Fear in the public sphere

A critical pragmatic approach of dealing with crime in the physical space

Cristina Maria Mateescu
MSc. Urban Planning and Management
Aalborg University | June 2014

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

Master thesis title:

"Fear in the public sphere- A critical pragmatic approach of dealing with crime in the physical space"

Author: Cristina Maria Mateescu

Supervisor: Enza Lisandrello

Amount of pages: 98

Appendix: 1 CD- 3 interviews

Project period: Spring 2014

Finalized: June 4TH 2014

Abstract:

Why fear in the public sphere? Because fear, crime and fear of crime are challenges that people confront every day. Crime occurrence and its derived phenomena have a wide span and they talk in a global language affecting people all over the world. This critical pragmatic approach crosses theory with practice and aims to explore the relation between physical space and human behavior. The reader is provided with an explorative interpretation of how planning the physical space can become a method of social control and furthermore, how it can deal with crime.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.INTRODUCTION

The topic that I have chosen for this thesis aims to explore the connection between human behavior and the physical space given early personal observations and curiosities that I have been collected in time.

My final decision for choosing this topic, to a certain extent is also due to the amount of time that I have spent in India some time ago, for a professional internship. Having the chance to live for quite a long time there, gave me the possibility to observe thoroughly all the elements connected to the physical space. There was a hectic time that the nation has been going through- as well as it was the case of so many other countries around the world-, and that could have been easily observed from the written press, televised press, all around the internet, and other sources of data. However, it was of an outstanding surprise to see that the space I was living in was perfectly managing to overcome and contradict everything negative that I had ever heard in regard with it. Also, not to be neglected, the state where I lived –Gujarat, is ranked as one of the safest and thriving among the country, with one of the lowest crime rates in India. Locals were ascribing this to the fact that the alcohol is entirely prohibited by law all around the state and also because of the growth model promoted by Narendra Modi, the Chief Minister of the state.

However, I had been given the chance to see this with my own eyes, given the fact that I lived there, in the middle of the community, entirely surrounded by locals, at all times. This is how I managed to thoroughly observe people's lifestyle in the everyday life, as well as a variety of details such as the role of architecture in their habitual life, and perhaps the most impressive, the role which the public space had in there. The public space has an extraordinary significance in Indian culture, especially because the community is very united. Given people's lifestyle and the customs that they had inherited, communities tend to stick together and people are very close to each other. When new couples get married, the family enlarges. They are very rarely ready to move away from parents. This is another reason why there is a very tight connection with the physical space over there. People like to be very close to each other so in this sense it can be seen in the physical characteristics of the space. Very few housing typologies have fences, and almost all residential complexes share a huge inside common yard, often called "medan" or "chowk".

I have encountered a varied series of housing typologies, for an instance one of the most popular ones were called "bahumali makan"- flat multi stories group housing, where I also used to reside. Then other typologies that I have encountered were "rahethan/ghar"- individual house in one plot, where one wall is shared by two individual houses on two different plots, being called common wall. Then another type was called "bungalow", where on a big plot there is only one house with four opened sides, and at the same time on the same big plot, if the owner had two different houses sharing a common wall, it was called a "duplex". These were mostly inhabited by higher income residents. The lower mid income people lived in what was called "Row housing" where only two sides are opened-front and rear.

However, what all these housing typologies had in common, irrespective of the people`s social status, was represented by the physical space and the connection it had with it.

In that culture, the elders of the families mostly spend time in the nearest proximity of the house, having chai, usually talking with neighbors, keeping an eye on children and on the community. Everybody knows everybody, and every new person in a community is thoroughly scanned when entering the space. It is a very difficult and full of risk task for perpetrators to attempt any kind of misbehavior. That was the point where I realized that handling the physical space actually has a huge potential not only in influencing the quality of life, but also, in influencing the human behavior. This strengthened my hypothesis that physical environment can definitely affect us, since we are driven by instincts and emotions. More than that, this topic has also something to do with my own country of origin. In Romania, to be more specific, the physical space has so many facets and it is almost never used according to purposes which were initially ascribed by the architects, planners, designers, etc.

In this situation I have an eloquent example coming from my natal town Buzău, exhibiting an artesian fountain, which was situated in the most central and spacious plaza in the city. The fountain was not that deep and it was surrounded by a circular ledge, which was wide and tall enough to perfectly serve as a sitting place.

When we were children, everybody used to gather there, with bikes, roller-skates, individuals, groups, parents, grandparents with children, regardless of the season. The space was daily populated, despite of policemen`s observations and notices that we were breaking the law being there, since the fountain was intended to be admired, and not to be sit on. It did not matter. People proceeded in spending their time there, because the physical space was lively, well defined and had its own identity. The fountain was a landmark for the city.

Few years later, the local administration implemented a new project in the area and the structure of the physical space had entirely changed, as no surprise, so did the social life of the area. The project consisted of fitting new benches around the fountain, cutting some of the trees which were providing shade in the summertime and planting shrubs which are blocking the visual perspective. People are not visiting the area as frequent as before and the identity of the physical space had vanished.

This case made me think that unless we pay attention to what people actually need from the physical space, any intervention is useless and eventually that turns to be a facilitative area for mischievous actions. It was always a point of interest for me to find out how can the quality of the physical space be enhanced and how to make this responsive to people`s needs. Therefore, I considered it would be interesting to approach this here and to research the connection between the physical space and how people make use of it, not only for the betterment of the physical space, but also on how the physical space actually can influence human behavior in a positive direction.

