in Newhallville that have taken part in the paint grant program. However, the program could provide an opportunity for residents in Newhallville to improve the appearance of their house in turn having a positive effect on the neighborhood image.

The Livable Cities Initiative faces several obstacles in eliminating blight. First, the City of New Haven must establish ownership of the building before it can be demolished. Since many of the buildings were abandoned, establishing ownership is a time consuming task requiring researching old city records to determine the last owner of the property. Once ownership is established the city must determine the back taxes and liens on the property. The city can then buy the property by paying off the liens and foreclosing. Once the city owns the property, then it can sell it to non-profit agencies for rehabilitation or demolish the building and sell the lot to adjacent property owners.

Besides being a time-consuming process, the second obstacle the city faces is the high cost of foreclosing on the property in order to make the property useable by the residents of the community. Unfortunately removing abandoned buildings and acquiring ownership of vacant properties requires a huge financial commitment from the city with no financial return on investment. Once an abandoned building has been bought by the city, the condition of the structure will determine whether it can be rehabilitated or if it must be torn down. Residential units that can be rehabilitated are sold at five hundred dollars per livable unit. Vacant lots after the removal of an abandoned building are sold at ten cents per square foot. The low prices that city-owned properties are sold do not cover the expense the city outlays in order to acquire the properties.

Another physical crime reduction strategy being used in the neighborhood is the rehabilitation of residences by non-profit organizations such as *Habitat for Humanity* and the *Newhallville Restoration Corporation*. One of the objectives of the *Livable Cities Initiative* is to increase homeownership opportunities in order to attain neighborhood stability. This is based on the assumption that homeowners will take more interest in the neighborhood in order to protect property values. According to the physical crime reduction strategies, increased homeownership reduces the amount of crime in the neighborhood because of a natural human instinct to protect personal property. Increasing homeownership was one of the strategies used by Oscar Newman in the Five Oaks Neighborhood of Dayton, Ohio (Cisneros 1997).

Non-profit organizations such as *Habitat for Humanity* and the *Newhallville Restoration Corporation*, are revitalizing houses in the study area that have been purchased from the city under the *Livable Cities Initiative*. *Habitat for Humanity* buys houses at a minimal price from the city and completely rehabilitates the house from the inside out (see figure 4.1). The program is designed to ensure that neighborhood people are able to buy the single-family residences through a combination of sweat equity and a mortgage held by the agency. *Habitat for Humanity* has rehabilitated approximately fifteen homes in the Newhallville neighborhood (see Map 4.1). The concentrated location of homes rehabilitated by *Habitat for Humanity* in a several blocks provides an opportunity for all of the design elements of crime reduction strategies to work to decrease opportunities for crime to occur in the area.

Reed Street has undergone major renovations as organizations such as *Habitat for Humanity* and the *Newhallville Restoration Corporation* repair many of the homes on the street for single-family residence and multi-family units with property owners living in the residence. *Habitat for Humanity's* policy of sweat equity encourages future homeowners on the street to

Map 4.1 Location of Houses in Newhallville Rehabilitated by Habitat for Humanity



Source: Leslie Sprague, New Haven Habitat for Humanity, 1998



Figure 4.1 Example of home being rehabilitated by Habitat for Humanity

form valuable relationships that will aid in the maintenance, image and milieu of the block, natural surveillance and territoriality.

The *Newhallville Restoration Corporation* also provides opportunities for increased ownership of properties in the neighborhood. The *Newhallville Restoration Corporation*, the local Community Development Corporation rehabilitates multi-family units in the neighborhood to sell to community members who are interested in living on the first floor while renting other units to help pay the mortgage. This provides multi-family housing units maintained by stakeholders in the community instead of absentee landlords who are not concerned about the maintenance of the building or the surrounding property.

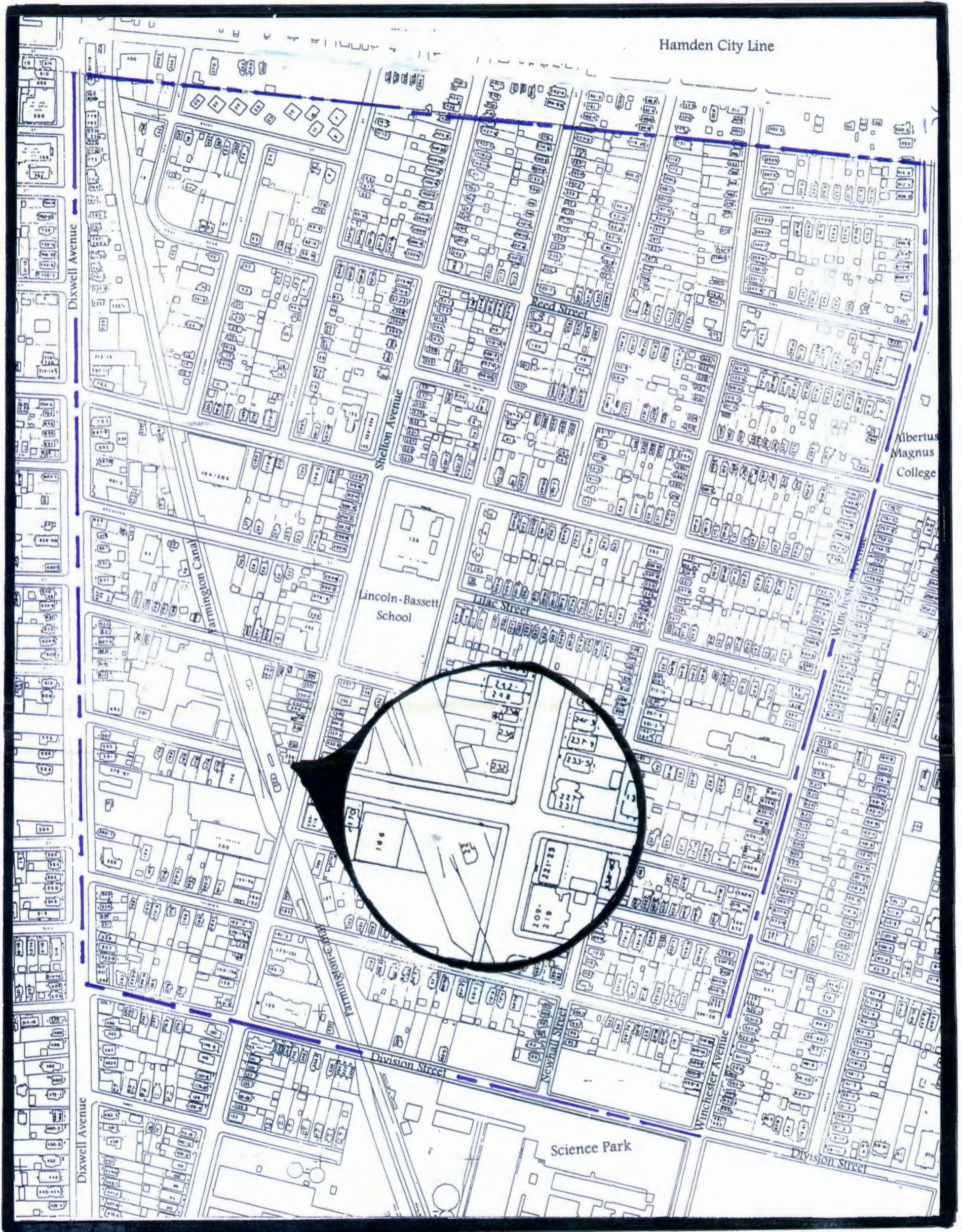
Although street closures have never been implemented by the neighborhood in an effort to increase territoriality the issue has been discussed in the past. Reaction to the possible implementation of street closures was negative and the general sentiment was closures would not be a proper solution to the crime issues in Newhallville. The neighborhood has experienced the effects of a street closure when Science Park gated off a portion of Winchester Street passing through the high-technology park. The results of the street closure were disastrous for the residents of Newhallville and also the City. Bus routes had to be reorganized to deal with the barrier dividing the two parts of Newhallville and residents were upset over yet another hard edge dividing the community.

