Lukas (ed.)

Crime Prevention in High-Rise Housing

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Crime Prevention in High-Rise Housing

Lessons from the Crime Prevention Carousel

Tim Lukas (ed.)

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KRZYSZTOF KRAJEWSKI

Foreword[1]

NICO ZIMMERMANN

It requires an effort to imagine the commitment of Le Corbusier and his contemporaries when they presented their concepts for town-building during CIAM 1928. Les Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne were a first international attempt by architects to co-operate on guiding lines for architectural renewal. For the first time in the history of building they really took account of technical and economical as well as social aspects. Those thoughts of the first hour have had a long-lasting influence on the forms of later post-war urban development. Free-standing blocks oriented towards east and west had to ensure optimal entry of sunlight. The urban functions had to take account of living, working, traffic and recreation. One needs to realize that at the time most large urban agglomerations had to cope with over-population resulting from the great move from countryside to town and with traffic congestion as a result of new means of transport. Obviously the solutions contemplated by the modernists needed to be large-scale as well as economically feasible to cure the shortage quickly. New building methods moreover made the construction of tower blocks possible.

After nearly a hundred years of renewal in architecture and urban building it may be a cause for wonder that the unacceptable inner-city forms which were then rejected have become an inspiration for urban planners in their search for new diversity and shapes in the compact city. It illustrates the temporary blindness that invariably accompanies revolutionary ideas. While innovation sometimes leads to improvement it is nearly always also coupled with rejection of what was essentially valuable and needed to be cherished.

The present study into the functioning of post-war urban building in a number of prominent European cities is of particular interest because the playful inventivity in the conception of the first models in the 'twenties and before had been replaced worldwide by a more pragmatic approach known for obvious reasons as the international style or *'neue Sachlichkeit'*. Not primarily because, as some people now think, the spirit had fled from the bottle after five war years but simply because the standardisation which had made building spectacularly cheaper was experienced as a blessing. In perfect accordance with the social commitment of CIAM 'good'

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[1] English translation by J.J. Peereboom.

housing could now be built at acceptable cost. In the case of the Bijlmermeer this even led to exceptionally spacious apartments with views of air, greenery and water in all directions. The problems there originated not inside the flats but in the way they connected with the urban space, which is traditionally decisive in giving communities their significance. The covered street as an allegory for a meeting-place, the square (the agora) etc. proved only in the eyes of architectural experts to be plausible replacements for "the street" which for centuries had been the heart of villages and towns. Human conduct proved harder to influence than had been expected and the longing for streets as we used to know them not easy to overcome. The new urban dweller came in a great many types with divergent characteristics – not as an obedient follower of the dictates of good taste. With the breakdown of nineteenth-century conventions a variety of new ways of living had been liberated, and this still continues. While for that reason it may be easy to understand that the shaping of a new community in the singular is no longer feasible, the fact remains that what we need more than ever is the shaping of communities in the plural. This report is a first proof that there are several plausible models for such communities. The conclusions are by no means always of limited applicability; they may well lead to recommendations to other cities with similar problems. This exchange of knowledge will prove fertile in the attempt to escape from a generalised view of the world of our time. In the couple of hours that I spent on a bicycle tour with a number of contributors to this study round the renewed Bijlmermeer it soon became clear to me how different reactions were to the problems and how divergent the solutions.

The *Crime Prevention Carousel* is an attempt to survey the problems of post-war urban building. A specific analysis of where threats to security are experienced allows the creation of a clear picture of the improvements needed in residential living and in the management of buildings. It is tempting to reject ideas about architecture and city-building which have led to the present-day problems and to seek salvation in trends such as the compact city and neo-traditionalism. It will make more sense to search for the causes of criminality in the increasing differences between rich and poor, and the decay of old moral rules. It is striking how little attention designers pay to those aspects and how rarely they notice the consequences.

This study is all the more intriguing because, in the five urban districts analysed here with Berlin as a starting point, we have come to look quite differently at the gallery-flat from the point of cultural history but also when dealing with the management of buildings and the prevention of crime in public spaces. In spite of some people's opinions, there are no universal solutions to the problems posed.

Nor can it be ignored that the new residential districts of the past have become a daily background for the residents' life and work and leisure. For many countries a large-scale replacement of high-rise flats such as was undertaken in the Bijlmermeer in the 'nineties is impracticable and they are looking for other solutions than demolition when they are not simply resigned to leave things as they are, as was

done in Krakow. Bristol's approach is striking for its combination of camera's and neighbourhood watch. The attempt here appears to be to compensate for frigid high tech with personal attention. In the Bijlmermeer, now that the replacement of the old housing supply by new more differentiated accommodation is virtually complete, it is becoming apparent that the demolition of the flats has made many residents move elsewhere, leaving what social cohesion there was badly reduced. One of the conclusions of the report is that physical changes in an urban district by demolition, renovation and improvement of the infrastructure and public space should be preceded by analysis of the social consequences and the management problems. In Holland policy-makers are now discovering that when social cohesion is disrupted it cannot be restored at the drop of a hat. The mixture of cheap social housing and expensive property in particular is now more carefully thought out than ten years ago. It is not necessarily the case that mixture will lead to improvement. In Marzahn North, an urban district of Berlin with a mostly low-income German population, what strikes one is that as long as the income differences are not too big an economic community can be created, able to deal with its problems without outside assistance. Another success story is that of Gropiusstadt where people mostly with a Turkish background have proved perfectly capable of building a coherent community. These Berlin suburbs function smoothly with a one-sided population and they deserve further research. Their sort of success story does not apply at all in the case of an equally homogeneous, all-British and low income district of Bristol. A striking feature is that comparable groups will in the Netherlands and Britain almost invariably be found in high-rise accommodation, which in Eastern Europe houses mostly the better educated. For the latter group there is no alternative – so they resign themselves to tower-blocks in the suburbs.

When all this has been said a general impression remains that the renovation of the Bijlmermeer in the Netherlands could be further improved if attention is transferred to the quality of public space rather than the differentiation in housing. That this can sometimes give spectacular results with minimal means is shown in the H-quarter where flats have been build on the ground floors which used to be storage-space. This has proved very beneficial for the use of public space, which could be further improved by garden areas to provide a sense of safety and security. Interaction between residents and the world outside is indispensable to prevent a sense of desolation. Public control has become essential nearly everywhere in urban planning now that the solidity of modern construction has proved limited while durability is required for the creation and continuity of social networks. In the Netherlands and Germany a new architecture is seen as the answer to the problems of the lower income groups. Those who are prepared to allow the postwar building industry a place in history should ignore this fashionable illusion. New architecture should not turn its back on history but embrace it: it should challenge and modify and where possible improve it.

Lasting urban renewal can be achieved by large scale rebuilding. Lasting social renewal is a more complex matter. The modification of social coherence through detailed changes in the existing structure has in the past century proved more effective than demolition and replacement. The results of this report moreover show that where regulations are less stringent the quality of life may benefit considerably, as it did in Budapest. At a time when the government tends to reduce its commitment new forms of organisation and liberalisation are inevitable. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the original insistence of CIAM on separation and zoning of urban functions leads to excessive car use and reduced physical activity. That the best place to put shops is where the demand exists will after years of urban planning shamefacedly have to be admitted. Politicians, developers and architects can gain insight form Amsterdam projects for renewal in the Jordaan, the Dapper district and the Pijp. Previously despised by economists and planners, those districts were brought to new life by the civic disobedience of the locals and their outside supporters. Their stubbornness ensured postponement and finally abandonment of demolition, and this brought about a more open-minded view of urban renewal. Nowadays politicians and architects have to prove that solutions are also possible to the problems of postwar urban extensions. The present-day architect will contribute to urban renewal by the creation of coherence and harmony, rather than in the spirit of his training which demanded contrast and variation. He will have to go further into the consequences of his selection of building materials and the intrinsic detailing that they demand. Like the Arts and Craft Movement which has produced a number of exemplary buildings in England and America he needs to train his eye to the ways in which postwar building can be confirmed and improved in its original character by renovation. Only by operating carefully will the surgeon be able effectively to prolong the patients life.

Introduction

TIM LUKAS

Crime is closely connected to the place in which it occurs. When taking a strategic perspective on the geographical distribution of crime on a small-scale spatial or even national level, the vast majority of places show no crimes. This means that most crimes are highly concentrated in and around a relatively small number of places. In analysing repeat victimisation in the United States, *Spelman* (1995) estimates that only 10% of the places in American cities account for more than 60% of the calls to the police service each year. That is, there must be something about a few places that facilitates the commission of crime and something about most places that prevents the occurrence of crime. However, it is not only in particular places, but also in particular types of buildings, that crime is more likely. Environmental criminology has therefore emphasised the importance of physical features of the built environment as a causal factor in crime.

"First, people are constructing houses, then houses are constructing people" goes a popular phrase by philosopher *Albert Schweitzer*. The utilisation of this insight into the relationship between the built environment and human behaviour has become more and more widespread within the field of crime prevention during the past years. Instead of an offender-oriented point of view crime prevention policies are nowadays frequently adapted to situational perspectives (see, for example, *Clarke* 1992). Based on rational choice and routine activities theory, situational crime prevention seeks to make the perpetration of crime more difficult, risky and less rewarding through assessing the environment and blocking crime opportunities. The main focus of crime prevention schemes is therefore no longer solely centred on disciplinary action towards criminal offenders – it now extends to cover modifications to the opportunity structure of crime. In a nutshell: if the built environment provides opportunities for crime, then the modification of physical features should lead to a more or less crime-free environment.

Situational approaches to crime prevention have been applied with growing significance to urban planning and regeneration measures and have also stimulated discourses on crime prevention and crime control. Positive, i.e., law-abiding behaviour should thus be reinforced through targeted land-use and design of the built environment. Expanding on diminishing feelings of insecurity, situational crime pre-

vention approaches in urban planning generally assert that a "proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear and incidence of crime" (*Crowe* 2000, p. 1).

Such beliefs, however, are not particular new. Looking back, the origins of situational crime prevention within urban planning can be traced to *Newman*'s (1972) concept of "defensible space". Outlining an alternative design of urban environments, he identified a number of criteria that he felt could promote the increase of crime in residential housing: 1. anonymity among residents, 2. a lack of surveillance from residential blocks and 3. the availability of escape routes. However, the principal idea that emerged from *Newman*'s work represents the accentuation of the importance of natural surveillance in residential environments. In adopting *Jacobs*' (1961) demand for "eyes on the street", natural surveillance refers to the use of the built environment to create spaces that can easily be viewed by residents, neighbours or bystanders with the intention of hindering the perpetration of crime. Besides natural access control[1] and territorial enforcement[2], natural surveillance is even one of the three major principles pursued within 'Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design' (CPTED), a situational approach to crime prevention which developed at the same time as *Newman* formulated his ideal of a defensible space (see *Jefferey* 1971). CPTED directly addresses the link between crime, human behaviour and place. Starting out from the idea that the environment can be manipulated to condition people's behaviour, corresponding strategies aim to reduce the causes and opportunities of crime and feelings of insecurity by applying sound planning and design principles to the built environment.[3]

1. Crime prevention in high-rise housing

Situational crime prevention measures based on "defensible space" and CPTED have been increasingly utilised for remedial schemes in suburban housing during the past years. Large, densely constructed high-rise housing estates at the fringes of the cities are particularly regarded as urban areas that exhibit a severe potential for

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[1] Measures that control access to a site or to parts of it, e.g. security guards, concierges, locks, etc.

[2] The use of design features to create a sense of space that is clearly owned and influenced by its users, e.g. fencing, surface changeover, barricades, etc.

[3] Following a range of theoretical criticisms denouncing architectural or environmental determinism and a neglect of social factors, recent refinements of CPTED extend beyond mere physical design to include socio-economic and demographic factors as well as active community participation (see, for example, *Plaster Carter* 2002). Further information and a critical appreciation and classification of crime prevention strategies and principles relating to the built environment can be obtained from the article written by *Shaftoe* for this publication.

crime and insecurity. Vandalism, physical decay, insufficient surveillance and ano-
nymity due to a lack of communication and cohesion in high-rise built environ-
ments are recurrent attributes which are frequently used to characterise large hous-
ing estates as 'breeding grounds for crime'. Though such statements stigmatise
both the residents and their homes, it is nevertheless true that years of building
maintenance neglect have actually taken a toll on high-rise developments all over
Europe.

However, despite remarkably similar external appearances, the reputation of
large housing estates varies since their importance as a form of habitat differs
largely between the East and the West. In many Western European countries large
housing estates constitute a relatively small – but nevertheless important – segment
of a differentiated housing supply which is also comprised of renovated old
neighbourhoods and a growing sector of single family homes. As it became clear
shortly after their completion that large housing projects in Western Europe were a
weak urban planning idea, these estates ceased to be constructed in the West as of
the early eighties. Nevertheless, a total of about 6 million people in Western
Europe still live in 1.8 million flats of this nature (cf. *Knorr-Siedow* 1999). On the
other hand, the large housing estates which were erected in Eastern Europe under
state-socialist rule still constitute the largest proportion of equally modern dwell-
ings. *Knorr-Siedow* (1999) estimates that more than half of the total housing supply
in Central and Eastern Europe is located in large housing estates of more than 2500
dwellings (for example, Poland: 61%, Hungary 52%). These enormous stocks of
dwellings are only now beginning to develop in problematic terms. The monoto-
nous architecture of Eastern European mass housing tower blocks has meanwhile
turned large housing estates, at least in terms of public opinion, into the epitome of
dangerous urban environments.

The architecture of high-rise housing estates is actually likely to promote ano-
nymity and to reduce natural surveillance in these areas. A lack of structural diver-
sification additionally limits the residents' possibilities of orientation and identifi-
cation. The appearance of the built environment, however, is only one side of the
coin; another is the concentration of deprived households in large housing estates.
Following their initial completion residential high-rises were celebrated as a mag-
nificent achievement of modernity which attracted predominantly middle-class
households. However, the increasing social segregation of urban populations has
since led to a disproportionately large segment of the public social housing sector
to be housed within these developments. Particularly in Western European coun-
tries, high-rise residential housing often serves as a last resort for many people suf-
fering from poverty, unemployment and social exclusion. Additionally, high den-
sity occupation, the large proportion of juveniles and a growing trend towards
multi-ethnic immigration have all increased the likelihood of (cultural) conflicts in
the neighbourhoods. Moreover, the frequency of registered offences related to ag-
gression and violence is significant, particularly in the form of vandalism. The

gradual decay of the buildings and their immediate surrounding was frequently fol-
lowed by the occurrence of physical disorder and dilapidation in large housing es-
tates.

Although high-rise residential housing will necessarily continue to play an im-
portant role with regard to the overall supply of housing space (due to the very fact
of their sheer number), large housing estates in many places have felt growing
pressure from high vacancy numbers. Given their overall bad reputation and a fad-
ing attractiveness for higher-income households, high-rise developments have ap-
peared increasingly less competitive on the housing market. Several national pro-
grammes were therefore implemented all over Europe in order to enable local ad-
ministrations and housing companies to develop suitable approaches to the vacant
housing problem as well as to improve the quality of living conditions in these ar-
eas. Aiming at the preservation (in the East) or re-establishment (in the West) of
socially mixed neighbourhoods, these programmes essentially pursue two main
strategies: firstly, the demolition of vacant buildings in order to diminish the over-
supply on the housing market and, secondly, the improvement of neighbourhoods
by renewal of the existing building stock. Against the background of these pro-
grammes measures that targeted the resolution of maintenance backlogs were
launched and major refurbishments of the built environment and the surrounding
areas were subsequently implemented in most of the large housing estates in
Europe.

Due to local contexts, crime prevention measures are frequently coming into ef-
fect within the framework of these general rehabilitation schemes. Examples of in-
dividual efforts range from expanded night time lighting or the extensive installa-
tion of CCTV control cameras through to improved physical design features for
building entrances, access ways and traffic systems. More expensive measures also
include the reconstruction of the buildings so that they are laid out in smaller clus-
ters or the injection of new life into public places by adapting the social infrastruc-
ture. Although not always directly aimed at the prevention of crime or the reduction
of insecurities, most of the corresponding measures implemented can nevertheless
be interpreted against the larger backdrop of creating sustainable and safe
neighbourhoods.

2. "Crime Prevention Carousel"

Are attempts to rehabilitate high-rise housing estates actually an effective way to
reduce crime and feelings of insecurity in areas of this nature? This was the pivotal
question of an international comparative study which was recently conducted under
the co-ordination of the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal
Law (Freiburg/Germany) with funding from the AGIS programme of the European
Commission. In partnership with a consortium of researchers stemming from vari-

ous national and professional backgrounds, the collaborative research project sought to explore physical improvements and social changes at six high-rise housing estates in five Eastern and Western European countries. Focusing on both situational and social approaches to crime prevention the study aimed to share information and experiences about how best to reduce neighbourhood crime and feelings of insecurity in high-rise residential housing estates.

2.1 General site descriptions

In accordance with this objective, a number of preconditions were outlined for the selection of the case study areas in each of the participating cities. Following the general subject matter, the first requirement concerned the high-rise construction of the sites. Since the project principally sought to appraise rehabilitation schemes in large housing estates a second precondition regarded the implementation of recent regeneration measures in the areas under study.

Due to the fact that the German section of the research project serves as a focal point in comparing East and West against the background of historically different origins, one further precondition which applied to the proposed German research areas concerned conducting the study in both parts (East and West) of the formerly divided country. In this regard, it seemed to be reasonable to conduct the examination in Berlin, a city providing the unique opportunity to examine East and West in one place.

2.1.1 Berlin: Marzahn North/Gropiusstadt

According to the aforementioned preconditions two particularly typical post-World War II housing estates were selected to serve as German case studies: the Gropiusstadt in West-Berlin and Marzahn North in East-Berlin. Although several urban problems are comparable between East and West, both sites contrast with regard to design and construction of the housing estate as well as concerning the socio-demographic development of the neighbourhood in particular.

Marzahn North was built from 1984 to 1989 as the last phase of construction of the entire Marzahn panel estate. In the past the area only had a very limited individual character. The built environment predominantly consisted of six to eleven storey blocks fabricated with pre-cast concrete slabs. However, as one of the first Berlin neighbourhoods to profit from the rehabilitation programs set up for East Germany's housing developments, Marzahn North has by now been almost completely refurbished. A source of particular pride in Marzahn North is the pilot scheme "Ahrensfelder Terraces" where a whole estate of old panel buildings was adapted and given a fundamental makeover: apart from a partial demolition, the height of the buildings has been down-sized by varying amounts in order to create

a less uniform profile of the area which is now closer to an ensemble of town-houses rather than a monotonous large housing estate. Apart from the general appreciation in the value of the area, the main reason for reducing the housing stock is based on meeting the overall requirements of the housing market. During recent years the population structure in Marzahn North has been particularly characterised by high turnover rates and a heavy loss of residents. Vacancy rates and the closing of infrastructural facilities have already left their mark on the area's image.

The current population of Marzahn North (roughly 17,500 inhabitants) includes a surprisingly large number of young people and a below average quota of immigrants (5.5%). The reason why this proportion is so low is that the area is populated by a great many ethnic German migrants from Russia who often hold German citizenship and therefore fall outside the usual demography.

By contrast, the population the Gropiusstadt has a significantly higher proportion of both immigrants (16.4%) and particularly elderly people. A large number of the inhabitants in the Gropiusstadt grew old with their environment. While other sites of complex house building in East Berlin only emerged in the 1970s and 80s, the Gropiusstadt at the extreme southern fringe of West Berlin was erected from the early sixties onwards. Whereas the entire estate forms an independent suburb in its own right, the territory actually selected for the present study covers a smaller area. Maintaining a relatively stable population of around 16,800 inhabitants (compared to 36,000 in the Gropiusstadt as a whole), the built environment of the case study area is characterised by differentiated high-rise constructions which are arranged along a carefully landscaped green corridor.

While rehabilitative schemes in the East Berlin panel estates were implemented shortly after German reunification, large housing estates in West Berlin registered a strong backlog in demand for regeneration for several years. However, in recent times the physical shape and social management of the research area has benefited from considerable attempts which were conducted in the entire Gropiusstadt – even though these measures have been realised on a less comprehensive scale than in Marzahn North.

Concerning the occurrence of crime in both research areas Marzahn North has been unanimously declared as not especially noteworthy with regard to public safety although the overall crime rate in Marzahn North as compared to the Berlin average escalated disproportionably during the past years. In the Gropiusstadt however – with the exception of a steep increase in 2002 – a generally decreasing trend can be observed.

2.1.2 Amsterdam: Bijlmermeer

From an international perspective, the Bijlmermeer is probably the most famous neighbourhood of The Netherlands: known for its spatial concept of separated ur-

ban functions and notorious for its safety problems, the estate is nowadays celebrated for the comprehensive renewal projects carried out in the area.

The Bijlmermeer was built as a model new town in the 1960s using honeycomb patterned high-rise buildings with principally divided pedestrian and car traffic in a sensibly landscaped green area. Originally built for success, the Bijlmermeer never attracted many middle class families. Instead, immigrants holding a low social status and showing high unemployment rates and overall economic and social problems became the majority population of the Bijlmermeer while more affluent inhabitants moved to new small-scale developments.

Since the 1990s an integrated approach comprising spatial, social and management renewal has replaced the costly attempts to change the area by physical rehabilitative schemes alone. Many of the high-rise buildings in the studied neighbourhoods D, F and H are now being renovated or even demolished. The demolition of almost ⅓ of the high-rise dwellings has been accompanied by the construction of small-scale family housing and a qualitative improvement of the remaining stock. Social, economic and cultural programs, including a participatory approach towards self organisation in running the community is a main factor of social integration which is needed to give the estate a future on the housing market.

2.1.3 Krakow: Pradnik Czerwony

Whereas Pradnik Czerwony as a whole constitutes a distinct administrative district within Krakow's third borough, the actual research area is explicitly smaller. Constructed towards the end of the 1970s at the northern fringe of the city, the neighbourhood under study houses a total population of approximately 11,000 inhabitants. The area is mainly comprised of high-rise apartment blocks (with up to 14 storeys) which are situated in a predominantly man-made landscape. Apart from small-scaled retail services Pradnik Czerwony fulfils almost only residential functions.

For the most part, the neighbourhood is inhabited by elderly and aging people who moved into the area during the 1970s shortly after the completion of the estate. A second group of residents is made up of newcomers, usually young people and university students, who do not reveal particular close ties to the neighbourhood.

In recent years, a number of activities were implemented in Pradnik Czerwony which aimed to revitalise the area. These measures have been characterised by concentrated co-operation between the various institutions that bear responsibility for the area's public safety and overall image. Joint approaches involving the police, the district's administration and the local neighbourhood cooperative have already led to an improved development of the public infrastructure and to the partial activation of local communities in terms of open councils and information meetings.

Even though the greater Krakow area witnessed a significant increase in the amount and range of crime during the past years, Pradnik Czerwony is considered to be one of the safest districts in Krakow as a whole. Police and city guard actions aim to bring about further improvement in the local security situation and are principally oriented towards the expansion of street patrols in the area as well as on education, information and consultation with reference to burglary and alcohol abuse prevention. Physical measures established by the district's government in collaboration with the management of the neighbourhood cooperative are predominantly targeted at influencing the opportunity structure of crime through access controls, better lighting and improved visibility.

2.1.4 Budapest: Békásmegyer

Built during the 1970s and 1980s as part of the third district in the north of Budapest, the large housing estate Békásmegyer houses around 40,000 inhabitants in approximately 18,000 flats, which were predominantly constructed by means of industrialised technology in high-rise buildings. Covering a total area of 144 m², the entire estate encompasses two clearly separate parts: the hill-side, which was erected earlier and more densely and the river-side, which was principally completed during the early eighties.

Following the collapse of state-socialism, most of the former state housing stock in Békásmegyer was transformed into private property. Due to low sales prices on the housing market, the neighbourhoods' population nowadays consists primarily of young couples and people holding a rather low social status. Today, anonymity and a high turnover rate shape the area's image. Even though the area is regarded as a criminal hot spot in public opinion, Békásmegyer actually neither lacks public safety nor does it show particular high offence rates. In fact, the neighbourhood has witnessed a decreasing trend in crime since the year 2000.

Although poor housing conditions and a rather neglected surrounding environment would make it seem reasonable to subject Békásmegyer to comprehensive rehabilitation schemes, the refurbishment which was already carried out in the area only included the physical reconstruction of the built environment at the main square, which is the most frequented spot of the entire neighbourhood. Responsibility for minor projects aimed at the urban development of Békásmegyer is generally borne by local private initiatives.

2.1.5 Bristol: Hartcliffe

Located at the extreme southern fringe of Bristol, Hartcliffe was built in the 1960s as a housing estate for people renting from the municipal council on rela-

tively low incomes. Accommodating a total population of about 11,300 inhabitants and comprising of two-storey housing and high-rise blocks, the estate – besides Pradnik Czerwony – forms one of the smaller research areas studied within the framework of the *Crime Prevention Carousel*.

Many of the two-storey municipal rented houses were sold during the 1980s and 90s under the government's "right to buy" scheme. The eight high-rise blocks (which accommodate about 500 households between them) were less popular and have remained predominantly under council ownership. They acquired a reputation for insecurity, crime and drug-dealing. Hartcliffe as a whole falls within the highest 10% of British neighbourhoods for multiple deprivation and crime, with these problems being even more concentrated in the tower blocks. As a result of the varying types of accommodation, Hartcliffe shows a very mixed population in terms of age, although, despite the sale of many of the houses, it remains a predominantly working class area. It also remains an almost entirely "white" area, with only 2.3% of the population describing themselves as being from an immigrant background.

After initial unsuccessful bids for government regeneration funding, in the 1990s Hartcliffe received substantial resources from the "Single Regeneration Budget" which led to numerous social and physical rehabilitation initiatives in the area of Hartcliffe. In the 1990s, the Council undertook a major refurbishment of five of the area's eight tower blocks, whilst two of the remaining blocks were prioritised for older persons' tenancies and one block remained virtually unchanged. In the five years immediately following the improvements, robbery within the blocks decreased by 48%, burglary by 25% and vehicle crime by 18%. The two "pensioner preferred" blocks maintained consistently lower crime victimisation rates during the same period, whilst the unimproved block maintained consistently higher rates.

