Max-Planck-Institut
für ausländisches und
internationales Strafrecht

Final Report (JAI/2004/AGIS/164)

Crime Prevention Carousel

Sharing Good Practice in Crime Prevention, based on the Evaluation of Physical Rehabilitative and Social Schemes in Problematic Urban Areas in Member and Accession States

PART A: Final Report

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Executive Summary

Within the scope of the AGIS framework programme the European Commission purposed the exchange of information and best practices in the field of crime prevention. The programme also aimed at encouraging Member States to step up co-operation with applicant countries in order to further stimulate the mutual collaboration and the constitution of enduring trans-national networks. Based on this view, the European Commission has granted a research project titled *"Crime Prevention Carousel – Sharing Good Practice in Crime Prevention, based on the Evaluation of Physical Rehabilitative and Social Schemes in Problematic Urban Areas in Member and Accession States"* (JAI/2004/AGIS/168) which has been executed during the period 28/12/2004 – 27/12/2006.

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. 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 was 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.

Co-ordinated by the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law in Freiburg i.Br./Germany, a cross-national team of researchers used a "carousel" approach to compare and contrast the fortunes of six high rise housing estates in five European States and aimed to share experience of how best to reduce neighbourhood crime, fear and insecurity.

The case study areas were located in Berlin [Marzahn North-West & Gropiusstadt], Bristol [Hartcliffe], Amsterdam [Bijlmermeer], Krakow [Pradnik Czerwony] and Budapest [Békásmegyer]. They made for excellent illustrations of many of the themes being debated in the field of crime prevention, social policy and environmental design. As well as assessment visits to all the sites by the entire team, the evaluation consisted of: analysis of recorded crime data, interviews with key local staff (e.g. housing managers, police, community development workers) and a household survey using the same format across all the sites.

The overarching conclusion from the research team's assessment of 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.

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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 appendix A 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 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).

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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.

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 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 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).

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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'.

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

Other theorists, mostly from the social-psychology area (but see *Hillier & Shu*, op cit, 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 (eg: an enclosed and controlled shopping mall) may exacerbate the fear generators in its surroundings (eg: 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 (eg: anonymity, greater population flow) rather than design-led (eg: 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:

Photo 4: Block representative waters communal front garden in Marzahn

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 - a block closely modelled on Le Corbusier's "Unité d'Habitation"

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, Niddrie House, Edinburgh,Scotland

The above example 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?

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.

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, 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, 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 (such as Hartcliffe!):

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

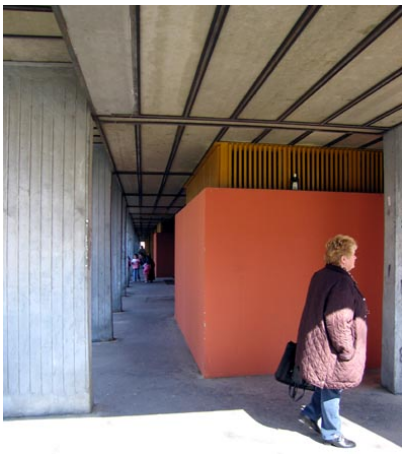
Photo 10: Little natural surveillance of garages in Gropiusstadt

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:

Photos 11 & 12: Ill-defined public spaces around existing and new housing - 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 Bekasmegyer, 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.



Photos 14& 15: Poor natural surveillance and defensible space designs at Bekasmegyer

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.

Photo 16: Community policing in the 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.

Appendix A

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 neighbour-hoods	New Urban-ism	'Café Culture' and urban revitalisation
Gated Com-munities	Opportunity reduction	Situational crime preven-tion	'Living over the shop'	Design for community control and social cohe-sion	Social crime prevention
Target harden-ing	Closed layouts (eg: cul-de-sacs)		Mixed use	Permeable layouts	'Crowding out crime'
	Defensible space	Natural sur-veillance	Identifiable neighbour-hoods		
		Symbolic barriers	Human scale		

Appendix B

Ingredients for a safe built environment

- Security, without being too brutally fortified
- Natural surveillance (for informal social control)
- User involvement and opportunities for human interaction
- Right mix and facilities
- Human Scale and right size
- Quality
- Adapability
- Suitable and desirable location

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Social cohesion and fear of crime in large high-rise housing estates – Experiences from Europe

Tim Lukas & Mark Enters

The sheer enormity of the physical environment is often alleged to regard large high-rise housing estates as 'inhospitable' (*Mitscherlich* 1970). Innumerous accommodation units per entrance, the lack of infrastructural supply, a low quality of the building stock and deteriorated and neglected public spaces are only a few arguments recurring within the overall lamentation about the decline of large housing estates in Western European cities.

Recent research has shown that in fact almost all Western European countries are facing problems with respect to a decreasing quality of life in many post-war neighbourhoods in urban areas (*Van Beckhoven et al* 2005).[3] These areas, however, cannot be regarded as distressed in physical terms only, but also with respect to social and economic developments. Although far away from the gravity of the situation 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 disadvantage and social problems related to disorder, crime and fear of crime.

Apart from physical rehabilitation, urban renewal policies in European large housing estates[4] therefore include socio-economic and socio-cultural interventions (*Couch et al* 2003; *Verhage* 2005; *Sander* 2005).[5] Improvements of the socio-economic characteristics in distressed urban neighbourhoods are aimed to improve the opportunities for residents to escape from their deprived position. On this note urban renewal combines interventions which on the one hand target at the diversification of dwelling types in order to attract a population with a more favourable socio-economic background and on the other hand stimulate economic activities in order to bring employment into the area. In respect of socio-cultural interventions urban renewal policies in European large housing estates promote the creation of a

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[3] 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/).

[4] In order to guard against misunderstandings, urban renewal programmes in Europe are not exclusively addressed to large housing estates. Different countries in the EU emphasis on different types of areas, such as central areas, areas predominately covered by social housing, etc. Concurrently these areas are distressed areas, characterised by segregation, exclusion and devaluation. Since the present study examines high-rise large housing estates we will concentrate on policies found in our research areas.

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

stronger social cohesion among residents in order to improve their quality of life. Interventions in this regard comprise the provision of meeting places and social activities as well as actions against disorder and crime.

These interventions proceed on the assumption of an interrelation of declining social cohesion and increasing disorder and crime. Frequently described as 'breeding areas of crime', the decline of social cohesion therefore is often linked to disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, such as large housing estates at the fringe of the city or old inner-city residential areas.

Due to the preconditions put forward to the present study this chapter deals with large housing estates. Against this background relevant questions are: What truth is there to decreasing social coherence in large housing estates? To what extent is social cohesion important at all for the residents of large housing estates? To what extent does social cohesion relate to crime and feelings of unsafety? Can we find differences between the Eastern and Western European large hosuing estates?

Social cohesion – Conceptual framework

The role of neighbourhoods in promoting a sense of community refers to a long tradition of scientific research (*Forrest & Kearns* 2001). 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; *Tönnies* 1935; *Wirth* 1938).

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).[6] 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 (see *Van Marissing* 2006):

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

attachment to the neighbourhood (place attachment) and social networks (contacts between neighbours).

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 being linked to problems in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, where socially disorganised communities with few economic and social resources concentrate.

Defining place attachment and neighbourhood contacts

Although place attachment has "not yet reached the stage of a coherent body of research"[7] (*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 toward 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 having a positive impact on the neighbourhood – characterising stable, familiar and safe communities.

However, *Hidalgo & Hernández* (2001) emphasise that the neighbourhood level is not mandatory 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 entirely put into question, though compared with other spatial ranges attachment to

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[7] 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.

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. Facing the problems particularly of distressed urban neighbourhoods it became thus commonly accepted that attachment to the place in these areas has gradually declined during the last years (*Brodsky et al* 1999).

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).[8] Large housing estates in this regard are frequently considered lacking neighbourhood contacts and social networks. Anonymity and an increasing tendency to 'retreat into privacy' are arguments that constantly recur within the general lamentation about the collapse of communication in these areas.

However, communities which are lacking 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, is rather even one of the preconditions of urban life in general and not inevitably related to social isolation or 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).

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 the mainstrem society (*Granovetter* 1973). Strong social ties can induce people to socialise in a sub-cultural context which is characterised by a tensed relationship with the rest of society (*Wilson* 1987). Accordingly, *Friedrichs* and *Blasius* (2003) suggested a negative impact of

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

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.

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 grew 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 likeliness 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 relation 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 hosuing 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 oriented towards the entire city and usually make only 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 the higher residents are educated (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 impacts of individual characteristics on the two dimensions of social cohesion.

Individual characteristics	**Social networks dimension**	**Place attachment dimension**
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	↑ Time = ↑ social networks in the neighbourhood	↑ Time = ↑ attachment

Table 1: Expected relationships between individual characteristics and social cohesion (cf. *Dekker & Bolt* 2005, p. 2450)

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 the western parts of 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 appears as a result of former policies of occupation much more diverse. Even if social change will lead to other developments in the future,[9] the Eastern European residents of these estates have usually made a positive choice for their neighbourhood while in Western Europe these estates often enough 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.

[9] Examples in Eastern Germany provide evidence about a distinctive willingness of residents in large housing estates to a tenancy changeover when attractive living space in neighbouring rural areas is developed. Large housing estates in East-Germany nowadays usually suffer from an increasing residential turnover and high vacancy rates (see *German national report*, chapter 2.3.1).

Connecting social cohesion and fear of crime

Crime and fear of crime 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 relation between local crime rates and residents' attitudinal responses to crime. Classical disorganisation theory has already emphasised on 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, increasing fear of crime 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. Fear of crime, 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 out 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 outmigration 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 appears 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 fear of crime 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 fear of crime can be linked to the sense of attachment and community that exists in a neighbourhood. In agreement with the aforementioned factors influencing social cohesion at the neighbourhood level we can model the relation between social cohesion, victimisation and fear as follows (*Figure 1*):

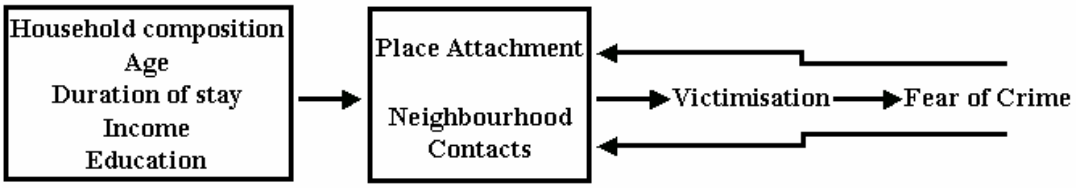

Figure 1: Model of the interrelation between dimensions of social cohesion, victimisation and fear at the neighbourhood level

Influenced by both individual and household characteristics, and fear of crime the two dimensions of social cohesion are a fragile property of every urban neighbourhood. In the following section we will try to find out whether this model of process holds true or not.

Results

The data analyzed in this chapter were collected as part of the extensive survey conducted within the scope of the *Crime Prevention Carousel*. Comprising resident surveys in four different states originally, the return rate of the survey which was executed in Bristol Hartcliffe was too little to draw statistically valid conclusions. The following presentation is therefore based only on survey data obtained from the research areas in Berlin Gropiusstadt and Marzahn North (Germany), Budapest Békásmegyer (Hungary) and Krakow Pradnik Czerwony (Poland). Detailed information regarding the mode of data collection in each country and the particular samples can be found in the national reports.