One strategy the community has used to reduce traffic speed and the ease of access to and from the area is to thoughtfully plan out a system of one-way streets. The use of one-way streets has a similar effect to a gate or street closure if a person is not familiar with the area. A system of one-way streets makes it difficult for a person to easily plan escape routes after committing a crime. Knowledge of escape routes is one of the factors a rational offender will use in deciding

to commit a crime (Taylor & Harrell 1996, 2). Also the use of four-way stop signs at most intersection reduces the speed at which an offender can escape and increases the risk of injury to self in escaping. The use of stop signs and one-way streets is a means to increase territoriality of residents in the neighborhood. By slowing down traffic, residents can recognize the driver of the car determining if the driver is from the neighborhood or an outsider. The slowed traffic also provides opportunities for residents to get descriptions of suspicious cars and license plates if available, increasing the sense of territoriality for residents.

Another program supported through the *Livable Cities Initiative* is the community gardening program. The community garden program run by the *New Haven Land Trust* provides the materials and labor necessary to prepare a vacant lot for gardening. The city leases the vacant lot to the Land Trust for a dollar a year ensuring the property still belongs to the city in case of future development potential. The community garden program although criticized for not being a community driven effort beautifies some of the vacant lots in the neighborhood. The gardens could provide opportunities for increased territoriality in areas where the gardens are a true community effort. However without the involvement of community members the gardens only aid the image of the neighborhood to newcomers.

The final physical crime reduction strategy aimed at increasing territoriality and perhaps the most successful has been the closing of the mudhole area of Newhallville. The closure of this popular drug trafficking location has increased the sense of territoriality of the neighbors and has changed the image of the area. A lot of positive feedback from the neighboring residents and businesses has resulted from the demolition of the liquor store and the reopening of a through road at the location (see Map 4.2).



MAP 4.2

Newhallville Study Area Reconstruction of the Mudhole Area



--- Study Area Boundary

Natural surveillance has been increased in the area through increased lighting and tree maintenance efforts. Officer Greigo stated in our conversation that the lighting has been increased so much in the neighborhood that there is hardly any dark spots to be found at night. The police and city officials have worked with the utility company to install bulletproof glass on the light fixtures to prevent the lights from being shot out by neighborhood gang members. Tree trimming has also increased surveillance in the neighborhood. Overgrown trees reduced sightlines for residents and pedestrians as well as police officers. By trimming the lower branches of the trees, hiding spots have been reduced and the line of vision improved.

In summary, physical crime reduction strategies in Newhallville have been aimed at increasing ownership, territoriality, beautification and surveillance. Targeting vacant lots and abandoned properties to be reclaimed by the residents of the neighborhood although a financial loss for the city will increase the strength of the community. Once the community has control over the vacant properties the result will be an increase in the perception of safety in the neighborhood.

Non-Physical Crime Reduction Strategies

Newhallville is taking an integrated approach to crime reduction by employing not only physical crime reduction strategies but also several non-physical strategies. These can be divided into two categories: strategies employed by law enforcement officials and strategies implemented by the residents of the neighborhood. The two programs carried out by law enforcement officials are community policing and *Project One Voice*. Some of the organizations involved in preventing and reducing occurrences of crime in the neighborhood are the Community Management Team, Community Block Watch programs and *Fighting Back* (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Newhallville Non-Physical Crime Reduction Strategies

Non-Physical Strategy	Goal	Responsible Agency
Project One Voice	Increase safety by removing convicted criminals from the streets when probation has been violated.	Newhallville Police Officers, Probation Officers
Community Policing	Increase trust in the police Increase reported crimes	Newhallville Police Officers
Community Management Team	Set goals and objectives for the community	Community members. Livable Cities Representative, Police officers, Community leaders
Block Watch	Increase social contact between neighbors Increase likelihood of reporting crime	Community Members, Newhallville Police Officers
Fighting Back	Provide intervention programs for drug users	Community members, Yale Hospital Certified Drug Counselors

Ten years ago the City of New Haven Police Department returned to community policing in an effort to reduce crime in the neighborhoods. The traditional response method of crime fighting was not working and crime was increasing despite the efforts of the police. The return to community policing has had a positive effect on crime in the neighborhoods. The fixed beats of the community police officers has improved relations between the officers and the community resulting in increased levels of trust, an improved citizen perception of law enforcement and the increased satisfaction of police officers (Rohe 1998). There are approximately twenty five to thirty community police officers that work various shifts in Newhallville (Greigo 1998). The permanent placement of these officers in the neighborhood has created a better understanding of the dynamics of the neighborhood. The officers have an intimate knowledge of the physical layout of the neighborhood as well as the people that comprise the population of the neighborhood.