2.2 Methodological approach

Using a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods of empirical social research, the methodological approach of the *Crime Prevention Carousel* basically rests on three pillars (see *figure 1*): firstly, a resident survey was conducted in four out of the five selected study areas; secondly, a series of structured interviews were executed with experts who are involved in the rehabilitative attempts in each of the respective neighbourhoods; and thirdly, qualitative observations were collected during mutual site visits by the entire research team in all cities participating in the study. With this methodological combination the project team aimed to achieve a comprehensive impression of the possible actions to be implemented and their impact on the development of crime and disorder in the areas, as well as on the degree of perceived insecurity among the residents of the communities.
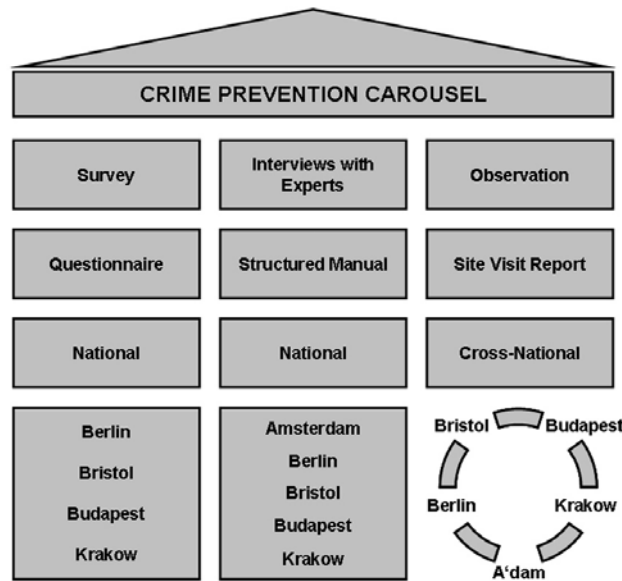
Fig. 1: Structure of the entire study

Using a "carousel" approach, where a researcher from one country appraises the effectiveness of measures implemented in another country, qualitative observations sought to gain a detailed impression of the various cities' approaches to rehabilitate high-rise housing estates across Europe and to support a mutual exchange of knowledge and experience. In targeting an as impartial as possible appraisal of the various interventions taken, observations were generally conceived unstandardised. Subjective impressions and reactions from the observing researchers were explicitly desired but had to be finalised in an elaborate report on the respective site visit giving information on the pros and cons of particularly impressive schemes and the appraisal of their transferability into their own national context. A summary of the results of this procedure can be obtained from the analysis written by *Woldendorp & Smits* in this publication.

Qualitative interviews with experts from various groups of crucial stakeholders in the respective areas (police, local administration, social services, housing companies) were executed to obtain a deeper knowledge of management aspects and co-operation structures. Aiming at a broad assessment of the general implementation process of rehabilitation schemes in different local settings, these interviews were guided by a structured manual listing diverse issues relating to the actual process of realisation and subjective records and prospects of success. Due to reasons of practicability and depending on the local situation, expert interviews proceeded in the form of both group discussions with a panel of experts and one-on-one.

The core element of the present study is a residents' survey which was arranged in the research areas of Berlin, Bristol, Budapest and Krakow. In targeting the individual perceptions of the surveyed residents, a comprehensive questionnaire was

constructed to include a wide range of issues relating to the socio-spatial situation, the appraisal of insecurities and the general quality of life as well as to experienced incidents of victimisation in the relevant areas. As the study's objective focuses on development tendencies in the research areas since the implementation of rehabilitative schemes the questionnaire was created in terms of a retrospective survey. A considerable part of the questionnaire was therefore dedicated to the residents' estimation of social change in the particular neighbourhoods. Thus, relevant questions sought to gauge estimated levels of change with reference to feelings of insecurity and the degree of perceived problems in the site.

While the surveys in Germany and in the UK relied on self-completion questionnaires which were distributed in a drop-off procedure by volunteers of the South Bristol Community Watch and student assistants of the Max Planck Institute respectively, the quantitative research in Poland and Hungary was conducted face-to-face by hired private research institutes. Being aware of the potential bias caused by different modes of data collection (see, for example, *Kury & Würger* 1993), possible effects were controlled within the framework of a diploma thesis which was executed by using both approaches in a large housing estate in Freiburg (cf. *Winkelmann* 2006). As a result, the paper suggests that methodological effects are less massive than originally suspected. Nevertheless, a selective distortion of the results can generally not be ruled out.

The different types of data collection undoubtedly influenced the individual return rates of the surveys. Whereas in both Budapest and Krakow return rates of 33% could be achieved by means of face-to-face interviews, the residents who were surveyed in a drop-off procedure in Marzahn North (23%) and the Gropiusstadt (18%) obviously exhibited a more cautious behavioural response. Showing a return rate of only 13%, the total number of respondents in Hartcliffe (65 altogether) was even too low to draw statistically valid and representative conclusions. Therefore, the Bristol case study had to be excluded from the overall quantitative research. However, due to the limited number of households in Hartcliffe difficulties in achieving the requested number of 500 respondents were perceptible right from the outset. The Bristol scenario nevertheless makes up for a valuable case study on the diversity of rehabilitation schemes across Europe and their local impact on crime and insecurities.

In addition, the total number of prospective respondents was restricted by two preconditions the survey placed on the residents. Due to the intended estimation of change in the particular neighbourhoods over the past years, the relevant addresses of considered residents were subject to the condition that they had occupied their residency for a minimum of five years and that the individual respondents were at least 18 years old. The relevant addresses which complied with the requirements were provided by the neighbourhood cooperative in Pradnik Czerwony, the Central Office for Administrative and Electronic Services in Budapest and the Berlin State Administration Authority. The total number of respondents in each of the respect-

tive surveys was distributed accordingly: Békásmegyer (1000: 500 respondents on both the river- and the hill-side respectively), Gropiusstadt (519), Marzahn North (502) and Pradnik Czerwony (500).

3. Overview and conclusion

The survey data is discussed in a number of the present publication's chapters. The publication as a whole considers diverse aspects of crime prevention and the reduction of insecurities in high-rise housing estates, as these aspects gained particular importance within the framework of the overall study. Due to the different professional and cultural backgrounds of the authors, the publication in its entirety takes a rather eclectic approach, addressing the subject from various perspectives.

Starting with a general presentation of different theories and principles of the relationship between the built environment and crime, *Shaftoe* orientates the effectiveness of rehabilitation schemes in high-rise housing estates in the area of tension between exclusion and inclusion. As applied to the relevant research areas he comes to the conclusion that physical and design improvements that are aimed at crime reduction alone will not per se guarantee a safer built environment.

Since large housing estates are not considered as problematic in physical terms only, *Lukas & Enters* investigate the different levels of social cohesion in the respective case study areas. On the basis of data obtained from the resident surveys they analyse the relationship between place attachment, neighbourhood contacts and feelings of insecurity against the background of a distinction between Eastern and Western European countries.

Incorporating empirical survey data and official statistics alike, *Barabás & Windt* compare the various levels of victimisation in the study areas and introduce different legal and civilian modes of victim support and protection in the relevant countries participating in the research project. As victimisation levels differ largely between the respective countries, measures of victim support vary due to the national contexts and provide a complex picture of diverse institutions in the field.

A detailed description of recent offence trends can be obtained from the article written by *Krajewski*. Starting at the national level and broken down into city and research area levels, his comparison of official crime statistics reveals largely differing levels of crime between the East and the West.

Following a brief summary of the research project's genesis *Woldendorp & Smits* refer to the qualitative observations. Compiling the results of the site visit reports they point out that what can be considered as successful interventions in one place are not necessarily desirable to transplant to another. Design principles for the built environment and crime control can not be divorced from the local contexts in which they are applied and must be malleable enough to adapt to a large variety of circumstances.

That said, the overall conclusion to be drawn from the study is that a proper design alone does not represent the panacea for tackling the problem of residential crime and insecurity in high-rise housing. Rehabilitative strategies for reducing the occurrence of crime and feelings of insecurity in large housing estates are most likely to impact effectively on crime and the sense of safety in a particular area when they are regarded as part of a strategic approach, incorporating a wide range of physical, managerial and social schemes alike.

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Crime in high-rise housing
– is it the built environment's fault?

HENRY SHAFTOE

Commencing in the 1960s, there was a dramatic increase in the rate of construction of high-rise dwellings throughout Europe. This was mostly a response to the need to build a large amount of accommodation after the destruction of the Second World War. However, the particular style of dwelling type (tower blocks and deck or corridor access buildings) was based on the modernist principles of architecture that arose from the "Bauhaus" movement in Germany and the ideas of the Swiss architect Le Corbusier (1951).

Photo 1: Berlin   *Photo 2: Birmingham*

Although this mass, system-built, production of housing managed to provide a large quantity of housing, there have been problems in some countries with the quality of life within them. These problems have not been universal throughout Europe, but particularly in France and the United Kingdom, many of these blocks have been vulnerable to crime. The question is whether this problem of crime has something to do with the design and construction of such blocks, or whether it is to do with broader social and demographic factors. This chapter will attempt to tease out the links between the built environment and crime, by looking at theory and research around this theme and then seeing who all this might relate to our study of six high-rise neighbourhoods in Europe.

In response to the realization that many mass housing developments were experiencing high levels of crime and fear of crime, various theories have emerged that suggest ways of 'designing out' crime from *existing* developments and building *new* 'crime-free' developments. Some theories are complementary but some are conflicting. Broadly speaking, the theories and the approaches emanating from them can be positioned along a continuum with 'exclusion' at one end and 'inclusion' at the other. The diagram in the appendix of this chapter illustrates this continuum, identifying where various approaches aimed at preventing crime in the built environment lie upon it.

Within the design/crime arena there are broadly two opposing camps: those who argue for more 'closure' (strategies towards the left of the diagram in the appendix) and those who argue for more openness/ permeability (towards the right of the diagram). This is a practical reflection of the two major theory groupings about crime causation: classical rational-choice theories and psycho-social positivist theories. The theories supporting closure assume that most criminals are opportunists who, as they go about their routine daily activities, will commit a crime if they spot a suitable target and the absence of a capable guardian who would intervene to stop or arrest them[1] (see *Cohen & Felson* 1979; *Cornish & Clarke* 1986; *Felson* 1987; *Felson & Clarke* 1998).

On the other hand, theories supporting more open neighbourhoods assume that it is the conditioning influence of our social and psychological environments that determines whether we behave illegally or not. Thus the building up of social cohesion (*Hirschfield & Bowers* 1997), community control (*Bursik & Grasmick* 1993) collective efficacy (*Sampson* 1997), social capital (*Putnam* 1995) and positive peer pressure in neighbourhoods will ensure that we will all behave pro-socially rather than anti-socially.

This continuum between exclusion (or repression) and inclusion (or integration) is mirrored in the broader policy debate about the best ways to prevent crime (see *Shaftoe* 2004). Repressive approaches are generally favoured in divided societies, such as Brazil, South Africa and the USA (although it should be pointed out that 'New Urbanism is an American idea), whereas integrative approaches tend to be preferred in societies aiming for greater equality, such as France and the Scandinavian countries.

Strategies which aim to design safer built environments are primarily based on 'situational' theories of crime prevention, which in turn are based primarily on principles of opportunity reduction (*Clarke* 1980, 1995). The principles 'crime prevention through environmental design' (CPTED) has been widely promoted as a

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[1] Evidence cited to support this view is found, for example, in *Budd*'s 1999 analysis of the British Crime Survey which suggested that a lower proportion of properties on cul-de-sacs suffered burglary than properties on main- or side-roads.

cure to so-called 'design disadvantagement' (see *Coleman* 1985). Terms such as 'defensible space', 'natural surveillance' and 'symbolic barriers' are liberally used by specialists in this field as though they were proven scientific techniques. Yet, as *Atlas* pointed out in 1992, CPTED had not been systematically tested and evaluated to any great extent and, over a decade later, the picture is not much different (although see *Newman* 1995; *Armitage* 2000).

CPTED as a concept started with the eponymously titled book by *Jeffery* (1971), but it really took off with the publication, the following year, of 'Defensible Space' (*Newman* 1972). Based on the findings from a controlled design-improvement programme on a high-crime housing-estate in the New York area of the USA, Newman proposed a system of 'defensible spaces' designed to encourage householders to supervise, and take on responsibility for, the areas in which they lived. He distilled this into four key design measures to overcome the failures of existing mass housing provision:

1. Territoriality: the subdivision of buildings and grounds into zones of influence to discourage outsiders from entering and encourage residents to defend their areas;
2. Surveillance: the design of buildings to allow easy observation of the related territory;
3. Image: the design of public housing to avoid stigma;
4. Environment: the juxtaposing of public housing projects with safe zones in adjacent areas.

Although he stressed the parallel importance of social issues such as family networks, community development and good housing management in creating and maintaining safer neighbourhoods (*Newman* 1974, 1995), it was Newman's first two 'commandments' that people latched on to. These notions of territoriality and surveillance were further refined by Alice *Coleman* (1985), a geographer at King's College, London, England who after studying numerous English housing estates produced a 'design disadvantagement' index against which one could measure and then rectify design faults which were supposedly 'causing' crime and anti-social behaviour. Design disadvantagement proved to be a seductive theory for politicians desperate to find a 'cure' for rising crime rates, so they authorised a multi-million pound 'Design Improvement Controlled Experiment' (DICE) to remodel a number of English housing estates. A subsequent evaluation for the Department of the Environment found that 'none of the DICE schemes can be judged to have been effective in meeting the (admittedly ambitious) objectives set for it by Professor Coleman' (*DoE* 1997).

The concept of 'defensible space' was refined by *Poyner* (1983), whose research suggested that it could be applied not only to residential areas, but to city centres, schools and public transport. Further research into residential layouts (primarily low-rise) and their link to crime rates, was undertaken by *Poyner* and *Webb* (1991). In this study they attempted to untangle the conflicting claims of social causation

and design causation as explanations for the differing levels of crime in residential neighbourhoods.

In the wake of these theories about the possibility of 'designing out crime', a number of guides have subsequently been produced in the UK for developers (often jointly prepared by local authority planning departments and the police). Starting in the South East of England, the police sponsored 'Secured by Design' accreditation scheme for new homes has spread rapidly throughout Britain. If a new dwelling meets the requirements on a police inspired checklist (which specifies standards of lock fittings, door strengths, window construction etc.) then the building is awarded a 'Secured by Design' endorsement, which is supposed to be an attractive selling point for the property (see http://www.securedbydesign.com).[2] The key reference work upon which this approach is based is the Police Architectural Liaison Manual of Guidance (*Home Office Crime Prevention Centre* 1994). 'Secured by Design' schemes applied to a sample of housing developments in Yorkshire, England were evaluated by *Armitage* (2000), with generally favourable conclusions. These positive findings were a useful update for the proponents of CPTED who, up until then, had still been primarily dependent on Oscar Newman's 30 year old evaluation to justify their recommendations.

There is much common sense in a 'designing out crime' approach, but also a danger of over-stating its impact and slipping into a design determinist philosophy whereby people are seen as mere automatons whose behaviour is entirely conditioned by the environment they find themselves in. In Britain it is not difficult to find examples of 'well' designed environments where crime levels have been high and 'badly' designed environments where the disadvantagement of the surroundings has not manifested itself in high levels of crime (for example Lillington Gardens in Victoria, London (see *photo 3*) and many housing estates in Continental Europe). *Merry* (1981) found undefended 'defensible spaces' and *Hillier* and *Shu* (2002) challenged the concept by asking 'do burglars understand defensible space?'

The principle of 'symbolic barriers' (where potential miscreants understand and respond to the visual cues of surface texture changes and gateway features) has not been evaluated in any systematic way. Indeed a modest study carried out (*Shaftoe & James* 2004) suggested that symbolic barriers might only deter the law-abiding. The whole theory that 'bad design breeds crime' becomes even shakier when we

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[2] 'Secured by Design' (SBD) is a police initiative to encourage the building industry to adopt crime prevention measures in development design to assist in reducing the opportunity for crime and the fear of crime, creating a safer and more secure environment. It is intended to achieve a better quality of life by addressing crime prevention at the earliest opportunity in the design, layout and construction of homes and commercial premises. In doing so Secured by Design supports one of the Government's key planning objectives. That is the creation of secure, quality places where people wish to live and work'.

look beyond Britain and the USA, to Eastern and Southern Europe and Asia. In these cultures, for better or worse, extended family and neighbour support networks and inculcated moral values such as shame, pride, respect and empathy seem to over-ride the opportunities for crime provided by vulnerable building designs and layouts (see, for example, *Thornton & Endo* 1992).

Photo 3: Successful high-rise social housing - Lillington Gardens/London

Other theorists, mostly from the social-psychology area (but see *Hillier & Shu* 2002, from a spatial design perspective), have proposed more inclusive and permeable strategies for preventing locational crimes. Crudely put, these people propose 'crowding out' crime, rather than keeping out criminals. Based on Jane *Jacobs*' (1961) notion of 'eyes on the street' and informal social control, the integration theorists propose designs that encourage maximum use of public space by the law-abiding public, through the provision of open circulation patterns and mixed uses. They also suggest that we should design for 'community', where people in a neighbourhood know, trust and support each other, so that through a build-up of social cohesion and collective efficacy they exert control over 'their' neighbourhood and are prepared to intervene to prevent anti-social or criminal behaviour. There is also a notion of pro-social peer pressure in this concept of crowding out crime. Although not primarily crime preventative in concept, the 'Urban Villages' movement in the UK (*Urban Villages Forum* 1992; *Neal* 2003) and 'New Urbanism' in the USA (*Katz* 1994) represent the apotheosis of permeability. As such they have come under considerable criticism from the exponents of 'designing out crime' (see *Knowles* 2003; *Town* 2004).

In 1994, for the first time, the British Government issued guidelines to local authority planning departments on crime prevention (*Circular 5/94*), and suggested a broader approach to 'planning out crime' than merely security design and layout principles. It stressed the importance of a strategic approach based on the needs and

demands of an area as a whole, collaboration with other public service agencies and the recognition of the importance of appropriate management of buildings and open spaces. The Scottish Office proselytised this principle of 'planning in a broader context' for crime prevention, in their Planning Advice Note (*PAN 46*, 1994). This stated that "environmental improvement alone or in conjunction with improved security measures is unlikely to be successful in preventing crime in areas which suffer from profound social and economic distress where fundamental issues such as housing management and maintenance, job creation and community development also require to be addressed. In the regeneration of these areas a wider multi-agency approach including planners and the police is required"(*PAN 46*, 1994 p.9).

The latest two items of guidance emanating from the government in England and Wales: Planning Policy Statement 1 - Creating Sustainable Communities and 'Safer Places' published jointly by the *Home Office* and the *Office of the Deputy Prime Minister* (2004), offer ambivalent attitudes to crime prevention, caught as they are between the countervailing pressures to, on the one hand 'design out' crime using exclusionary principles and, on the other hand, 'design in' sustainable communities.

Security and safety problems in the built environment are not just associated with actual crime, but with *fear* of crime. Fear can restrict peoples' activity and use of environments. Fear and actual risk of victimisation do not necessarily correspond to one another (*Mirrlees-Black & Maung* 1994). Therefore, depending on the context, we may have to introduce measures that will make people feel safer, reduce actual chances of victimisation, or both. For example, improved street lighting is generally welcomed as a fear reducer but may or may not reduce actual crime levels (*Ramsay* 1991; *Crouch et al.* 1999; *Farrington & Welsh* 2002; *Marchant* 2004). Creating fortified environments (such as high boundary walls and solid metal shutters) may reduce the opportunities for crime, but may raise levels of fear by producing environments with reduced surveillance opportunities. In many cases it may be best to encourage increased use of public and communal spaces, along with the installation of see-through shutters and fences, in the hope that there will be informal social control by the law-abiding majority (see *Walop* 1996).

Social planning is as important as physical planning. It will be necessary to work in collaboration with other professions and users to achieve plans that integrate the social with the physical. It is no good developing a beautiful town centre plaza if the majority of citizens avoid it because it has been taken over by homeless alcoholics and disaffected youths with nowhere else to go. Some environmental measures introduced in one area may displace crime problems to other areas or may prompt different approaches to offending. Although the impact of displacement has been exaggerated in the past (see *Hesseling*'s 1994 review of literature on the subject, also *Town* 2001), it can occur to some degree whether it takes the form of 'crime switch' (*Allatt* 1984; *Hesseling & Aron* 1995), target displacement (*Chaiken*

et al. 1974; *Mayhew et al.* 1976), change in *modus operandi* (*Rengier* 1985), temporal displacement (*Hunt & Weiner* 1977) or geographical displacement (*Burrows* 1980; *Allatt* 1984). However, in some cases there can be a beneficial displacement, termed a 'diffusion of benefitis', when an intervention or design change has a positive impact on surrounding areas (*Poyner & Webb* 1992).

In some cases a heightened sense of security generated by the design of one environment (e.g. an enclosed and controlled shopping mall) may exacerbate the fear generators in its surroundings (e.g. pedestrian access routes, car parks and service bays) where formal and informal surveillance is not so prevalent. Closed Circuit Television networks often have to be expanded as they 'chase' crime from a previous hotspot to a new one.

As noted earlier, incidents of crime, per head of population, are much higher in urban areas. The reasons for this seem to be primarily social and demographic (e.g. anonymity, greater population flow) rather than design-led (e.g. number of entrapment spots and opportunistic layouts) (see *Shaftoe* 2000). Indeed from a purely design perspective, rural areas, with their unlit villages and isolated houses would appear to be *more* vulnerable to crime than densely populated urban neighbourhoods. In the light of consistently lower offence rates in rural environments, a move towards a solution of urban high-rise crime problems might be to recreate the "village sense of community" in groups of housing blocks, so that people know and support their neighbours and feel they have a stake in 'their' locality (see *Bursik & Grasmick* 1993; *Shaftoe* 2000). This is exactly what appears to happen on the Marzahn estate in Berlin, where each block has a resident representative, who takes responsibility for looking after his neighbours and caring for the immediate environment around the block (see *photo 4*):

Photo 4: Block representative waters communal front garden in
Marzahn North

In the UK, problems with crime and insecurity in high-rise blocks is so prevalent, that many of them have been demolished and replaced with low-rise buildings. In some cases where the buildings have structural faults or unadaptable construction, demolition may be the only option (see *photo 5*).

Photo 5: Demolition of Glendare House, Bristol

But, evidence from other European countries suggests that it is possible to have low crime high-rise environments. There appear to be some fundamental principles that determine whether neighbourhoods will be more or less vulnerable to crime and these can be influenced by the way we plan, design and adapt neighbourhoods. Below are five examples of how good planning, design and rehabilitation can contribute to safer environments:

1. Designing for the optimum mix of uses. Balanced, stable neighbourhoods with a heterogenous mix of demography and activity may reduce crime and fear, through informal social control networks and round-the-clock surveillance. This was the approach espoused by Jane *Jacobs* (1961), who was scathing about the single-use zoning methods adopted by planners in the USA. Such zoning means that residential areas can be underused by day and retail areas deserted at night.

Many large estates with identical family housing types were built in the inter-war or immediate post-war period, and, particularly in the UK and France, a number of these estates became high crime areas (*Bottoms & Wiles* 1986). This is at least partly to do with the concentration in these areas of families living in poverty with bored children and disaffected young people (*SNU* 1993; *Osborn & Shaftoe* 1995). These areas are usually isolated from central social and recreational facilities so some young people make their own (illicit) entertainment or take out their frustration on the built environment.

2. Designing and maintaining to give the right psychological signals and cues. A high-quality, cared-for environment will encourage respect for that environment and its users - *Newman*'s (1972) third key factor of 'image'. Conversely, harsh, fortified and neglected environments may reinforce fear and actual risk. There is evidence to suggest that brutal surroundings may provoke brutal behaviour (*Kuo & Sullivan* 2001), and there is a risk that increased fortification may just raise the stakes of the force and ingenuity adopted by determined miscreants.

Many modernist housing estates and urban plazas have found themselves in a deteriorating spiral of decline, precipitated at least in part by the stigmatising visibility of their streaked pre-cast concrete panels and other poor quality finishes which signal cheap municipal design. In the UK such areas have been gradually abandoned by those with sufficient wealth and influence to move elsewhere, leaving behind the poor, the powerless and the desperate (*Skogan* 1992; *Morton* 1994). In Eastern Europe, with its huge legacy of dreary system-built high-rise housing estates, there is a risk that, as free-market economics begin to bite there will be a similar exodus of the better-off from such neighbourhoods. However this spiral of physical and social decline can be reversed. In the UK some housing areas have been transformed, at great expense, by combined physical and social improvements (see *SNU* 1993; *Osborn & Shaftoe* 1995) and Marzahn in the former East Berlin is a shining example of what can be achieved holistically to transform a drab peripheral mass housing area.

In view of the number of radical housing designs that have rapidly declined into unpopular 'sink' estates, designers of social housing have stopped "experimenting on the poor" and started to provide housing that will please their future occupants rather than their professional peers. Sir James Stirling's award winning futuristic housing development at New Southgate in Runcorn had to be demolished some years ago, such was its unpopularity. In its place a housing association has built mundane (but well liked) pitch-roofed brick- clad houses, while the local authority is still paying off the loan on the previous housing (see *Morton* 1994). Ricardo Bofil's spectacularly monumental housing designs in some of the "banlieux" of Paris have been the location of social unrest and crime problems, still to be resolved

3. Designing for control of environments by users. This concept is not just about 'ownership' and surveillance of space, but engaging users/residents in the design and development process so that they have a personal 'investment' in a designed or re-designed environment that they will wish to safeguard. Planners and urban designers may claim they do this as a matter of course through the required consultation mechanisms. However, open consultation sessions and displays of plans will often only attract and engage an unrepresentative minority of users/residents. Also, in many cases the professionals have already predetermined their short-list of design options and users/residents may rightly feel that all they are doing is 'rubber-stamping'. A genuinely participatory approach is time

consuming and requires the professionals to relinquish their directorial role in favour of an 'enabling' one. These are difficult changes to make for experts who are working to deadlines and who have heartfelt visions of what good buildings and their environments should look like. On the plus side, participatory exercises can be very satisfying, particularly when they employ creative methods such as 'planning-for-real' developed by the Neighbourhood Initiatives Foundation. 'Planning-for-real' enables lay people to visualise their own design preferences, and to reconcile these with the priorities of others, by constructing and manipulating simple three dimensional scenarios (*Neighbourhood Initiatives Foundation* 1999). It is becoming increasingly possible to develop computer simulations of three-dimensional environments as a consultation tool, but one has to be careful that the medium does not overwhelm the message.

The participatory approach to neighbourhood design and urban regeneration is supported by the British Government and its success can be seen at the Royds Community Association in Bradford, Eldonians' Co-operative Housing Scheme in Liverpool and the Pembroke Street redevelopment and Estate Management Board in Plymouth, amongst others. In Germany, the Marzahn and Gropiusstadt rehabilitations in Berlin are both fine examples of community involvement in improvement planning and implementation. Such schemes have, through the active involvement of their residents in design, redevelopment and ongoing management, transformed crime-prone estates into attractive neighbourhoods with far fewer problems of insecurity. In Edinburgh, Scotland, the Niddrie House Planning and Rehabilitation Group was a resident-led organisation which, with council support, masterminded a multi-million pound estate regeneration programme which has transformed the area physically and socially. Two tower blocks were demolished, 1970s tenement blocks were remodelled, playgrounds were built, a new housing co-operative developed homes on the sites vacated by the tower blocks, a community centre and even a community shop were opened. Crime, although not vanquished, diminished (*SNU* 1994).

Photo 6:Remodelled high-rise blocks, Edinburgh

The above example (*photo 6*) is of an existing neighbourhood that has been rehabilitated through community consultation and involvement, but what about new-build? It *is* possible to consult potential residents or buyers, using citizens' panels or other sampling systems that reflect the type of people likely to end up living in or using the new development. With the wisdom of hindsight, it could be argued that many of the disastrous high-rise and modernist estates of the 1960s and 70s would not have been built if the planners and developers had consulted with potential occupiers, who generally would have preferred cosy traditional homes (of the type that we are now having to build in place of demolished tower blocks!) (Taylor 1973).