According to the afore discussed considerations compiled from the literature we started from the following expectations:

1. low levels of social cohesion in the Western European research areas due to their problematic socio-economic residents structure,
2. 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,
3. strong impacts of individual characteristics on the levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contacts,
4. clear effects of levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contacts on the victimisation rates in the respective research areas,

5. extensive neighbourhood contacts and feelings of place attachment associated with lower levels of fear of crime – vice versa,
6. positive changes with respect to all of the aforementioned assumptions during the last five years due to several measures taken to improve social cohesion in the research areas meanwhile.

Operationalisation

The present study examines two dimensions of social cohesion at the neighbourhood level. For both place attachment and neighbourhood contacts several variables were used to compute relevant index variables. The index "place attachment" consists of questions regarding divers aspects of the environment (pleasantness, safety, quietness, attractiveness, cleanliness) as well as the desire to move. The answer possibilities to each of these questions were graded from "I fully disagree" up to "I fully agree" (4-tier scale).

The admissibility of this procedure was tested subsequently by a confirmatory factor analysis. It showed firstly high correlations among the variables put forward into the model and secondly that only one factor was extracted.

Nonetheless we have to bear in mind that due to the nature of an index some information gets lost. In this case it becomes a problem especially regarding the variable "living area is safe" whose significance might become levelled by the other variables in the index.

		living area is pleasant	living area is safe	living area is calm	living area is attractive	living area is clean	wish to leave
Research Area	Gropiusstadt	2,62	2,98	2,67	2,48	2,99	2,44
	Marzahn Nord	2,24	2,58	2,47	2,09	2,61	2,74
	Pradnik Czerwony	1,80	2,18	2,10	1,97	1,95	1,94
	Békásmegyer	2,01	2,18	2,07	2,41	2,79	2,48

Table 2: Scoring of the index variables in the research areas (mean)

Looking at the scoring of the research areas we find big differences. Thereby, the most pleasant living area is Pradnik Czerwony, on the other end we find the Gropiusstadt in Berlin which scores rather negative. This picture repeated with respect for most of the other variables, Pradnik Czerwony performs best, Gropiusstadt worst. Especially in terms of safety and cleanliness Gropiusstadt scores exceptionally bad.

The second dimension of social cohesion "neighbourhood contacts" has been computed in a similar way like "place attachment" before. First, an index was build out of the following variables:

- Not any contact to neighbours

- Passing acquaintance with neighbours
- On friendly terms with neighbours
- In difficult situations I can rely on neighbours
- I would consider participating in activities with neighbours to make the district more pleasant

In this case the respondents only had the possibility to agree or disagree to the statements (yes/no). In the next step, an index was computed only with those cases where the respondents had rated at least three out of the five statements.

		Place Attachment	Neighborhood Contacts
Research Area	Gropiusstadt	2,70	,49
	Marzahn Nord	2,46	,48
	Pradnik Czerwony	1,99	,54
	Békásmegyer	2,33	,50

Table 3: Results of the indices „Place attachment“ and „neighbourhood contacts“ in the research areas

As already described before Pradnik Czerwony scores best concerning place attachment followed by Békásmegyer and Marzahn Nord and the Gropiusstadt is ranked last. Pradnik Czerwony also performs best in its level of neighbourhood contacts. But there are no big differences towards the other three research areas studied.

The index “fear of crime” is computed out of the variables added up to the block on retrospective evaluation (“Time Journey”) in the questionnaire. Thus, a sort of a time analysis should be possible. However, due to variations regarding the questionnaire and data selection in the different countries, a comparison between all of the four surveys is only possible for the current situation.

Adapting the question most widely used by researchers in the field of criminology (so called ‘standard item’) to the characteristics of the house and neighbourhood level, the following variables were utilised to create the index “fear of crime”:

- How safe do you feel when you are alone at home during the day?
- How safe do you feel when you are alone at home at night?
- How safe do you feel when you are alone in the corridors and communal spaces of your apartment block during the day?
- How safe do you feel when you are alone in the corridors and communal spaces of your apartment block at night?
- How safe do you feel when you are alone in your local street during the day?
- How safe do you feel when you are alone in your

local street at night?
- How safe do you feel when you are using local public transport during the day?
- How safe do you feel when you are using local public transport at night?

The respondents had the following possibilities to answer: very safe, rather safe, rather unsafe or very unsafe. The mean of the index "fear of crime" for each of the research areas is shown in the table below (*Table 4*).

		Fear of Crime - today
Research Area	Gropiusstadt	2,31
	Marzahn Nord	2,01
	Pradnik Czerwony	1,67
	Békásmegyer	1,66

Table 4: Fear of crime in the research areas (mean)

Values between 1 and 4 are possible, with lower numbers indicating a lower level of fear of crime. Comparing the four neighbourhoods we find significant differences between the two German research areas and the ones in Hungary and Poland. While the level in the latter is rather low, it is significantly higher ($p < 0.001$) in both German research areas.

Summarising the results of the aforementioned analysis, the large housing estates in the former Eastern bloc are regarded much better by their residents with respect to fear of crime than the two German research areas in Berlin. Even the Eastern Berlin housing estate Marzahn Nord shows high levels of subjective feelings of insecurity. The results are mirrored by low levels of place attachment and marginal neighbourhood contacts in Marzahn Nord and the Gropiusstadt and contrasting findings in Budapest and Krakow.

The Impact of individual characteristics on place attachment and neighbourhood contacts

According to the literature we assume a strong effect of individual characteristics, such as age, duration of stay, education and income, on the levels of place attachment and community contacts within the examined areas.

As far as the aspect of age is concerned, the composition differs largely with respect to the specific research areas (*Table 5*). Whereas the respondents in the Gropiusstadt are rather old, the respondents who are living in Marzahn Nord and Pradnik Czerwony are quite young. Although this closely matches the overall demo-

graphic profile of the neighbourhoods from which the samples were drawn, it has a strong bias on the impact of age on social cohesion in the areas.

		Research Area				
		Gropiusstadt	Marzahn Nord	Pradnik Czerwony	Békásmegyer	Average
		%	%	%	%	%
Age	18-25yr	3,4	12,8	12,9	9,0	9,4
	26-35yr	9,1	14,2	13,7	26,8	18,3
	36-45yr	16,7	20,4	9,5	12,9	14,3
	46-55yr	15,6	27,5	24,8	16,2	19,9
	56-65yr	26,2	14,4	23,8	21,0	21,4
	>65yr	29,0	10,8	15,3	14,1	16,7
	Gesamt	100	100	100	100	100

Table 5: Composition of age in the research areas (in %)

The table below shows the level of place attachment assigned to different age groups in the relevant research areas (*Table 6*). The row average shown in the bottom line is therefore identical with the results presented in *table 3*. What can be seen is that there is no consistent trend observable in any of the research areas. The level of place attachment does not differ significantly among the age groups.

		Place Attachment in Research Areas			
		Gropiusstadt	Marzahn Nord	Pradnik Czerwony	Békásmegyer
Age	18-25yr	2,78	2,62	1,89	2,19
	26-35yr	2,68	2,53	2,03	2,37
	36-45yr	2,70	2,45	2,08	2,39
	46-55yr	2,75	2,41	2,03	2,39
	56-65yr	2,68	2,43	1,91	2,33
	>65yr	2,69	2,32	2,00	2,22
	Average	2,70	2,46	1,99	2,33

Table 6: Impact of age on place attachment

Looking at the table below (*Table 7*), which presents the results of the effects of age on neighbourhood contacts we find an interesting outlier in Gropiusstadt. Here, among the young people, the neighbourhood contacts are exceptionally low, while in Pradnik Czerwony the level is almost equally high over all age groups. In Marzahn Nord and Békásmegyer we find an identical pattern with moderate differences between the young and elderly residents.

		Neighborhood Contacts in Research Areas			
		Gropiusstadt	Marzahn Nord	Pradnik Czerwony	Békásmegyer
Age	18-25yr	,30	,44	,55	,46
	26-35yr	,43	,45	,51	,48
	36-45yr	,47	,46	,54	,50
	46-55yr	,52	,53	,52	,52
	56-65yr	,50	,50	,55	,53
	>65yr	,51	,51	,55	,50
	Average	,49	,48	,54	,50

Table 7: Impact of age on neighbourhood contacts

Since age is usually associated with the duration of stay in a particular neighbourhood it is not particularly amazing that the occupancy structure varies largely between the research areas. An aggravating factor is the different age of the relevant research areas. While for instance the sites of complex house building in Marzahn emerged during the 1970s and 80s, the Gropiusstadt was erected much earlier. Measures aimed at restructuring the physical environment as well as high levels of tenancy turnover in Marzahn Nord doubtlessly influenced the length of residence in the neighbourhood. *Table 8* points out the different compositions of occupancy with regard to the various neighbourhoods.

		Research Area			
		Gropiusstadt	Marzahn Nord	Pradnik Czerwony	Békásmegyer
		Count	Count	Count	Count
Occupancy	5-10yr	127	150	71	133
	11-20yr	87	262	70	183
	21-30yr	97	60	270	472
	>30yr	185	5	14	9

Table 8: Composition of occupancy in the research areas (absolute figures)

Table 8 shows the differences in occupancy between the research areas. An outlier is constituted by the high number of citizens in Gropiusstadt living there for more than 30 years. On the other hand, Marzahn Nord is a very young district which was completed only in the late 1980s. Therefore it is not surprising that only few respondents live there for more than 20 years. For Pradnik Czerwony and Békásmegyer the category with the highest number of respondents (21-30 years) reflects the construction date of the districts and suggests a deep relatedness of residents to the neighbourhood.

However, analysing the impact of the length of residence on the level of place attachment we could not find an observable pattern indicating an influence (*Table 9*). Although the occupancy structure speaks for itself the interviewed residents do not show an above-average attachment to their place.

		Research Area - Place Attachment			
		Gropiusstadt	Marzahn Nord	Pradnik Czerwony	Békásmegyer
Occupancy	5-10yr	2,63	2,46	1,99	2,32
	11-20yr	2,62	2,44	2,11	2,38
	21-30yr	2,73	2,49	1,96	2,35
	>30yr	2,74	2,67	1,99	1,75

Table 9: Impact of duration of stay on place attachment (mean)

The same holds true for analysing the effects of the duration of stay on the characteristics of neighbourhood contacts. Although it is usually assumed in the literature that a longer length of residence advances the extent of social networks in the neighbourhood we could not find a systematic impact of the occupancy structure on neighbourhood contacts (*Table 10*). Neither in the Eastern European research areas nor in the Berlin case studies a consistent trend towards more contacts as a result of a longer occupancy is identifiable.

		Research Area - Neighborhood Contacts			
		Gropiusstadt	Marzahn Nord	Pradnik Czerwony	Békásmegyer
Occupancy	5-10yr	,48	,48	,52	,52
	11-20yr	,51	,50	,51	,49
	21-30yr	,48	,47	,54	,52
	>30yr	,51	.	,54	,47

Table 10: Impact of duration of stay on neighbourhood contacts (mean)

Due to different educational systems in the respective countries examinated in the present research levels of education differ in such a manner that the obtained data is not comparable in this respect. Thus, in order to exemplify the impact of education on place attachment and neighbourhoud contacts the following analysis only introduces data from the two German surveys (*Table 11*). The same holds true for data regarding income. The earning capacities between Eastern and Western European countries still differ such strongly that a serious comparison on the basis of the available survey data is not possible. The table therefore shows the results of the German data collection.