Through the return to community policing the police officers have had the opportunity to become involved with other issues in the neighborhood besides responding to crime. The officers have a participatory role in enhancing the social well being of the neighborhood. For instance, the officers have started an after school chess club to teach young children how to play chess. Also the lines of communication have opened up between law enforcement officials and other city departments enabling the use of a variety of methods to reduce crime in the neighborhood. One example is the coordination with the building inspector to close down a social club associated with a lot of criminal activity. Another example is the contact between public works officials and community police to remove illegal dumping in a vacant lot. Before the return to community policing, the illegal garbage would have sat on the lot detracting from the neighborhood and encouraging other people to also dump garbage at the site. Now, the police officers have a stake in the community and are able to get the lot cleaned before more illegal activity occurs. The collaboration between community police officers and other city departments has led to positive community perception of the police officers and has aided in improving the overall crime statistics of the area.

A recent program implemented by the community police in Newhallville is *Project One Voice*. The program modeled after a very successful two-year pilot program in Dorchester, Massachusetts called *Project Nightlight*. The program coordinates the efforts of police officers and probation officers to more effectively deal with offenders in the community as well as increasing neighborhood safety and order (Mongillo 1998). The police officers are routinely given photographs and informational packets of offenders on probation in the neighborhood. The officers are also teamed with probation officers to increase monitoring and supervision of offenders during patrols.

The partnering of the police and probation officers has resulted in an increased police knowledge of convicted offenders and the specific conditions of probation. Some of the conditions include a curfew (from six p.m. to seven a.m.), prohibited association with known gang members, and restriction from areas of known drug activity. The awareness of convicted offenders and probation conditions by the police increases surveillance of offenders on probation. Knowing who the convicted offenders are along with the restrictions of probation allows an officer to report to the probation officer any observed violation. This sets in motion the opportunity to obtain an arrest warrant, a hearing with a judge, the revocation of probation and the incarceration of the offender (Mongillo 1998). This program provides a non-confrontational way for officers to remove threats to safety and order. Since the program was implemented in Newhallville early in 1998, two offenders have been sent to jail.

Community organizations also have had a positive effect on the reduction of crime through working with the local police in the neighborhood. The Community Management Team is an organization that meets once a month to address various issues in the neighborhood. The Community Management Team meetings are held in the substation and are open to anyone within the community. The Community Management Team is made up of various leaders in the community, representatives from the police substation, the *Livable Cities* representative and other community residents. This organization identifies issues as well as sets goals and priorities for the neighborhood. The Management Team provides an opportunity for communication among community members, law enforcement and city officials.

Another community-based effort to reduce crime in Newhallville is the community Block Watches. There are approximately twenty-five different Block Watch groups in the neighborhood. The organizations are strong and have had a positive effect on crime in their

blocks by communicating suspicious activity with fellow residents and the police. The monthly meetings provide an opportunity for residents of the block to get together and socialize. Increased social contact has been proven to increase the likelihood of a resident to respond or report suspicious activity to the police (Kapsis 1976, Bellair 1997). Increased territoriality a natural result of increased social contact reduces a rational offenders desire to commit a crime in an area that is clearly protected.

Lastly, *Fighting Back* is an organization that deals with the issues of drugs in the neighborhood. The organization promotes innovation in drug demand and supply reduction and reducing substance abuse in the City of New Haven. The organization works with various community groups (churches, businesses, and treatment providers) to develop strategies to reduce the demand for drugs by providing intervention programs. Recently, *Fighting Back* in Newhallville has become less active in the neighborhood. However, this is one example of a social organization aimed at reducing crime in the neighborhood by targeting the larger social issues.

Subsequently, the return to community policing and the use of community block watches has been the most successful non-physical strategies for reducing crime in the neighborhood. The lack of community centers and gathering places in strategic locations throughout the neighborhood may have an effect on the lack of community programs aimed at the building community and fighting crime from a non-physical viewpoint.

Summary of Findings

One of the strengths Newhallville has in implementing programs aimed at reducing crime in the neighborhood is the support of the city. The fact that many of the neighborhoods in New Haven are experiencing similar problems creates a situation where the City has to address and

offer assistance to the neighborhoods if New Haven is to improve socially, economically and physically.

Although there are some programs that are implementing physical improvements in the neighborhood which effect crime levels, there is no single program aimed directly at using physical design to reduce crime in the neighborhood. The removal and rehabilitation of vacant and abandoned properties indirectly reduces opportunities for crime although there are other social and economic goals of the program.

Non-physical crime reduction strategies such as community policing and community organized efforts, are directly linked to the issue of crime in the neighborhood. Although there are some opportunities for haphazardly identifying and addressing issues and physical attributes leading to crime in the neighborhood there is no structure to systematically inventory possible crime opportunities.

Currently the physical and non-physical strategies to reduce crime in the neighborhood are working independently of one another. Although there is some interaction between various organizations with goals of physical improvements or crime prevention, the two issues are not tightly intertwined.

Chapter Five

Crime Prevention Recommendations

This chapter will outline recommendations for successful crime prevention in Newhallville. The chapter is divided into specific goals for both physical and non-physical crime prevention strategies as well as an overall recommendation for reducing crime in Newhallville. As mentioned in previous chapters, crime reduction is just one part of an overall revitalization program for low-income neighborhoods. The recommendations in this chapter are intertwined with the overall improvement of the neighborhood but have specific crime prevention goals in mind.

The recommendations in this chapter range in the level of complexity and cost. Some of the crime prevention strategies can be implemented at the neighborhood level whereas others will require help from the city to incorporate the strategy into regulations or to provide funding.

The recommendations for physical crime reduction strategies in Newhallville relate to Oscar Newman's concept of Defensible Space. The recommendations aim to improve opportunities for surveillance, territoriality, ownership and image. There are five recommendations for crime reduction related to redesigning the physical space of Newhallville. The recommendations include: (1) community clean-up, (2) defining boundaries, (3) linking institutions to the neighborhood, (4) incorporating design against crime into land-use codes, and (5) turning vacant lots into viable open space.

Non-physical crime reduction strategies include the creation of social programs aimed at grassroots initiative to reduce crime in the neighborhood. Recommendations include (1) safety

audits programs, (2) increased involvement of community churches, (3) increased children's activities and (4) improved relations between Alderpersons and residents.