4. Right-sizing. As we saw earlier when comparing urban/rural victimisation rates, crime flourishes in large anonymous environments. Small, identifiable communities seem to offer better mutual support and security to their residents and public services seem to work better when they are decentralised to manageable neighbourhoods (see *Ward* 1989). There appear to be a number of reasons why right-sized neighbourhoods are safer: people can identify with 'their' community and feel they have a stake in its wellbeing; they are more likely to observe and respond to inappropriate or offensive behaviour; they are more likely to know and support their neighbours and know who to go to for help (*Bursik & Grasmick* 1993; *Hirschfield & Bowers* 1997).

Therefore the idea of dividing big cities into clusters of 'villages' is not just a whimsical pastoral notion, but has a sound crime preventative basis and has the potential for delivering more responsive and appropriate public services. This approach was attempted in Islington and Tower Hamlets in London, In Oslo, Norway and, somewhat controversially, in Walsall in the west Midlands of England. Regeneration programmes centred in active community involvement have taken place in Denmark (under the Kvarterløft intiative), Gardsten in Goteborg/Sweden and Kronsberg, Hannover/Germany. This approach to creating viable and supportive small communities is espoused by Christopher *Alexander* in his seminal work 'A Pattern Language' (1977), in which he proposes that each identifiable neighbourhood should contain a population of no more than 7,000 people. Alexander and his colleagues argue that in its evolution, the human race has developed a natural set of living "patterns" that have stood the test of time. If we do not accord to these patterns in the way we design and manage the built environment, then problems and conflicts are more likely to arise. Alexander also believes that people should design for themselves their own houses, streets and communities, having observed that most of the most successful places in the world were not made by architects but by the people.

5. Introducing appropriate physical security measures. Physical security measures (such as locks, reinforced doors, gates, fences etc.) aim to reduce the number of opportunities to commit crime. Many property offences occur because

someone sees the chance to get into a building or room easily and to get away unseen. It is clearly sensible to reduce the number of easy opportunities to commit offences. But in the broader offending picture there are two intervening complications: "raising the stakes" and displacement. As you make buildings more secure, many opportunistic offenders will just give up. However, others will become more desperate and some will see increased security as a challenge to their ingenuity. Offenders such as drug addicts and recidivists who "need" to go on offending may use more force or determination when they encounter increased security barring the way to the items they seek. Bored young delinquents may perceive a hardened target as a demanding game to be won. Persistent offenders when confronted with a more secure barrier to their goal may displace their attention to other, more vulnerable properties or they may change the type of offending they indulge in. There have been cases where, after a neighbourhood security programme has been completed, burglary has gone down but street robberies have increased.

Physical security upgrades need to be commensurate to the risk in the particular context, be based on a careful audit of building vulnerability and be part of a broader neighbourhood safety strategy (*Crouch et al.* 1999).

On the down-side, one approach to planning for security is the 'ghetto of privilege' whereby certain areas are designed to be self-contained reserves which can exclude undesirables. The American-style fortified suburb is now being replicated in a number of new upmarket residential developments in the Home Counties of England (*Minton* 2002). This private response to a growing sense of insecurity, if allowed by the planners to escalate, will further polarise our built environment into a patchwork of areas which are 'no-go' for rich and poor respectively - surely not a desirable long-term outcome?

1. Summary of theories and principles about the built environment and crime

•   Although they can make a significant contribution to the safety and security of built environments, physical security, planning and urban design measures *alone* cannot significantly and durably reduce crime and insecurity. In some cases they may exacerbate or displace the problem. Layouts and designs that work in some areas can be a criminogenic disaster in others. The Tuscan hill village concept of stuccoed clusters of housing, walled gardens and winding alleyways has not worked the way the architect intended at the Maiden Lane Estate in Camden, North London. The design of the upper west-side skyscraper apartments in Manhattan does not prove to be so appealing when it is realised on a cloud-scraping hillside above Dundee in Scotland.

It is not possible entirely to 'design out' crime. In the UK it could be argued that, in the past there has been too much concentration on environmental and physical security at the expense of other social and developmental issues that are impervious to design remedies (*Osborn & Shaftoe* 1995). At best, good design can reduce some of the opportunities for committing certain categories of offence (such as burglary and vehicle crime). Physical and spatial planning are unlikely to have much direct impact on offences such as domestic violence, child abuse, fraud and white collar crime. The results of physical planning and urban design provide the *backdrop* against which changing social activities and dynamics evolve. Clearly we should be designing pleasant human-scale environments where people can interact, look out for each other and where buildings have a reasonable level of security and lack of entrapment spots.

However, there is little evidence to suggest that the design of the physical environment 'determines' people's behaviour in a direct cause and effect relationship. Social planning (involving other disciplines and agencies) should complement physical planning, so that other human needs, not necessarily directly related to shelter and the use of space, are catered for.

•   Design guidance for security and crime prevention is valuable but limited if it is not augmented by user consultation and anticipation of variations in use and side-effects. People are adaptable and innovative in how they respond to built environments, but they will also over-rule attempts by designers to alter their preferred use of space. Many implemented landscaping and circulation plans have been undermined by local people who discovered that paths do not follow their favoured routes (desire lines) and landscape features block short cuts to where they want to go (*Brand* 1994). In such cases, users will sooner or later impose their own wishes, even if it involves breaking down fences or trampling muddy paths across flower beds and shrubberies. Skateboarders in plazas and homeless alcoholics colonising benches in enclosed shopping malls are other examples of a failure to integrate design with user need and the lack of other local facilities. Putting up signs to ban certain activities or using security officers to move people on is an inadequate response to bad planning and lack of integration.

•   Built environments need to be robust but adaptable enough to accommodate changing social dynamics and demographics. Cheap-finish, mass solutions have proved to be costly (both financially and criminogenically) in the long run. Good quality materials and 'human' building scales signal a respect for the intended users, and this respect is generally reciprocated (see *Alexander* 1977 for an explanation of scale).

•   Planners and designers should resist the creation of a divided society wherein the better-off (and allegedly law-abiding) exclude the less privileged (and so-called 'criminal classes') from large tracts of the environment by privatising what were

formerly public spaces. Quite apart from the social ethics of such an approach, this polarisation of space can raise levels of fear and mutual suspicion (*Ellin* 1997).

- Planners and the planning process can provide valuable *components* in effective approaches to preventing crime and improving community safety, which almost inevitably require long-term, strategic and multi-disciplinary interventions (cf. *DoE* 1993; *Osborn & Shaftoe* 1995).

- Crime prevention is not the only goal of enlightened social and urban policy. A crime free environment (even if we could achieve it) would probably be sterile and unappealing. We have to balance security with both mundane considerations (such as fire service access and public rights of way) and overarching concepts such as sustainability, human rights and equal opportunities.

So how can we design an optimum built environment for community safety - where both actual crime and fear of crime are not major problems? Firstly, we can refer to the guidelines that have been produced and are based on research, but we should not be dogmatic in interpreting them. These guidelines should recommend the following process:

- If possible carry out research and consultation with people who use, intend to use, or avoid the identified environment.

- Appraise the context: current and intended use, variations in use according to time of day, week and season, levels and types of crime in the area, external influences from adjacent areas and transport patterns.

The best that can be achieved will be a built environment, supported by the optimum number of users, which is robust and adaptable enough to accommodate and absorb activities and uses which may change over time. There is a view from some quarters that crime adds a certain 'frisson' to the vigorous dynamics of urban living (the 'mean streets' of Raymond Chandler and *film noir*), but it would appear that most city-dwellers prefer to experience such excitement vicariously rather than through direct risk of victimisation.

2. Theory and principles as applied to the six case study areas

The six case study areas make for excellent illustrations of many of the themes discussed in this chapter. The Bristol estate (Hartcliffe) appears to have the highest crime rate of any of the case study estates and yet has had the most physical security and design improvements explicitly aimed at crime reduction. These consist of direct fortification measures, such as new security doors, through electronic measures, most notably CCTV (see *photo 7*), to design measures such as new perimeter fencing.

Photos 7 & 8: Anonymous security monitoring at Hartcliffe contrasts with friendly concierge in Marzahn high-rise block

The most successful estate (and certainly the one that has been transformed most radically) appears to be Marzahn in Berlin, where a holistic approach, as recommended above, has been taken, aimed at overall quality of life improvement rather than specifically a crime reduction one. Although Marzahn has some good security practice such as a concierge scheme, with linked CCTV in one of the biggest high-rise blocks (see photo 8), it also has some design features, (such as ground floor balconies adjacent to luxuriant foliage) that, from a CPTED point-of-view, are distinctly dubious. The same applies to Gropiusstadt in Berlin, where access doors to low-rise apartments and garages often offer poor natural surveillance opportunities and would be distinctly risky in higher crime areas (see *photos 9 & 10*).

Photo 9: Ground floor has no 'buffer' from public to private space

Photo 10: Little natural surveillance of garages in Gropiusstadt

The Bijlmermeer (Amsterdam) has had a huge amount of redesign work aimed at making the estate safer (including demolition, remodelling and improved security measures), yet still appears to have problematic public space layouts and potential entrapment spots (see *photos 11 & 12*).

Photos 11 & 12: Ill-defined public spaces around existing and new housing in the Bijlmermeer

The other two former soviet housing estates in this study (apart from Marzahn, which was in the former East Berlin) – in Krakow and Budapest have had very little done to them and are in a relatively mediocre condition (particularly relative to the two Berlin estates), yet they appear to be faring relatively well in terms of low crime levels.

Pradnik Czerwony, in Krakow, has numerous potential problem areas in terms of natural surveillance and defensible space, both in and around the dwellings; similarly Békásmegyer, in Budapest, where the only real safety and security improvements are the fortification of some individual apartments and attempts to improve the quality of some open spaces (see *photos 13 & 14*).

Photos 13 & 14: Poor natural surveillance and defensible space designs at Békásmegyer

However, the concern is that unless substantial improvements are made to the built environment on these Polish and Hungarian estates, the inevitable socio-economic polarisation driven by free market forces will exert an increasingly strong influence, with the result that, over the next ten or twenty years they could

become "places of last resort" in the same way that British council estates have done. The prevention of such a downward spiral (see *Skogan* 1992) appears to have been the rationale behind the Berlin administration's heavy investment in the comprehensive improvement of Marzahn and Gropiusstadt.

The overarching conclusion from the application of the theories discussed earlier to the case study areas is that, indeed, physical security and design improvements aimed at crime reduction alone, will not in themselves guarantee a safer built environment. Community safety is reliant much more on socio-economic, community cohesion, demographic and estate management factors, although good design and appropriate levels of fortification can provide the backdrop to a better quality of life for residents of high-rise estates.

3. Appendix

The various approaches to preventing crime in the built environment, ranged according to their degree of exclusivity or inclusivity

Exclusion ⟵⟶ *Inclusion*

Fortification	CPTED	Secured by Design	Urban villages and actual neighbourhoods	New Urbanism	'Café Culture' and urban revitalisation
Gated Communities	Opportunity reduction	Situational crime prevention	'Living over the shop'	Design for community control and social cohesion	Social crime prevention
Target hardening	Closed layouts (e.g. cul-de-sacs)		Mixed use	Permeable layouts	'Crowding out crime'
	Defensible space	Natural surveillance	Identifiable neighbourhoods		
		Symbolic barriers	Human scale		

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Social cohesion and feelings of insecurity

TIM LUKAS & MARK ENTERS

The sheer physical enormity of large high-rise housing estates is often enough to regard them as 'inhospitable' (*Mitscherlich* 1970). Numerous accommodation units, the lack of infrastructure, a low quality of the building stock as well as deteriorating and neglected public spaces are only a few arguments recurring within the overall dismay concerning the decline of large housing estates in European cities.

Recent research has shown that in fact almost all European countries are facing problems with respect to a decreasing quality of life in many post-war urban neighbourhoods (*Van Beckhoven et al.* 2005).[1] These areas, however, cannot be regarded as problematic in physical terms only, but also with respect to social and economic developments (or lack thereof). Although the situation appears not as dire as it is in social housing projects in the United States (see, for example, *Venkatesh* 2002 analysing the Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago), residents of many large housing estates in Europe are also adversely affected by a combination of socio-economic disadvantages and social problems relating to disorder, crime and insecurity. In proactively responding to these problems, many large housing estates are nowadays therefore subject to comprehensive programmes of urban development and renewal.

Apart from physical rehabilitation, urban renewal policies in European large housing estates have included socio-economic and socio-cultural interventions too (*Couch et al.* 2003; *Verhage* 2005; *Sander* 2005).[2] Improvements to the socio-economic characteristics of troubled urban neighbourhoods are aimed at improving the opportunities for residents to escape from their deprived position. On this note, urban renewal combines interventions which, on the one hand, seek to diversify types of dwellings in order to attract a population with a more favourable socio-economic background and, on the other hand, stimulate economic activity in order

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[1] See, for example, the research projects "Neighbourhood Housing Models/NEHOM" (http://www.nhh.no/geo/nehom/) and "Restructuring Large Housing Estates in European Cities/RESTATE" (http://www.restate.geog.uu.nl/).

[2] A detailed description of national measures aimed at the promotion of social cohesion in the relevant case study areas can be gathered from the respective national reports.

to bring employment into the area. In respect of socio-cultural interventions, urban renewal policies in European large housing estates promote the creation of stronger social cohesion among residents in order to improve their quality of life. In this regard, interventions comprise of actions that not only secure the provision of meeting places and social activities but also work to combat disorder and crime.

These interventions proceed on the assumption that a relationship exists between declining social cohesion and increasing disorder and crime. Frequently described as "breeding areas of crime" (*Guratzsch* 2002), the decline of social cohesion therefore is often linked to disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, such as large housing estates at the fringe of the city.

Against this background relevant questions within the scope of the *Crime Prevention Carousel* included: What truth is there to decreasing social coherence in large housing estates? To what extent does social cohesion relate to crime and feelings of insecurity? Can we find differences between the Eastern and Western European large housing estates?

1. Social cohesion – Conceptual framework

The role of neighbourhoods in promoting a sense of community refers to a long tradition of scientific research. Since Durkheim distinguished between organic and mechanical solidarity and Tönnies placed the dichotomy of *'Gemeinschaft'* und *'Gesellschaft'*, the influence of rapid social change on social cohesion particularly in urban agglomerations became one of the main focuses of scientific attention (*Durkheim* 1996; *Wirth* 1938; *Tönnies* 1935).

Usually, social cohesion is considered to be something positive that has declined since an unspecified moment in time (*Pahl* 1991). Described as both a process and an outcome, social cohesion is a term which can be defined in many ways (cf. *Chan et al.* 2006).[3] Generally, social cohesion is understood as "the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within a country. It should be based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among different groups of the population" (*United Nations* 2000, p. 11; see also *Jeannotte* 2001). According to *Kearns* and *Forrest* (2000; *Forrest & Kearns* 2001), the concept of social cohesion comprises five different dimensions, including shared norms and values, social solidarity, social control, social networks and a strong bonding with the place where one lives.

Due to the scope and aim of the present examination, this chapter focuses on the aspects of social cohesion at the neighbourhood level: attachment to the neighbour-

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[3] One might argue that the vagueness and ambiguity of the term is one of the main reasons why the concept has gained growing significance amongst policy-makers and in academic debates (see *Council of Europe* 2000, 2004; *European Commission* 2000).

hood/place attachment and social networks/contacts between neighbours (see *Van Marissing* 2006). In this context, both dimensions are frequently regarded as a remedy for many societal problems such as individualisation, social exclusion, crime and fear of crime (cf. *Hirschfield & Bowers* 1997; *Bellair* 1997; *Riger et al.* 1981). In most cases, the concept is linked to problems in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, where socially disorganised communities with few economic and social resources concentrate.

1.1 Defining place attachment and neighbourhood contacts

1.1.1 Place Attachment

Although place attachment has "not yet reached the stage of a coherent body of research"[4] (*Giuliani & Feldman* 1993, p. 269; *Altman & Low* 1992), with regard to the neighbourhood level the term can be generally defined as effective bonds or links between people and a specific place (see, for example, *Brown et al.* 2003). Two dimensions of place attachment are identifiable: rootedness or physical attachment and bonding or social attachment (*Riger & Lavrakas* 1981; *Taylor et al.* 1985). Whereas the latter more or less refers to the existence of social relationships in the neighbourhood – and thus relates to the social network dimension of cohesion – the former accounts for the bonds towards the physical components of the place. For the individual these bonds reflect a particular local identity and often provide feelings of pride in the residential area and its appearance (*Twigger-Ross & Uzzell* 1996).

In this regard place attachment is stimulated by daily encounters with the living environment and its occupants, continued physical personalisation and upkeep, and affective feelings towards and beliefs about the home and neighbourhood (cf. *Brown et al.* 2003). "Elements of the system (of attachment) include cognitions of satisfaction and expectations of stability, feelings of positive affect, greater knowledge of the locale, and behaviours that serve to maintain or enhance the location (investment, improvement, beautification, and so on)" (*Shumaker & Taylor* 1983, p. 237). Place attachment is thus generally considered as having a positive impact on the neighbourhood – characterising stable, familiar and safe communities.

However, *Hidalgo & Hernández* (2001) emphasise that the neighbourhood level is not mandatorily the most important place people feel attached to. Other frames of reference such as the house or the respective entire city are considered even more significant in developing affective bonds. That is, neighbourhood attachment is not

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[4] On the theoretical as well as on the empirical level we still find a huge diversity of approaches and terms similar to place attachment such as "community attachment", "sense of community", place identity", "place dependence" or "sense of place". In the present study we favour the term place attachment due to its high profile in the literature.

entirely put into question, though compared with other spatial ranges attachment to the neighbourhood appears much weaker. Insofar it may be assumed that place attachment in reality is more or less attachment to the people who live in a certain place.

In this connexion, low levels of place attachment are generally associated with neighbourhood heterogeneity (*Taylor et al.* 1985). People living in a more diverse neighbourhood generally feel less attached to the area. In this respect, there appear to be two particular threats to place attachment in disadvantaged areas: the instability of the population (tenancy changeover) as well as efforts of policy-makers to promote mixed populations, since attachment is associated with social homogeneity. Thus, when facing the problems that are particularly found in distressed urban neighbourhoods it became commonly accepted that attachment to the place in these areas has gradually declined during the last years (*Brodsky et al.* 1999).

1.1.2 Neighbourhood contacts

With respect to social networks and neighbourhood contacts, social cohesion in urban areas refers to the local ties between persons within a community. In this regard a distinction is usually drawn between strong ties, i.e., strong relationships between neighbours that do not give much new information, and weak ties that do give other people new information about the wider society, such as the availability of jobs (cf. *Granovetter* 1973).[5] Large housing estates in this regard are frequently considered as lacking neighbourhood contacts and social networks. Anonymity and an increasing tendency to 'retreat into privacy' are arguments that constantly reoccur within the broader scope of general concerns about the collapse of communication in these areas.

However, communities which lack neighbourhood contacts are not necessarily affected by social problems which are usually associated with low levels of social cohesion. In fact, "many people prefer to keep their neighbours at (some) social distance, without the risk of getting involved in crime" (*Killias & Sahetapy* 1999, p. 531). Anonymity, therefore, can be seen as a possible precondition of urban life in general and not inevitably related to social isolation, exclusion or crime (*Siebel* 1994). Moreover, as a matter of fact anonymity increases due to the number of storeys in a high-rise block, however large housing estates are neither dominated by complete anonymity nor do inner-city districts reveal the impression of lively neighbourly activities in comparison. Existing differences between the two types of housing are considerably less serious than frequently assumed (*Siebel* 2005).

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[5] A similar distinction is made by *Putnam* (2000) differentiating between "bonding capital" and "bridging capital."

Additional caution is indicated, as the negative consequences of strong neighbourhood ties should be considered as well. Highly cohesive communities may exclude their members from participating in mainstream society (*Granovetter* 1973). Strong social ties can induce people to socialise in a sub-cultural context which is characterised by a tense relationship with the rest of society (*Wilson* 1987). Accordingly, *Friedrichs* and *Blasius* (2003) suggested a negative impact of living in distressed neighbourhoods on the acceptance of deviant behaviour. Aiming at the social networks dimension of social cohesion they concluded that the more contacts a person has outside his neighbourhood, the lower is the level of acceptance of deviant behaviour.

1.2 Factors influencing place attachment and neighbourhood contacts in urban communities

According to the literature the characteristics of both place attachment and social networks might vary due to the following factors within an urban community: age, duration of stay, income and education of the population (cf. *Van Kempen & Van Beckhoven* 2004; *Dekker & Bolt* 2005).

Regarding age, the individual radius of action often depends on the particular chapters in one's life. Thus, young children are almost solely oriented to their neighbourhood, while juveniles are usually not. The same applies to people between the ages of 20 and 40 who are generally more oriented towards the entire city for their activities and networks. As people grow older and perhaps suffer from some physical handicaps, the neighbourhood again plays a major role (*Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen* 2003). To some extent age is correlated with the length of residence. The likelihood of social contacts in the neighbourhood as well as the bonding to the place appears higher the longer people have lived in a certain area.

With respect to both neighbourhood contacts and place attachment, social cohesion also refers to the socio-economic status of the residents in a particular neighbourhood (cf. *Campbell & Lee* 1992; *Musterd & Ostendorf* 1998; *Guest & Wierzbicki* 1999). Admittedly the literature reveals a not quite so obvious relationship in this respect. Whereas the effect of income on social networks is usually considered negative (*Fischer* 1982), the impact on the dimension of place attachment is two-fold. For social networks it holds true that a higher income provides resources which assist the development of a wider network through participation in activities which usually cost money. As a consequence, affluent people are less constrained by travel and communication costs and can afford to go out more often, whereas low-income residents are more dependent on their neighbourhoods for establishing social contacts. The aforementioned holds partly true for the dimension of place attachment as well. On the other hand, higher-income groups do have sufficient means to satisfy their housing needs which could make attachment to the place more likely (*Gerson et al.* 1977).

Closely related to income, the level of education affects the size and characteristics of social networks. The higher educated residents are, the larger the size of their networks and the wider their geographical range of activity. Highly educated people are generally more likely to be oriented towards the entire city and usually make little use of local facilities (*Guest & Wierzbicki* 1999). Regarding the aspect of place attachment however, the impact of the levels of education remains ambiguous: *Woolever* (1992) suggested increasing neighbourhood attachment for higher educated residents (due to better housing conditions of highly educated residents) whereas *Brodsky et al.* (1999) could not find any significant differences between these groups in a neighbourhood.

The following table (*table 1*) summarises the expected relationships between individual characteristics and the two dimensions of social cohesion.

Individual characteristics	Neighbourhood contacts	Place attachment
Education	↑ Education = ↓ social networks in the neighbourhood	↑ Education = ↓↑ attachment
Income	↑ Income = ↓ social networks in the neighbourhood	↑ Income = ↓↑ attachment
Age	↑ Age = ↑ social networks in the neighbourhood	↑ Age = ↑ attachment
Duration of stay	↑ Years = ↑ social networks in the neighbourhood	↑ Years = ↑ attachment

Tab. 1: Expected relationships between individual characteristics, neighbourhood contacts and place attachment

However, against the background of historically different housing policies in Western and Eastern Europe the situation appears generally dissimilar between Eastern and Western European large housing estates. Whereas in Western Europe large housing estates are nowadays more or less occupied by low-income residents due to the provision of reasonable accommodation within the social housing sector predominantly placed in these areas, the socio-economic structure of Eastern European large housing estates appear, as a result of former policies of occupation, much more diverse. Even if social change will lead to other developments in the future,[6] the Eastern European residents of these estates have usually made a positive choice for their neighbourhood while in Western Europe these estates often

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[6] Examples in eastern Germany provide evidence about the distinctive willingness of residents in large housing estates to "changeover" when attractive living space in neighbouring rural areas is developed. Nowadays, large housing estates in the east of Germany increasingly suffer from residential turnover and high vacancy rates (see, for example, *Haller* 2002; *Oswalt* 2004).

serve as 'last resorts'. In this regard the historically different points of origin should reveal different levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contact between the East and the West.

2. Connecting social cohesion and feelings of insecurity

Crime and feelings of insecurity are often linked to a decline of social cohesion in residential areas. Previous research has shown a strong impact of perceived crime problems in urban communities on social cohesion – and vice versa. Feelings of attachment to the community may thus influence the relationship between local crime rates and residents' attitudinal responses to crime. Classical disorganisation theory has already emphasised this connection (*Shaw & McKay* 1942).

More recent research in the field of urban ecology and criminology has also shown that decreases in social cohesion may lead to an increase of crime and disorder and, in turn, the increase of feelings of insecurity may further decrease cohesion (see, for example, *Markowitz et al.* 2001). Thus, crime is more prevalent in areas where residents are highly mobile and thereby lacking social contacts. Perceived insecurity, however, is less likely among persons who have lived in their neighbourhoods for a long time (cf. *Skogan & Maxfield* 1981). In a re-examination of 1970 census data from the city of Baltimore *Taylor* (1995) found that the perception of crime relates to decreasing neighbourhood satisfaction and an increasing desire to move. A similar direction is pursued by *Cullen* and *Levitt* (1999) who connect crime and urban flight. Using a wide range of data sets for 127 U.S. cities with populations greater than 100,000 they arrived at the conclusion that "each reported city crime is associated with approximately a one-person decline in city residents" (*Cullen & Levitt* 1999, p. 167). Against this background high crime rates encourage outbound migration from cities and erode the residents' attachment to the neighbourhood (*Sampson & Wolldredge* 1986).

Analysing geo-demographic classifications and the British government's official deprivation index *Hirschfield* and *Bowers* (1997) provided evidence that socially cohesive areas display lower levels of crime than similar areas with low levels of social cohesion. Examining the contribution of place attachment to the individuals' risks of crime *Brown et al.* (2004) suggested social cohesion as an extremely promising concept for crime reducing interventions. According to *Greenberg et al.* (1981) place attachment is an important element of territorial and public social control, which again lowers the victimisation risk (*Vélez* 2001).

Using national victimisation surveys from 15 countries with more than 19,000 respondents *Lee* (2000) argued that the sense of community is a major determinant of victimisation risk. The more intense social networks in a neighbourhood are, the smaller is the possibility of a violent victimisation – and vice versa. *Ross* and *Jang* (2000) proposed that an individual's alliances and contacts with neighbours can

buffer the negative effects of living in a neighbourhood which is predominantly characterised by disorder, fear and mistrust. *Fischer* (1982) found a strong relationship between insecurities and distrust of neighbours and other city residents. In an ethnographic study of a multi-ethnic housing project *Merry* (1981) found out that residents who lacked any social connection to the neighbourhood youth were the most fearful persons.

It is clear even from these few studies that crime and feelings of insecurity can be linked to the sense of attachment and community that exists in a neighbourhood. In agreement with the aforementioned factors social cohesion can be described as a 'fragile' property of every urban neighbourhood, influenced by both individual and household characteristics, as well as by perceived insecurities and experienced victimisation.

3. Results

The data analysed in this chapter was collected as part of the comprehensive survey conducted within the scope of the *Crime Prevention Carousel*. The following presentation is based on survey data obtained from the research areas in Berlin (Gropiusstadt and Marzahn North), Budapest (Békásmegyer) and Krakow (Pradnik Czerwony).

According to the aforementioned considerations drawn from the literature we started with the following expectations:

- low levels of social cohesion in the Western European research areas due to their problematic socio-economic resident structure,
- higher levels of social cohesion in the Polish and Hungarian large housing estates due to a – historically founded – more balanced social mixture in these areas in Eastern Europe,
- a strong relationship between individual characteristics and levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contacts,
- extensive neighbourhood contacts and feelings of place attachment associated with low feelings of insecurity,
- a strong relationship between the levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contacts and the victimisation rates in the research areas.