Correlations (Kendall's tau_b)

		Education	Household income	Place Attachment	Neighborhood Contacts
Education	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	,191**	-,099**	,009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,000	,000	,771
	N	969	839	948	689
Household income	Correlation Coefficient	,191**	1,000	-,005	,084**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	.	,853	,007
	N	839	861	842	610
Place Attachment	Correlation Coefficient	-,099**	-,005	1,000	-,092**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,853	.	,000
	N	948	842	2486	2191
Neighborhood Contacts	Correlation Coefficient	,009	,084**	-,092**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,771	,007	,000	.
	N	689	610	2191	2212

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

Table 11: Impact of education and income on social cohesion

First of all we notice a positive correlation between education and household income. However, between education and place attachment there is a negative correlation. Whereas we can say that the higher the education the higher the level of place attachment we can not find any effects of education on the extent of neighbourhood contacts in the Berlin research areas.

By way of contrast, the opposite picture is found for household income. Here we have no effect on the place attachment but a positive effect on the neighbourhood contacts. The more money a household has on it's deposal the more intense are its relations to the neighbours.

The impact of social cohesion on fear of crime

We assumed a strong correlation between the characteristics of social cohesion in the case study areas and the respective levels of fear of crime. Higher levels of neighbourhood contacts and place attachment may lead to more public social control which in turn should lower the level of fear of crime.

Correlations

		Neighborhood Contacts	Place Attachment
Fear of Crime - today	Pearson Correlation	-,078	,461
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000
	N	2133	2414

Table 12: Relationship between fear and both dimensions of social cohesion

We find highly significant correlations for both comparisons (*Table 12*). Nevertheless the impact of place attachment is higher on the level of fear of crime than the one of neighbourhood contacts. The lower the place attachment towards the living area the higher the level of fear of crime; or vice versa: the more I am scared to become victimised the less I like living in the area (which results in lower levels of place attachment). On the other hand we only find a weak connection between the intensity of neighbourhood contacts and the level of fear of crime.

Victimisation in the Research Areas

Due to different foci in each country's questionnaire, a cross-country analysis of the victimisation of citizens could only be done for Poland and Germany.

area*$victim Crosstabulation

			Victimisation[a]			
			in the neighbourhood	in another district	out of town	Total
Research Area	Gropiusstadt	Count	900	95	11	361
		% within $victim	42,8%	34,4%	42,3%	
	Marzahn Nord	Count	735	93	12	333
		% within $victim	35,0%	33,7%	46,2%	
	Pradnik Czerwony	Count	468	88	3	282
		% within $victim	22,3%	31,9%	11,5%	
Total		Count	2103	276	26	976

Percentages and totals are based on respondents.

a. Group

Table 13: Victimisation in the respective research areas

Poland and Germany together make up for 1521 respondents in the dataset. 976 of them made valid statements concerning victimisation during the last five years.

The overall results can be found in *table 13*. In each of the research areas about 500 respondents were interviewed which makes it much easier to compare the different districts.

Correlations

		Place Attachment	Neighborhood Contacts
Frequency of victimisation	Pearson Correlation	,200	-,001
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,972
	N	2486	2212

Table 14: Correlation of frequency of victimisations with social cohesion

In the next step we analysed if there is a relationship between how often one has been victimised and the place attachment respectively the neighbourhood contacts this person has. Therefore we counted the victimisations in the neighbourhood and correlated the new variable with our indices for place attachment and neighbourhood contacts.

Table 14 shows the results of this analysis. As can be seen there is a significant correlation between frequency of victimisation and place attachment. The more victimisations have occurred in a neighbourhood, the less place attachment is present. Concerning neighbourhood contacts we could not find any correlation.

Two notes of caution are in order in generalising from the result presented here. First, different modes of data collection (cf. national reports) may have had an effect on the findings. Second, an surplus of elderly respondents was found in the one of the German surveys. Previous research consistently indicates that the impact of perceived crime rates on fear of crime more strongly affects elderly people.

Nevertheless, when looking at the literature we find several of the discussed assumptions disproved in our research study. Neither the length of residence nor the age have an significant impact on the two dimensions of social cohesion we examined in the present research. Advanced Education leads to higher levels of attachment indeed, but has not effect on the extent of neighbourhood contacts. Affluent people in the neighbourhood reveal a broader network of social contacts in relevant areas. However, the level of place attachment is not significantly affected by the amount of income.

As discussed above we find particularly diverse levels of social cohesion in the research areas. Eastern European large housing estates display higher levels of place attachment and neighbourhood contacts than the respective areas in Berlin. The same holds true for the topic of fear of crime. Whereas the German estates (the Gropiusstadt in particular) are characterised by high levels of feelings of subjective insecurity, the case study areas in the East show significantly less fear of crime. As assumed earlier, the level of fear of crime specifically influences the neighbourhood contacts and attachment to the neighbourhood. Regarding victimisation we can find a strong negative impact of happened offences on the place attachment. However, a higher mistrust towards the neighbours, expressed by less contacts, could not be verified.

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Levels of victimisation in the four CPC countries

Tünde Barabás & Szandra Windt[10]

Historical background

The role of victims[11] is receiving an increasingly great emphasis in international documents and consequently in the national systems of administration of justice[12]. This is, on the one hand, 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 had to face: the earlier trends – that focused solely on the offenders while dealing with the causes of crime and while searching for solutions – did not bring the desired result. The number of crimes, and within them, the number of crimes committed by recidivists has not decreased. Furthermore, the practical realisation of certain theories have led to serious conflicts, for example, in the administration of punishments[13].

While offenders are „at hand" in each survey, it is not true for real and potential victims. They are often not known to the law enforcement authorities, and in some cases the public also doesn't know of them either[14]. Consequently, researches specialising on victimisation, its different forms, and the possible ways to prevent it, came to the foreground.[15]

As a result of this surveys, we know that crime could be reduced not only by "changing offenders", but also by preparing potential victims to apply appropriate ways of defence. For this reason we need more information not only about those,

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10 We would like to thank to Ms Adrienn Orbán for her help.

11 According to our research victims are natural persons, who were directly attached by a criminal act

12 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.

13 Thus, for example, as the result of the ideology of treatment, prison rebellions broke out in the prisons crowded with prisoners convicted for uncertain terms in the USA in the 1950s.

14 This deficiency was gaining in importance as the science focusing on the prevention of crimes first if all, rather than on the punishment of the offenders

15 Irk, F.: Introduction. In: Victims and opinions, F. Irk (ed.), Budapest, 2004., pp. 7-27.

who have been indicated as victims in the legal procedure, but also about those who are endangered, however not known by the authorities.[16]

By our survey we try to gain a deeper insight into the real situation of crimes and victimisation. In this chapter we will summarise the official and empirical data of our research. Furthermore, we intend to give an account about 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).

The research on victimology in the Carousel project

Methodology

Our research have provided an excellent possibility to map the different victimological situation in the four countries[17]. For this aim we used different methodologies. As a first step we collected the official victimological data from the participants' countries.[18] Based on this data we 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 areas. In the last stage we sent a short questionnaire to the participants in order to gain more information about the different instruments of the victim support systems (both at state and civil level); the nationwide regulations of it and the available victim surveys in their countries. We do hope that this chapter can give a more detailed picture about the current trends of victimisation in the crime prevention carousel territories, and therefore can contribute to define effective measures to be taken in the field ofsituational crime prevention.

Official data analysing

The four participants reported about highly different crime trends in their countries. Consequently, the rate of victims also shows a diverse picture. As chart 1. indicates, it is the UK that has the highest crime rates with 18 500 crimes per 100

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16 This process would be stronger as the UN indicated in the Vienna Declaration: Vienna Declaration on Crime and Justice: meeting the challenges of the twenty-first century. A/CONF.187/4/Rev. 3. April 2000. According to this in order to form authentic crime prevention concept it is not enough to rely on police data only but the actual number and the characteristic of the victims has to be known as well.

17 Unfortunately we could not take the Dutch data in our research because of the lack of the empirical survey in Amsterdam.

18 Except the Polish data, see footnote 7.

000 inhabitant. The positive pole is Poland with its 3617 crimes per 100 000 inhabitant. Germany and Hungary are in the middle range[19]

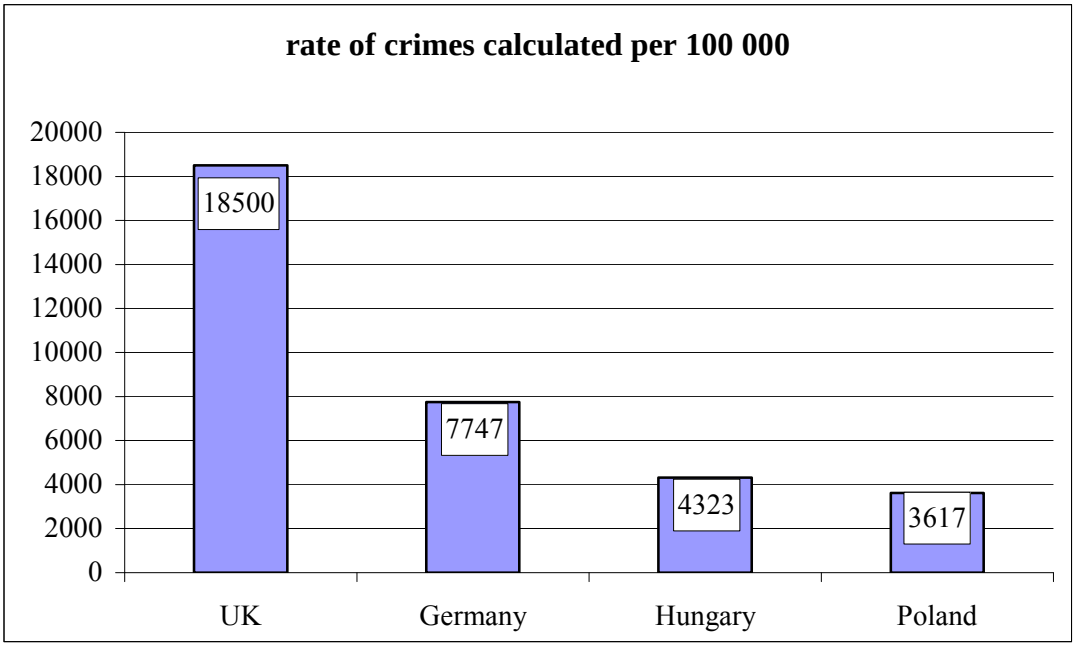

Chart 1: Crime rates calculated per 100 000 of the population

For a more in-depth analysis we tried to make four countries picture about the victimisation. It was difficult to make a complete international comparison due to the diversity of the available data from the countries involved as well as to the different ways of data collection. In case of Germany and Hungary the official statistical data was used; concerning the UK, the victim survey's data was used[20];and the official crime data was used in the case of Poland, since this country does not have any data on victimisation.[21]

Data on victims show quite similar tendencies like data on crimes. If we research some from our aspect important victims data, we find also the same issues. Concerning the total number of crime victims, UK has the highest number of victims, followed by Germany and Hungary (see *Chart 2*).