Physical Crime Reduction Strategy Recommendations

Many of the physical crime reduction strategies recommended by Oscar Newman and other leaders in the crime prevention through environmental design field are currently being used in Newhallville. The city of New Haven has addressed many physical design strategies for crime reduction through the *Livable Cities Initiative*. Traditional crime prevention techniques such as increased lighting, beautification projects, removal of derelict structures and abandoned buildings have been addressed by this initiative. However there are some strategies that the city has not yet implemented that can increase territoriality, ownership, and image of the neighborhood.

Community Clean-Up Day

The first recommendation is to organize a community clean-up day for the Newhallville neighborhood. A community clean-up day planned correctly could serve as an instrument in improving the relations between community residents and organizations that work in the community. A successful community clean-up day would improve the image of the neighborhood while increasing the residents' perception of ownership and territoriality.

Through my interview with the Livable Cities Liaison for the Newhallville neighborhood, Thelma Ragsdele, several community concerns were identified that could be addressed with a community clean-up day and follow-up maintenance. One concern raised by residents was the reboarding of abandoned buildings in order to reduce the illegal activity occurring in the buildings. The announcement of a community clean-up day would enable illegal users to vacate the premises before being discovered. Another concern that could be addressed is the trimming of overgrown trees that reduce sightlines for pedestrians in the community. Trimming trees and

removing overgrown shrubs will improve the natural surveillance of criminal activity. Lastly, trashcans could be installed providing opportunities for trash to be disposed of properly instead of littered on the streets where it detracts from the visual image of the neighborhood.

Although there are organizations working in Newhallville to improve neighborhood conditions, little interaction occurs between the organization and the community as a whole. A community clean-up day could be an opportunity to bring together all the residents, school children, organizations, city agencies, community police officers and other persons who work or live in the community together to solve a common problem. A clean-up day would enable the various interested parties to work on an issue with a result that could be seen at the end of the day.

The clean-up day could be planned in conjunction with the traditional Freddie Fix-It parade that marks the beginning of spring. The parade, which originally started as a way to celebrate and entice children into spring-cleaning, would be a perfect compliment to a community clean-up day. Using the Freddie Fix-It parade as a kick off to a community clean up day may perhaps encourage more public involvement in a clean-up effort.

In order to make the clean-up day a success, garbage bags, tools, public works trucks to haul garbage from the site and city personnel should be made available to aid in the clean-up process. The involvement of city officials, community representatives, residents, community police officers, social workers and others that have a stake in the community should be involved. The clean-up day should be organized or sponsored by a local community organization or several organizations as a grassroots effort. The *Newhallville Community Management Team* joined with several of the community block watch organizations would be ideal sponsors of the effort. Other possible sponsors or organizers may include *Habitat for Humanity* or the *Newhallville*

Restoration Corporation. The *Livable Cities Initiative* may be able to help fund the program since one of its goals is community beautification.

Incentives should be used to encourage individuals to take part in a community clean-up day. As an immediate incentive for residents and other stakeholders to take part in the clean-up effort, food and refreshments could be provided. Another incentive would be to ensure the residents that the clean-up effort would be maintained through a variety of programs that are currently in place or through the utilization of public works and penalties for property owners that do not maintain abandoned property. If a pilot community clean-up day was successful the city could undertake other neighborhoods in the city and create a program where neighborhoods could have clean up days in rotating years to ensure maintenance of their neighborhoods.

Of all the physical crime reduction strategies, the community clean-up day requires the least amount of time and money and would provide the greatest opportunity for immediate results and citizen participation. The involvement of residents, community police officers and other stakeholders in Newhallville, would become a building block for further crime prevention and neighborhood revitalization strategies used in Newhallville.

Boundary Definition

The second physical crime reduction strategy recommended is to define boundaries of the neighborhood and between public and private spaces. Defining boundaries of the neighborhood and creating subsets of mini-neighborhoods within the community has been used to decrease opportunities for crime to occur. Oscar Newman and others have suggested changing road patterns from through streets to cul-de-sacs and using gates to define mini-neighborhoods in order to increase the territoriality of residents in the neighborhood (Newman 1972, Crowe 1997). This concept can be altered to create mini-neighborhoods without changing road patterns or

using gates that may actually harm instead of aid a community by segregating blocks of the neighborhood.

Newhallville has several areas where the neighborhood is divided by significant structures or roadways. Although these hard edges are often viewed as a negative asset because of the tendency to divide a community, in this case, they may provide a valuable opportunity for Newhallville. For example the division of Newhallville by Science Park and the location of Albertus Magnus and Dixwell Avenue creates an opportunity for the area within these boundaries to become a distinct section of the neighborhood (see Map 3.2). Signage such as the "Newhall Carriage Company" sign located at an intersection in the neighborhood could be used to announce entry into this area of Newhallville (See Figure 5.1). Blocks within this area could be defined with local historically significant signage as well as signage stating entrance into a block watch community if that is the case.

Identifying interesting landmarks within the mini-neighborhood would also aid in creating pride in local community members and could serve as focal points to various mini-neighborhoods. For example, there is only one remaining building in Newhallville that is from the original company town of the Newhall Carriage Company. This could be used as a "theme" to bring a street or block together and create a mini-neighborhood. Other centerpieces to a neighborhood may be a community playground or a community garden on a vacant lot.

There are many ways to create the perception that a mini-neighborhood exists. The planting of similar trees evenly spaced, the use of signage, unified fencing or plants as a border between private and public spaces and patterns in the sidewalk can all be used to create unity in the physical appearance of a mini-neighborhood. Using other physical design concepts such as raised pedestrian intersections and choked entrances by the use of extended curbing at a point of



Figure 5.1 Example of Territorial Signage

entrance could be used to signal entrance into a smaller mini-community. The use of these physical design techniques would increase territoriality of the residents on the block. The extension of curbs and raised pedestrian crossings slow traffic creating the perception of an unsafe place for illegal activity.

Defining public, private and transitional spaces is important to removing problem areas within the community. Many private residences have erected chain link fences that are good in defining boundaries between public and private space, but invoke a perception of crime. Plants can provide the same opportunity to define a boundary yet is more aesthetically pleasing. Fences or plants should be installed that are pleasant to the eye yet keep unwanted persons out of the property. Fences should be installed around vacant lots that are not being used for community gardens or recreational purposes. A fence which could be seen through yet difficult to cross over would decrease the likelihood of illegal activity taking place on the lot and increase a pedestrians feeling of safety.