3.1 Operationalisation

The present study examines two particular dimensions of social cohesion at the neighbourhood level and their specific relationship to feelings of insecurity and experienced victimisation. Aiming at the construction of respective object scores for both place attachment and neighbourhood contacts as well as for perceived insecu-

rities, the relevant variables were initially utilised in an optimal scaling procedure which imputed a number of missing values that were found particularly in the German surveys.[7] As a result, the scoring of the particular items corresponded predominantly with preliminary considerations gained on the basis of the literature.

However, due to an inverse scaling of the question concerning the individual's desire to move, the relevant variable failed to match further items regarding diverse aspects of the environment (pleasantness, safety, quietness, attractiveness, cleanliness) which were originally planned to process the object score "place attachment". The respective variable "wish to leave" will therefore be described separately. The answer possibilities to all the questions related to place attachment were graded from "I fully disagree" up to "I fully agree" (4-tier scale).

As regards the object scores for "neighbourhood contacts" and "insecurity", the optimal scaling procedure revealed heavy correlations for all variables put forward in the respective models. The second dimension of social cohesion "neighbourhood contacts" therefore comprises various statements concerning the extent of neighbourhood contacts in the sites, the level of trust among neighbours and the willingness to actively co-operate with neighbours in order to enhance the district's local profile.[8] Adapted to the question most widely used by researchers in the field of criminology to quantify the degree of fear of crime ('standard-item'), the object score "insecurity" covers diverse questions relating to feelings of insecurity in the actual home and at the neighbourhood level.[9]

Having received a first impression of the factual extent of place attachment, neighbourhood contacts and perceived insecurities in the relevant sites, in the following the object scores are applied to provide information about the relationship that exists between individual and household characteristics and the extent of social cohesion and feelings of insecurity in the respective research areas.

Due to an inverse scaling of the object scores the values presented in the following analysis are only comprehensible in an "opposite direction". That is, high val-

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[7] This appears explicable against the background of a self-completion strategy as pursued in the German surveys compared to face-to-face interviews in the eastern European research (for more information on the methodological approach of the entire study please refer to the "Introduction" of this publication).

[8] Object score including: "No contact to neighbours; passing acquaintance with neighbours; on friendly terms with neighbours; in difficult situations I can rely on my neighbours; I would consider participating in activities with neighbours to make the district more pleasant." Possible answers: yes/no.

[9] Object score including: "How safe do you feel when you are alone at home during the day/at night; when you are alone in the corridors and communal spaces of your apartment block during the day/at night; when you are alone in your local street during the day/at night; when you are using local public transport during the day/at night?" Possible answers: very safe/rather safe/rather unsafe/very unsafe.

ues suggest a rather 'negative' result while lower values point at a more 'positive' shaping of the outcome.

3.2 Place attachment

The overall rating of all statements that provide information about the general appraisal of the environment in the respective areas can be found in *figure 1*. As can be seen, the Polish research area Pradnik Czerwony is considered by far to be the place to which residents feel most attached to, followed by Békásmegyer and the two German housing estates. Although the difference between Békásmegyer and Marzahn North does not appear that serious it becomes obvious that the residents in the Western German research area of the Gropiusstadt appraise the overall appearance of their environment least of all. Particularly in terms of safety and cleanliness, respondents in the Gropiusstadt are predominantly dissatisfied with the actual circumstances.
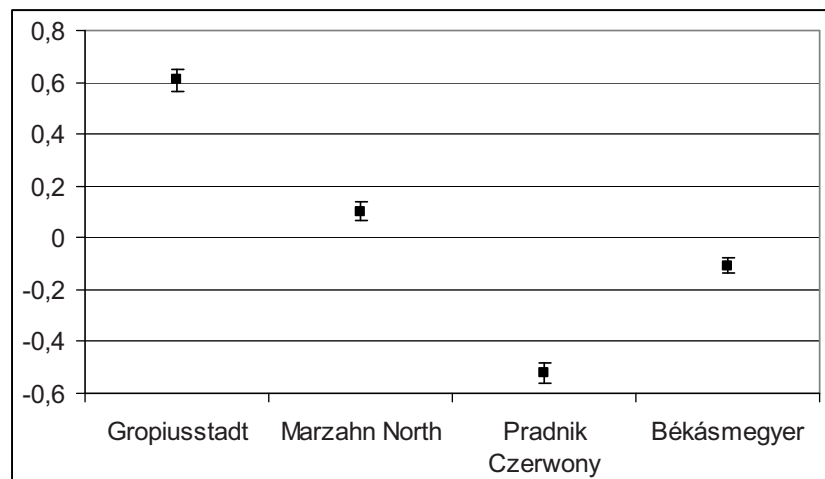
Fig. 1: Level of place attachment in the research areas (mean; error bars; N=2521)

However, this only plays a minor role in the respondents' willingness to leave *(figure 2)*: While the estimation of the environment appears rather negative, the desire to move is only of minimal intensity among the residents in the Gropiusstadt. This seems due to the fact that, on average, the willingness to leave amongst the Gropiusstadt's older residents presumably decreases with advanced age.

High rates of tenancy turnover and vacancy have left their mark on the remained residents' wish to leave in Marzahn North. The desire for a changeover appears particularly profound when 'others' have already left the area. In Pradnik Czerwony the overall estimation of the neighbourhood corresponds with the respondents' willingness to move: A positive appraisal of the environment is consistently

associated with low levels of designated move-outs in the area. The situation appears similar in Békásmegyer, where the subjective perception of the neighbourhood widely corresponds with the overall desire to leave – although on a less favourable level.
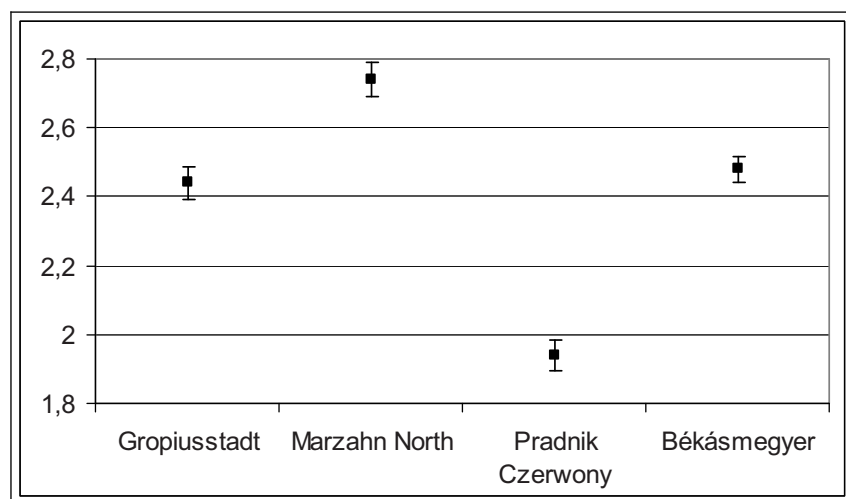
Fig. 2: Wish to leave in the research areas (mean; N=2521)
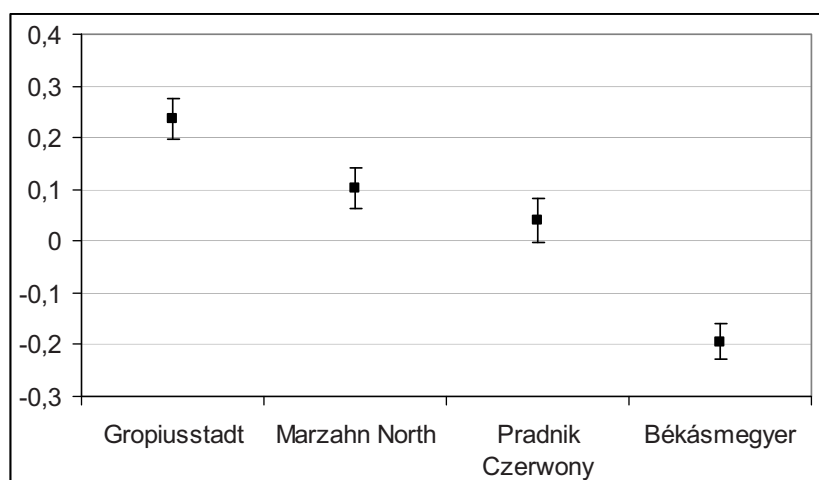
Fig. 3: Level of neighbourhood contacts in the sites (mean; error bars; N=2521)

3.3 Neighbourhood contacts

Residents in Békásmegyer however exhibit the highest level of neighbourhood contacts as compared to the other research areas. Although there are no large dif-

ferences between the specific sites a gentle trend can nevertheless be seen (*figure 3*). According to this, the extent of neighbourhood contacts in the Gropiusstadt shows certain parallels to the degree of place attachment in the area: the Gropiusstadt once again polls worst. The degree of neighbourhood contacts in Marzahn North appears to not significantly different from the respective level in Pradnik Czerwony.

3.4 Feelings of insecurity

As demonstrated above, the Eastern and Western European research areas differ with respect to the extent of both neighbourhood contacts and place attachment. Comparing the four neighbourhoods with regard to the occurrence of insecurities in the sites, significant differences emerge again between the two German research areas and the sites in Hungary and Poland (*figure 4*). While the level of perceived insecurities in the latter appear rather low, feelings of insecurity in the German research areas seem to be much more distinctive. However, even the Gropiusstadt and Marzahn North differ to a large extent. As seen earlier with regards to place attachment and neighbourhood contacts, the respondents in the Gropiusstadt again reveal the worst impression of their own neighbourhood.
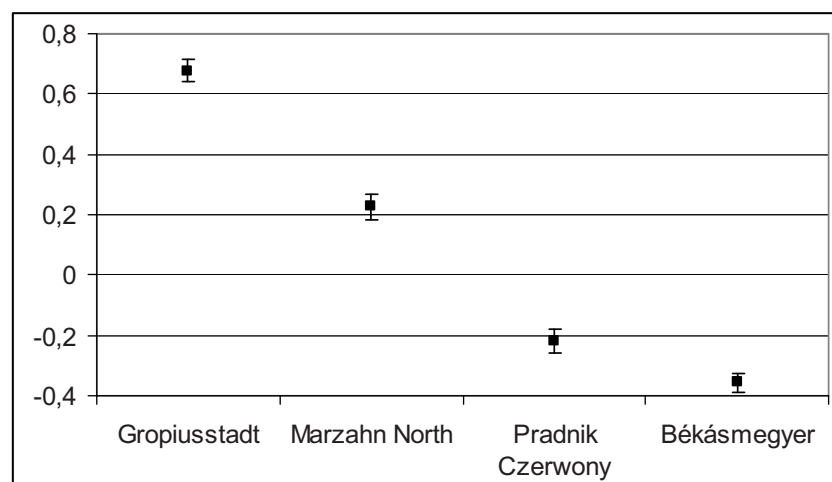
Fig. 4: Level of perceived insecurity in the research areas (mean; error bars; N=2521)

3.5 The relationship between place attachment, neighbourhood contacts and feelings of insecurity

Assuming a strong relationship between the characteristics of social cohesion in the case study areas and the respective levels of perceived insecurity, significant correlations can actually be found for both comparisons (*table 2*). Nevertheless, the

impact of place attachment on feelings of insecurity appears considerably stronger than the relationship between neighbourhood contacts and insecurities. That is, the lower the attachment towards the place the higher the level of perceived insecurity; or vice versa. On the other hand, the relationship between the intensity of contacts within the neighbourhood and subjective insecurities turns out explicitly weaker. Compared to bonding to the place, social networks within the community seem to only play a minor role as far as the perception of feelings of insecurity are concerned.

Pearson Correlation	Place Attachment	Neighbourhood Contacts
Insecurity	0.47*	0.09*
N	2521	2521

* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Tab. 2: Relationship between feelings of insecurity, place attachment and neighbourhood contacts (Pearson Correlation)

3.6 The relationship between individual and household characteristics, place attachment and neighbourhood contacts

According to the literature we assumed that a strong relationship would exist between individual and household characteristics, such as age, duration of stay, education and income, and the respective levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contacts within the study areas. As far as the aspect of age is concerned, the composition differs largely with respect to the particular sites. While the respondents in the Gropiusstadt are on average older, the respondents who are living in Marzahn North and Pradnik Czerwony are rather young. Although this closely matches the overall demographic profiles of the relevant neighbourhoods, a strong bias on the relationship between age and social cohesion in the relevant areas can generally not be ruled out.

Table 3 shows the level of place attachment assigned to different age groups in each of the sites. The comparison of means reveals for Marzahn North and the Gropiusstadt a tendency of an increasing attachment to the place associated with advanced age, whereas in Pradnik Czerwony and Békásmegyer higher levels of place attachment are identifiable among younger age groups.

Analysing the relationship of age and neighbourhood contacts we find a uniform trend in all the relevant research areas. The degree of neighbourhood contacts decreases with advanced age. An outlier appears in the Gropiusstadt: in the age group of 18-25-year olds contacts within the neighbourhood seem to be particularly pronounced.

Means		Place Attachment				Neighbourhood Contacts			
		Gropius-stadt	Marzahn North	Pradnik Czerwony	Békás-megyer	Gropius-stadt	Marzahn North	Pradnik Czerwony	Békás-megyer
Age (years)	18-25	,92	,47	-,73	-,27	,81	,23	,13	,14
	26-35	,69	,28	-,46	-,08	,40	,18	,09	,06
	36-45	,66	,17	-,44	-,04	,31	,11	,15	,10
	46-55	,80	-,02	-,46	-,04	,10	-,01	,10	-,29
	56-65	,56	,03	-,62	-,09	,12	,14	-,09	-,47
	> 65	,50	-,35	-,45	-,21	,12	-,21	-,08	-,42
	N	473	437	496	1000	473	437	496	1000

Tab. 3: Relationship between age, place attachment and neighbourhood contacts (means)

Since age is usually associated with the duration of stay in a specific neighbourhood it is not particularly remarkable that occupancy structures vary between the respective research areas. An aggravating factor appears to be the different construction dates of the relevant sites. While, for instance, the estates of complex house building in Marzahn North emerged during the 1980s, the Gropiusstadt was erected much earlier. Measures aimed at restructuring the physical environment (e.g., by the deconstruction of dwellings) as well as high rates of tenancy change-over in Marzahn North undoubtedly influenced the length of residence among the respondents. Thus, a larger number of the respondents in Marzahn North show the duration of residence being less than 20 years, while in Pradnik Czerwony and Békásmegyer the majority of the respondents have lived there between 21 and 30 years and even more than 30 years in West Berlin's Gropiusstadt.

Comparing the means of the occupancy structure and the object score for place attachment a consistent trend can be observed for the research areas in Berlin and Krakow. The degree of place attachment in the sites decreases due to a longer length of residency. That said, the opposite conclusion can be drawn from the Hungarian data: here, a continuous duration of stay is generally accompanied by higher levels of place attachment. That is, a positive perception of the neighbourhood can be determined especially among long-term residents in the area of Békásmegyer. Regarding the characteristics of neighbourhood contacts in the sites, an increase due to an advanced duration of stay is observable in each of the research areas. In accordance with the assumptions made in the literature, both the German sites and the Eastern European case studies reveal that a long-term residence in a particular area heightens the probability of intense neighbourhood contacts.

Means		Place Attachment				Neighbourhood Contacts			
		Gropius-stadt	Marzahn North	Pradnik Czerwony	Békás-megyer	Gropius-stadt	Marzahn North	Pradnik Czerwony	Békás-megyer
Occu-pancy (years)	5-10	,54	,08	-,60	-,15	,22	,01	,17	-,27
	11-20	,52	,06	-,35	-,03	,22	,06	,07	-,04
	21-30	,68	,23	-,55	-,07	,18	,14	-,02	-,36
	> 30	,62	,45	-,54	-,78	,09	-,22	-,06	-,53
	N	496	477	425	797	496	477	425	797

Tab. 4: Relationship between occupancy, place attachment and neighbourhood contacts (means)

Due to different educational systems in the relevant countries, levels of education differ in such a manner that the obtained data from the surveys is not comparable in this respect. The same holds true for data regarding income. The earning capacities between Eastern and Western European countries still strongly differ, making a serious comparison on the basis of the available survey data impossible. Thus, in order to examine the relationship between education, income, place attachment and neighbourhood contacts, we only introduced data from the German surveys in Marzahn North and the Gropiusstadt.

However, the analysis failed to indicate a relationship between both education and household income and the respective levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contacts. The relevant correlations turned out so low that a significant relationship between the separate variables can actually not be assumed, at least not on the basis of the data collected within the German case studies. The only significant result consists of the expected relationship between the educational certificate and the amount of income.

3.7 The relationship between victimisation, place attachment, neighbourhood contacts and feelings of insecurity

Due to different foci in each country's questionnaire, a cross-country analysis of victimisations among the respondents could only be carried out with the Polish and German surveys. Altogether, they make up for 1521 respondents in the dataset. 882 (58%) of them indicated personal victimisations in their neighbourhood during the last five years. Among the 519 respondents in the Gropiusstadt 64% claimed to have been victimised within the neighbourhood. The respective percentages amount to 60% in Marzahn North and 50% in Pradnik Czerwony.

In analysing of the relationship between the frequency of victimisations and the respective levels of place attachment, neighbourhood contacts and perceived inse-

curities in the neighbourhoods, the number of victimisation incidents generated a new variable which was subsequently correlated with the relevant object scores. *Table 5* shows the outcome of this procedure. As can be seen, the analysis produces significant results for all correlations. However, the relationship between the frequency of victimisation and the extent of neighbourhood contacts appears rather weak. In comparison, the correlation between victimisation and the level of place attachment attests that a close relationship exists between the two variables. That is, the less place attachment the higher the risk of victimisation or vice versa: the more frequently victimisation occurred in a neighbourhood, the less place attachment can be determined.

Not surprisingly, the most significant correlation in the present analysis can be found to exist with regards to the relationship between the frequency of victimisation and perceived insecurity. That is, the more frequent victimisation is the more feelings of insecurity occur, or the other way round: the more feelings of insecurity the higher the victimisation risk in a particular neighbourhood.

Pearson Correlation	Place Attachment	Neighbourhood Contacts	Insecurity
Frequency of victimisations in the neighbourhood	0.26*	0.08*	0.31*
N	882	882	882

* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Tab. 5: Relationship between the frequency of victimisation, place attachment, neighbourhood contacts and feelings of insecurity (Pearson Correlation)

4. Summary and conclusion

Two points of caution are necessary when generalising from the results presented here. First, different types of data collection[10] may have had an effect on the findings (cf. *Kury & Würger* 1993). Second, a surplus of elderly respondents was found in one of the German surveys (Gropiusstadt), which possibly impacted on the results.

Nevertheless, as assumed earlier we find particularly diverse levels of social cohesion in the respective research areas. Eastern European large housing estates display higher levels of both place attachment and neighbourhood contacts than the relevant areas in Berlin. The same holds true for the degree of perceived insecurities in the sites. Whereas the German estates (the Gropiusstadt in particular) are

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[10] For more information please refer to the "Introduction" of this publication or to the respective national reports which are available at http://www.mpicc.de.

characterised by distinctive feelings of subjective insecurity, the case study areas in Eastern Europe show significantly lower rates of perceived insecurity.

Regarding the relationship between individual characteristics and the levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contacts, the overall survey evidence is not continuously consistent with some of the key assertions made in the existing literature: Neither the educational level nor the household income reveal a significant impact on the extent of neighbourhood contacts and the degree of place attachment in the studied sites. Further assumptions were confirmed only in some of the relevant research areas. Thus, the relationship between advanced age and high levels of place attachment could be verified in the Gropiusstadt and Marzahn North but not in the two Eastern European sites. In comparison, a longer duration of stay accompanied by a positive appraisal of the place could only be found in Békásmegyer. Regarding the extent of neighbourhood contacts the analysis produced, without exception, no concurring results with the literature. It did however testify to the impact of the length of residence on the intensity of neighbourhood contacts in any of the research areas.

However, the most significant correlations were confirmed for the relationships between both place attachment and the frequency of victimisation and place attachment and perceived insecurities. It appears as if the disparagement of the physical structure and quality of the surrounding area increases the victimisation risk and intensifies the overall feeling of insecurity in a particular neighbourhood. Poor design and maintenance seem to breed a perception of the immediate vicinity that is characterised by the idea of the high probability one has of becoming victimised when leaving the safety of one's own apartment. Covering both the reduction of insecurities and victimisations alike, physical renewal and rehabilitation therefore provide a promising remedy to halt the collapse of public order and to consolidate the sense of social cohesion in high-rise housing.

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Levels of victimisation

TÜNDE BARABÁS & SZANDRA WINDT[1]

1. Historical background

The role of victims[2] has increasingly received a great deal of emphasis in international documents and consequently in the national systems of administrative justice.[3] On the one hand, this is due to the development of the science of victimology; on the other hand it is due to the realisation that the legislators and those applying the law in the 20th century have had to face: previous methods that focused solely on the offenders when dealing with the causes of crime and when searching for solutions have failed to bring about a desired result. The number of crimes, and with them the number of crimes committed by recidivists, has not decreased. Furthermore, the practical realisation of certain theories has also led to serious conflicts, for example, with regard to the administration of punishment.[4]

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[1] We would like to thank to Ms. *Adrienn Orbán* and *Borbála Fellegi* for their help.

[2] According to our research victims are defined as natural persons, who were directly affected by a criminal act.

[3] Thus, for example:
- The declaration of the UN accepted on 29 November 1985: the declaration of the basic principles of the administration of justice in connection with the victims of crimes and the misuse of power.
- The No. R (87) 18. Recommendation of the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe for the member states on the simplification of criminal procedures.
- The no. 19. Recommendation of the year 1999 of the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe on the use of mediation in cases of criminal law.
- The 2001/220/IB framework resolution of the Council of the European Union on the legal standing of victims in the criminal procedure.

[4] For example, as the result of the ideology of treatment, prison rebellions broke out in overcrowded prisons where prisoners were convicted for uncertain terms in the USA during the 1950s.

While offenders are "at hand" in each survey, this is not true in the case of real and potential victims. They are often not known to law enforcement authorities, and in some cases the public knows little of them either.[5] Consequently, researches specialising in victimisation, its different forms, and the possible ways to prevent it, have come to the foreground (*Irk* 2004).

As a result of the present survey, we know that crime can be reduced not only by "changing offenders", but also by preparing potential victims to apply appropriate means of defence. For this reason we need more information not only about those who have been indicated as victims in the legal procedure, but also about those who are endangered and not known about by the authorities.[6]

In our survey we have tried to gain a deeper insight into the real situation of crime and victimisation. In this chapter we will summarise the official and empirical research data. Furthermore, we intend to give an account concerning the different legal and civil measures that aim to support victims and prevent victimisation in the four countries involved in this research project (Germany, Hungary, Poland and the United Kingdom).

2. The research on victimology in the study

2.1 Methodology

Our research provided an excellent opportunity to map the different victimological situations in the four countries. To this end, we utilised a number of different methods. As a first step we collected the official victimological data from the participating countries. Based on this data we then described the victimisation tendencies (the main types, the rate, the typical characteristics etc., of victimisation) in the four countries. Following this, we analysed the empirical data from our empirical survey in the four countries. In the last stage we sent a short questionnaire to the participants in order to gain more information about the different instruments provided by the victim support systems (both at a state and civil level); the nationwide regulations of victim support and the availability of victim surveys in their countries. We hope that this chapter will provide a detailed picture of current victimisation trends in the *Crime Prevention Carousel* territories, and that it will thereby

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[5] This deficiency has gained in importance as the science began focusing on the prevention of crime in the first place, rather than concentrating on the punishment of the offenders.

[6] This process would be stronger as the UN indicated in the Vienna Declaration (2000). According to this, in order to form an authentic crime prevention concept it is not enough to rely on police data alone: the actual numbers and the characteristics of the victims have to be known as well.

contribute to defining effective measures to be taken in the field of situational crime prevention.

2.2 Official data analysis

The four participants reported markedly different crime trends in their countries. Consequently, the rate and number of victims also paints a diverse picture. As *figure 1* indicates, it is the UK that has the highest crime rate is found, with 18,500 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants. The positive pole is Poland with 3617 crimes per 100,000 inhabitants. Germany and Hungary lie in the middle range.[7]
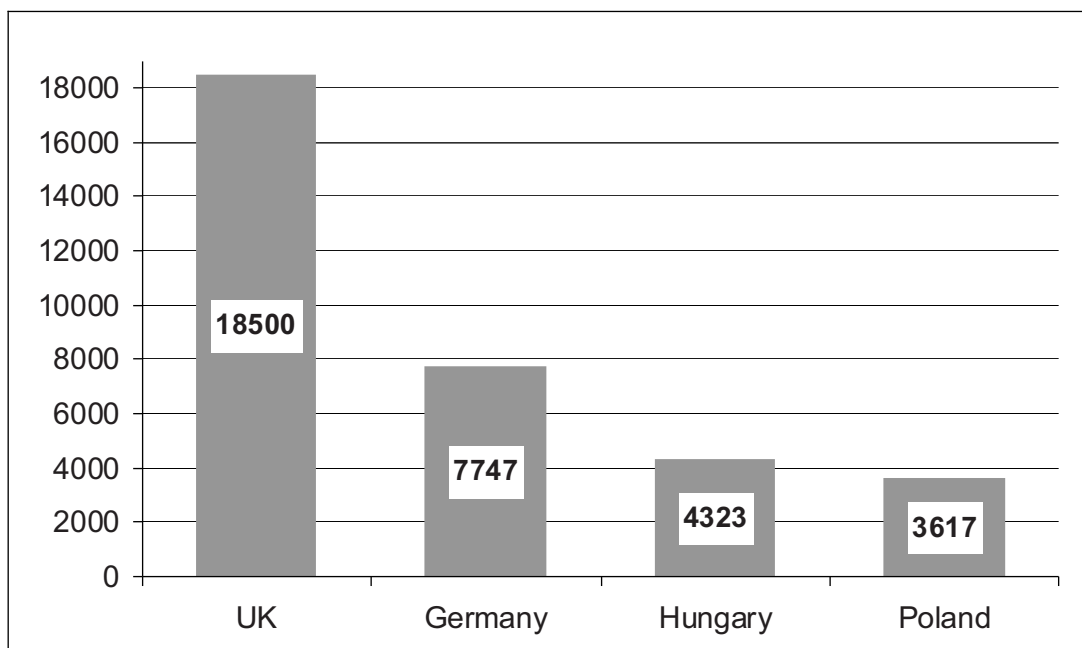
Fig. 1: Crime rates calculated per 100,000 of the population

For a more in-depth analysis we tried to obtain a detailed picture of victimisation in the four countries. That said, it was difficult to carry out a complete international comparison due to the diversity of the available data from the countries involved as well as the different ways of data collection. In the case of Germany and Hungary, official statistical data was used; in the UK, victim survey data was used[8]; and in Poland the official crime data was used, as in Poland no data specifically exists on victimisation.[9]

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[7] The data stems from the official data records of the participants.