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[19] These data are from the participants according to their official data.

[20] http://www.victimsupport.org.uk

[21] According to the Polish participant: "Polish police statistics do not contain any data on victims. It is possible that some data on victims are collected, but certainly they are not published. Because of this there is no way for us to fill your victimization matrix. In Poland there is no data on the number of victims, not to mention such things as victims gender, age, or number of victims of particular offences."

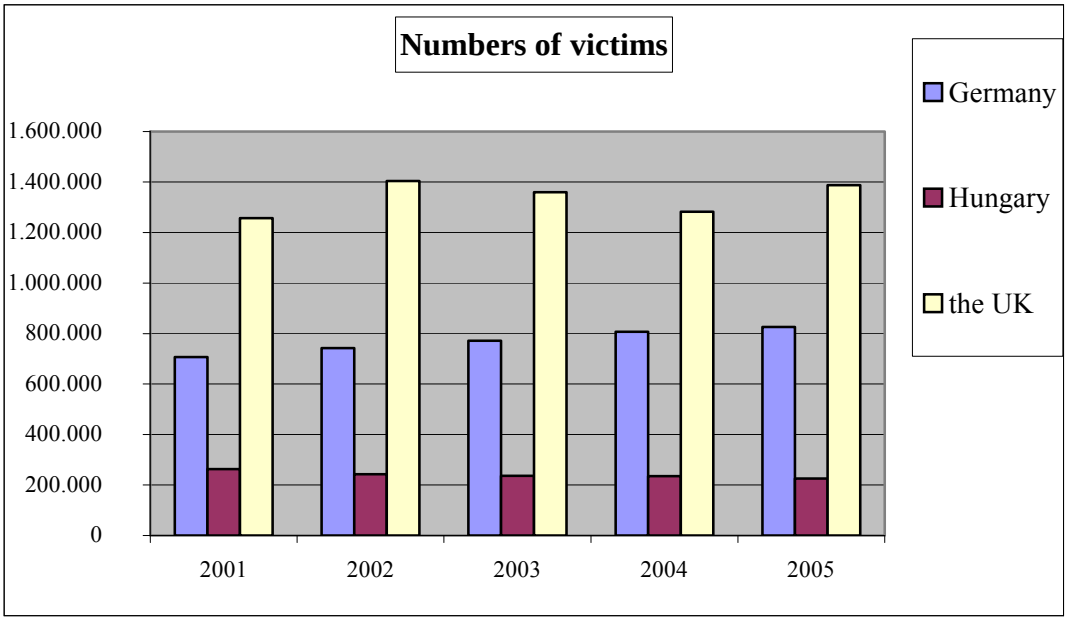

Chart 2: Total number of victims of crime in the three respective countries

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

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

We can say that in the three researched countries (UK, Germany and Hungary) the victims were more men than women (60/40 percent for males, but this proportion moves to females in case of sexual assault), and there are above 18 years. For more comparative details see Attachment 1. The number of the Polish victims is presumably the lowest according to the Polish crime rates (see chapter 1 above). This issue is supported by an earlier research of UNICRI organised in 2002.[22] According to this study the rank of some European countries on the list of victimisation is the following[23]:

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22 UNICRI 2002. Correspondence on data on crime victims. March. Turin. In: http://www.nationmaster.com/index.php

23 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.

1	**United Kingdom**: 26.4%	**8**	**Belgium**: 21.4%
2	**Netherlands**: 25.2%	**9**	**France**: 21.4%
3	**Sweden**: 24.7%	**10**	**Slovenia**: 21.2%
4	**Italy**: 24.6%	**11**	**Finland**: 19.1%
5	**Malta**: 23.1%	**12**	**Austria**: 18.8%
6	**Denmark**: 23%	**13**	**Switzerland**: 18.2%
7	**Poland**: 22.7%	**14**	Portugal: 15.5%

The total number of crime victims in 2002 stayed 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 gets the primary position in the robbery and bribery victim's rank. However, in this 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, similarly like in the crime rate data.

The empirical surveys' data

In the Hungarian quantitative empirical research 500-500 *residents* were asked *in the two districts' parts* of Budapest (in the 3rd district) whether they had been victimised, and if yes, how many times, over the previous three years prior to the interview. The Polish quantitative research – that adopted a similar method - was completed by using the method of personal interview with randomly selected inhabitants of one of Krakow's district, called Pradnik Czerwony. The German partner chose a quite 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 student 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 doing an international comparison.[24]

Victimisation level in the Polish research[25]

In Poland the survey started with the 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 be a small damage, it may have psychological consequences, since the victim might feel that he/she has been hurt for no reason and the harm that was made has not brought any 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 the surveyed reported that in the past 5 years they had been victims to small theft. 12.6% mentioned that they have become victims 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 result is provided by the Hungarian and German survey. 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 he/she was a victim of a road accident. 4% reported that somebody tried to take over their possessions with a use of force.

The most frequently mentioned offence, that is the purposeful damage to a car, equally affects 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 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 being a victim to small theft and age. *We have observed that there are more victims of small thefts in the oldest age group (24.8%)* as opposed to the youngest age group (14.4%). One can then conclude *that the eldest*

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[24] It is very hard to compare the data from the researches because we did not use the same methodology: In Berlin and Bristol there were self-completion questionnaires, but in Krakow and Budapest the questionnaires were conducted by face to face.

[25] Janina Czapska, Krzysztof Krajewski, Maciej Motak, Polish National Report, Crime-Prevention Carousel, 2006. (Manuscript) pp. 25-26.

respondents, those 60 years old or more, 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 have taken place within the neighbourhood (90% of the cases) – like in Berlin and Budapest. When it comes to other types of crime, the situation was slightly different.

Apart from petty theft, only road accidents would happen more often in other parts of Krakow than in the neighbourhood. In other words, the majority of victimisation that were reported by respondents and that took place within the last five years actually took place in their most 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 gender or age of victims.

Victimisation in the Hungarian research[26]

The Hungarian empirical research was taken place in the third district of Budapest: the *Békásmegyer housing estate*, and the *Római (Pók utca*) housing estate were selected to be 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 „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 higher in the Római (Pók utca) housing estate, where properties are more expensive, and 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 bicycles and*

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[26] Barabás, Tünde – Irk, Ferenc – Kovács, Róbert – Windt, Szandra: Hungarian National report, Crime Prevention Carousel, 2006. (Manuscript)

cars, as well as stealing from and damaging cars.[27] As mentioned above, this was very similar in Krakow and in the two parts of Berlin.

89 % of the offended parties declared to have 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 %.[28]

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, burglary, while men mentioned, for example, bicycle theft and car burglary. Only about 50 percent 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 to have suffered more serious damage that can eventually be compensated by the insurance company. The answers also indicate that the sense of security is much worse among women after suffering the crime: accordingly, more than 50 % of women felt to be in danger after the crime took place, contrary to men who felt it in only in 30 %

The trend in age and gender among the injured parties verified what was experienced earlier. *It turned out that men became victimised most often at the age between 26 and 35*. The reason is probably that this is the most active period in men's life; therefore, they are very mobile, and they frequently get in touch with other people, which then may also lead to injuries. *Compared to this, women mainly become victimised at the age between 46 and 55.* (It is similar like the results in the two parts of Berlin.) This may be related to the experience that by the second part

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27 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 claimed the most frequently that „they did not believe that the offender would be caught" (more than half of the answers). In addition to this, several respondents mentioned that they themselves or their family members had gathered bad experience in the course of the procedure, furthermore that they had no time to deal with the matter, as well as that there was no damage, or the damage was little. 4 % of those who did not report the crime to the police mentioned that the case had been settled between them (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 to be 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.

28 This can underline the above-mentioned statement that the injured parties mainly decided not to make a report to the police when they suffered relatively little damage, whereby they partly presumed that the official procedure would remain without any success.

of their forties women are no longer attached to their home activities as their children have already grown up. As a consequence, they have the opportunity to be more active socially and their more intensive activities may also increase the chance of being victimised.

Victimisation level in the German research[29]

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.* In this two districts of Berlin (Gropiusstadt and Marzahn Nord), according to the research, victims were more women than men, and they were between 36 and 45 years. Comparing the two parts of Berlin, the mentioned crimes were not the same. Mostly respondents reported about the damage or destruction of motor vehicles.

In 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 Gropiusstadt more male mentioned that they were victims of *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. 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 (*Table 1*).

[29] Tim Lukas, Mark Enters: Final National Report, Germany, Crime Prevention Carousel, 2006. (Manuscript)

		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

Table 15: Victimisation in the German research areas

In Marzahn Nord the mentioned crimes were less than in 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)*. Those respondents, who mentioned that their motor vehicle were intentionally damaged or destroyed, were both male and female. We can not distinguish between the two gender, but it is interesting to see the age of the victims. Victims were mostly between 36 and 55 years, but there were victims among younger women than men (from whom there were more victims above 56 years). Those respondents whose bicycle was stolen were rather women than men, between 36 and 45 years, but the men were younger, as they were between 18 and 25 years.

In Marzahn Nord those respondents whose properties were damaged or destroyed were about two times more female than male, and they were younger than in the case of the other crimes. These victims were between 26 and 35 years.

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

Victimisation in Bristol- according to the research[30]

As we have written above, 497 self-completion questionnaires were distributed to all households in the eight Hartcliffe blocks, with assisted call-back 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. 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 the willingness to engage in processes that could lead to change, and potentially to improvements within the community may be low.

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

30 Henry Shaftoe: National report

Response	No	Yes in Hartcliffe	Yes in another area of Bristol	Yes in another county	Not applicable / did not answer
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%)

Table 16: Levels of self-reported crime in Bristol Hartcliffe

Table 2 reveals that when respondents indicate that they have been 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.[31]

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 had property damaged,

31 Hartcliffe, Bristol, UK, pp. 7-8.

- 15% had been burgled, and
- 13% reported being affected by anti-social/nuisance behaviour.[32]

Small puzzle about the victim protection in the four countries

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

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 an old tradition in this field. The first law on victim protection was legislated in 1986. A compensation act was realised already in 1976. The victim-offender-mediation became regulated in 1999. Therefore, the German state anchored the victim support in his law system now. The basis of the victim support has to be dealt by the state; it 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). By this law state compensation for crime victims is provided. The nation-wide victim support service is provided by the Office of Justice that is a central body 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.[33] Mediation is currently provided by specially trained probation officers.

In Poland there is no any legislation or special regulation for victim protection. 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 indication to the sources of these rights. Code of criminal procedure of 1997 contains numerous provisions regulating guarantees of the rights of victims, like par-

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[32] Hartcliffe, Bristol, UK P. 36.

[33] Council of the European Union (2001/220/JHA)

ticipation 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 "The Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Bill" was introduced in Parliament in December 2003. Victim Support responded with a briefing in advance of the Grand Committee debate in the House of Lords.