Linking Institutions to the Neighborhood

Encouraging Albertus Magnus and Science Park to remove physical barriers separating the institutions from the neighborhood would decrease the perception of fear to visitors to those institutions. The fences that surround the campuses invoke a sense of danger coming from the neighborhood that is more perceived than real (see Figure 3.3 and 3.4). Albertus Magnus and Science Park should be encouraged to make investments in the neighborhood that will benefit not only the community but also themselves. If however, the fences are going to remain, there should be some physical linkage that enables passage from the campus to the neighborhood.

Incorporating Crime Prevention into Land Use Codes

Incorporating crime prevention into various land use codes provides an opportunity for uniform application of physical crime prevention strategies. Zoning ordinances, subdivision codes, sign controls, landscaping regulations and historic preservation codes are used to regulate new and redeveloped buildings and additions, open spaces and streets. These types of regulations rarely site security and crime prevention as a goal or objective. Through a careful analysis of crime in the neighborhood, proper land use codes can be developed that would reduce the opportunities for crime within the neighborhood. Often regulations relating to lighting, open space, frontyard parking and front porches work against crime prevention. The review of these regulations with the help of law enforcement officials could help create land use regulations aimed at reducing crime (Gann 1997).

St. Paul, Minnesota has adopted a resolution creating an initiative to develop comprehensive design standards and procedures to reduce the opportunity for crime. The resolution charges the planning department to work together with a variety of public officials to develop design standards for safety including: law enforcement officials, the public works department, parks and recreation and housing code enforcement staff. The goals of the St. Paul resolution are to diversify land uses to encourage more pedestrian travel, to develop design standards and a review process incorporating safety standards and to develop a specific policy for landscaping, street lighting and recreational areas to encourage public security (see Appendix A: St. Paul Design for Safety Resolution).

Housing rehabilitation and infill development should be regulated through land use codes in Newhallville. New development and rehabilitated residences should be designed to blend with existing residential units within the neighborhood. Many of the existing homes have large

windows overlooking the streets and front porches encouraging 'eyes on the streets'. New development should also be designed in this manner instead of being internally oriented detracting connections to the neighborhood. Minimal setbacks should also be encouraged to keep a sense of ownership over the street.

Viable Open Space

One option for the vacant lots in Newhallville besides selling them to adjacent property owners would be to create a network of open space and parks. A land use survey for the entire neighborhood could earmark properties to be linked through a park system. The change in the zoning ordinance disables the potential for infill development on many of the lots due to the size and the smaller population does not demand new housing. Lots that can not be sold to adjacent property owners may work to provide a network of linked neighborhood parks, playgrounds and gardens. The uses in the open spaces could be separated to provide opportunities for both the elderly, young children and adolescents. Neighborhood parks would provide focal points for many blocks in the neighborhood and serve to bring people to the streets.

The creation of parks would provide opportunities to repair the image and milieu of the neighborhood as well as increase territoriality. The CPTED approach to crime prevention encourages the placement of "safe" activities in areas where "unsafe" activities occur. The goal is to displace inappropriate activities with appropriate activities. The placement of a community park on a corner lot would allow for surveillance from neighboring residences and would also displace illegal activities taking place at the corners.

Non-Physical Crime Reduction Strategy Recommendations

There are four non-physical crime reduction strategy recommendations for the Newhallville neighborhood; (1) create a program for conducting safety audits (2) increase involvement of community churches (3) increase activities for children and (4) encourage discussion between alderpersons to reach common goals.

Safety Audits

The first recommendation is to design a program for conducting safety audits for residents of Newhallville. There are two types of safety audits that can be conducted in Newhallville. The first type of safety audit is for individual residents. This type of safety audit would require the resident to set up an appointment with a community police officer who would go to the house and conduct a simple survey and discuss safety issues in the home. An example of this program is Greensboro, North Carolina's "Project Deadbolt" (Schwartz 1998).

"Project Deadbolt" provides deadbolts, peepholes and window pins to residents who request a home safety audit. A crime prevention officer makes an appointment with the resident to conduct a safety survey and discuss ways to reduce opportunities for crime. The officer also surveys the needs of the residential unit and sends for a contracted locksmith to install the devices. The locksmith calls and makes an appointment with the individual to install the locks, window pins and peepholes. The average cost per house to do the survey and install the equipment is approximately two hundred dollars. The Greensboro program costs about ten thousand dollars a year to serve a city of 250,000 and is paid for through Community Development Block Grants (Schwartz 1998).

Another non-physical crime prevention strategy is to conduct safety audits for the community. Phoenix, Arizona has implemented a neighborhood safety audit program that serves

as a good example of how this program could work in Newhallville. The program in Phoenix is run through the planning department and requires the cooperation of neighborhood planners, community officers, residents and ward representatives.

First a community organization, such as a neighborhood block watch, would request a safety audit to be conducted in the neighborhood or a section of the neighborhood. The planner would meet with the persons requesting the audit to map out a walking tour of the area of concern. The safety audit is conducted with the residents or neighborhood association, police officer and representative at night to identify those areas where people feel unsafe. Each person on the audit receives instructions and a questionnaire to record areas of discomfort and ideas for improved safety. After the safety audit is completed, the community receives a written report of the findings and a list of what can be done to improve the conditions in the neighborhood written by the planning department (see Appendix B:Phoenix Safe Communities Program).

This type of program would be beneficial to the Newhallville neighborhood for several reasons. First a program designed in this manner is a grassroots effort. The responsibility for contacting the planning department lies with the residents. This is important in a community where so many programs are top-down. Another social reason why this program would benefit the community is the interaction encouraged by design between the residents, officers, community representatives and planning staff. The design promotes communication between officials and residents and instills a sense of trust in the community officers. Third, the report generated after conducting the safety audit would provide community groups with a sense of direction in their efforts to improve the community. Lastly, the physical design recommendations from a safety audit would be location-specific providing better crime prevention strategies and techniques.

Community Churches

Community churches should be solicited to participate in crime prevention programs. The churches provide another opportunity for communicating to residents in the neighborhood. There are four reasons why churches should be involved in building community in the neighborhood; the longevity of some religious organizations, community is central to the mission of charity, links to unique resources, and provide positive foundations for community youth. Churches should not take on the responsibility of secular roles the organization is not prepared for but can encourage and involve members of the church in secular organizations. One advantage to involving churches in community building and crime prevention is that the church can be a catalyst to creating and stimulating leadership in other organizations (Cisneros 1997, 79).