[8] See http://www.victimsupport.org.uk

[9] According to the Polish participants: "Polish police statistics do not contain any data on victims. It is possible that some data on victims is collected, but it is certainly not pub-

The victim data demonstrated similar tendencies to those found in the crime data. If we research some important victims data, we find also the same issues. Concerning the total number of crime victims, the UK has the highest number, followed by Germany and Hungary (see *figure 2*).
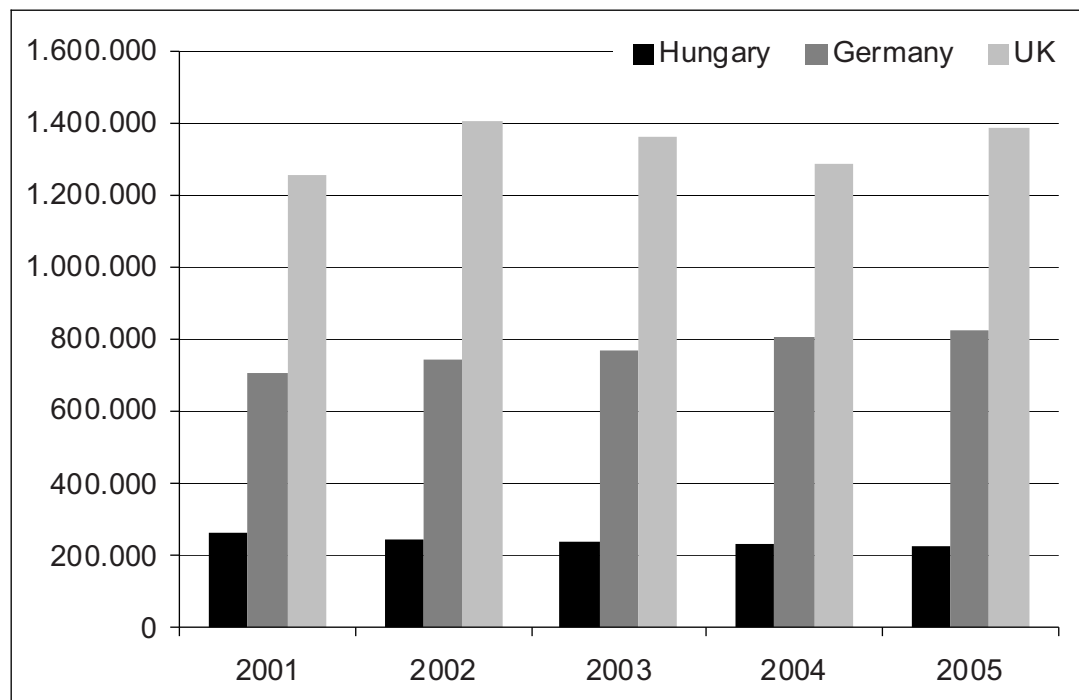
Fig. 2: Total number of victims of crime in the three respective countries

Based on this data it can be seen that the number of victims has grown over the last year (2005), breaking earlier positive tendencies in the UK and Germany.

The risk of victimisation is different for certain age and gender groups. According to the data, the risk of victimisation is higher for males than for females (except for sexually-related crimes and pick pocketing). Youths and adolescents/young adults are especially in danger of assault, robbery and crimes against personal freedom. Women over the age of 60 are the most typical victims of pickpockets.

We can say that in the three countries researched (UK, Germany and Hungary) the victims were more men than women (60/40 percent for males, but this proportion moves to females in cases of sexual assault), above the age of 18. For more comparative details see the appendix. The number of Polish victims is presumably the lowest according to the Polish crime rates. This issue is supported by earlier

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lished. Because of this there is no way for us to fill out your victimization matrix. In Poland there is no data on the number of victims, not to mention such things as the victims' gender, age, or number of victims of particular offences."

research of UNICRI organised in 2002.[10] According to this study the rank of some European countries on the list of victimisation is as follows:[11]

1.	United Kingdom	26.4%	8	Belgium	21.4%
2.	The Netherlands	25.2%	9	France	21.4%
3.	Sweden	24.7%	1	Slovenia	21.2%
4.	Italy	24.6%	1	Finland	19.1%
5.	Malta	23.1%	1	Austria	18.8%
6.	Denmark	23%	1	Switzerland	18.2%
7.	Poland	22.7%	1	Portugal	15.5%

Tab. 1: Victimisations in Europe (cf. UNICRI 2002)

The total number of crime victims in 2002 was the highest in the United Kingdom (UK). However, this does not mean that crimes are committed in the UK the most frequently; it only indicates that the number of victimised persons was the highest in the UK among the European countries. As we can see, Poland stands in middle position on this rank. It was interesting to see in this research that instead of the UK, Poland received the primary position in the robbery and bribery victim's rank. However, in the current research our starting point is the official crime data in Poland. Therefore, let us suppose that the number of victims is also the lowest in Poland, as akin to the crime rate data.

2.3 The empirical survey data

In the Hungarian quantitative empirical research survey 1000 residents were asked in two parts of a district in Budapest (3rd district) whether they had been victimised, and if so, how many times over the previous three years prior to the interview. The Polish quantitative research survey – that adopted a similar method – was completed by using the method of personal interview with randomly selected inhabitants of one of Krakow's districts, called Pradnik Czerwony. The German partner chose quite a different method. In the run-up to the survey, there were announcements in local newspapers and information by the housing companies. The questionnaires were handed out to the respondents in a drop-off process: four stu-

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[10] UNICRI 2002. Correspondence on data on crime victims. March. Turin. http://www.nationmaster.com/index.php.

[11] People victimized by crime are presented in % of the total population. This data is referring to people victimized by one or more of 11 crimes recorded in the survey: robbery, burglary, attempted burglary, car theft, car vandalism, bicycle theft, sexual assault, theft from car, theft of personal property, assault and threats. Crime statistics are often better indicators of prevalence of law enforcement and willingness to report crime, than actual prevalence. In: Study of *UNICRI* (2002).

dent assistants were assigned to each of the two districts. They made four attempts to drop off the questionnaire and schedule a date to pick it up again with the respondents. In case the target person refused to participate or if all four attempts failed to hand out the questionnaire, then another person in that house was chosen by the student assistant.

In the UK, 497 Self-completion questionnaires were distributed to all households in the eight Hartcliffe blocks, with assisted callback from a team of volunteers from Bristol South Community Watch. Because of the diverse methodology of the data collection in the participating countries, in the following we would prefer to analyse the data by countries instead of carrying out an international comparison.[12]

2.3.1 Victimisation levels in the Polish research[13]

In Poland the survey started with a list of events that might have caused victimisation in the 5 last years in the life of the respondents. The highest percentage (23%) admitted that in the last 5 years somebody had purposefully damaged their cars. Although materialistically this may only be damage on a small scale, it may have psychological consequences, as the victim might feel that he/she has been hurt for no reason and that the harm done did not bring a gain to anybody. We have to mention that it was the same in Budapest and Berlin as well. Only 18.5% of the respondents responded that their car radio or another object left in a car had been stolen. 17% of those surveyed reported that in the past 5 years they had been victims to small time theft. 12.6% mentioned that they were victims of fraud. It can be seen that the crime is directed toward materialistic goods and it does not pose any direct danger to human life. Fortunately, the same results were provided by the Hungarian and German surveys. Crimes that do hurt human health and life are much less frequent. 5.5% reported that somebody either threatened or attacked them in such a way that their health or life was in danger. 5% mentioned that they were a victim of a road accident. 4% reported that somebody tried to take over their possessions through the use of force.

The most frequently mentioned offence, that is the purposeful damage to a car, equally affected people of different income groups, taking into account those who own a car. In all three income groups the frequency of this offence is almost identical among those who own cars (41.7%, 43.9%, and 42.3% counting from the lowest income bracket). Women tended to mention this offence more than men, but the relationship is not statistically significant. On the other hand, there is a correlation

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[12] Due to different methodologies: In Berlin and Bristol there were self-completion questionnaires, but in Krakow and Budapest the questionnaires were conducted face to face.

[13] *Czapska, Krajewski & Motak* (2006), pp. 25-26.

with age – only 22.2% of the youngest age group (persons under 29 years of age) and as many as 44.6% of the respondents from the oldest age group (>60) claim to have been victims of such a crime. This clearly refers to car owners.

Women seem to be more often victims of petty theft, than men (like in Berlin), however, this relationship is not statistically significant. There is also an interesting correlation between falling victim to petty theft and age. We observed that there are more victims of petty thefts in the oldest age group (24.8%) as opposed to the youngest age group (14.4%). One can then conclude that the older respondents, those aged 60 years or older, differ from other groups and that the remaining groups are very much alike. A majority of cases, such as bike theft, car theft, damage to a car, damage to other property, and, most importantly, burglary took place in the neighbourhood (90% of the cases) – as in Berlin and Budapest. When it comes to other types of crime, the situation was slightly different.

Apart from petty theft, only road accidents happen more often in other parts of Krakow than in the neighbourhood. In other words, the majority of respondent reported victimisation that took place within the last five years actually occurred in the respondents' direct environment. Based on the responses of victimisation cases, a cumulative indicator of victimisation was developed, which is a sum of cases that happened to the respondent within the last five years. A great majority of respondents (42%) said that in the last 5 years they did not experience any of those victimisation cases that were included in our list (i.e., motorcycle theft, bicycle theft, car radio theft or other damage to the car, damage to other property, petty theft, threat, scam/fraud, road accident). Every fourth respondent (24.7%) reported about being a victim of one of these crimes and every fifth respondent (18.3%) mentioned that he/she was the victim of two of these crimes. Almost 15% of the respondents said they were victims of at least three of the above crime cases. In Poland there was no significant statistical relationship observed between the number of victim situations and the gender or age of the victims.

2.3.2 Victimisation levels in the Hungarian research[14]

The Hungarian empirical research took place in the third district of Budapest: the Békásmegyer housing estate and the Római ("Pók utca") housing estate were selected to provide a control sample upon interviewing the population. In the framework of the present empirical study 500 people were asked at each site.

In the course of the survey a total of 1500 residents were asked about whether they had been victimised, and if yes, how many times over the previous three years prior to the interview. This question was answered with a "yes" by 342 respondents in total (23% of the respondents). 12% of them claimed to have been victimised once, while more than 25% twice. It also turned out that the victimisation rate was

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[14] *Barabás, Irk, Kovács & Windt* (2006).

higher in the Római housing estate, where properties are more expensive, and were the residents have a higher social status. Those living in the Békásmegyer river side – which is in a worse financial condition – reported the lowest number of crimes. This is evidently related to the financial conditions of the residents, since most of the crimes were against property (theft, burglary, stealing of bicycles and cars, as well as stealing from and damaging cars).[15] As mentioned above, this was very similar to the experience in Krakow and in the two parts of Berlin.

89 % of the offended parties declared having suffered damage, and 80 % out of them claimed that their damage had not been recovered, or only to a small extent. Typically, the amount of damage was rather low, below HUF 100,000 (€400), scoring 67%, while considerable damage above HUF 100,000 (above €400) was indicated by a total of 1.2%.[16]

Interesting relationships were registered between age, gender and victimisation. Based on the empirical data, among the 342 respondents the proportion of women who reported to have been victimised was higher than of men. Typically, most of them reported crimes against valuable property, for example, car theft or burglary, while men mentioned, for example, bicycle theft and car burglary. Only about 50% of men made a report to the police, and this rate is 71% among women. Of course, this may be related to the fact that they mentioned having suffered more serious damage that can eventually be compensated for by the insurance company. The answers also indicate that the sense of security is much worse among women who have suffered from crime: accordingly, more than 50% of women felt in danger after the crime took place, contrary to men who felt it in only 30% of cases.

The trend in age and gender among the injured parties verified what was experienced earlier. It turned out that men became victimised most often between the age of 26 and 35. The reason is probably that this is the most active period in a man's

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[15] One of the most interesting results of the survey – which was not surprising on the basis of the earlier experience – was the fact that 42% of the injured parties made no report to the police. As a reason for this, the respondents most frequently claimed that "they did not believe that the offender would be caught" (more than half of the answers). In addition, several respondents mentioned that they themselves or their family members had previously had bad experiences in the course of the procedure, that they had no time to deal with the matter, that there was no damage, or that the damage was minimal. 4% of those who did not report the crime to the police mentioned that the case had been settled between themselves (i.e., they applied a kind of "in-house" method for solving the conflict). Only 10% of those who made a report (197) learned that the offender was later caught, and a total of 12 people declared that they were aware of the later stages of the procedure (5 respondents mentioned that the offender had been convicted). This experience obviously does not strengthen the inclination of the offended parties to make a report.

[16] This underlines the above-mentioned statement that the injured parties mainly decided not to make a report to the police when they suffered relatively minor damage, as they partly presumed that the official procedure would not meet with any success.

life; therefore, they are very mobile, and they frequently get in touch with other people, which may then also lead to injuries. In comparison, women mainly become victimised between the age of 46 and 55. (This is similar to the results in the two parts of Berlin.) This may be related to the fact that during the latter part of their forties women are no longer so strongly attached to home activities as their children have grown up. As a consequence, they have the opportunity to be more socially active – with this increase in activity there is also the increased chance of being victimised.

2.3.3 Victimization levels in the German research[17]

In the German survey the results were very similar to the Hungarian and Polish findings: women, especially between the age of 36 and 45, were over-represented among those who mentioned that they had been victims. According to the research, in the two districts of Berlin (the Gropiusstadt and Marzahn North), victims were more likely to be women than men, and they were between 36 and 45 years old. Comparing the two parts of Berlin, the crimes mentioned were not the same. Respondents primarily reported damage to or destruction of motor vehicles.

In the Gropiusstadt: intentionally damaged or destroyed motor vehicle (166); stolen car radio / something left in the car / component of the car (125); stolen bicycle (99). In the Gropiusstadt more males mentioned that they were victims of an intentionally damaged or destroyed motor vehicle, and they were above 56 years. Those respondents whose car radio was stolen were mostly female and they were between 36 and 55 years old. It is interesting that those respondents whose bicycle was stolen, were twice as probable to be female than male, and they were mostly between 36 and 45 years old (see *table 2*).

In Marzahn North the mentioned crimes were less than in the Gropiusstadt. The main mentioned crimes were: intentionally damaged or destroyed motor vehicle (131); stolen bicycle (102); damaged or destroyed property (except for motor vehicle) (80). Respondents who mentioned that their motor vehicle was intentionally damaged or destroyed were both male and female. We can not distinguish between the two genders, but it is interesting to see the age of the victims. Victims were mostly between 36 and 55 years old, but there were more victims among younger women than men (from whom there were more victims above 56 years). Those respondents whose bicycle was stolen were more likely to be women than men, between the age of 36 and 45; although the men were younger, as they were between 18 and 25 years old.

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[17] Lukas & Enters (2006).

		Wohnort	
		Gropiusstadt	Marzahn Nord
		Count	Count
stolen motor vehicle (car, motorbike, moped)	In my neighborhood	28	27
	In another district of Berlin	1	1
	Outside Berlin	2	1
	Total	31	29
stolen bicycle	In my neighborhood	99	102
	In another district of Berlin	9	6
	Outside Berlin	2	0
	Total	110	108
stolen car radio / something left in the car / component of the car	In my neighborhood	125	58
	In another district of Berlin	7	15
	Outside Berlin	2	1
	Total	134	74
intentionally damaged or destroyed motor vehicle	In my neighborhood	166	131
	In another district of Berlin	6	13
	Outside Berlin	1	0
	Total	173	144
damaged or destroyed property (except for your motor vehicle)	In my neighborhood	92	80
	In another district of Berlin	5	4
	Outside Berlin	1	3
	Total	98	87
break into flat or try to break into flat	In my neighborhood	79	62
	In another district of Berlin	3	5
	Outside Berlin	0	3
	Total	82	70
snatch or try to snatch personal property under threat or use of violence	In my neighborhood	48	41
	In another district of Berlin	6	2
	Outside Berlin	1	0
	Total	55	43
victim of theft of personal property (e.g. pickpocketing, theft of purse, clothing or jewellery)	In my neighborhood	82	57
	In another district of Berlin	33	21
	Outside Berlin	0	4
	Total	115	82
sexually molested or attacked (e.g. at home, in the streets, in school or at your workplace)	In my neighborhood	42	30
	In another district of Berlin	7	7
	Outside Berlin	0	0
	Total	49	37
threatened or attacked in a way that created fear for life or well-being	In my neighborhood	82	70
	In another district of Berlin	8	7
	Outside Berlin	1	0
	Total	91	77
cheated or defrauded (e.g. by	In my neighborhood	57	77

Tab. 2: Victimisations in the German research areas (total)

In Marzahn North those respondents whose property was damaged or destroyed were about two times more likely to be female than male, and they were younger than in the case of the other crimes. These victims were aged between 26 and 35.

To a large extent, these finding can be explained by differences in the age composition of the districts. While residents in Marzahn North are rather young, there are mostly elderly people living in the Gropiusstadt.

2.3.4 Victimisation levels in the British research[18]

As mentioned above, 497 self-completion questionnaires were distributed to all households in the eight Hartcliffe blocks, with assisted call-back occurring from a team of volunteers from Bristol South Community Watch. Sixty-five questionnaires were returned, and the response rate for completion of these questionnaires was 13%. This was unexpected as repeated attempts were made by the volunteers from South Bristol Community Watch to obtain completed questionnaires.

Response	No	Yes, in Hartcliffe	Yes, in another area of Bristol	Yes, in another county	Not applicable
Car stolen	22 (34%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	1 (2%)	35 (53%)
Theft from a vehicle	17 (26%)	10 (15%)	3 (5%)	0	35 (53%)
Intentional damage to vehicle	13 (20%)	15 (23%)	2 (3%)	0	35 (53%)
Burglary / Attempted burglary	47 (72%)	11 (17%)	0	0	7 (11%)
Mugging / Attempted mugging	54 (83%)	5 (8%)	2 (3%)	0	4 (6%)
Victim of theft	48 (74%)	8 (12%)	4 (6%)	1 (2%)	4 (6%)
Sexually molested	55 (85%)	4 (6%)	2 (3%)	0	4 (6%)
Attacked / threatened	42 (65%)	16 (25%)	3 (5%)	0	4 (6%)
Cheated / defrauded	55 (85%)	5 (8%)	1 (2%)	0	4 (6%)

Tab. 3: Levels of self-reported crime in Hartcliffe, Bristol

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[18] *Shaftoe* (2006).

The volunteers reported that there was a high level of apathy, and that they received high levels of abusive behaviour and language by some of the potential respondents. This indicates that willingness to engage in processes that could lead to change, and potentially to improvements within the community, may be rather low.

Respondents were asked about their experience of crime during the last 6 years (from 2000). The table below (*table 3*) reveals the levels of self-reported crime (percentages as a total of the number of questionnaires are presented in brackets):

Table 3 reveals that when respondents indicate that they have been a victim of crime, this crime has usually (almost twice as often in most cases) taken place in Hartcliffe. Respondents reported higher levels (25%) of attacks or threats than of any other crime asked about in the questionnaire. Many respondents did not own a vehicle but of those that did respond to questions concerning crimes and vehicles, there was a high level of theft from and intentional damage to vehicles. Eleven respondents reported that they had experienced a burglary or an attempted burglary in the last five years, this compares well to the reported crime figures on burglary in the dwellings in the last five years, as the average number of reported burglary across all the tower blocks during the 5 year period was 12.3 burglaries (*Shaftoe* 2006, pp. 7-8).

Forty-seven percent of residents interviewed said that they had been victim of crime during the previous year. Most of these crimes related to theft:

- 18% had had their car broken into (23% of those with a car),
- 16% had suffered property damaged,
- 15% had been burgled, and
- 13% reported being affected by anti-social / nuisance behaviour (*Shaftoe* 2006, p. 36).

2.4 Victim protection

In the third part of our project we asked the participants from the four countries to answer a questionnaire about the different kind of victim protections that exist in their legislation and in practice. As we collected the answers (filled out by the representative of the participating countries) we pieced together a highly multicoloured and complex picture about the different forms of victim support. It seems that in all four countries there is a wide scale of institutions working in the field of victim support. Most of them are in the private sphere, but a few are provided by the governmental sector as well.

2.5 Regulation

It is highly important that in all the four participating countries there are special regulations on victim protection and or on compensation.

Germany has a long tradition in this field. The first law on victim protection was enacted in 1986. A *Compensation Act* had already been realised in 1976. Victim-offender mediation was regulated in 1999. Therefore, the German state anchored the victim support in its law system. The basis of the victim support is dealt with by the state; the German state goes to the founding of the mediation law. Most of the direct victim support is realised by NGOs.

In Hungary the first law of the protection of victims was legislated in 2005 by the *Victims Support Act* (CXXXV/2005). Through this law, state compensation for crime victims is provided. The nation-wide victim support service is provided by the Office of Justice which is a central body that falls under the Ministry of Justice. A new act on victim-offender mediation came into force in 2006, following the EU's framework decision on the standing of victims in criminal proceedings.[19] Mediation is currently provided by specially trained probation officers.

In Poland there no legislation or special regulations for victim protection exist. However, the Polish *Chart of Victims' Rights* was prepared in 1999 as an official document of the Ministry of Justice. The Chart does not provide any regulations by itself, but contains a catalogue of all victims' rights provided by any piece of legislation in Poland. In other words, it contains a catalogue of all victims' rights with an indication to the sources of these rights. The *Code of Criminal Procedure* of 1997 contains numerous provisions regulating guarantees of the rights of victims, like participation in proceedings in various capacities, possibility of influencing the course of proceedings, possibility of appealing decisions, possibility of demanding compensation, restitution etc. These guarantees and possibilities were significantly strengthened by the 1997 code as compared with the previous regulations. In Poland victim-offender mediation is also legislated. Since September 2005 a special law is in force providing the possibility for victims to obtain state compensation in cases of certain types of offences.

In the UK: Under the *Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act* 2004 (E&W only), the government (the Home Office is the responsible department of state) published the *Code of Practice for Victims of Crime,* which came into force on 1st April 2006. This Code requires the full range of the criminal justice system's (CJS) actors, notably the police, Crown Prosecution Service, the Court Service and the Probation and Prison Services to inform victims about the progress of the case and to respond to their requests for information, for example as to the release of a suspect on bail, or release from prison. Particular attention is paid to sexual offences. Non-compliance is enforceable only by procedural measures; there are no substantive rights nor does any right to compensation exist for failure to comply.

The Code replaces earlier wholly unenforceable statements contained in successive *Victim's Charters*, first published in the early 1990s.

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[19] *Council of the European Union* (2001/220/JHA).

The 2004 Act creates two statutory bodies whose duty it is to keep the Code (and its implementation) under review and, more generally, to 'make sure that the victim's voice is heard at the heart of Government', an oft-repeated Home Office policy. These statutory bodies are the *Victims' Advisory Panel* and the *Victims' Commissioner.*

2.6 Victim surveys

The other main finding of our research is the apparent lack of any regular victim survey in most of the CPC participant countries (see the regulation in this question of the EU). The only country that regularly carries out (on an annual basis) victim surveys is the United Kingdom. Such surveys do not exist in the three other countries. All countries take part in the *International Crime Victim Survey* (ICVS). If there no national surveys exist then this is the only resource for data relating to victimisation in any given country. In Germany the last survey at a national level was conducted in 1997 on behalf of the Ministry of Justice. Germany participated in the first ICVS in 1989 and in the *European Crime and Safety Survey* (ECSS) as part of the fifth ICVS in 2005. In addition, a representative study on violence against women and a pilot study on violence against men were realised in 2003 on behalf of the Ministry of Family Affairs.

In Poland the ICVS is the only source of data pertaining to victimisation in Poland. Poland has participated in all ICVS surveys since 1991 (in fact, Warsaw already participated in 1989). Apart from this, some local surveys and data do exist, although it is highly fragmented. Hungary does not have any regular surveys, but they were partially organised in the ICVS research, too. A complex survey with 10,000 respondents was completed in the year of 2003-2004, which included victim statistics from the year 2000 through to 2004 (*Irk* 2004).

2.7 Victim support

Victim support services are provided by local authorities, NGOs and associations in the countries. In Germany each individual *Landespolizei* (police forces in the German federal states) provide special advisory services to aid and help victims (in Berlin: victim protection representatives exist on a local level at every police directorate and at the State Office of Criminal Investigation). Additional advice on the Victims of Crime Compensation Act can be gathered at the maintenance councils (*Versorgungsämter*) in every larger town. Usually victims can also get information at police stations. Furthermore, several institutions and associations exist that are devoted to victim protection and advice, crime prevention and victim-offender mediation. In Germany and in Hungary associations of the White Ring can be found - an organisation founded in Western Europe in the seventies. In Germany this is the main national aid organisation for victims and their family members. Founded in 1976, *Weisser Ring* is a non-party, independent, private citizens' initiative, which is

financed exclusively by donations, heritages, foundations and the contributions of around 60,000 members.[20]

In Hungary there is a special governmental victim support service mandated with the task of finding victims. The primary national aid system for victims and their family members in Hungary is regulated by law (Act CXXXV/2005). The governmental organisation (Office of Justice) responsible for providing state compensation for crime victims has offices in every region in Hungary. There are also several NGOs (associations and other non-profit organisations) for victims and their family members, financed exclusively by donations, heritages, foundations and contributions. Usually they have telephone information or hot-lines as well as websites. The Hungarian White Ring ("*Fehér Gyűrű")* is an association that has more than 900 members (63 of them are legal persons, like departments, local governments, public prosecution).

In the other countries there are NGOs and other non-profit associations providing support for the victims of crime.

In the UK Victim Support is a national charity working to help victims and witnesses of crime. This is an independent organisation, offering a free and confidential service, irrespective of whether or not a crime has been reported. Each year, trained volunteers and staff based in a network of community groups offer emotional support, practical help and information to nearly one and a half million victims of crimes ranging from burglary through to the murder of a relative. Most cities and municipalities have a local victim support scheme. When the police attend an incident and they think it is appropriate, they will ask the victim if they would like to be contacted by the victim support scheme.

Victim Support also runs the *Witness Service* in the criminal courts in England and Wales. During 2002/3 the *Witness Service* in the criminal courts supported 330,000 people, including 29,000 young witnesses. Victim Support runs a telephone support line for victims of crime offering information and referral to local services

In Poland there are NGOs that protect victims of crime, since there is no general and specialised victim protection service. The Police are however obliged to inform victims about their rights. For this purpose, the police hand out special printed documents listing victims' rights to all victims, and are obliged to provide further information on request. Otherwise, more detailed legal, psychological, social services are provided by NGOs and other organisations, also in the form of hotlines like, for example, "*Blue line*". This is a specialised service for victims of domestic violence. Its legal status is not quite clear. It is a kind of emergency service provided by the Institute of the Psychology of Health run by the Polish Psychological Association (i.e., professional association of psychologists), but it implements tasks ascertained by the State Agency for Solving Alcohol-Related Problems. Several other NGOs are also involved with providing services for victims of crime.

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[20] "White Ring", see http://www.goethe.de/ges/soz/ins/en212119.htm.

2.8 Type of victim support

People affected by crime need more than financial help. Professional psychological and legal help is just as important. It is the various victim support organisations that offer help in this regard. Victim services usually have the same general set of tasks: personal support after the criminal offence has occurred; advice with regard to interacting with the public authorities; providing references concerning the rights of the victim; consulting a lawyer of choice; obtaining medical and psychological assistance; recreation programmes; placement under the support programmes of other institutions and associations; attendance during the court hearing and financial help. There are different types of victim protection services in the four countries (e.g. legal aid, compensation).