The victim surveys

The other main finding of our research, is the big lack of *the regular victim survey* at the CPC participants (see the regulation in this question of the EU). The only country regularly (annually) taking part in victim surveys is the *United Kingdom*. However, it does not exist in the three other countries. The fulfil this task even if only partially. All countries take part in the international crime victim survey (ICVS). If there are no any national surveys this is the only resource for data in victimisation. In Germany the last surveys on the national level were conducted in 1997 on behalf of the Ministry of Justice. *Germany* participated in the first *International Crime Victim Survey* (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 ICVS is the only source for data in victimisation for the entire country. However, Poland participated in all ICVS sweeps since 1991 (Warsaw already in 1989). Apart from this there are some local surveys and data, but these are highly fragmented. Hungary does not have any regular surveys, but there organised also partially research in ICVS too. A complex survey with 10.000 respondents was completed in the year 2003-2004, which includes the victim statistics of the years 2000 till 2004.[34]

Victim support

Victim support services are provided by local authorities, NGOs and associations in the countries. *In Germany* every *Landespolizei* (police in the German federal states) provides special advisory services engaged in victims' aid and help (in Berlin: victim protection representatives on a local level at every police directorate and at the State Office of Criminal Investigation). Additional advice on the Crime Vic-

[34] Victims and opinions, I-II. Ed by F. Irk, Budapest, 2004.

tims Compensation Act can be gathered at the maintenance councils (*Versorgungsämter*) in every larger town. Usually victims can get information at the police offices, 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 we can find the associations of White Ring, which was founded in Western-Europe in the seventies. *In Germany* this is the main national aid organisation for victims and their family members[35]. Founded in 1976, *Weisser Ring* is a non-party, independent and private citizens' initiative, which is financed exclusively by donations, heritages, foundations and the contributions of around 60.000 members.

In Hungary there is a special governmental victim support service that has the task to find the victims. The main national aid 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, financed exclusively by donations, heritages, foundations and contributions. Usually they have telephone info- or hot-lines and 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 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 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 these are NGOs that protect crime victims, since there is no general and specialised victim protection service. The Police are also obliged to inform victims about their rights. For that purpose police are handing out special printed

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

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 form of hotlines like e.g. "Blue line". It 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. Otherwise there are several NGOs involved in providing services for victims of crime etc.

The types of support

People who were offended by crime *need more than financial help* only. Professional psychological and legal help is also as important. Victim support organisations help in solving this question . Victim services usually have the same general tasks: personal support after the criminal offence; advice in interacting with the public authorities; giving references about the rights and engagements of the victim; primary consultancy of a lawyer of choice; primary medical and psychological consultancy; recreation programmes; placement of support of other institutions and associations; attendance during the court hearing and financial help. There are different types of victim protection service in the four countries (e.g. legal aid, compensation).

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

Duties and responsibilities of *Weisser Ring*:

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

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

In the UK as Victim Support has grown, it has been pioneers in setting standards for the treatment of victims and witnesses and have campaigned for the implementation of those standards.

They work closely with professionals in the criminal justice system and beyond, and with a wide range of government departments, statutory and voluntary organisations. They use professional contacts to represent the interests of victims and witnesses and to influence national policy. Their tasks are the following:

- to play an active role in victim-related committees with government and other agencies
- to give evidence to official enquiries
- to respond to government and other organisations' consultation documents and draft legislation
- to commission and conduct research and write reports
- to organise and contribute to conferences and training programmes
- to work with the media.[36]

The trained volunteers of the Victim Support Scheme help[37]:

- by being someone whom the victim can talk to in confidence
- by providing information on police and court procedures
- by helping in dealing with other organisations
- by giving information about compensation and insurance
- by providing links to other sources of help.

Anyone affected by crime can contact them directly or by the mediation of the police. The services are free and available to everyone, whether or not the crime has been reported and regardless of when it happened. That is an independent organisation - not part of the police, courts or any other criminal justice agency.[38]

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[36] www.victimsupport.org.uk

[37] information on the National Victim Support Scheme: www.victimsupport.org.uk

[38] www.victimsupport.org.uk

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

- giving information and consultation for the victims
- giving references about the rights and engagements of the victim
- advice in interacting with the public authorities
- primary consultancy with a lawyer of choice (free of charge)
- providing financial help

Placement of support of other institutions and associations financial help. The Victims Support Act primarily regulates financial compensation for victims. The Service adjudges 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. It 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 necessity to engage in a civil lawsuit.

Instead of conclusion

Crimes involve not only concrete material and immaterial damage but also influences the life of the victim in the future. The victim surveys showed that thinking back to the act even after several years stirs up intensive emotions in them, such as fury, anger, nervousness, the feeling of vulnerability, unrest and helplessness.

In the project of Crime Prevention Carousel and also in this research, besides reinforcing the conclusions disclosed in the earlier research and in the similar international research, showed quite new results as well in the field of the 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 in the prevention of victimisation and in the treatment of victims. This is not the task of the police only, the representatives of the administration of justice; the courts and the prosecution offices have an equal responsibility. This should be followed in the future by regular research projects of this magnitude, which will make it possible to measure not only actual victimisation and citizens' sense of security but in the light of these the efficiency of the administration of the law in a more effective and humane way.

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The declaration of the basic principles of the administration of justice in connection with the victims of crimes and the misuse of power. UN accepted on 29 November 1985:

Recommendation of the Ministerial Committee of the Council of Europe for the member states on the simplification of criminal procedures. The No. R (87) 18.

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.

Appendix

Comparative Victimisation Matrix

	Germany[39]					*Hungary*[40]				
	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*
kid (<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 among 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*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Victims according to selected crimes										
theft, stolen						*187792*	*171407*	*152313*	*153462*	*149649*
property damage						*234429*	*212423*	*205206*	*196877*	*189629*
robbery[1]	*52 284*	*54 426*	*55 667*	*55 004*	*50 264*	*3 388*	*3 524*	*3 394*	*3 336*	*3224*
sexually molested, attack[2]	*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[3]	*925*	*955*	*859*	*868*	*869*	*407*	*360*	*382*	*361*	*314*

[1] 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

[2] including rape and sexual assault, other sexual assaults, sexual abuse of position of trust, sexual abuse of children

[3] including murder, homicide, homicide onto desire

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39 Source: Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik (PKS) 2001-2005, Bundesrepublik Deutschland is it the source for the Hungarain data as well?

40 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 unharmness, freedom, honour, sexual self-determination). As long as they are items 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.

Registered offences trends in the five cities participating in the CPC Research Project

Krzysztof Krajewski

The comparison of the available police statistical data regarding crime trends in the years 2000 – 2005 in five cities taking part in the Crime Prevention Carousel (Amsterdam, Berlin, Bristol, Budapest and Krakow), as well as in the research areas chosen in every city (Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam, Gropiusstadt and Marzahn in Berlin, Hartcliffe in Bristol, 3rd district in Budapest, and Prądnik Czerwony in Kraków) provides several interesting insights regarding the crime situation in those places.

The first issue constitutes the comparison of crime rates between the five cities (*Figure 1*). A clear cut pattern can be established with respect to this problem, namely striking difference between two Central European cities, namely Budapest and Krakow, and the three remaining, i.e. Amsterdam, Bristol, and Berlin.

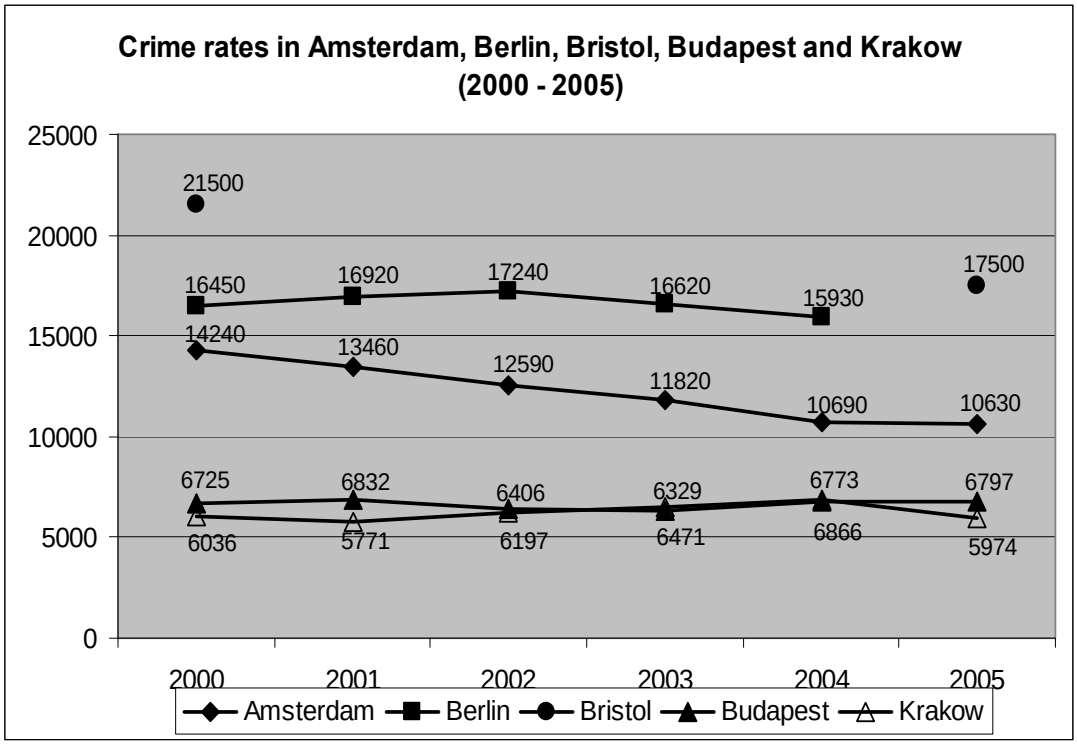

Figure 2: Crime rates in the respective cities (2000-2005)

It is worth noting that on average crime rates during the years 2000 – 2005 in Budapest and Krakow amounted to about $^1/_3$ of the rate in Bristol, which constituted the "worst" city, i.e. having the highest crime rate. This confirms the well known pattern, that countries and cities of Eastern Europe have still much lower official crime rates than their western counterparts, and this despite the fact that

most of Eastern Europe underwent during the 1990s a very rapid process of crime growth. It seems that this growth, sometimes having all features of a real crime explosion, was not enough to "catch up" with the Western part of the continent. This situation results from two possible factors. First crime rates in Central and Eastern Europe before the year 1990 were very low, what means that these countries at the beginning of the transformation process were in a very advantageous position as compared with the west. Second, it is prevailing view in the literature that both reporting and registering patterns in Eastern Europe are quite different than in the west. Police are still reluctant to register certain types of offences (for variety of reasons), and readiness of victims to report offences to the police is also under the European average.

Considering all this it is interesting to note, that Berlin, which constitutes a unique example of the city where West and East were united has quite high crime rates, higher than Amsterdam, and not that much lower than Bristol. Considering the fact that the city consists of the areas belonging earlier to 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 had a rather different character than in Central and Eastern European countries. It is difficult to judge now what were the reasons for this difference. It may be the fact that due to particular features of the German transformation, a 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 (what confirm some results of the victimisation surveys), what means also substantially lower dark figure of crime. In countries like Hungary or Poland this dark figure is notoriously high.

The second issue regards crime trends in the cities under consideration. Here also certain patterns observed in recent years in most European countries may be confirmed. In many Western countries namely since the 1990s substantial drops in the rates of registered offences can be observed. This is confirmed first of all by the trends in Amsterdam and Bristol, where during the entire five years period crime rates were falling. But also Berlin, at least to certain extent confirms this tendency, as since 2002 crime rates there started to fall as well. Different pattern may be observed in Budapest and Krakow. Here changes in crime rates were much less conspicuous, as they remained more or less stable with some tendency to fluctuate. For instance in Budapest there was originally some tendency for crime rate to fall slightly, but in 2004 and 2005 it has grown somehow again. The opposite trend occurred in Krakow. Original tendency for the crime rates to grow continued till 2004. In 2005 crime rate has fallen down substantially. But generally these changes were much less visible than in other cities, especially Amsterdam and Bristol.