While interviewing Officer Greigo, a community police officer in Newhallville, we discussed the involvement of religious organizations in crime prevention. As it turns out, a minister of a local church was going with Officer Greigo on a ride-along the next evening. Perhaps the most important outcome of the ride-along would be a greater understanding of the nightly activities in the neighborhood for the minister. The knowledge gained from this experience may spark increased involvement of the church in the social problems of the individuals in the neighborhood, or it could spark greater involvement of the church in the community as a whole. Either way, interactions between religious organizations and community officials will increase awareness of crime and prevention strategies. Increased communication between officials and community organizations may in turn increase the participation levels of residents in planning future crime prevention strategies.

Youth Programs

One thing that is missing in the study area is a community activity center such as the Boys and Girls Club, to provide activities and alternatives for community youth. Although some programs may be offered at the school, an independent youth center could provide opportunities for positive role models separate from teachers and school personnel. Many of the children in Newhallville are living in estranged family situations. An activity center or coordinated youth activities provide opportunities for children to learn valuable skills.

Recently, the community police began a chess club for youth held after school in the substation. This is a positive step in giving youth alternative recreational opportunities. However, an organization that could provide just youth services and programs in the study area would be a positive asset. Positive role models from the community and neighboring colleges could provide educational programming, oversee sports leagues, provide counseling and support.

Increased Coordination between Alderpersons

One of the problems the community faces is the inconsistency between political and neighborhood boundaries. There are currently three alderpersons for the Newhallville neighborhood. This creates difficulty for the community management team in addressing community problems because each alderperson has a different agenda in regards to his or her constituency.

The solution to this problem is difficult. The alderpersons must be convinced working together to improve Newhallville as a whole will work. Each improvement will have a trickle-down effect to the surrounding areas. By working together a lot more can be accomplished than each trying to reach his/her own goals.

Overall Crime Reduction Recommendation for Newhallville

The overall recommendation for Newhallville is to create a specific link between physical and non-physical crime prevention strategies. The *Livable Cities Initiative* begins the steps towards making the link between the two approaches by physically placing the *Livable Cities* coordinator in the Newhallville police substation. This has increased the communication between the community police and city planning. Implementing recommendations such as incorporating crime prevention into land use goals and creating community safety audits are two ways to provide direct links between physical planning and community activism and policing.

Planners need to become more involved in crime prevention because they deal with both the physical environment and community organizations. The city planning department is a great place for the coordination between physical and non-physical crime prevention techniques to begin. The city planning department should have one person who has been trained in Crime Prevention through Environmental Design.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This chapter will review the findings of this study, state its shortcomings and recommend future research to enhance crime prevention in Newhallville.

Summary of Findings

There are five major findings of this study of physical and non-physical crime prevention techniques. The first and perhaps most important finding to the field of planning is the lack of information about physical and non-physical crime prevention strategies written by planners. Behavioral scientists and law enforcement officials have written many of the crime prevention materials available since Oscar Newman wrote his book *Defensible Space* in 1972.

Secondly, planners are perfect crime fighters because they work with both land-use regulators and community organizations. Crime is an issue that planners need to understand and accept responsibility for implementing guidelines and programs aimed at reducing opportunities for it.

Third, in order to successfully eliminate or reduce crime in low-income neighborhoods such as Newhallville, planners need to address a variety of issues relating to the physical, social and economic conditions of the neighborhood. A strategy aimed at reducing just one condition of the environment is not going to solve the problem of crime. For instance, just targeting the physical environment is not going to eliminate crime in the neighborhood. Successfully reducing or eliminating crime would require recognizing and addressing the underlying causes of crime in the neighborhood. Crime and other social conditions are closely linked and need to be acknowledged as interrelated issues.

Fourth, to successfully address crime, programs must be started as grassroots. The city of New Haven has considered the need for programs to be implemented at the local level with the implementation of the *Livable Cities Initiative* and the return to community policing. Both of these efforts target local needs in order to solve a citywide problem. In retrospect, the city of New Haven has taken some bold steps in reducing the level of crime in the city.

Finally, the major finding uncovered is that good urban design principles equal crime prevention. Historically, cities used a variety of measures to ensure safety although that had not been the inherent goal. Pedestrian scaled lighting, mixed uses, good sidewalks and close parking distances made cities safe for pedestrians by increasing the users sightlines and providing many “eyes on the street”. Incorporating good urban design principles into the redevelopment and revitalization of Newhallville will provide a physical environment more resilient to crime.

Further Research

In order to use physical crime reduction strategies to their fullest potential, it is necessary to undertake a detailed study of the land-use in the neighborhood. Each parcel would have to be surveyed with the questions of definition, designation, and design in mind (Crowe 1991). Refer to Table 3.4. Combining both the above 3-D analysis of land use with the Safer Cities citizen survey would identify places in the neighborhood where people feel unsafe, why the space was unsafe and what types of design guidelines can be implemented to change the perception of the area. Designing and implementing a program would be a great next step for Newhallville.

Another study of interest would be to determine the effects community policing has had on the neighborhood over the past ten years since it was implemented. The collection of statistical data and resident interviews would uncover if community policing has had a significant impact on crime or just on the perception of crime.

Finally, in researching the topic of crime reduction I found very little data on the effectiveness of various physical design strategies in reducing crime. A survey of communities that have implemented these types of programs is needed to round out the available literature about physical crime reduction strategies.

Appendix A:
St. Paul Design for Public Safety
Resolution

RESOLUTION
CITY OF SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA

Presented by

Paula MacCabe

Karl Heind

Referred To _____

Committee: _____ Date 9/1/993

WHEREAS, although Saint Paul is a relatively safe city, violence against persons is increasing and there are many citizens of Saint Paul who feel vulnerable and unsafe, and

WHEREAS, preventing violence against persons in public and common spaces is an area over which cities have jurisdiction and can respond in a thoughtful way to reduce the opportunity for violence, and

WHEREAS, experience in other cities in the United States and Canada has shown that strategies which modify physical and social environments to provide good lighting, adequate security systems, visibility to others, access to help, and elimination of sites which are physically and psychologically constraining to a potential victim have the potential to reduce crime, enhance community and reduce the perception that the urban environment is unsafe, and