As noted above in Germany every *Landespolizei* provides special advisory services to help and aid victims. Additional advice on the *Victims of Crime Compensation Act* can be gathered at the maintenance councils (*Versorgungsämter*) in every larger town.

The duties and responsibilities of *Weisser Ring* are:

- Personal support after the criminal offence
- Advice in interacting with the public authorities
- Primary consultation of a lawyer of choice (free of charge)
- Recreation programmes
- Primary medical and psychological consultation (free of charge)
- Attendance during the court hearing
- Placement within the support programmes of other institutions and associations
- Financial help in financial emergencies caused by the offence

However, financial compensation is primarily regulated by the *Victims of Crime Compensation Act* as well as by German civil law. Most of the other direct victim support is provided by specialised NGOs.

In the UK the protection of victims can embrace a wide range of matters and a wide range of bodies:[21]

- Police response and investigation of the offence (police)
- Looking after / helping the victim (NHS, *Victim Support*, local authorities)
- Providing compensation (Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority)

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[21] Most of the answers relate to England and Wales. Scotland has its own police and judicial system, although much of what applies in E&W applies there too.

- Keeping the victim informed about any charges and prosecution (Crown Prosecution Service)

- Helping the victim through the trial, especially to give evidence (*Victim Support*, CPS)

- Keeping the victim informed of sentence, probation, and release from custody (CPS, Probation Service).

The administration of these matters continues to be dispersed among voluntary sector (*Victim Support* and others) and public bodies (police, CPS, Court Service, Probation Service, YJB).

Focussing on the second of these matters, the provision of financial, practical and emotional support for persons who have been victimised, *Victim Support (VS)* is the primary organisation for emotional and sympathetic support. It is a national charity, although the majority of its funding comes from the *Home Office* (£40). It is national in its reach, and its primary offence focus is domestic burglary and offences against the person. It is organised into local *VS* groups with active voluntary members. The police notify the local *VS* of crimes reported to them, and *VS* in turn contacts the victim to see if they wish to talk to them.

VS is also a key element in an E&W-wide court initiative – the Victim / Witness programme. This gives victims advice on giving evidence. Every Crown Court (all serious offences) and major Magistrates' Courts (less serious) have these services.

Assistance offered by *Victim Support* is limited to providing a sympathetic ear. It has no funds to compensate victims, nor can it fix, say, a broken window. A local authority may do this. As noted, VS tends to focus on offences against the person, and burglary.

If the offender is convicted (of any offence except homicide or road traffic) the court can order him of her to pay compensation. This is however unusual, as offenders typically possess insufficient funds.

Irrespective of any conviction, the victim can apply to the *Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority* (CICA: a statutory body) for compensation, but only offences against the person valued at more than £1,000 are considered.

In addition to these initiatives there have been important changes in substantive and adjectival law designed to secure more convictions by directly or indirectly addressing victims' concerns. In the particular case of sexual offences these are contained in the *Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act* 1999 and the *Sexual Offences Act* 2003. More general changes with the same purpose are the new rules on the admissibility of hearsay and bad character evidence are contained in the *Criminal Justice Act* 2003.[22]

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[22] Special thanks to David Miers for his cooperation and support. For more information, see *Miers* (2006).

In Hungary the tasks of the governmental victim support service are the following:

- giving information and consultation to the victims

- giving references about the rights of the victim

- advice in interacting with the public authorities

- primary consultation with a lawyer of choice (free of charge)

- providing financial help

- placement support of other institutions and associations

The *Victims Support Act* primarily regulates financial compensation for victims. The local offices of the *National Victim Support Service* adjudge about the governmental compensation of victims too. There are also several NGOs devoted to victim protection, advice and crime prevention.

In Poland, as mentioned earlier, NGOs and other agencies involved in victim protection services primarily provide legal and psychological counselling, and sometimes also social services. In some cases of violent crimes that result in death or bodily injury state compensation is possible. But it is possible to obtain such compensation only if it is impossible to obtain it in a "regular" way, i.e., from the perpetrator. This means that victims may demand compensation from the perpetrator and there are several possibilities to get it in criminal proceedings in a simplified manner, without the necessity of having to engage in a civil lawsuit.

3. Conclusion

Crimes not only involve concrete material and immaterial damage – they also impact upon the lives of victims well into the future. The victim surveys discussed above have demonstrated that years after an offence has been committed intense emotions still exist, with victims continuing to demonstrate and suffer from a sense of fury, anger and nervousness, as well as feelings of vulnerability, unrest and helplessness.

The goal of both the *Crime Prevention Carousel* as well as this research, besides reinforcing the conclusions disclosed in the earlier research and in the similar international research, has been to achieve new results in the field of victim research. This is, however, only the first step in victimology. It would be worth making use of the results and the conclusions as soon as possible to help prevent victimisation and to assist with the treatment of victims. This is not the task of the police alone; representatives of the administration of justice, the courts and the prosecution all share an equal responsibility in this matter. Future studies should follow up on this one by carrying out regular research projects of this magnitude, making it possible to measure not only actual victimisation and citizens' sense of security, but also in light of these, the efficiency of the administration of the law in a more effective and humane way.

4. Appendix

Comparative Victimisation Matrix

	Germany[23]					Hungary[24]				
	2001	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
all victims	706 386	742 311	771 621	807 293	825 388	263 225	243 582	236 884	236 195	225516
Age										
adult (>18 age)	536 040	568 161	594 773	623 617	644 258	253 080	231 441	224 977	217 925	211320
youth (14-18 age)	92 350	95 890	98 918	105 115	107 679	7 279	8 356	8 053	9 843	8480
child (<14 age)	77 996	78 260	77 930	78 561	73 451	2 866	3 785	3 854	8 427	5716
Sex/Nationality										
women	280 247	303 785	315 860	326 071	330 694	91 430	86 587	82 634	88 113	83687
men	426 139	438 526	455 761	481 222	494 694	171 795	150 995	154 250	148 082	141829
Relationship between victims and offenders										
relatives	81 907	95 029	101 222	104 120	107 715	3 049	3 108	3 048	3 557	3574
acquaintances	181 601	199 772	209 642	219 099	224 237	7 419	7 885	7 471	8 095	8019
compatriot	7 156	6 134	6 171	6 164	5 612	2282	2319	2636	2771	2757
cursory relationship		81 987	86 592	93 302	97 262	4 922	5 418	5 176	5 855	6034
no relationship	265 115	270 759	279 838	294 278	300 951	35 015	34 881	32 432	35 135	34627
unclear	93 872	88 540	88 156	90 329	89 933					
Victims according to selected crimes										
theft, stolen property						187792	171407	152313	153462	149649
property damage						234429	212423	205206	196877	189629
robbery*	52 284	54 426	55 667	55 004	50 264	3 388	3 524	3 394	3 336	3224
sexually molested, at-tack**	30 725	33 655	33 234	33 266	30 947	14 031	14 843	14 790	16 009	15819
assault causing bodily harm	439 821	467 012	494 608	525 025	547 620					
traffic accident						4971	5625	5449	6108	6081
attack against life or health***	925	955	859	868	869	407	360	382	361	314

*   including robbery of financial institutes, post offices and other paying offices, robbery of cash transports and truck/taxi drivers, handbag snatching, other robberies in public space and robberies in dwellings

** including rape and sexual assault, other sexual assaults, sexual abuse of position of trust, sexual abuse of children

*** including murder, homicide, homicide onto desire

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[23] Source: Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik (PKS) 2001-2005.

[24] Source: About victims and relationships between victims and offenders, 2001-2005, Attorney General, Budapest, 2006.

In Germany and in Hungary there are victim registrations, which contain crimes against personal elements of law (life, physical integrity, freedom, honour, sexual self-determination). As long as these items are in the catalogue of crimes for victim registration, the victims are registered as victims of the crimes they suffered from. Numbers according to victims are only registered to special groups of crimes in the PKS (*Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik*) in Germany.

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Registered offence trends

KRZYSZTOF KRAJEWSKI

1. Crime rate trends in five countries

It seems appropriate to start the analysis of crime trends in the five cities participating in the *Crime Prevention Carousel* with some general remarks regarding crime trends in the countries in which these cities are located. It is necessary to note that international comparisons regarding official police statistical data on crime rates have to be treated with due caution. As a matter of fact such comparisons may be considered absolutely worthless, due to several circumstances. First of all there are enormous differences in legal definitions of offences in each country. This means that despite the fact that criminal codes use similar words to describe offences (e.g. robbery, burglary, assault, theft, fraud, etc.) the spectrum of behaviour covered by these definitions may differ substantially. In other words the data regarding robbery in Poland and Germany may concern quite different kinds of concrete acts committed in both countries. Second, the scope of criminalization may differ between each country, as too may the scope of prohibited acts data which is collected and presented in police statistics. This may have particular consequences for overall crime numbers and rates. For instance, in Poland administrative offences are not included in criminal statistics, which means that actual levels of registered crime may be lower than in some other countries. In the case of the countries participating in the *Crime Prevention Carousel* this may particularly concern first of all England & Wales and Holland where police statistics includes all kinds of petty violations of the law. Third, there are substantial differences between each country regarding patterns of reporting offences by victims and their registration by the police. International research on victims of crime has shown that for several years now the readiness to report offences by victims is usually substantially lower in Central and Eastern parts of the European continent than in the West (*Bruinsma & de Keijser* 2002). This means substantial differences in the dimensions of the dark figure of crime, and may explain significant differences in registered offence rates between both parts of the continent. At the same time, the readiness of the police to registered complaints by victims may also differ. In Central and Eastern Europe it was an established pattern before the year 1990 that the police were very reluctant to accept complaints in cases of certain types of offences. This strategy was used to keep crime rates low and clearance rates high (*Jasiński* 1996). Although the situation has changed since that time, such attitudes have not altogether disappeared. It seems that the situation in this respect is different in Western

Europe where the police do not engage – at least systematically – in this type of 'creative recording' of complaints. All this points out the enormous number of problems and pitfalls that face anyone attempting to carry out an international comparison of official crime rates. On the other hand such comparisons are not completely useless. They may be of some value with regard to comparing crime rates, but also with regard to comparing patterns of registering offences.

The data concerning crime rate trends in the five countries taking part in the *Crime Prevention Carousel* is contained in *figure 1*. The source of the data was the European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (*European Source-book* 2003; *European Sourcebook* 2006).
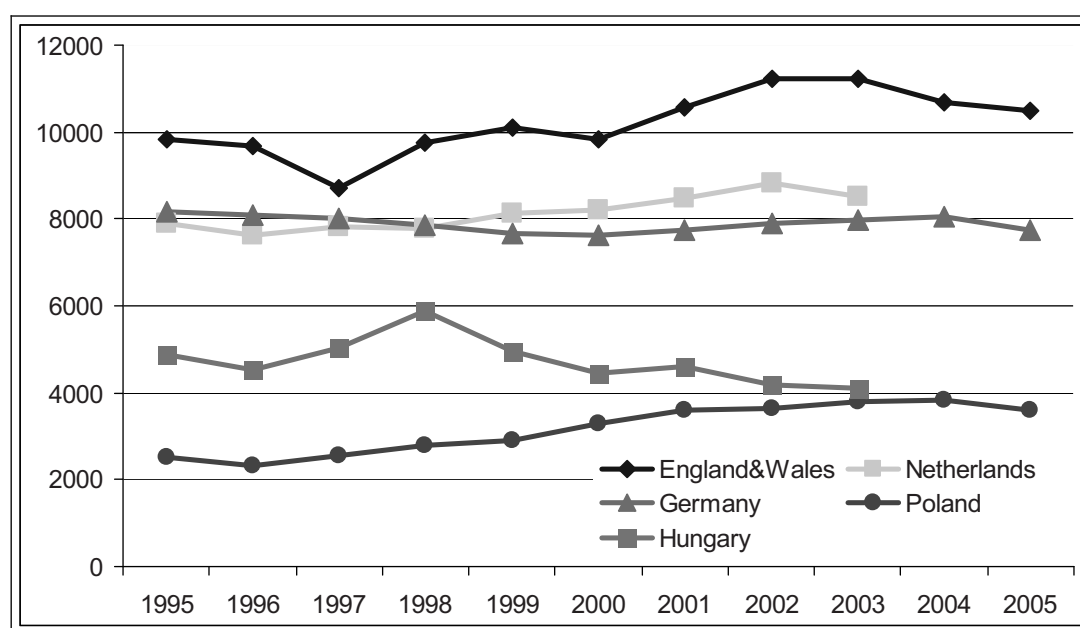

Fig. 1: *Crime rates in England & Wales, The Netherlands, Germany, Poland and Hungary in the years 1995-2005*

What becomes visible at first glance is the fact that there is a substantial difference in the rates of registered offences between England & Wales, Germany and Holland on the one side, and Hungary and Poland on the other. In other words this means there is a substantial difference between crime rates in Western and Central Europe. Moreover, this difference persisted during the entire period under consideration, i.e., 1995 – 2006 despite the fact that during those ten years crime rates in each country sometimes underwent substantial changes. This includes the well known and established fact that after the year of 1990 countries of Central and Eastern Europe experienced substantial, sometimes soaring, increases in the number and rate of recorded offences (*Korinek* 1999; *Krajewski* 1999; *Krajewski* 2004). Despite this, they were apparently still unable to catch up with the level of crime rates typical in the developed Western countries. Generally speaking, one can say

that the data of police statistics regarding recorded offences shows that crime rates in Central Europe are substantially lower than in the Western part of the continent. For instance, in the year 1995 the recorded crime rate in Poland was 2.525 and constituted about a half of the Hungarian rate in that year (4.876). However, that rate constituted roughly about ⅓ of the respective Dutch and German rates and only ¼ of the rate for England & Wales. In 2005, after 10 years this situation did not substantially change. The main change consisted of the fact that, due to the substantial increase of recorded crime rates in Poland since the second half of the 1990s and the equally substantial decrease of crime rates starting with the year 1998 in Hungary, the situation in both countries became very similar. Although Hungary still has a crime rate slightly higher than Poland, differences between the two countries became quite small, as in 2003 crime rate in Hungary (4.110) was only about 8% higher than in Poland (3.799). In the same year, the distance between both Central European countries and three Western countries, although a little bit smaller than in 1995, still remained enormous. For instance, England & Wales had crime rate 189% higher than Poland and 173% higher than Hungary (in the year 2003). Holland had a crime rate 124% higher than Poland (2003), and 107% higher than Hungary (2003), and the crime rate in Germany was 114% higher than the Polish one (2005), and 94% higher than that of Hungary (2003).

As mentioned earlier, differences between the five countries regarding rates of recorded offences may constitute – at least to a certain extent – a consequence of the different scope of criminalisation, different meanings of the term "crime", and different patterns of reporting and recording offences. Because of this they do not necessarily reflect different dimensions of behaviour forms constituting criminal offences in those countries. It is usually assumed that due to the higher degree of reluctance of the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe to report offences that the police dark figure of crime is much higher there, which means at the same time that the real volume of crime is much higher and closer to the situation in the West (*Krajewski* 1999). For example, in the ICVS 2000 the average reporting rate for 17 industrialised countries was 50%, and most Western countries participating in this survey had reporting rates above the average. In the Netherlands 58% of reported cases of victimisation were reported to the police, in England & Wales 55%. But in Poland it was only 38% (*Bouten et al* 2002, p.20). Lower rates of reporting only occurred in Catalonia, Japan and Portugal. However, it is interesting to note that differences in victimization rates (both incidence and prevalence) between the three of the countries which took part in both the *Crime Prevention Carousel* and ICVS 1999, namely England & Wales, Holland and Poland, were not that much different than those described above. The overall incidence rates of victimization in the 2000 ICVS in England & Wales was 58 (per 100 inhabitants), for Holland 51, and for Poland 42. This means that this rate in England & Wales was 38% higher than in Poland, and in Holland it was 21% higher, while the difference between England &

Wales and Holland was quite small (*Bouten et al* 2002, p.15). This means that the real gap between crime rates in Western and Central Europe was smaller, but still existed and the ranking order of the three countries taking part in ICVS was the same as in accordance with the official statistical data.

At the same time crime rate trends in all five countries were quite different and developed according to quite different patterns. It is only in recent years that some common tendencies towards a slight drop in crime rates were ascertained. The most conspicuous development took place, no doubt, in Hungary where starting with 1998 a continuous drop in crime could be observed, and where the 2003 rate was approximately ⅓ lower than in 1998. Interestingly enough, a tendency for the crime rate to drop also established itself in Poland starting with the year 2004. As a consequence the crime rate in 2006 was about 12% lower than in 2004.[1] As opposed to Hungary and Poland, in Germany the crime rate remained as a matter of fact rather stable during that period and changes were rather small. During the second half of the 1990s there was a slight tendency for the crime rate to drop. But during the current decade this trend reversed and registered crime started to increase slightly. As an overall consequence of these tendencies the crime rate in Germany in 2005 was about 2% lower than in 1995. Finally, in both England & Wales and in Holland during the most part of the period under consideration the registered offences rate has been growing. In Holland this regarded first of all the years 1996 – 2002 when crime rate increased by 16%, and in England & Wales during the years 1997 – 2003 crime rate went up by almost ⅓ (this huge difference was partly a result of an exceptionally low crime rate in 1997). However, both in England & Wales starting with the year 2003 and in Holland starting with the year 2002 the crime rate also started to drop. This may confirm that this tendency for crime rates to drop in recent years constitutes a broader tendency and does not appear to be confined to the USA (*Zimring* 2007). This tendency may also appear in Europe, although here patterns are certainly not the same (*Killias & Aebi* 2000).

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[1] It is necessary to underline that the real drop in crime started in Poland around the year 2000 and was in fact much deeper than what can be observed on aggregate crime rates. The reason for this is that in the year 2000 two major legislative changes took place: personal possession of drugs started to constitute a criminal offence (previously such behaviour was effectively decriminalised, as such acts although in principle criminalised were subject to mandatory exemption from the punishment clause), and driving a motor vehicle under the influence of alcohol was reclassified from administrative to criminal offence. Numbers of both offences soared during the next years in the police statistics. As a consequence, overall crime rates were still climbing up till 2003, although in fact the rate of offences other than those two mentioned was already in decline since 2000.

2. Crime rate trends in the five cities

The data on registered crime rates in the years 2000 – 2005 in five cities taking part in the *Crime Prevention Carousel* (Amsterdam, Berlin, Bristol, Budapest and Krakow) are provided in *figure 2*.
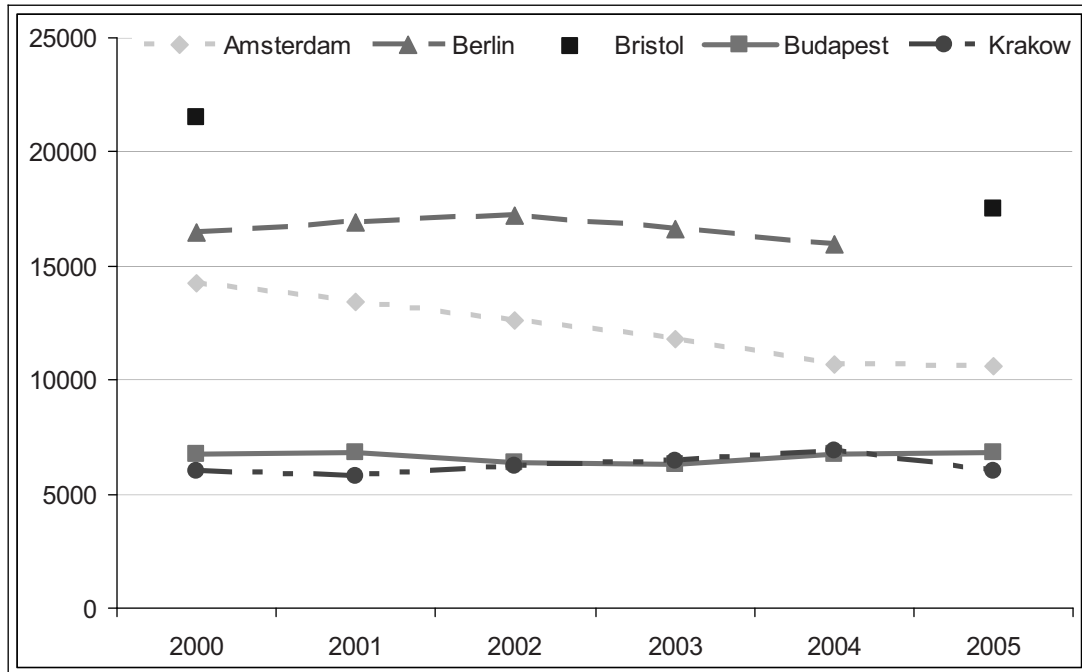
Fig. 2: Crime rates in Amsterdam, Berlin, Bristol, Budapest and Krakow in the years 2000-2005

The pattern of recorded crime trends emerging from this data is quite striking with regards to its similarity to the national patterns. There is a clear cut difference in recorded crime rates between the two Central European cities, namely Budapest and Krakow, and the three remaining cities of Amsterdam, Bristol, and Berlin. The gap between Central and Western European cities remains substantial, although there are also more differences between Western cities than between the respective countries with regard to the national crime rates. First of all, crime rates in Budapest and Krakow, cities very different not only in size but also in character, position and role in the country etc., remained quite similar during the entire period. In Budapest this rate was usually higher, with the exception of the years 2003 – 2004 when in Krakow it was somewhat higher. At the same time in both cities during the five years under consideration crime rates remained fairly stable. This was especially true in the case of Budapest, which is quite different from the national trend towards a reduction of the crime rate. In Krakow there was more change, with a small drop at the beginning of the decade, followed by increases in the years 2003 – 2004, and followed by yet another drop in the year 2005. This tendency was in

accordance with the national pattern for the same period. As a consequence the rate in Amsterdam in the year 2005 was only 38% higher than the national average for the Netherlands (in 2000 73%). This may certainly be connected to the level of urbanization of every country which may be the highest in Holland, resulting in a more even distribution of the crime rate on the country's territory, although in 2000 this difference was substantially higher.

Considering all this, it is interesting to note that Berlin, which constitutes a unique example of a city crime rate in Krakow in 2005 was roughly 1% lower than in 2000, while in Budapest it was roughly 1% higher. Nevertheless, both cities had much lower crime rates than the three remaining cities, especially Bristol and Berlin, but also Amsterdam. In the year 2000 the crime rate in Bristol, by no means the 'worst' city of all five, was 256% higher than in Krakow, and 219% higher than in Budapest. The difference between Berlin and the two Central European Cities was somewhat smaller, and amounted to 172% in the case of Krakow, and 144% in the case of Budapest. The smallest gap regarded Amsterdam, as the crime rate there in 2000 was 'only' 135% higher than in Krakow and 112% higher than in Budapest. It is noteworthy that the ranking order of the Western cities was slightly different than in case of the countries. Although Bristol, like England & Wales, scores first with regard to the crime rate, Holland has a higher crime rate than Germany, while Berlin has a higher one than Amsterdam.

As mentioned earlier, during the next five years crime rates in Budapest and Krakow remained relatively stable, especially as compared with the three other cities, where more or less substantial reductions of crime took place. This was especially visible in the case of Amsterdam where the drop in recorded crime amounted to roughly ¼ (25.4%). In Bristol with 19% it was slightly smaller, and in Berlin with only 3.2% the least substantial. It is noteworthy, that in Amsterdam the decline in the crime rate continued during the entire period (although since 2004 it slowed down somehow), while in Berlin crime started to decrease only since 2002, and in a much less spectacular way.[2] As a consequence at the end of the period under consideration the crime rate in Amsterdam was much closer to the situation in Budapest or Krakow. In 2005 the crime rate in that city was 'only' 77% higher than in Krakow and 56% higher than in Budapest. The gap between Budapest and Krakow on the one side, and Bristol and Berlin on the other remained much bigger, although some reduction also occurred here. In 2005 the crime rate in Bristol was almost three times higher than in Krakow (192%), and two and a half times higher than in Budapest (157%), while in the case of Berlin this difference amounted to 132% and 135% respectively.

A comparison of the data contained in *figures 1* and *2* shows that at the same time the crime rates in the five cities were always higher, sometimes substantially,

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[2] For Bristol the data for the years between 2000 and 2005 was not available.

than the national average. Considering criminological knowledge regarding the relationship between crime rates in urban and rural areas this is of course not unexpected. Crime rates in highly urbanised areas, like the five cities in question, are always higher than national averages. But the dimensions of this gap are different in each country. The biggest gap was witnessed in Germany, as the crime rate in Berlin in the year 2004 was almost twice as high (98%, in 2000 116%) as the national average. The second largest gap was in Bristol as compared with the average for England & Wales (67%, in 2000 119%), then Krakow as compared with Poland (65%, in 2000 84%), and Budapest as compared with Hungary (51%, in 2000 51%). Interestingly enough, in Holland this gap was the narrowest, as the crime where West and East were united, has quite high crime rates, higher than Amsterdam, and not that much lower than those found in Bristol. Considering the fact that the city was earlier divided between western and eastern blocks, one would expect that former East Berlin should have – like Budapest and Krakow – substantially lower crime rates, and contribute to Berlin as a whole occupying a position more in the middle of the scale. This is not the case. This means that transformation processes in Germany in general, and in Berlin in particular, have probably had a rather different character than in Central and Eastern European countries and cities. It is difficult to judge now what the reasons for this difference were. It may be the fact that, due to particular features of the German transformation such as the complete collapse of the former GDR which was just "taken over" by the Federal Republic, crime growth there was much more serious. It is also possible that both reporting and registering patterns there are quite different (something that may confirm the earlier results of the victimization surveys as mentioned above), which also results in a substantially lower dark figure of crime. In countries like Hungary or Poland this dark figure is notoriously high. Despite all this, it is necessary to underline that the data regarding research areas (discussed below), reveals that there are some differences between Eastern and Western Berlin with regard to crime rates.

3. Crime rate trends in the five research areas

A slightly different picture can be observed in the comparison of the research areas in the five cities. Data necessary for comparison is contained in figures 3 & 4.