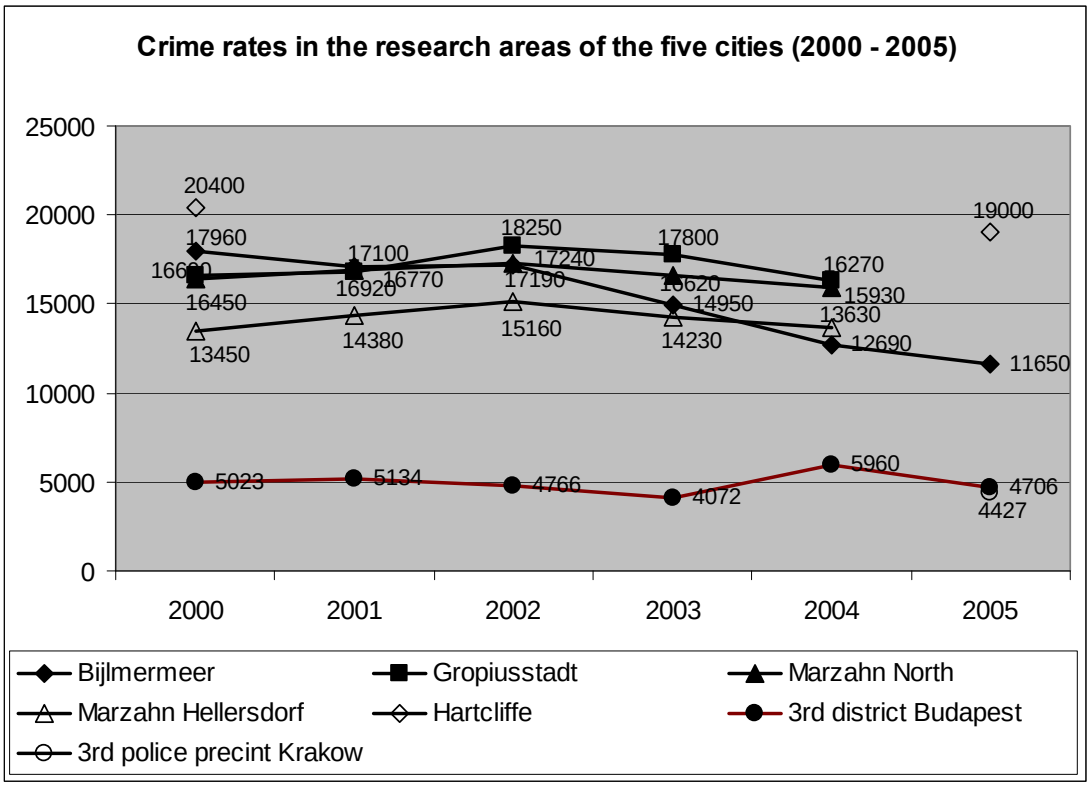

Figure 3: Crime rates in the research areas (2000-2005)

A slightly different picture regards the comparison of the research areas in the five cities (see *Figure 2*). Here, comparisons are also more complicated as not always necessary data are available. In Berlin for example police data are not available for the entire Marzahn district, and they are split in two, namely Marzahn North and Marzahn Hellersdorf. In Krakow, due to the particularities of the administrative system in the city, and the fact that administrative districts and police precints differ in their territorial shape from each other, as well as lack of the necessary data about population living within police precints, it was not possible to compute crime rate for the research area (with he exception of the year 2005; here crime rate for 3rd police precint, an area substantially larger than research area, is available). Because of this *Figure 2* presents crime trends in the research areas of Amsterdam, Berlin, Bristol and Budapest using crime rates calculated per 100.000 population, while *Figure 3* illustrates these trends for Krakow using absolute numbers. This makes possible rough comparison of crime trends in all research areas.

It seems that differences between them create the same pattern as it is the case with the cities. Hartcliffe in Bristol shows the highest crime rate, while the 3rd district of Budapest has the lowest one, constituting something between 1/3 and ¼ of the Bristol rate. Again, judging from the only one year for which rates for 3rd police precint in Krakow are available, the situation there remains quite similar to Budapest. More complicated is the comparison between Berlin and Amsterdam. Until 2002 crime rates in Bijlmermeer on the one side, and Gropiusstadt and Marzahn

North were quite similar, while in Marzahn Hellersdorf it was somehow lower. Nevertheless again differences between areas belonging to West and East Berlin were not substantial, and eastern areas seem to have catch up with western average, what was not he case in Budapest or Krakow. However, practically during the entire period of the years 2000 – 2005 Bijlmermeer underwent a process of crime drop which accelerated significantly starting with 2003. In consequence the crime rate there in 2003 was about 35% lower than in 2000. In Gropiusstadt and in Marzahn during the years 2000 – 2002 crime rates were still slightly going up. Starting with the year 2003 this trend reversed, but the following drop was much less visible than in Bijlmermeer. For example in 2004, the crime rate in Gropiusstadt was only 2% lower than in 2000 (but 11% lower than in 2002). Similar was the situation in both parts of the Marzahn district. In Marzahn Hellersdorf the crime rate in 2004 was about 1,5% higher than in 2000, but about 10% lower than in 2002, and in Marzahn North it was 3% lower than in 2000 and 7% lower than in 2002.

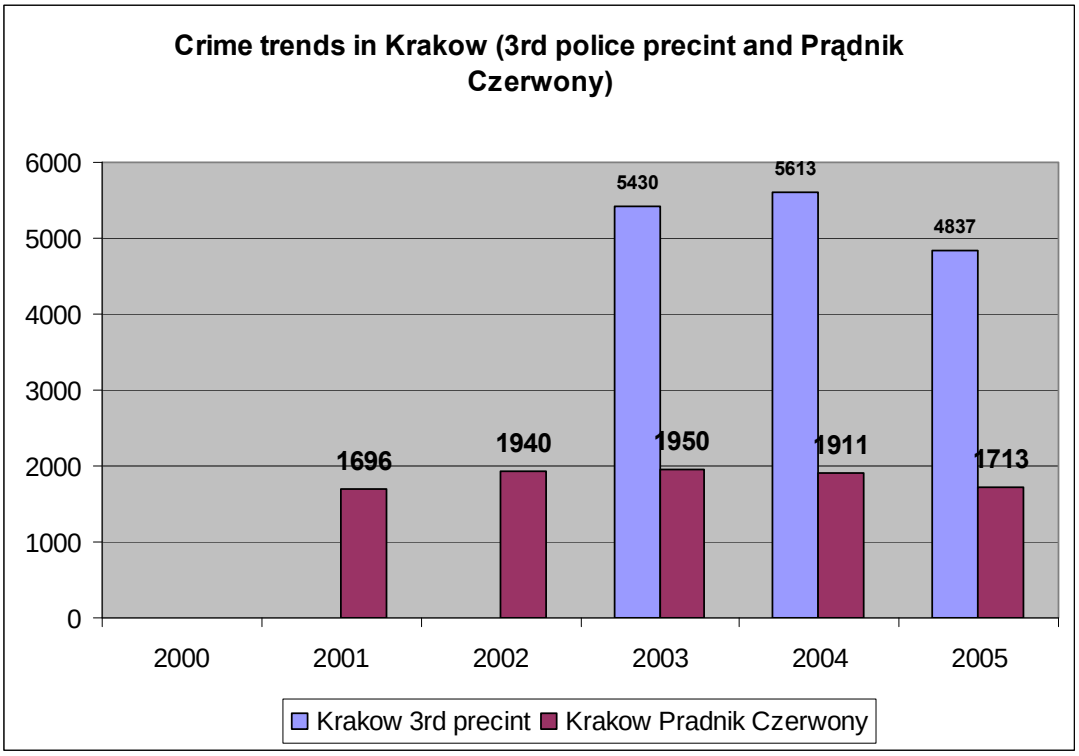

Figure 4: Crime rate trends in Krakow (2000-2005)

In sum one can say, that comparison of both, cities taking part in Crime Control Carousel and research areas chosen in these cities, results in clear cut pattern of differences regarding officially registered crime data. Cities in the western part of 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 for crime to drop established itself in recent years, while in the east a tendency for the crime to stabilize prevails, with only slight dropping tendency.

Lessons learned
What we can learn from each other

Tobias Woldendorp & Nicole Smits

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 persons that four years later would finish a large report called *The Crime Prevention Carousel* came together to think about the quotation for AGIS. At that time there were representants from OKRI/Budapest, the University of the West of England, the Max Planck Institute/Freiburg and DSP-groep, a private office specialized in Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) from Amsterdam and the host from the Sorbonne[41]. Their special interest: reducing crime in high-rise blocks in their countries. In two days the group discussed the matter and found out that it would be very interesting to find out if the countries are dealing with the same kind of crime (objective), the same kind of social unsafety (subjective). And if the solutions in the various countries would be helpful for others as well.

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 persons at the round table had different backgrounds. So, beside the five different mother languages that were spoken, the people sitting at the Paris table were sociologist, criminologist, a teacher/architect specialised in safe neighbourhoods and a landscape architect that over the years became specialized in CPTED. Would they be speaking the same language during the project 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.

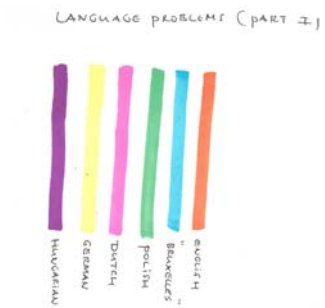

Figure 5: Different languages

Figure 6: Different backgrounds

Figure 7: Solo approach

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

The second aspect that made it interesting was that the Carousel group would be represented by two countries from the former east block, two from Western Europe[42] and one country, Germany, that had been on a pivotal point of east and west. So we could investigate if there had been differences in one country with two political backgrounds as well. There were so many questions, like: would in former east block countries the social cohesion be very strong (as some of the Group with a western background expected)? Or would it be the other way round: would the cities under influence from the former USSR break out in a very individualistic attitude, with little involvement with public space. We were eager to find out.

What made it complicated

The mix of people with various backgrounds made it interesting but there were also complications. The different languages was not the factor that made it complicated. But the background from the various studies imbedded in a cultural difference. Does a sociologist from Budapest see the same as a landscape architect from Amsterdam? And do they share the same words by explaining 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 fixate on the question: what can we learn from each other. Besides there were back offices: Some contributing parties did the project on themselves, others had a whole institute behind them that looked over their shoulders, would interfere and guide the scientific results.

How to guard the Carousel concept

When the commission was given to AGIS/164 the first step to be taken was to make sure that the Crime Carousel would be the way it was supposed to be. So it was decided already during the first site-visit in Bristol that the more CPTED orientated consultants from DSP-groep, the Netherlands would be 'the guard' of the Carousel thought. DSP-groep would prepare the format for the site surveys. They would be the collector from the site visits and would be moderating on the meetings to find out what countries could learn from each other. They would be preparing a casus in Amsterdam as well, but due to their other main task they wouldn't be able in time and money to do a quantitive research on the high-rise area of the Bijlmermeer. So they would do the qualitative research and the other four partners would do the quantitative.