WHEREAS, the City of Saint Paul through its Comprehensive Plan process has the opportunity to plan for policy and design which will increase public safety as well as provide urban amenities,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the City Council hereby adopts a Design for Public Safety initiative with the purpose of developing comprehensive design standards and procedures to reduce the opportunity for crime and enhance public safety throughout the City of Saint Paul, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Department of Planning and Economic Development staff be directed to work in cooperation with the Police Department, the Building and Inspections Division, the Public Works Department, the Parks and Recreation Division, Certificate of Occupancy and Housing Code Enforcement staff and members of the community to develop as part of the City of Saint Paul's Comprehensive Plan, a section entitled Design for Public Safety, which comprehensive urban design document shall address, among other issues,

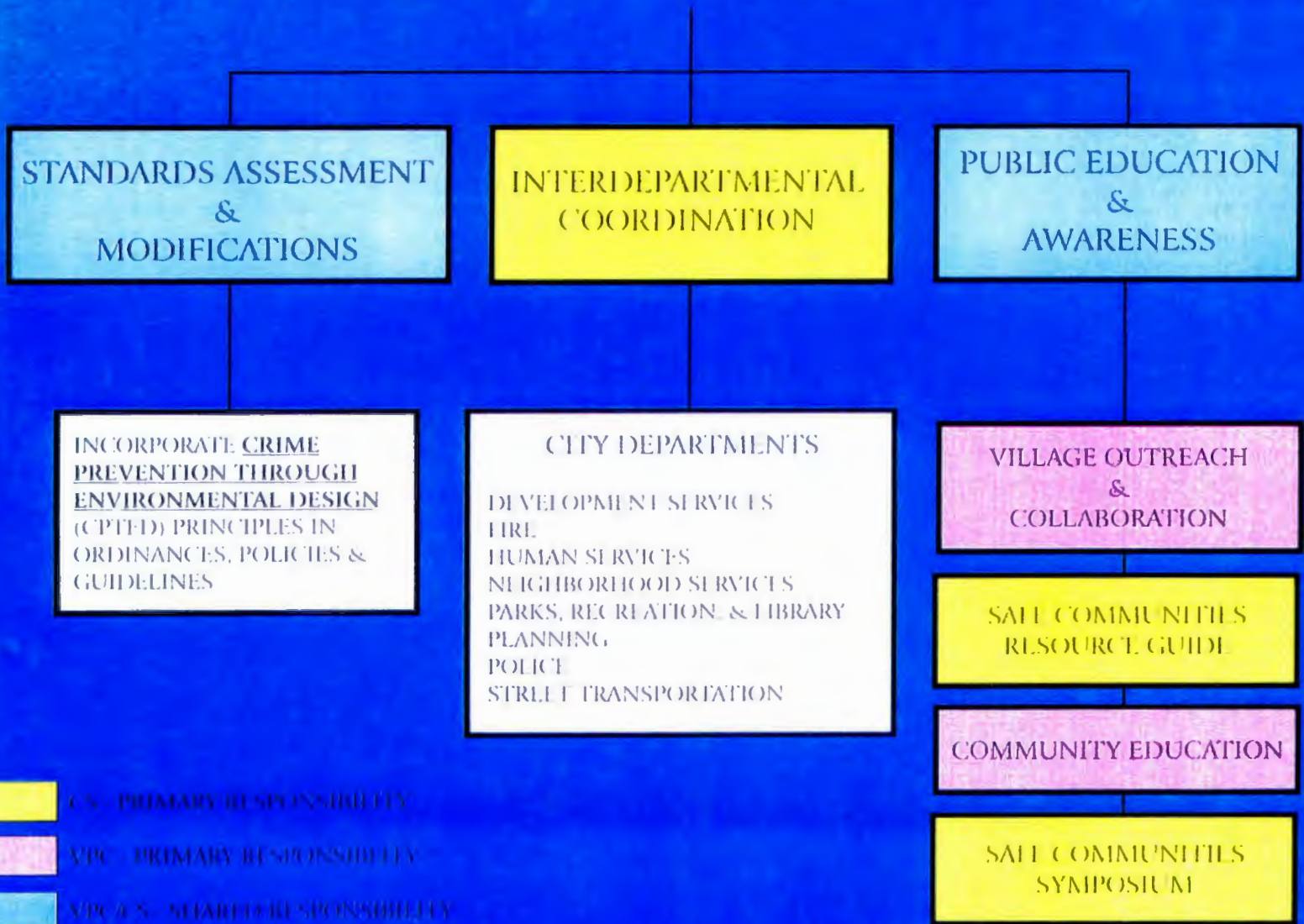
- A. Planning for controlled diversification of land uses to encourage more pedestrian travel on local streets at all times of the day, thereby making them safer;
- B. Development of urban design standards for public safety and a recommended process of design review to make sure that such standards are followed in the construction and design of streets, parks, sidewalks, alleys, skyways, plazas and other public and common spaces;
- C. Development, specifically, of a policy for landscaping, including landscaping with natural vegetation, street level lighting, and siting of play areas to enhance public safety, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the above-designated Design for Public Safety staff team be directed to review present Code requirements and propose for City Council adoption such additional standards for safe design of multi-tenant residential buildings as are needed, including but not limited to standards for entrance lighting, locks, and communications between the main entrance and individual units, such as intercom and/or working doorbells, and

Appendix B: Phoenix Safe Communities Program



Safe Communities Program - Components -



- CS - PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY
- VPC - PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY
- VPC & CS - SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

What Kinds of Problems Will Be Identified?

Every neighborhood is unique but lighting, overgrown vegetation, dark alleys, and entrapment areas are examples of typical problems found in most neighborhoods.

What Happens Once the Audit is Complete?

Frequently, identified problems can be resolved by the property owner or resident. When that is not the case, city staff will work with the neighborhood to identify potential resources that may be available. With city resources limited, staff will work with the neighborhood to help prioritize how available resources will be used.

Is Someone Available to Assist With the Audit?

Assistance and training is available from either a member of your village planning committee or from city staff. Please contact Dean Brennan, Planning Department, at 262-4499.

Upon request, this publication will be made available within a reasonable length of time through appropriate auxiliary aids or services to accommodate an individual with a disability. The auxiliary aids or services: large print, Braille, audiotape or computer diskette. Contact Theresa Damiani, at 262-6368 or 534-5500 TDD.

SAFE COMMUNITIES PROGRAM
CITY OF PHOENIX PLANNING DEPARTMENT
200 W. WASHINGTON ST., 6TH FLOOR
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85003-1611



Neighborhood Safety Audit

Safety Audit

✓ Why don't I like this place?

✓ What and why do I feel comfortable here?

✓ What actions would make me feel...

✓ What else...