Here comparisons are also more complicated as some essential data was not consistently available. In Berlin for example, police data is not available for the entire Marzahn district, as the district was split in two, namely Marzahn North and Marzahn Hellersdorf. In Krakow, due to the particularities of the administrative system of the city, and the fact that administrative districts and police precincts differ in their territorial shape from each other, as well as due to the lack of the necessary data on the population living within police precincts, it was not possible to compute the crime rate for the research area (with the exception of the year 2005; here the crime rate for the 3rd police precinct, an area substantially larger than the research
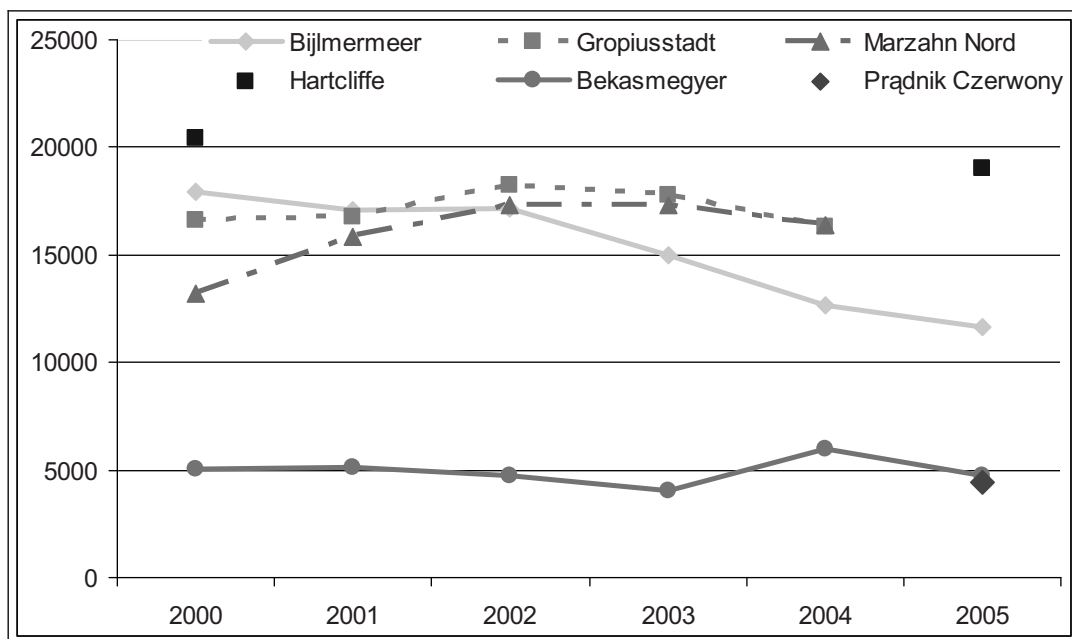
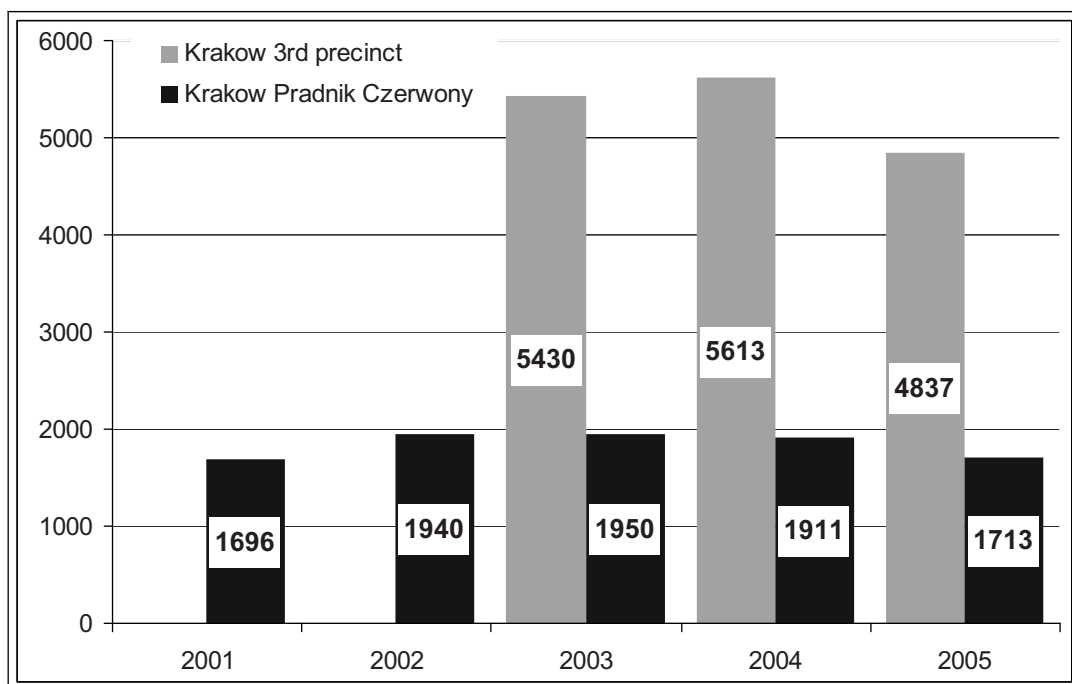*Fig. 3: Crime rate trends in the research areas in the years 2000-2005*

Fig. 4: Crime trends in Krakow (3rd police precinct & Pradnik Czerwony)

area itself, is available). Because of this, *figure 3* presents crime trends in the research areas of Amsterdam, Berlin, Bristol and Budapest using standard crime rates per 100,000 population, while *figure 4* illustrates these trends for Krakow using

absolute numbers. This allows for a rough comparison of crime trends in all research areas.

It seems that differences between the crime trends in the research areas create the same pattern as in the case with the cities. Hartcliffe in Bristol has the highest crime rate, while Békásmegyer in Budapest has the lowest one, constituting something between ⅓ and ¼ of the Bristol rate. Judging from the only year for which the rate for the 3rd police precinct in Krakow, which includes Prądnik Czerwony, was available, the situation there remains quite similar to Budapest. More complicated is the comparison between the Gropiusstadt and Marzahn in Berlin and Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam. Until 2002, crime rates in Bijlmermeer on the one hand, and in the Gropiusstadt on the other, were quite similar, while in both parts of Marzahn i.e., Nord and Hellersdorf the crime rate was somehow lower. Nevertheless, although differences between areas belonging to the West and East Berlin existed, they were not substantial and areas in the East have seemed to catch up with the Western average. This was not the case in Budapest or Krakow, as compared with other Western cities. However, practically during the entire period of 2000 – 2005 Bijlmermeer experienced decrease in crime, like the whole of Amsterdam. This process significantly accelerated starting in 2003, as opposed to the slow down of the crime decrease in the city of Amsterdam. As a consequence, the crime rate there in 2003 was about 35% lower than in 2000. In the Gropiusstadt during the years 2000 – 2002 crime rates were still slightly going up. But starting with the year 2003 this trend reversed, although the following drop was much less visible than in Bijlmermeer. For example, in 2004 the crime rate in the Gropiusstadt was only 2% lower than in 2000 (but 11% lower than in 2002). A few different developments took place in the Eastern part of Berlin. In Marzahn Hellersdorf the crime rate in 2004 was about 1.0% higher than in 2000, but about 10% lower than in 2002). In Marzahn North it was 24% higher than in 2000 but 5.5% lower than in 2002. This means that crime trends in the two research areas in Berlin have quite closely followed the general pattern for the city: growth until 2002 followed by a drop which continued till 2004. It is interesting to note, however, that this growth was much less substantial in the Gropiusstadt, i.e., in West Berlin, than in Marzahn, i.e., in the East (especially in Marzahn Nord). In that sense Marzahn seems to have followed, up till 2002, the pattern of quick and substantial crime growth characteristic seen in many Central and Eastern European countries and cities.

In summing up, one can say that the comparison of city averages and rates for research areas chosen in these cities results in a clear cut pattern of differences regarding officially registered crime data. Cities in Western Europe (Amsterdam, Berlin and Bristol) have substantially higher crime rates than cities in the East (Budapest and Krakow). However, it seems that in the West a clear cut trend of a drop in crime rates established itself in recent years, while in the East a tendency for crime to stabilize prevails, with only a slight dropping tendency in quite recent years.

A separate issue constitutes the comparison of crime rates for research areas with the average crime rates in the cities. Interestingly enough in both Central European cities crime rates in the research areas were lower than the average for the cities. For instance, in Budapest the average crime rate for the years 2000 – 2005 was 6643, while for Békásmegyer it was 4945. The Budapest average was roughly ⅓ (34%) higher than that for Békásmegyer. In Krakow, due to the lack of appropriate data it is impossible to compute averages for the entire period under consideration. However, in the year 2005 the crime rate in the area under the jurisdiction of the 3rd police precinct (4427) was substantially lower than the crime rate for the entire city. With 5976 it was – like in Budapest – about ⅓ (34%) lower than the average for the city.

The situation regarding research areas in the three remaining cities is quite different, as crime rates there are higher than the city average. Again, the difference is most visible in Bristol. In the year 2005 the crime rate for Hartcliffe amounted to 19,000 which was 8.5% higher than the city average. The mean crime rate in Bijlmermeer during the years 2000 – 2005 was 15.265 and was almost ¼ (24.9%) higher than in the city of Amsterdam (12,224). Finally with regard to Berlin the average crime rate for the Gropiusstadt during the years 2000 – 2004 was 17.204 and 3.4% higher than the city average for the same period (16,632). In the case of Marzahn Nord, however, the average crime rate for that period (16,022) was 3.7% lower than the city average, and in Marzahn Hellersdorf this rate (14,170), was even 14.8% lower.

All this reveals an interesting pattern. In Amsterdam and Bristol the research areas in terms of recorded crime rates certainly constituted areas worse than the city average. Just the opposite was the case in Budapest and Krakow, where recorded crime rates in the research areas were lower than the average. Berlin represented a mixed pattern, where earlier established differences between West and East could be observed. The Gropiusstadt which is located in the Western part of the city represented a pattern similar to Western cities like Amsterdam and Bristol, i.e., it had a crime rate higher than the average for the entire city. Marzahn, which is located in the Eastern part of the city was more similar to the two Central European cities, namely Budapest and Krakow, as it had a crime rate lower than the city average, although the difference here was significantly less substantial than in the case of Budapest and Krakow. This may mean that large housing estates in Western

Europe are characterised by a much higher level of social disorganisation than the cities they belong to. This is not necessarily the case in Central Europe, even in a city like Berlin where integration into Western patterns of life over the last fifteen years has certainly increased at a much more rapid pace than in Hungarian or Polish cities. Moreover, all this may be true despite the fact that the media picture of such housing estates is absolutely different, as especially in Central Europe they are considered to be very problematic and very dangerous places.

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Lessons learned –
What we can learn from each other

TOBIAS WOLDENDORP & NICOLE SMITS

1. Introduction

Autumn 2003, midweek, somewhere in Paris. Location: the private house of Sophie Body-Gendrot, Professor for Social Studies at the Sorbonne University in Paris. A small group of people that, four years later, would finish a large report called *Crime Prevention Carousel* came together to think about the quotation for AGIS. At that time there were representatives from the National Institute of Criminology (Budapest), the University of the West of England (Bristol), the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law (Freiburg) and DSP-groep, a private office specialised in Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) from Amsterdam and of course our host from the Sorbonne.[1] Their special interest: reducing crime in high-rise blocks in their respective countries. In two days the group discussed the matter and concluded that it would be very interesting to find out if the countries are dealing with the same kind of crime (objective), and the same kind of social unsafety (subjective). Moreover, could the different solutions adopted in the various countries be helpful for others as well?

1.1 What made it more and more interesting

The first aspect that made it so interesting to talk about the matter of high-rise blocks was that the representatives at the round table had different backgrounds. So, beside the five different mother tongues that were spoken, the people sitting at the table in Paris included a sociologist, a criminologist, a teacher/architect specialised in safe neighbourhoods, and a landscape architect that over the years had specialised in CPTED. Would they still be speaking the same language after a while? It would be interesting to find out during the process of visiting each other and describing the problems and investigating the solutions.

The second aspect that made it interesting was that the *Crime Prevention Carousel* would be represented by two countries from the former Eastern Block, two

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[1] France did work on the AGIS-quotation, but due to capacity-problems they didn't work on the project.

from Western Europe[2] and one country, Germany, which had been located at a pivotal point between them. Accordingly, we could also investigate whether there had been differences in one country with two political backgrounds as well. There were so many questions to answer, including: in former Eastern Block countries would social cohesion be very strong (as some of those in the group with a Western background expected)? Or would it be the other way round: would the cities previously under the influence of the former USSR break out in a very individualistic attitude, with little involvement and concern for public space. We were eager to find out.

1.2 What made it complicated

The mix of people with various backgrounds made things interesting, although it also provided for complications. It was not the different spoken languages that were a major complicating factor, rather it was the background from the various studies imbedded in a cultural difference that made things challenging. Does a sociologist from Budapest see the same as a landscape architect from Amsterdam? And do they share the same words when expressing what they see?

A second complication was the difference between scientists and practical thinking consultants. The scientists would be going for research. The consultants wanted to focus on the question: what can we learn from each other? Moreover, there were back offices: Some contributing parties did the project by themselves, others had a whole institute behind them that looked over their shoulders - would these background organisations interfere with and guide the scientific results?

1.3 How to guard the Carousel concept

When the commission was given to AGIS/164 the first step to be taken was to ensure the *Crime Prevention Carousel* would operate as planned. So it was decided early on during the first site visit in Bristol that the more CPTED orientated consultants from DSP-groep in the Netherlands would be 'the guard' of the Carousel's thought. The DSP-groep would prepare the format for the site surveys. They would collect the information, form the site visits and moderate the meetings to find out what countries could learn from each other. They would also be preparing a case study in Amsterdam, but due to their other obligations as well as time and monetary restrictions, they would not be able to carry out a quantitative research on the high-rise area of the Bijlmermeer.

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[2] After preparing the first concept for the quotation France had to withdraw (problems with fulfilling staff requirements to do the research and consultancy). At that time Poland (Krakow) joined the group.

1.4 Uniformity

Every country filled in the format with questions of the site visit, both on social and physical aspects. The DSP-groep collected all site visit reports and made a matrix from their contents. In the appendix of this chapter you will find this comparison matrix. In the next chapter there is a resume from the lessons that every country thinks it could learn from the others, with regards to both social and physical aspects. As there were five visits by five partners there are 25 filled in formats. To put them all in an appendix would generate a whole extra book. So the respective site visit reports can be found in each national report.[3]

2. Learning from each other

2.1 A glimpse in the future

Every country wrote its own national report. Some of the countries (Poland, Germany and Holland) included in their report the lessons that could be learnt from the other countries. In general, it can be concluded that the difficulties in the cities vary and that solutions differ as well. Both in Budapest and Krakow and as a matter of fact also in Berlin-Marzahn, there exists fewer problems with integrating various groups of foreigners than in Amsterdam, Bristol and strangely enough Berlin-Gropiusstadt. The former Eastern Block countries (including East Berlin) were monocultural before the fall of the wall and there remains little mixing with other cultures. But things might change quickly with the fall of the other wall: as of January 2007 Bulgaria and Rumania joined the EU, meaning that the border of Europe has been moved eastwards again. Immigrants will head to the West, other immigrants will take over their places and high-rise areas will presumably be the first area's to be occupied by other groups. At least this is what happened in Amsterdam, Bristol and the Gropiusstadt as well as in Paris, London and other large cities in Western Europe.

That is one of the reasons to start thinking about solutions for high-rise areas, though the problems are still far from equal between the East and the West - in terms of both social and physical/technical means.

On the other hand things in the east are well organized. In the former Eastern Germany, for example, residents tended to be closely involved in the co-operative management of housing estates. Profiting from this positive "socialistic legacy", residents' involvement prospers in Marzahn. The "neighbourhood management approach", along with early resident consultations, has ensured social engagement on a grand scale. For example, block representatives are still active and well accepted

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[3] The national reports are available at http://www.mpicc.de.

in the neighbourhood. Residents are involved in the planning, management, maintenance and provision of services in the neighbourhood, which helps to maintain cohesion and enhances social capital. Additionally, "multifunctional concierges" combine the role of a concierge, a guard, and a resident aide. Aside from preventing damage to communal property, the concierge functions as a contact person, creating a centre of social life in otherwise – due to their enormous size – anonymous apartment buildings.

2.2 General conclusions from the Crime Prevention Carousel

Some significant conclusions from the two sessions of moderating are (the conclusions can be checked in the appendix of this chapter):

1. Countries have quite a lot of measures in common. The following measures were applied in all five local projects:

   - painting of buildings;

   - buildings only accessible for residents ('controlled welcome')

   - renewal of entrances of the building;

   - education of children / childcare;

   - stimulation of cultural / social life;

   - Cooperation of police, municipality and residents (and others).

2. Very striking is the abomination of control in countries with a communist history: Poland, Hungary and (partly) Germany.

   - new communal laundry room;

   - counting visitors to suspected houses;

   - logs/diaries of residents as evidence;

   - strict but fair selection rules for new residents.

3. More 'communal rooms', like in Bristol, are thought to be a good idea by most.

4. An interesting contrast can be seen with CCTV. Cameras are applied in half of the projects, while the other half do not view them as a good idea, primarily as they fear a displacement of crime.

5. In many projects private security firms are hired, though the English participant does not think this is a good idea, based upon bad past experiences.

Each country drew its own conclusions. Some of the contributions, for example from Poland and Germany, wrote large essay-like reflections on this theme. These

are to be found in their national reports. The conclusions in the following paragraphs are distilled from these original drafts.

Some took a slimmer, leaner approach, e.g., Hungary and the Netherlands or a more critical overall view (like the United Kingdom). Hereby are the most important measures to be taken in each country with regards to social and physical measures/solutions, and bearing in mind CPTED approaches when redesigning the highrise areas in relation to the use of public space.

2.3 Hungary

After visiting the other cities the partners from Budapest knew one thing for sure: there is no funding for the demolition of apartment blocks and the building of smaller family houses. This is not only a financial dilemma - it also has to do with the amount of owners per block. They are condominiums with roughly one hundred owners per block. But there are a lot of lessons the Hungarians can learn from the other cities they visited. A summary of the most important include:

2.3.1 Restoring social cohesion

Communal places have disappeared. The example of shared laundry facilities as seen in Bristol Hartcliffe could help alleviate this problem (see *photo 1*). Neighbours will meet and greet. And that's good for restoring the social cohesion.

Photo 1: Communal laundry room in Hartcliffe

2.3.2 Parks and common green areas

In Hungary there is a problem with drugs and alcohol abuse. Accordingly, solutions like those adopted in the UK to have small gated gardens, which are not publicly open, might be a solution. Budapest was also very pleased by the green approach of Krakow as well as the way in which corporations in Poland dealt with the property-problem.

On the other hand consultants from the Netherlands think that the attractiveness of the public park can easily be enlarged. Presently, it only includes grass with trees and cars where there is no grass: by planting flower bulbs in autumn a very sunny and attractive location in spring will be assured. The construction of attractive marked parking allotments (hedges with flower plants like roses) will also contribute to a vivid attractive public space. This is particularly relevant as Budapest has a problem with car parking spaces.

The use green areas is presently not optimal - Budapest can learn much from the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam, where there are often football games between the multicultural groups and where annual festivities, like the *Kwakoe*-Festival that brings tens of thousands visitors to the area are held. These have helped reduce the bad name of the former problematic area.

2.3.3 New life for old blocks

Budapest was surprised by the way in which the hosuing company WBG Marzahn in Berlin downsized the apartment blocks and turned them, through the use of paint, from grey blocks into "mediterranean" masterpieces.

In Amsterdam the partners from Budapest were positively surprised by the approach taken concerning the restructuring of the entrances of the huge apartment blocks (transparency, colours, own identity in shape): the way the mailboxes were placed (the postman does not have to enter the block, meaning the area is less susceptible for those attempting to "sneak in").

2.3.4 Cameras in public space

Budapest was quite shocked by the use of cameras in the UK – if cameras were to be adopted it would be in the format used in the Netherlands. There the cameras are tucked away. However, the best possibility would be not to have cameras at all and to maintain the buildings and surroundings by having 24-hour maintenance and security officers. Sometimes places like this turn into a real 'meeting point'.

2.3.5 Social measures

There is a lot to learn from the Dutch approach: to get people from the neighbourhood involved there are information centres in the local shopping malls, there are language courses for the immigrants, there is education and training for (underprivileged) residents and there is care offered for drug addicts and the homeless, not only by the church but also from within the community. The empowerment of women and the offering of special programmes for women are also ideas that the Hungarians can take with them.

From Marzahn, Budapest learnt much about preventing residents of a higher social and economic status from leaving the area. In order to strengthen communal bonds, to enhance social engagement and to prevent crime, Marzahn implemented several social measures, such as anti-aggression training for children and youths, limited programmes to aid people seeking jobs and an anti-graffiti programme, combating graffiti by offering special areas were young people can paint and spray freely. Additionally, the Quarter Management, a semi-governmental programme, supports local institutions and initiatives in their work in the district. Local meeting points, such as the *Kick In*-NGO, act as a mediator between neighbours.

And last but not least: the communication the Hungarian representatives witnessed in Germany and the Netherlands is very good. The residents are informed about changes. That makes them feel comfortable and involves them in the longer term.

2.4 The Netherlands

From the beginning of the project onwards, the Netherlands thought they could learn a lot from the way the former Eastern block countries were able to maintain feelings of social cohesion. But during the *Crime Prevention Carousel* they found out that individualism had taken over the place of the community behaviour. This was in a way striking to find out.

2.4.1 Owning instead of renting

By far and away the most important thing to learn was the fact that in post-communist neighbourhoods in both Poland and Hungary the inhabitants of the high-rise blocks vary in their ownership. Many are owned, not rented. The problem with renting from housing companies in Holland is that most people do not feel responsible for their environment: the stairwells, the galleries and the public domain. By selling apartments in high-rise blocks people become more responsible. In the Netherlands in general, and especially in the Bijlmermeer-area, much can be learnt

from this approach. Demolishing flats and rebuilding family houses on the site is not the only alternative.

In Amsterdam Zuid oost nowadays tenants from apartment blocks that are supposed to be torn down have been buying their apartments so that it will be hard to get them out as the flats may be saved by enthusiastic high-rise-supporters from the CIAM-concept.

2.4.2 Topping down

The Dutch believe that they can learn much from the topping down of apartment blocks. In Marzahn the Dutch were impressed by the approach of reducing blocks of ten or twelve floors down to 3 or 6. This gives a completely different profile in the streets and public spaces as they become larger and sunnier. This is an attractive approach for making better use of public space - creating playgrounds and meadows to picnic and barbeque in. By selling the modules from the Marzahn blocks to the city of St. Petersburg money was even generated from the demolition.

2.4.3 Liveliness on ground floor

In the Netherlands planners nowadays want a vivid ground floor (the so called "footprint"). In new designs urban planners try to achieve this. The good thing about the situation in Budapest is that in the high-rise blocks there is a certain vividness, because there exists a greater degree of interaction with small shops in the footprint (see *photo 2*), the boxes are more in the middle and on the ground floor there are various little shops (groceries, repair workshops, etc). In the Bijlmermeer the idea of interaction has been brought back to the ground floor, but it could be more attractive and on a smaller scale like in Békásmegyer.

Photo 2: Shops under dwellings in Békásmegyer

2.4.4 Gentle approach

The Dutch were also shocked by the British approach of installing cameras everywhere (hardware) and using elderly people to solve the social problems (software). After visiting Germany, the Dutch were very pleased to see how in one apartment corridor of Marzahn a lady took care of all the issues in the Block - 24 hours a day (see *photo 3*). Together with the attractiveness of the corridor (paintings) it was very pleasant to see. And there were no cameras. The Dutch feel that the use of cameras should also be reduced in order to prevent the British model from being followed.

Photo 3: Concierge lobby of an apartment block in Marzahn

2.4.5 Green intermediary

Houses from NGO in Marzahn with front gardens were redesigned to look colourful and be easily maintained. These are be paid for by the housing corporation, and maintained by the tenants. This is a good idea for the Dutch corporations: attractiveness leads to involvement.

2.4.6 Partners against crime

In the UK the police have a good relationship with the media: they tip-off the media and have press meetings where they meet in a low profile way. In Holland the media is powerful. Neighbourhood Watch is very important as a link between the neighbourhood, the municipality and the police. And though the Dutch do not want to follow the CCTV-approach of the UK, they think a far reaching measure such as CCTV in public spaces must be introduced after consulting the residents. And last but not least, in Krakow the Dutch were charmed by the way the Polish invested in their children: investing in them is investing in crime prevention. In the

same way, Holland is looking to the Maltese Cross. This catholic group invests a lot in public spaces (playgrounds). It provides a way of getting people back to church on the one hand, but it is also a way of re-establishing social cohesion.

2.5 Germany

Over the last couple of years, a lot has been done to improve the quality of life in Marzahn, the high-rise building complex of former East Berlin, as well as in the Gropiusstadt, the high-rise building complex set up in the 60s and early 70s in West Berlin. Different approaches were undertaken in both districts. However, altogether, extensive physical renewal took place. Marzahn and the Gropiusstadt implemented lessons learned from similar approaches in the Netherlands and Great Britain as well as adding measures of their own.

2.5.1 Concrete slab versus colourful low-rise

Following the British example, Marzahn concentrated on demolishing high-rise blocks and rebuilding with "Italian style" housing similar to the British "cottage style" approach. Marzahn profited from the fact that the pre-cast concrete slab construction allows for bits of the buildings to be relatively easily unplugged. Consequently, a mix of low-rise and high-rise houses disperses the solid building structure, creating a more varied, lively and verdant environment. Additionally, the remodelling of the neighbourhood has been carried out by promoting public art, thus achieving a more diverse and colourful environment. This has been further enhanced by the generous use of colour, creating more variety and identifiable "quarters" through the deliberate breaking up of the original uniform, monolithic appearance of the estate. Marzahn's unofficial motto can be summarized as "regenerating with colour". Thus, there has been an explicit aim to introduce sensual pleasures throughout the neighbourhood in the form of brightly coloured buildings and a substantial investment in public art.

2.5.2 A future with cameras?

Germany has the same feelings with regards to CCTV cameras as the other partners. The "big brother" feeling looms larger than the feeling of a safer neighbourhood. So, what can Germany learn from this example? Hopefully nothing - except for the fact that it's better to intervene before problems arise to such an extent that cameras are widely needed. Germany hopes it will never come to a point where they have to live under such conditions. If this is the future of housing … there is no future.

Germany can however learn from the well functioning Neighbourhood Watch Programmes. In Germany they are still in their infancy.[4] Setting up such programs could be a promising way to strengthen social cohesion as well as to return social control to the residents.

2.5.3 Continuation of the approach

Berlin is on a good path: other partners recognize that if you have good quality, people will respect it. High quality refurbishment, landscaping and maintenance save money in the long run, as places are less likely to spiral into decline.[5] The same can be said for the approach of having a 24 hour security guard in the blocks rather than CCTV. It is important to continue bringing back a human scale and factor in these massive areas.

2.5.4 A nuance in the approach

The Germans should learn from the Polish partners that it could be an alternative to use a CCTV system to guard an interesting architectonic design like the Walter Gropius school rather than using barbed wire around it. Cameras may be considered to be more intrusive of course, but I think they are nevertheless better. Schools surrounded by barbed wire are just terrible - not only in the eyes of architects.

2.5.5 Balance of social, spatial and managerial renewal

In particular, the well-balanced proportion of situational and social measures sets a good example for all the other countries. On the structural level it is the embedding of the area with a diverse set of functions (leisure, work) and the co-existence of different constructional designs (high-rise, low-rise) that looks promising to the partners from Berlin.

2.5.6 Social meeting points

Apart from schools there are no specific youth-related facilities like clubs or meeting points etc. It might be worth considering whether more active and specific policies in this area, beyond the establishment of the Neighbourhood Management and some activities of the housing company DeGeWo (like younger children who

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[4] That said, the Neighborhood Watch group in the Gropiusstadt was very familiar with the British approach. In this regard, Marzahn and the Gropiusstadt differ quite a lot.

[5] Maybe still even more yet this is going on in Marzahn rather than Gropiusstadt.

'interrupted' our meeting preparing some "journalistic" materials on the district) are needed.