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[42] After preparing the first concept for the quotation France fell off (problems with fulfilling staff to do the research and consultancy. At that time Poland (Krakaw) was joined the group.

Figure 8: The strenghth of the carousel

Figure 9: Goal: Learning from each other

Uniformity

Every country filled in the format with questions of the site visit, both on social and physical aspects. DSP-groep collected all site visits and made a matrix from the contents from the visit reports. In appendix 1 you'll find this comparison matrix. In the next chapter there is a resume from the lessons that every country thinks it could learn from others, both on social and physical aspects. Because in total there have been 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.

Learning from each other

A glimpse in the future

Every country wrote its own national Report. Some of the countries (Poland, Germany and Holland) wrote in their report already the lessons to learn from the other countries. In general, it can be concluded that the difficulties in the cities vary and that the solutions differ as well. Both in Budapest and Krakow and as a matter of fact also in Berlin-Marzahn there are less problems with integrating various groups of foreigners like in Amsterdam, Bristol and strange enough Berlin Gropiusstadt. The former east block countries inclusive East Berlin have been monocultural cities before the fall of the wall and still there is little mixing with other cultures. But things might change quickly with the fall of the other wall: since in January 2007 Bulgaria and Rumania are member of the EU, the border of Europe has been moving eastwards again. Immigrant will go westbound, other immigrants will take over places and high-rise areas will be the first area's to occupy by other groups. (at least this is what happened in Amsterdam, Bristol , Berlin Gropiusstadt as well as in Paris, London and other large cities in the west of Europe).

Thats one of the reasons to start thinking about solutions for high rise areas though the problems are still far from equal between east and west. Both in social and physical/technical means.

On the other hand things in the east are well organized. In the former Eastern Germany f.i. 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 in the neighbourhood. Residents are involved in planning, management, maintenance and service provision in the neighbourhood, which helps to maintain cohesion and enhance social capital. Additionally, a "multifunctional concierge" combines the role of a concierge, a guard, and a residents' aide. Aside from preventing damage to the communal goods, the concierge functions as a contact person, a form of centre of social life in the otherwise - due to their enormous size - anonymous apartment buildings.

General conclusions from CPC

Some significant conclusions from the two sessions of moderating are (the conclusions can be checked in Appendix 1):

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 (+others).
2. Very striking is de abomination of control of countries with a communist history: Poland, Hungary and (partly) Germany. That explains the red signs at the measures in appendix 1:
   - 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. In interesting contrast can be seen with CCTV. Cameras are applied in half of the projects and the other half doesn't think it is a good idea. Most important reason is the fear of displacement of crime.
5. In many projects private security firms are hired, but the English participant doesn't think that's a good idea. The reason for that is bad experiences with it in the past.

Every country for has its own conclusions. Some of the contributions like from Poland and Germany have large essay-like reflections on this theme, to be found as a chapter in their national report[43]. The conclusions in the paragraphs are distillated from the original drafts.

Some have a slimmer and leaner approach, Hungary and the Netherlands or a more critical overall view (like the United Kingdom). Hereby the most important aspects to be taken with in future per country on both social and physical measures/solutions, the last with the CPTED approach in mind: redesigning the high-rise area in relation to the use of public space.

Hungary

After visiting the other cities the partners from Budapest know one thing for sure: there is no funding in the country for tearing down the apartment blocks and redefine the area with small family houses. That’s for sure. It's not only a financial dilemma. It has also to do with the amount of owners per block. They are condominiums with lets say about hundred owners per block. But there are a lot of lessons the Hungarians can learn from other cities they have visited. A summary from the most important lessons:

Restoring social cohesion

Communal places have been disappeared. So the example of the shred laundry facilities like seen in Bristol Hartcliffe would be a very good idea. Neighbours will meet and greet. And that’s good for restoring the social cohesion.

[43] Poland describes in chapter 4 the CPC thought in a historical, political context.

Figure 10: Communal laundry room in Hartcliffe

Parks and common green areas

In Hungary there is a problem with drugs and alcohol abuse as well. So solutions like in the UK with small gated gardens, not public for everyone might be a solution. Budapest was also very pleased by the green approach from Krakow as well as the way the corporations in Poland dealed with the property-problem.

On the other hand consultants from the Netherlands think that the attractiveness from the public park can be easily enlarged. Now its only grass with trees and cars were is no grass: when putting on many bulbs in autumn there will be a very sunny and attractive spring. making attractive marked parking allotments (hedges with flowering material like roses) will also contribute to a vivid attractive public space. Relevant, because Budapest has a problem with parking cars.

The use of the green area's not optimal. In that way Budapest can learn from The Bijlmer in Amsterdam, where there are often football parties between the multicultural groups and where are yearly large festivities, like the Kwakoe-festival that brings tens of thousands visitors to the area and will help to reduce the bad name of the former problematic area.

New life for old blocks

Budapest was pretty surprised by the way in Marzahn WBG Marzahn topped down the appartmentblocks and coloured them from greyish into "Mediterranean" colours.

In Amsterdam the partners from Budapest were positively surprised by the approach on the level of reconstructing the entrances of the huge appartmentblocks (transparency, colours, own identity in shape): the way the mailboxes were placed (the postman does not have to go into the block, what makes is less liable for sneaking in).

Camera's in public space

Budapest was quite shocked by the approach in the UK. If camera's then in the way they did it in the Netherlands. They were there, but you couldn't see them 9at least you were not aware of them). But the best was off course not having cameras at all and maintain buildings and surroundings by putting in 24-hours maintenance. Sometimes places like this turn into a real "Treffenpunkt".

Social measures

There is a lot to learn from the Dutch approach: to get people from the neighbourhood involved there is an information centre in the shopping malls, there are language courses for the immigrants, there is education and training for (underprivileged) residents and there is care for addicts and homeless, not only by the church but also from the community on. Empowerment for women, programmes for women are also something Hungary can learn from.

And from Marzahn they can learn in Budapest on preventing residents with 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 installed several social measures, such as an 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 are invited to 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-NGO, act as a mediator between neighbours.

And last but not least: the communication the Hungarian equips saw in Germany and the Netherlands is very good: the residents are informed about the changes. That makes them feel comfortable and it will make them involved on a longer term.

The Netherlands

From the beginning of the project on, the Netherlands equip thought they could learn a lot from the way the former east block countries were able to maintain the feeling of social cohesion. But during the CPC-project they found out that individualism had taken over the place of the community behaviour. This was in a way stroking to find out.

Owning instead of renting

Far away the most important thing to learn was the fact that in post-communistic neighbourhoods in both Poland and Hungaria (as well as in Estonia f.i.) the inhabitants of the high rise blocks very owners. So private properties instead of renting. The problem with renting from housing companies in Holland is that most people do not feel responsible for their environment. Both inside the staircases, galleries and the public domain. By selling apartments in high-rise blocks people get more and more responsibility and take more responsibility. In The Netherlands in general and in special the Bijlmermeer-area can learn from this approach. Demolishing flats like done before 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 it will be very hard to get them out and the flats will be saved by enthusiastic high-rise-supporters from the CIAM-concept.

Topping down

Going deeper into this thinking the Netherlands think they really can learn from topping down apartment blocks. In Marzahn the Dutch were impressed by the approach of bringing back blocks from ten or twelve floors back to 5 or 6.That gives a complete different profile in the streets and public space will look much larger and sunnier. This is very attractive for making more use of the public space by turning into children's playgrounds and meadows to pick nick (and barbeque). By selling the modules from the Marzahn blocks to the city of St. Petersburg even money could be generated from the demolition.

Liveliness on ground floor

In The Netherlands planners nowadays want a vivid ground floor (the so called "footprint"). In new plans urban planners try to reach this everywhere. The good thing from f.i. Budapest is that in the high rise blocks there is vividness, because

there is an interaction with small shops in the footprint, the boxes are more in the middle and on the ground floor are little shops from various background (food, reparation, etc). In the Bijlmermeer they brought back the idea of interactivity on the ground floor, but it can be more and more attractive and smaller scale like in Bekasmegyer).

Figure 11: Shops under dwellings in Bekasmegyer

Gentle approach

The Netherlands were as others shocked by the British approach of putting camera's everywhere (hardware) and having elderly people solving the social problems (software). After visiting Germany, the Dutch were very pleased by seeing how in Marzahn in the corridor of an apartment block a lady took care of all the issues in the Block. 24 hours a day. Together with the attractiveness of the corridor (paintings) it was very pleasant to see. And no camera's. In Holland they should reduce it as well to prevent from getting British conditions.

Figure 12: Concierge lobby of an apartment block in Marzahn

Green intermediary

Houses from NGO in Marzahn with front gardens were redesigned by easily to maintain but beautiful plants and herbs. Paid by the housing corporation. Maintained by the tenants. This is a good idea for the Dutch corporations: atrtractivity leads to involvement.

Partners against crime

In the UK the police have good relation with the media: they tip the media and have press meetings where they meet in a low profile way. In Holland the media often are powerful. The Neighbourhood watch is very important as a link between the neighbourhood, municipality and police. And though the Dutch think they don't want to follow the CCTV-approach from the UK, they think a far reaching measure as CCTV in public space 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 children: investing in them is investing in crime prevention. In the same way Holland was looking to the Maltese Cross. This catholic group invests a lot in public space (playgrounds). It’s a way of getting people back to church in one hand, but it's also a way of getting back the social cohesion.

Germany

Within the last couple years, lots has been done to improve the quality of life in Marzahn, the high rise building complex of former East Berlin, as well as in 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 Gropiusstadt implemented lessons learned from similar approaches in the Netherlands and Great Britain and added measures of their own.

Concrete slab versus colourful low rise

Following the British example, Marzahn concentrated on demolishing high rise blocks and on rebuilding with "Italian style" housing similar to the British "cottage style" housing approach. Marzahn profited from the fact that the pre-cast concrete slab construction allows to unplug bits of the buildings relatively easily. As a consequence, 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 done by promoting public art, thus achieving more diversity and a colourful environment. This was 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 inofficial motto can be summarized as "regenerating with colour". Thus, there has been an explicit aim of introducing sensual pleasures throughout the neighbourhood in form of brightly coloured buildings and substantial investment in public art

A future with camera's?

Germany has the same feeling about the use of cameras as the other partners have. The big brother feeling is closer by than the feeling that it's a safe 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! Germany hopes they'll never come to a point where they have to live under conditions like this. If this is the future of housing … there is no future.

Germany on the other hand can learn from the well raised Neighbourhood Watch Programs. In Germany they are still in their infancy[44]. I could imagine that setting up such programs could be a promising way to strengthen social cohesion as well as to give back social control to the residents.

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[44] Though the neighborhood watch in Gropiusstadt was very familiar with the British approach. Here Marzahn and Gropiusstadt differ quite a lot.

Continuation the approach:

Berlin is on the good way: other partners recognize that if you have good quality, 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[45]. The same is value for the approach of the 24 hours maintenance guard in the blocks rather than CCTV. Bringing back the human scale and factor into the massive area is important to continue.

A nuance on the approach

But 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 Gymnasium rather than using barbed wire around it. Cameras may be considered to be more intrusive of course, but I think they are better anyway. Schools surrounded by a barbed wire are just terrible. And not only in the eyes of architects!