Reducing opportunities for crime and improving quality of life through urban planning and design



SAFE COMMUNITIES PROGRAM

City of Phoenix Planning Department

What Is a Safety Audit?

The basic idea is to look at your neighborhood and identify areas where you feel unsafe and determine why you feel unsafe. What is the lighting like? Would anyone hear you if you yelled for help? What improvements would you like to see?

It sounds simple, and it is. You don't have to have a degree in architecture or city planning to conduct a safety audit.

The main goal of the safety audit is to reduce the opportunity for a crime to be committed. It has been demonstrated in other communities that in those neighborhoods where a safety audit has been conducted and changes made based on the audit recommendations, criminal activity has been reduced.

How Big an Area do You Want to Cover?

Sometimes it is not clear how big an area you may want to audit. An audit can be done for a building, a street, a park, a school, a neighborhood, or almost any area where there exists the potential for criminal activity. You may want to start small or, if you feel it's important to do an entire neighborhood, it may be useful to break it up into smaller areas.

How Many People Are on an Audit Team?

The best size for an audit team is three to seven people. This size allows for different points of view, but is still small enough to have lots of discussion. If you want to cover a large area like a neighborhood, you will need more than one team. If possible, involve a broad cross section of the neighborhood residents.

How Much Time Will the Audit Require?

You can expect to spend approximately two to three hours in one evening, but depending on the size of the area to be audited, there could be a multiple of evenings.

What Do You Need for the Audit?

- Take a flashlight.
- Use a black ink pen.
- Take a camera with high speed film.
- Use your notes and camera if possible to document positive features as well as problem areas. It can be very helpful to be able to compare the good and the bad.
- Tape recorder is optional.
- Wear comfortable shoes.

- Make sure that everyone participating has safe transportation home after the audit.

When to Audit?

Because lighting is typically one of the major issues identified during an audit, it is suggested that doing an audit at night is the best time. This doesn't mean that you should wait until 11:00 p.m. or midnight - start as soon as it's dark! There may also be some areas that can be reviewed during the day.

Questions to Ask

To help yourself focus on the safety issues ask the following questions: (You are encouraged to add your own to this list.)

- Why don't I like this place?
- When and why do I feel uncomfortable here?
- What changes would make me feel safer?
- Would I walk alone here late at night?
- Are there possible entrapment areas?
- Are there fewer people around at different times of the day, week, month?

Safe Communities Resource Guide - Provides a listing of programs, resources and how to's for neighborhood safety audits and crime prevention planning tools.

Community Education - Educate the public concerning community safety issues.

Safe Communities Symposium - Conduct an annual forum for discussion of community and neighborhood safety issues and how those issues can be addressed.

What is CPTED?

CPTED is an acronym for Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design. The purpose of CPTED is to manage and organize the physical environment to reduce the opportunities and fear of crime in neighborhoods. In responding to physical design issues, CPTED relies on three primary and two secondary principles:

Primary

- Natural surveillance
- Natural access control
- Territorial reinforcement

Secondary

- Activity support
- Management & maintenance

Based on these principles, standards will be developed that address safety issues in the physical environment. Those standards will be incorporated into existing city ordinances, policies, and guidelines.



SAFE COMMUNITIES PROGRAM

Staff Technical Team

For general questions about the Safe Communities Program, please contact:

Planning Department
Dean Brennan 262-4499

For specific questions about programs available, please contact:

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Fire Department
George Ferrero 262-6297

Human Services Department
Terry Cook 256-4297

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Parks, Recreation, & Library Dept.
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Police Department
Connie Stine 495-6897

Street Transportation Department
Randy Dittberner 262-6284

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Safe Communities Program



City of Phoenix

Prepared by
City of Phoenix Planning Department

What Is The Safe Communities Program?

The Safe Communities Program is a **proactive, coordinated response** to safety and crime issues that threaten the stability of Phoenix neighborhoods. Safety and crime issues are the number one concerns for residents of many Phoenix neighborhoods. They feel unsafe and at risk of becoming victims of crime. For them safety has become a very real measure of their "Quality of Life".

Many residents have found that working together with their neighborhood organization is an effective way to deal with the safety and crime issues impacting their neighborhoods. The Safe Communities Program assists these residents to make their neighborhoods safer by eliminating or minimizing the physical opportunities for criminal activity to occur.

Why Initiate A Safe Communities Program?

Several City departments have excellent programs and/or resources in place that are targeted to helping neighborhoods. But there are two opportunities to broaden the support the City can offer. First, there is no single program that specifically addresses safety issues relative to the design of the physical environment. Safe Communities will help coordinate existing programs with a focus on addressing identified physical safety issues.

Second, by coordinating the various safety programs, Safe Communities will encourage community outreach and education to raise the

resident awareness of how to deal with safety and crime issues. Through this process, the Safe Communities Program will change the perception that neighborhoods are unsafe.

How Will Safe Communities Be Implemented?

Village planning committees will take the lead role in implementation of the Safe Communities Program. The committees will work closely with neighborhood associations and help them develop a broad-based strategic plan to determine how to respond to village-wide safety issues.

To accomplish this, committee members will focus on the following areas:

- identify village-wide safety issues and prepare a village "safety plan" which will include individual neighborhood strategies;
- request that developers be responsive to safety issues during project design;
- do public outreach and education to make residents sensitive to safety issues;
- assist neighborhood associations with safety audits;
- coordinate resources, where necessary, to deal with site specific safety issues.

Village planning committees have been identified as the primary citizen coordinators because of their comprehensive planning responsibilities and the potential for coordinating safety issues in the broader community-wide context. Their role will also provide them the opportunity to build a stronger link with the neighborhood associations.

What Are The Program Components?

The Safe Communities Program is comprised of three components:

1. Interdepartmental & Interagency Coordination

As physical safety issues are identified, City staff will help identify and coordinate existing programs and resources available from both the public and private sectors.

2. Incorporation of CPTED Principles

City staff, with input from a citizen advisory committee, will review existing ordinances, guidelines and policies and identify how those can be modified to include Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles. Recommendations will be made regarding modifications that will effectively address the safety issues identified in the physical environment for both new and existing development.

3. Public Education & Awareness

This will focus on teaching residents to identify unsafe situations and is comprised of four elements:

Village Outreach & Collaboration - Work with neighborhood groups to identify safety issues and crime prevention strategies. This will be done through the use of neighborhood safety audits, security assessments and other crime prevention planning tools.

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