2.5.7 Social measures

Marzahn and the Gropiusstadt could copy the example of the after school care programmes for pupils as offered in the Netherlands and in the house of culture in Krakow. Furthermore, the British brochures offering valuable information about the district, certain local and social problems such as family violence and important phone numbers are a measure worth replicating in Marzahn and the Gropiusstadt. Similarly, Amsterdam offers a local TV and Radio programme providing first hand information relevant to the district, a measure Marzahn and the Gropiusstadt might also profit from. Further, Amsterdam succeeded in balancing situational and social measures. In particular, the Gropiusstadt might take to heart Amsterdam's example of embedding the area with a diverse set of functions (leisure and work) and the co-existence of different constructional designs (high-rise, low-rise). The Dutch integration programme for immigrants and the offering of language courses is another measure that especially the Gropiusstadt, where many of the residents come from an immigrant background, could profit from.

2.5.8 Youngsters (especially the Gropiusstadt)

Pay more attention to problem-causing youngsters. Do it in a positive, stimulating way. Make them ambassadors for the public space.

2.5.9 Green spaces

The considerable greening of the communal areas, which used to be a "cement - desert" rather than an area of leisure, as well as the improvement of community facilities, enhanced living conditions even further. Due to CPTED principles the Germans learned that green spaces do not have to be lit unless they really are necessary as a route. Otherwise people walk on routes that can not guarantee visibility other than the light from the light bulbs.

Marzahn and the Gropiusstadt have already profited enormously from the experience of Great Britain and the Netherlands. However, among other things, both German areas could profit from measures such as a better lighting as in Krakow.

For the big stony public spaces with signs such as "no football": transform them into private gardens. The chance of football diminishes and residents are closer to public space (social eyes).

2.5.10 Territory

As a preventative response, houses bordering the green areas in the Gropiusstadt set up high fences to deter burglars, creating a zoo-like atmosphere. Similar to this, the school of the area, the Walter Gropius comprehensive school, is surrounded by barbed wire, creating a prison like atmosphere for the pupils attending this institution of education. These flaws should definitely not be repeated, neither in Germany nor elsewhere.

In difference to Marzahn, the original architectural planning of the Gropiusstadt included grand green areas, constituting integral elements of the design. Green corridors make the entire area more friendly and humane than areas without such measures as, for example, in Budapest.

2.5.11 Physical approach on the scale of the neighbourhood

A reflection from Poland on the situation in Marzahn: much attention should be given to the lack of well-designed urban planning in Marzahn, which has led to the construction of two shopping centres in the same neighbourhood. By so doing, an opportunity to build a community centre, which could combine both cultural and economic functions, was missed. A large commercial centre became a place of leisure activities, recreation, and culture. In Poland, there are a number of such examples of poorly placed objects and commercial centres (miscellaneous shopping malls) which have replaced cultural and recreational facilities and have become an attractive destination of Sunday outings for families. In Pradnik Czerwony, there is a multifunctional centre, which constitutes an important communication link but is not able to take advantage of its role in integrating the community. However, the difference between the inhabitants of Pradnik Czerwony and those of Marzahn is that residents of Pradnik Czerwony can reach the centre of Krakow in less than 20 minutes and enjoy its rich cultural offerings. In the vicinity of Pradnik Czerwony (around 2-3 km), there is a strip mall which includes shopping opportunities, a water-park, and a multiplex cinema.

2.5.12 Communal work of police

What others could learn from Germany (seen through the eyes of the researchers from the Max Planck Institute) is the way communal policing is set up. The police are involved on a grand scale in the district, engaged in several programmes in schools (i.e. Anti-Violence-Training) and various crime prevention related activities. Noticeable are the good relations between the local police and young people. In the Gropiusstadt, there are lots of community based social projects. The goal of the institutions and housing firms is to enhance the residents' involvement in general and in decision making processes in particular. However, residents in the Gropiusstadt tend not to be as receptive to the measures offered as they are in Marzahn,

Poland, or in the Netherlands. In some houses in the Gropiusstadt, there are concierges fulfilling similar functions as in Marzahn, but there aren't as many caretakers as for example in the Netherlands.

2.6 United Kingdom

2.6.1 Lively ground floor

It has been a good idea to bring the "active" parts of the existing blocks down to the ground floor (when previously they were just storage areas or wasted space), but providing additional apartments with no buffer zone between their front windows and the public realm is not a good idea. In desperation many residents have had to put full length translucent curtains across their windows to give them some privacy.

2.6.2 Treatment of public space

Possibly the most unsatisfactory aspect of the new Bijlmermeer is the treatment of the new open space (see *photo 4*).

Photo 4: Square in the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam

The British experience would suggest that areas of the type shown above are too ill-defined and sprawling, and that people prefer more intimate, "human-scale" spaces if they are going to use them as more than mere "boulevards" to pass briskly through. Maybe there is hope for Budapest: In Budapest, an attempt by local people to personalise and humanise their environment can be seen, by (for example) balcony extensions and planting in public space (see photos below).

Introduction of the new landscape design, including seating areas, but not clear if there was much resident involvement in this. That is what the researcher from the United Kingdom on his turn would suggest to the Budapest community.

*Photo 5: Resident garde-
ner in Budapest*

Photos 6 & 7: Lots of indeterminate space between blocks

The British equip was 'shocked' by finding new high-rise blocks in Bijlmermeer. Actually this was not what happened - some blocks were so totally renewed that they looked as if they where newly built.

2.6.3 Sustainable attractiveness in public space

If you have good quality, as in the Gropiusstadt, Berlin, people will respect it. High quality refurbishment, landscaping and maintenance will save money in the long run, as places are less likely to spiral into decline.

2.6.4 Social Engagement

The "neighbourhood management" approach, along with early resident consulta-
tion has ensured that social engagement has always been at the core of Marzahn's destiny. One of the positive legacies of the communist regime in Eastern Germany was that residents tended to be closely involved in the co-operative management of housing estates. This has continued, to some extent, under the new regime, with block representatives still active in the neighbourhood.

2.6.5 Orientation and involvement

The personalisation of balconies (see *photo 8*) as witnessed in Krakow is a good visual indication of people's care and 'investment' in their homes.

2.7 Poland[6]

Judging from the researched areas there are substantial differences between Western and Eastern European (former socialist) countries. On the one hand, there

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[6] For a broader discussion on the social aspects of housing in all the visited sites see Chapter 4 of the Polish national report which is available at http://www.mpicc.de.

Photo 8: Balconies in Pradnik Czerwony

are differences in the character of urban planning, quality of construction, and physical infrastructure. On the other hand, there are differences in social characteristics between the communities themselves and the problems they face in everyday life. That is why in the Polish contribution they decided to discuss possible lessons Krakow and Poland could learn from others in the context of this East-West divide. To begin with, Berlin-Marzahn and Budapest-Békásmegyer were taken as representative of the situation in Eastern and Central Europe. Bristol-Hartcliffe, Amsterdam-Bijlmermeer and Berlin-Gropiusstadt were taken as examples of the situation in the western part of the continent.

In considering the experiences of the Berlin neighbourhood of Marzahn with regard to the situation in Pradnik Czerwony, the Polish contribution analysed both the experiences that should be avoided as well as the experiences that are worth repeating. From the experiences that are worth repeating, a further distinction should be made between examples that are easy to implement in Poland, in Pradnik Czerwony in particular, and the examples which are unquestionably very valuable, yet extremely difficult to implement in Poland.

2.7.1 Multifunctional concierges

There are many valuable experiences from Marzahn that Pradnik Czerwony could profit from. Undoubtedly, one of them is a "multifunctional concierge" who combines the role of a concierge, a guard, and a residents' aide. The benefit of having such a concierge as well as an additional monitoring system of the building and its surroundings would be greater control over the difficult task of preventing damage to communal property. Additionally, as is exemplified by the German experience, a "multifunctional concierge" could create a centre of social life in the apart-

ment building. Another valuable initiative is combating graffiti by creating special galleries where young people can paint freely. Similarly, Marzahn coped with graffiti by allowing graffiti artists to decorate the passage above the train station.

2.7.2 Training youngsters

Unquestionably, Pradnik Czerwony has made remarkable achievements in working with the youth and children, especially the ones with social adjustment problems. This achievement was pointed out by all programme partners who visited Krakow in September 2005. These activities could be further reinforced by public anti-aggression training, similar to the programs undertaken in Marzahn. Such training, organized in recreational centres and schools, could ease the problem of increasing violence in Polish schools.

2.7.3 Social integration

It would also be beneficial to consider other forms of social integration and neighbourhood organization which have taken place in Berlin and which consist of such initiatives as an NGO taking on the role of mediator between neighbours or festivities and festivals being held on neighbourhood squares. It would also be beneficial to change or expand the existing repertoire of the festivities that take place in Pradnik Czerwony and include, for example, thematic activities focused on increasing tolerance and civic initiatives.

2.7.4 Quartermanagement

Quartermangement is an institution whose assessment is still somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, a group of experts taking on actions to improve the conditions of a given neighbourhood and strengthening the self-organization of residents by distributing grants for specific activities provides a great opportunity to introduce a programme that is free of politics and focused on long-term planning. However, this organization is not known in the Polish legal system and institutional order. Its introduction would require crucial changes to the law, mostly, a specification of its relationship with local authorities which presently control such activities. Moreover, establishing such a management for a given neighbourhood based on certain indicators would mean marking certain neighbourhoods as problematic and unable to manage their own problems, which could bring some undesired consequences in the social perception of the neighbourhood.

2.7.5 Insight in housing

A similar history of Polish and Hungarian high-rise apartment complexes (the Békásmegyer neighbourhood of Budapest and Pradnik Czerwony in Krakow) from

the socialist era and a need to overcome the legacy of these times make many problems in both neighbourhoods synonymous. However, we would suggest that only a few of the Hungarian experiences be replicated in Krakow. One of the most important issues for the neighbourhoods in questions is the ownership of apartments in high-rise buildings. Privatization of apartments in Békásmegyer combined with economic changes has led to a situation where apartment owners experience serious problems with their utility bills, especially heating bills. This, in consequence, leads to a decrease in the standard of living. Initiatives taken in Pradnik Czerwony helped to avoid such dangers. Although more and more apartments are being bought by individual private owners, the cooperative is still taking care of the basic housing infrastructure and aims, for the greater interest of the residents, to decrease the costs of building maintenance. The cooperative also takes care of remodelling and renewal initiatives.

2.7.6 Physical measures

Both in Pradnik Czerwony and Békásmegyer one notices window bars which are installed by residents to better protect themselves from danger. This is particularly true for the ground level apartments and Budapest's numerous shops. A new centre in the Hungarian neighbourhood with wide avenues where shops and public buildings were built and a farmers' market operates could be an inspiration for Pradnik Czerwony to enhance its look by introducing new elements.

2.7.7 Police in the centre of the neighbourhood

In Krakow, they could also consider the inclusion of modern verification methods as used by Hungarian police officers in registering crime. It was not until 2006 that a new police station in Pradnik Czerwony was opened. Békásmegyer could serve as an example of placing the police station close to the residents. As of today, fortunately, this point has a historical value for the Pradnik Czerwony residents since the police station is located within a few meters from the neighbourhood. It appears, however, that the Hungarian police officers could repeat the experience from Krakow of establishing closer ties with the residents.

2.7.8 Camera approach (two sides of the coin)

Hartcliffe in Bristol, provides some ambiguous lessons for Poland. On the one hand, the CCTV surveillance system deployed in the neighbourhood is impressive and well run. Enormous efforts have been put into its maintenance, which is already of importance to the community. Moreover, the system itself appears to be quite successful. On the other hand, the very fact that this system, somewhat resembling the idea of the "Big Brother", is necessary indicates how grave the situa-

tion was before. An important lesson from this experience is the following: it is necessary to take preventive action much earlier in order to avoid the situation where problems become as serious as they became in Hartcliffe.

Early intervention – in various forms – may not always be easy, but, in the long-run, it may be more cost-effective, and most importantly, may prevent such radical measures as the omnipresent CCTV from becoming necessary. This means that more effort should be put in at an earlier stage of the community work with a focus on the stimulation of social cohesion (a task that is never easy), than on the physical measures used at the later stage.

It is well known that in the United Kingdom various forms of video-surveillance are used as security and crime prevention measures. In some situations these measures may be quite useful and effective. For example, it is less problematic when CCTV is used on the grounds of a school building in Pradnik Czerwony in Krakow, in some buildings in Marzahn, or in Berlin's underground. However, an extensive system, such as the one deployed in Hartcliffe, would be hardly imaginable and advisable for Poland in general, nor for Pradnik Czerwony in particular. First of all, Hartcliffe is a relatively small area, easily subject to such comprehensive surveillance. All other districts visited during the programme were usually much larger. Therefore, for size reason alone the installation of a comparatively dense system of cameras would be quite difficult. Second, the CCTV may be a good measure but only when used as an additional one, supplementing other initiatives and forms of action aimed at improving social cohesion and quality of life. Intensive engagement in such measures may result in the neglect of other important issues. This may further lead towards a spurious impression of achieving a perfect state of security resulting from the use of flawless and highly-sophisticated technical measures. At the same time, despite the apparent peace and security, life in the neighbourhood may, in fact, become unbearable. Recent data from Hartcliffe on the increase in crime activities may confirm this assumption.

2.7.9 Neighbourhood approach

There are two contrasting aspects of social indicators regarding Hartcliffe area. On the one hand, the area has a very interesting Neighbourhood Watch programme, which could be recommended for replication in Poland. These programmes usually mobilise the local community and contribute to improved social cohesion. In Hartcliffe, it indicates the existence of a group of engaged citizens who are ready to be involved in solving problems of the neighbourhood. Interestingly, these citizens constitute a form of intermediary between the local population and the police and other services, which is of important value to the community. This could be worth replicating in Krakow, as cooperation between the citizens and the police has been a well-known problem in Central European countries. Due to historical circumstances a great number of people still "do not talk" to the police (one of the reasons

behind this attitude is the fear of being treated as police informants). Therefore, any initiative, which would help to make such contacts easier and engage the community and local intermediaries, is worth the effort. The fact that such an initiative took place in Hartcliffe indicates the existence of some factors contributing to a strengthening of social cohesion in the area. Nonetheless, it still seems that the area suffers from a lack thereof. Significant improvements in the physical condition of the area and innovative improvements in the security situation appear to have resulted mainly from substantial financial and organizational resources spent on redevelopment along with a comprehensive surveillance system. This means that positive changes in the neighbourhood have resulted mainly from various physical measures applied in the community (situational crime prevention). It is difficult to say precisely to what extent these measures have influenced social conditions and the social cohesion in the community. The case may be that the community became more law-abiding and secure because it is watched externally and physically guarded and not necessarily because some of its internal resources were stimulated and revitalised. In other words, the change did not result from the community's internal forces. It is difficult to judge, however, what is the final impact of physical improvements on social infrastructure and social cohesion. For example, a well-functioning Neighbourhood Watch programme may have resulted from the fact that after the redevelopment some residents realized that it may be worthwhile to engage in community-level actions.

2.7.10 Mixing social classes instead of concentrating

It appears that the main advantage of the neighbourhoods with predominant high-rise apartment blocks in Central and Eastern Europe, as compared to neighbourhoods such as Hartcliffe, is the fact that in social terms they still contain a very mixed population (in terms of social and economic stratification). Although many citizens in Eastern Europe are not necessarily very satisfied with this situation, the truth is it has prevented, and still prevents, such neighbourhoods from becoming sources of even more serious problems. Concentration of low-income, low social-class people in one area, as is the case of Hartcliffe, often means a concentration of social problems which are very difficult to deal with. Therefore, it may be very important for Central and Eastern Europe to prevent these old socialist neighbourhoods from becoming so-called 'social dumps'. This means that more attempts should be made to prevent better educated and higher-income residents from leaving these areas and, by so doing, prevent their social degradation. At this point, it is necessary to stress that physical redevelopment to make such areas more attractive may play an important role. Maintaining and improving living conditions and quality of life may significantly contribute towards the maintaining and strengthening of social cohesion in such areas. In this case, physical redesign and

improvements do not necessarily have a direct preventive effect, in terms of situational crime prevention or target hardening, but they may have an indirect and, importantly, a preventive effect, as they contribute to maintaining, or even strengthening, the social characteristics of the area which strongly influence crime, fear of crime and security.

The research area of Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam represents something very different from Hartcliffe. The scale of the entire neighbourhood, designed and developed in the 1960s, is quite remarkable. The imaginative layout, from traffic solutions to the interior design, still draws attention and deserves some credit. However, it also proves how a theoretically impressive architectonic design, based on sound sociological and psychological assumptions, may become a real disaster in practice. The main problem of many of the large neighbourhoods in Western European countries is the fact that most of the original residents, in the case of Bijlmermeer it is the Dutch, seem to be leaving the area or are willing to leave it in the near future. This exodus from certain urban residential areas is a result of a gradual influx of immigrants of various origins towards these areas and the creation of what are often referred to as ethnic ghettos. This, combined with the fact that many inhabitants belong to a lower social strata are in a low income bracket, are unemployed or live off various forms of state support, as well as the fact that many of them engage in various types of deviant behaviour (drug use, alcohol abuse, various forms of crime etc), results in a situation where a once calm area becomes a hot spot for social and ethnic tensions. Certainly, there still is a difference between neighbourhoods such as Bijlmermeer and American inner-cities, where the poor are often left to themselves without much governmental support. Large money transfers and efforts put into the redevelopment of the neighbourhood reflect the attitude and approach of the Dutch government towards impoverished urban areas.

As opposed to the neighbourhood in Bristol, which is almost exclusively inhabited by the original residents (i.e. British citizens), the neighbourhood of Bijlmermeer is largely inhabited by new immigrants. Therefore a significant number of the neighbourhood problems are attributed to the process of immigrants' integration with the Western society, or lack thereof. Another important observation is that despite differences in population, the problems of Bijlmermeer and Hartcliffe neighbourhoods are, in fact, very similar. Here, the old question comes up whether problems observed in the areas of low-income housing (the so-called projects) are a result of class and ethnic differences or, rather, of a difficult economic and social situation.

A major influx of foreign residents coming from different cultures and different lifestyles still appears a rather remote perspective in Poland. Nonetheless, this type of scenario should always be taken into consideration even in a country of few immigrants. However, the real problem that is facing Polish urban neighbourhoods is the deteriorating social composition of residential areas due to the outflow of its

residents of a higher social and economic status. As a matter of fact, this phenomenon is, to a certain extent, already taking place. That is why it is important to come up with policies that will prevent such areas in Poland in particular, and in Central and Eastern Europe in general, from becoming enclaves of populations that fall under a similar socio-economic category: lower-class, poor, and underprivileged members of society. Policy implications that emerge from this observation mean, first of all, that an increased effort should be made to rehabilitate comparable residential areas as intensely as possible and to make them more attractive for residents to further prevent the outflow of the residents of higher socio-economic strata. In the case of the Dutch experience, one should think of what could be done to attract more Dutch to move to areas such as Bijlmermeer, how to ethnically diversify such areas and how to promote better social integration between Dutch society and the immigrants. Although these claims may sound cliché, they are still in fact very difficult to implement. The Dutch example, where tolerance and the "melting pot" strategy are official government policies illustrates the difficulties of the process of integrating new immigrants and ethnic minorities into a society.

2.7.11 Physical rehabilitation and social components go hand in hand

Notably, when compared with Bijlmermeer, urban high-rise neighbourhoods which were built in Poland in the 1960s and 1970s, and which are much larger in size than Pradnik Czerwony, are characterized by much lower standards in terms of build quality, the materials used, and the architectural details. From this perspective the neighbourhoods of Bijlmermeer and Hartcliffe are in a better position. However, when we take into account issues of social cohesion and integration, the situation found in the Dutch and British neighbourhoods is far from ideal. In this context, the question arises as to whether physical redevelopment alone is enough to rehabilitate the neighbourhood. The answer appears to be definitely not, as is well illustrated by the examples of Hartcliffe and Bijlmermeer. This observation may also provide an interesting contribution to the discussion of the 'broken windows theory'. Does fixing broken windows contribute to the improved functioning of the community, or should improved social cohesion and a sense of community fix the broken windows? It seems that both types of influences are of equal importance. In other words, measures aimed at the physical rehabilitation of the area should always be accompanied by measures aimed at rehabilitating its social component or preventing its deterioration. That is probably the case both in Pradnik Czerwony and in Békásmegyer where the social component may still be in a better shape, which makes neighbourhoods of high-rise apartment blocks in Central Europe somewhat better places to live in than their Western European counterparts. However, one may still wonder whether the current situation in these urban neighbourhoods may soon end due to the social transformation and social deterioration that is taking place in these areas as a result of a general change in economic conditions

and growing social differentiation in these societies. The above circumstances, combined with a rapid deterioration of physical infrastructure due to low quality of building construction and ongoing change, may bring disastrous consequences in the future. These consequences may be avoided if significant investments are made with regard to the urban neighbourhoods' physical redevelopment.

2.7.12 Green belts as a quality of life

There is one feature about the Gropiusstadt which is, both situationally and socially interesting, namely the huge green strip running through the area (with the subway underneath). In principle, such green areas in the middle of the residential areas are very desirable as they seem to improve the quality of life, provide an opportunity to spend free time and make a nice impression on the passers-by. However, the example of the Gropiusstadt shows that every stick has two ends. This green strip, very nice from the theoretical perspective of improving quality of life and making the environment more humane, in fact attracts criminal activity. The reason behind this situation is that the strip provides an easy escape route for potential criminals. This example shows how in the process of urban planning one can, unintentionally, create an area that is later very difficult to control. As a matter of fact, an informal control of such areas as the green strip in the Gropiusstadt is almost impossible, which further limits the methods of protection to increasing the number of police patrols or gating the area with security fences. This example shows how problematic for the neighbourhood community these large public spaces can be even when they appear as nice green recreational areas. That is why many neighbourhoods opt for some sort of private (or quasi-private) spaces which are easier to control.

This observation may also be of importance to some Polish residential neighbourhoods where the tendency exists to create large, yet difficult to control, public spaces. In this context, the example of the Gropiusstadt, where houses which are situated in close proximity to the green strip are surrounded by security fences may seem an idea worth considering. Such an instrument enabling the residents to 'steer away' strangers from their houses may be easily adopted in Poland, especially in areas where houses are located near roads, commercial centres, and other public spaces.

2.7.13 Design out Crime

Interestingly, in the Gropiusstadt, apart from the abovementioned security fences, there are very few elements of the design that would be specifically aimed at crime prevention as opposed to Hartcliffe and Bijlmermeer, where substantial parts of the design, or redesign for the purpose of redevelopment, were intended to prevent crime (although in Bijlmermeer such measures had a much less explicit character and were included in the way the space was shaped, while in Hartcliffe

they served specific preventive purposes). It appears that a good design alone and the maintenance of the area could be – at least to a certain extent – the most important factors for creating living conditions which prevent crime.

2.7.14 Not to be replicated: gated school communities

There is one detail of the Gropiusstadt which is somewhat disturbing and therefore should not be replicated in Poland. It relates to the question of school protection. There is no doubt that schools have become very problematic places in need of protection from outside interference such as drugs, alcohol, and violence. Preventive measures are commonly taken by Polish schools and they range from the CCTV systems (also used by the school in Pradnik Czerwony), through simply keeping the school doors locked to prevent strangers from getting in or students from getting out to such advanced moves as employing private security companies to protect the building. Nonetheless, the measure used by the Walter Gropius Gymnasium to surround the school with a fence (this is actually considered normal and acceptable) and further reinforce its security by barbed wire running atop of the fence, appears unacceptable. The fact that schools have to be protected is troublesome enough. Therefore, when preventive measures are needed, they should be taken in the least disturbing way. Turning schools into fortresses protected by measures similar to those used in the prison system should not be accepted. It is interesting that this extreme measure contrasts so strikingly with the modern design of the school and its quite peaceful surroundings. The methods are in contrast with the peaceful character of the entire neighbourhood.

A barbed wire fence in the middle of a well-run and maintained Gropiussstadt appears as a measure absolutely out of proportion. Such extreme measures should be avoided. These measures are more likely to stimulate fear and insecurity by sending a signal that everyone in the area is dangerous than they are to stimulate positive results. In Hartcliffe, there was at least an attempt to hide the bunker-like character of the administrative building behind an interesting and extravagant design.

3. Appendix

Results of the workshop "measures in different project"
(Budapest, 23rd March 2006 and Berlin, 20th September 2006)

In two workshops, all participants carried out an exercise, in which the carousel thought was made clear. Starting with a list of measures, physical and social, that have been taken in the different project areas in the past, all participants filled in:

• which measures were applied in the project in this country? ☒

• which measures would be a good idea for the project in this country?

• which measures would be a bad idea for the project in this country? ■

Physical	Measure	Bristol	Amsterdam	Krakow	Budapest	Berlin MZ	Berlin GS
Town planning	renewal shopping area	☒	☒		☒	☒	☒
	new business spaces	☒	☒			■	■
Public space	better public lighting	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	
	redesign roads		☒	☒	☒	■	■
	transforming planting in public space	☒	☒	☒	☒		
	renewal of paved public space		☒		☒	☒	
	new/renewal play areas (stimulation sport/recreation)		☒	☒	☒		
	CCTV	☒	☒	☒	■	☒	☒
	fences around communal property	☒			☒	☒	
	transforming public space to private gardens	☒	☒		■	☒	
Parking	new parking lots	☒		☒	☒		

	Measure	Bristol	Amsterdam	Krakow	Budapest	MZ	GS
	more parking in public space (streets)		☒	☒			
	car parks demolished		☒				
	car parks made free of charge		☒		☒		
	disconnect parking from building	■	☒		☒		
Apartment buildings	demolishing and re-building of dwellings		☒			☒	
	painting buildings	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒
	compartments in apartment building		☒			☒	
	buildings only accessible for residents	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒
	'fortification' of building(s)	☒	■	■		■	■
	renewal entrances building	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒
	renewal elevators	☒	☒		☒	☒	☒
	measures to box rooms		☒				
	new communal laundry room	☒		■			
	renewal waist system	☒	☒				
	temporary measures to buildings		☒				
	communal rooms	☒					
Dwellings	apartments split in smaller units		☒			☒	
	improvement of the (private) houses (anti burglary, etc.)	☒	☒	☒	☒		

Social	Measure	Bristol	Amsterdam	Krakow	Budapest	Berlin	
						MZ	GS
Policing	measures against drugs	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒	☒
	fines for other offences than traffic offences	☒		☒	☒		
	education as penalty	☒		☒		☒	☒
	counting visitors to suspected houses	☒		■	■	■	■
	logs/diaries of residents as evidence	☒			■		

	neighbourhood watch	X			X	■	X
	extra surveillance	X	X	■	X	■	■
	private security firm	■	X	X		X	X
Education	education children/childcare	X	X	X	X	X	X
	education adults	X	X		X		
	counselling for young people in trouble	X		X	X	X	X
Stimulation	promotion of employment	X	X		X	X	X
	stimulation cultural/social life	X	X	X	X	X	X
	empowerment for women and newcomers	X	X				
	more public, targeted activities						
Organisation	one corporation for all apartments	X	X	X	X**?**		
	no more municipal involvement in allocation of dwellings		X		X		
	elevator attendants						
	every building own caretaker		X		X		
	strict but fair selection rules for new residents			X	■	X	
Communication	information centre	X	X		X	X	X
	new name for area		X				
	residents are involved in renewal	X	X		X	X	X
Dwellings	parish as important mediator			X			
	cooperation of police, municipality and residents	X	X	X	X	X	X
Financing	lower rents		X				
	sale of dwellings	■	X		X	X	
Maintenance	intensified cleaning of public areas		X		X		X
	redesign of heating system		X			X	X

List of Contributors

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