Balance of social, spatial and managerial renewal

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

Social meeting points

Apart from schools there are no specific youth-related facilities like clubs, meeting points etc. It might be worth considering weather more active and specific policies in this area, beyond establishment of the Neighbourhood Management Area and some activities of the DeGeWo (like younger children who 'interrupted' our meeting preparing some "journalistic" materials on the district).

Social measures

Further, Marzahn and Gropiusstadt could copy the example of the after school programmes for pupils as offered in the Netherlands and in the house of culture in Cracow. Moreover, the British brochures offering valuable information about the

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

district, certain local and social problems such as family violence and important phone numbers are a measure worth replicating in Marzahn and Gropiusstadt. Similarly, Amsterdam offers a local TV and Radio programme providing first hand information relevant for the district, a measure Marzahn and Gropiusstadt might profit from as well. Further, Amsterdam succeeded in outbalancing situational and social measures. Especially Gropiusstadt might take to heart Amsterdam's example of embedding the area into 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, offering language courses, is another measure especially Gropiusstadt, where many of the residents are immigrants from various countries, could profit from.

Youngsters (especially Gropiusstadt)

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

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 don't have to be lightened unless they really are necessary as a route. Otherwise people walk on routes that can't guarantee visibility other than the light from the light bulbs.

Marzahn and Gropiusstadt 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 done in Cracow.

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

Territory

As a preventative response, houses bordering the green areas in Gropiusstadt set up high fences to deter burglars, creating a zoo-like atmosphere. Similar to this, the school of the area, the Walter Gropius Gymnasium, 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 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 was seen for example in Budapest.

Physical approach on the scale of the neighbourhood:

A reflection from Poland on the situation of Marzahn: most attention should be given to the lack of a well-designed urban planning in Marzahn, which has led to a construction of two shopping centres in the same neighbourhood. By doing so, 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 is a number of such examples of poorly placed objects and commercial centres (miscellaneous shopping malls) to be pointed out which replace cultural and recreational facilities and become an attractive destination of Sunday outings for families. In Prądnik 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 Prądnik Czerwony and those of Mahrzahn is that residents of Prądnik Czerwony can reach the centre of Krakow in less than 20 minutes and enjoy its rich cultural offerings. In the vicinity of Prądnik Czerwony (around 2-3 km), there is a strip mall which includes shopping, a waterpark, and a multiplex cinema.

Communal work of police

What others could learn from Germany (seen through the eyes of the MPI) is the way communal work of police is set up. The police are involved on a grand scale in the district, engage 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 Gropiusstadt, there are lots of community based social projects. The goal of the institutions and housing firms is to enhance resident's involvement in general and in decision making processes in particular. However, residents in 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 Gropiusstadt, there are concierges fulfilling similar functions as in Marzahn, but there aren't as many caretakers as for example in the Netherlands.

United Kingdom

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 clear air), 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.

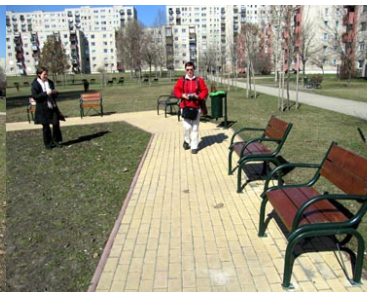
Treatment of public space

Possibly the most unsatisfactory aspect of the new Bijlmermeer is the treatment of the new open space.

Figure 13: 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 more than mere "boulevards" to pass briskly through. Maybe there is hope for Budapest: In Budapest; the attempt by local people to personalise and humanise their environment, by (for example) balcony extensions and planting in public space (see below).

Figure 14: Resident gardener in Budapest



Figures 15 & 12: Lots of indeterminate space between blocks

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

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 built new.

Sustainable attractiveness in public space:

If you have good quality like was shown in 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.

Figure 13: Prevention representative in Gropiusstadt

Figure 164: Newly arranged playground and ‚Ahrensfelder Terraces' in Marzahn

Social Engagement

The "neighbourhood management" approach, along with early resident consultation 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.

Orientation and involvement

Signs of personalisation of balconies (see photograph below) like we saw in Krakow are a good visual indication of people's care and 'investment' in their homes:

Figure 175: Balconies in Krakow

Poland[46]

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

[46] For a broad scope on the social aspects of housing through all the visited sites see Chapter 4 of the polish national report.

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 are facing 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 as representatives of Eastern and Central Europe. Followed by Bristol-Hartcliffe, Amsterdam-Bijlmermeer and Berlin-Gropiusstadt as examples of the situation in the Western part of the continent.

While considering the experiences of the Berlin neighbourhood, Mahrzahn, for the use of Prądnik Czerwony, the Polish contribution analysis both the experiences that should be avoided as well as experiences that are worth repeating. From the experiences that are worth repeating, a further distinction should be made between examples that easy to implement in Poland, in Prądnik Czerwony in particular, and the examples that are unquestionably very valuable, yet extremely difficult to implement in Poland.

Multifunctional concierges

There are many valuable experiences from Marzahn that Prądnik 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 a greater control over an uneasy task of preventing damage to communal goods. Additionally, as is exemplified by the German experience, a "multifunctional concierge" could create a centre of social life in the apartment 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.

Training youngsters

Unquestionably, Prądnik 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 program partners who had visited Krakow in September 2005. These activities could be further reinforced by public anti-aggression trainings, similar to those that are undertaken in Marzahn. Such trainings, organized in recreational centres and schools, could ease the problem of increasing violence in Polish schools.

Social integration

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

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 would be a great opportunity to introduce a program 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 in the law, mostly, a specification of its relation with local authorities, under whose jurisdiction are now 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.

Insight in housing

A similar history of Polish and Hungarian high-rise apartment complexes (the Békásmegyer neighbourhood of Budapest and Prądnik Czerwony in Krakow) from the socialist era and a need to overcome the legacy of these times make many problems in both neighbourhoods parallel. However, we would suggest only a few of the Hungarian experiences to 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 at Prądnik 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, at decreasing the costs of the building maintenance. The cooperative also takes care of remodelling and revival initiatives.

Physical measures

Both in Prądnik Czerwony and Békásmegyer one can notice window bars which are installed by residents to better protect themselves from dangers. This is particularly true for the ground level apartments, and in Budapest 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 Prądnik Czerwony to enhance its look by new elements.

Police in the centre of the neighbourhood:

In Krakow, they could also consider an inclusion of modern verification methods that are used by Hungarian policemen in registering crime. It was not until 2006 that a new police station in Prądnik 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 Prądnik Czerwony residents since the police station is located within a few meters from the neighbourhood. It appears, however, that the Hungarian policemen could repeat the experience from Krakow of establishing closer ties with the residents.

Camera-approach (two sides of the medal)

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

An 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 efforts should be put at an earlier stage of the community work with 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 school building in Prądnik 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, and Prądnik Czerwony in particular. First of all, Hartcliffe is a relatively small area, easy to be subject to such a comprehensive surveillance. All other districts visited during the program were usually much larger. Therefore, for the size reason alone an 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 seeming 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.

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 program, which could be recommended for replication in Poland. These programs usually mean a greater mobilisation of 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. Therefore it could be worth considering to be replicated in Krakow. The cooperation between the citizens and the police has been a well-known problem in Central European countries. Due to historical circumstances there are still a great number of people who "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 making 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 strengthening of social cohesion in the area. Nonetheless, it still seems that the area suffers 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 may have resulted from the fact that after the redevelopment some residents realized that it may be worth to engage in community-level actions.

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 that part of 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 the so-called 'social dumps'. This means that more attempts should be made to prevent the better educated and higher-income residents from leaving these areas and, by doing so, prevent their social degradation. At this point, it is necessary to stress that physical redevelopment which aims at making 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 a physical redesign and improvement do not have necessarily direct preventive effect, in terms of situational crime prevention or target hardening, but they may have an indirect and, probably and more importantly, a preventive effect, as they contribute to maintaining, or even strengthening, these features of 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 is 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 inflow of foreign residents coming from different cultures and different lifestyles still appears as a rather remote perspective for 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 as of today is rather a 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 already today to come up with policies that would prevent such areas in Poland in particular, and in Central and Eastern Europe in general, from becoming enclaves of populations falling under a similar socio-economic category: lower-class, poor, and underprivileged members of the 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 intensively 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 the Dutch society and the immigrants. Although these claims may sound like a cliché, in fact, they are still very difficult to be implemented. 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.

Physical rehabilitation and social component go hand in hand

Notably, 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 Prądnik Czerwony, its to be noticed that the Polish residential areas are characterized by much lower standard in terms of the quality of buildings, materials used, and architectural details. From this perspective the neighbourhoods of Bijlmermeer and Hartcliffe present themselves much better. However, when we take into account issues of social cohesion and integration, the situation of the Dutch and British neighbourhoods are far from ideal. In this context, a question arises 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 be also an interesting contribution to the discussion on the 'broken windows theory'. Do fixing broken windows contribute to the improvement of the functioning of the community, or maybe 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 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 Prądnik Czerwony and in Békásmegyer where social component may be still 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 end soon due to the social transformation and social deterioration that is taking place in these areas and which result from a general change of economic conditions and growing social differentiation of these societies. The above circumstances, combined with a rapid deterioration of physical infrastructure due to low quality of building construction and the ongoing change, may bring in the future disastrous consequences. These consequences could be avoided only if significant investments are made in urban neighbourhoods' physical redevelopment.

Green belts as a quality of life

There is one interesting feature about Gropiusstadt which is both, situational and social, 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 opportunity to spend free time and make a nice impression on the passers-by. However, the exam-

ple of 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 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 could be even when they appear as nice and green recreational areas. That is why, many neighbourhoods opt for some sort private (or quasi-private) spaces which are easier to control.

This observation may be also of importance to some Polish residential neighbourhoods where a tendency is to create large, yet difficult to control, public spaces. In this context, the example of Gropiusstadt, where houses which are situated in a close proximity to the green strip are surrounded by security fences may seem as 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.

Design out of Crime

Interestingly, in Gropiusstadt, apart from the above-mentioned 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 crime prevention intended (although in Bijlmermeer such measures had much less explicit character and were somehow included in the way the space was shaped, while in Hartcliffe they served specific preventive purposes). It appears that a good design alone and maintenance of the area could be – at least to a certain extent – the most important factor for creating living conditions which prevent crime.

Not to be replicated: gated school communities

There is one detail of the Gropiusstadt which is somewhat disturbing and therefore not suggested to be replicated in Poland. That is the question of school protection. There is no doubt that schools have become very problematic places in need of protection from the 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 Prądnik 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 a barbed wire running atop of the fence, appears as 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. It contrasts 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 may stimulate more fear and insecurity by sending a signal that everyone in the area is dangerous than bring 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.

Appendix

Results of the workshop 'measures in different projects' (Budapest, March 23 and Berlin, September 20, 2006)

In two workshops, all participants did an exercise, in which the carousel thought was made very clear. Starting with a list of measures, physical and social, that has 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	**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	☒		☒	☒	?	?
	more parking in public space (streets)		☒	☒		?	?
	car parks demolished		☒			?	?

	car parks made free of charge		☒		☒	?	?
	disconnect parking from building		☒		(☒)	?	?
Apartment buildings	demolishing and rebuilding 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	☒			☒		☒

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