1.1. PROBLEM FORMULATION

"When urban planning faces criminal behaviour"

In the light of this research, I am assuming that there are some connections between the physical space and the human behavior, and that the latter can be clearly influenced by external indicators. Also, considering that human behavior can be influenced by external factors, I assume that the influence they have on human behavior can be positive and negative as well, because instinctively speaking, as humans we are highly resonant with the external physical space and we can easily determine whether we feel comfortable or not in a particular area. Simultaneously, in the same direction I will assume that if these assumptions prove to be valid, they can be used in modeling behavior and influencing criminal behavior in a positive way. Furthermore, the research aims to expand on the connection between physical space and human behavior and to find out how true are the assumptions that I have stated previously.

The topic that this paper aims to treat is not unilateral, but as multifaceted as it can get, and so is the profession which is ascribed to it. Being an urban planner presumes first of all a responsibility to improve quality of life, which also implies abilities of being a good negotiator, a watchful strategist and a dedicated sociologist The knowledge that urban planners need to acquire in time represent a challenge in terms of dedication and resourcefulness in listening to people and what they need or require for a city. Diagnosing the problems of a space in relation with the people inhabiting, however it is not an easier task.

1.2. Territoriality, social control and space

The connection between the human being and physical space represent an ancient issue, because the private space has always represented a matter of high interest for people. Even in the past, when people used to live in caves, the space surrounding the cave was domestically organized by marking it with rocks or delineating private property. People often painted walls to personalize their own space perceiving this as a personal touch. Later on in history, nowadays society has changed not so much regarding people`s perception of personal space. In the common sense, humans have the tendency to mark their territory to protect whatever they consider a private property. Even though there are various linguistic, temporal, cultural or geographical barriers separating societies and civilizations, very few matters differ in terms of territoriality. Constantly, humans identify themselves with the space they inhabit.

An interesting example exhibits Greek temples, almost 2700 years ago, when professionals were using environmental concepts to control and direct human behavior. They discovered that stones dug right under the sea level consisted of large amounts of phosphorus due to the decay remainders of marine creatures, and they decided to use these in constructing the typical columns in Greek architecture. After the dark, the columns reflected light in temples in a very similar way as gold, impressing people with opulence as well as reinforcing the power of faith and of the priests. Symbolism of light was used as a method of social control.

In this sense, following the connection between human behavior and the physical space, as I was specifying earlier, we are surrounding ourselves with private space, we are personalizing it and we turn it into private. Territoriality in this sense offers us the feeling of comfort, safety and security. On the other hand, there is also the situation where the physical space is alienating from citizens and users and this can take place in relation to the way this is responsibly used by the citizens and therefore on the way urban planners respond to social needs when they shape the urban space.

1.3. Terms, definitions and context argumentum

Criminality does not represent a new topic in research, since studies regarding this phenomenon are recurrent in urban history. As (Abu-Lughod, 2010) specifies, starting with the 1800, various scientists endeavored to find explanations and causes of criminality. Various sociologists and psychologists have strived to bring light upon the explanation of incivilities and serious crime which for a while was understood as happening out of pure individual will, but later in history much more profound ideas came to light.

Thus, theorists started to investigate elements of criminal behavior as more complex, encompassing the biological ground of an individual, the type of social interaction with others or stress related problems. One of the most recent attentions is represented by the physical aspect of the environment. The work of Jane Jacobs, 1961, "Life and Death of Great American Cities", C. Ray Jeffery, 1971, "Crime Prevention Through Environmental design", James Q. Wilson & George L. Kelling, 1982, "The Broken Windows theory", Oscar Newman, 1972, "Creating Defensible Space" have contributed fundamentally to deepen the association of physical environment with criminality, progressively obviating the assumptions that crime happens out of instinct or unknown causes.

A striking matter of interest is the fact that according to various written sources, in theories and dictionaries, crime definitions will always vary as well as they will be categorized according to multitudinous criteria. For an example, according to INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization), crime does not have a specific definition, but it is however associated and subdivided in various fields such as corruption, crimes against children, cyber-crime, drug trafficking, environmental crime, financial crime, fire arms, fugitive investigations, maritime piracy, organized crime, terrorism, trafficking of human beings, trafficking in illicit goods and counterfeiting, vehicle crime, war crime, or even works of art. Each of these areas is categorized in its turn in various other subareas. (INTERPOL)

Then, another interesting glance cast upon defining crime comes from CPTED, where Timothy D. Crowe reminds us that crime represents such a common phenomena, that the human existence almost takes it for granted. Since the general public knows more or less what crime symbolizes, there has been no attempt to offer a globally understood definition. Also, according to Crowe, broad definitions around this phenomena can be found, such as Webster`s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary where crime is described as "an act or commission of an act that is forbidden or the omission of a duty that is commanded by a public law and that makes the offender liable to punishment by that law." (Crowe, 2000, pp. 14-15)

Criminality also differs from 'incivility'. The term „incivility" in a context of human behavior - physical environment relation has been coined up by Hunter in 1978 in his paper „Symbols of incivility" (Hunter, 1978) and perfectly draws on how human behavior is affected by foreign elements in the physical environment, theory which will be explained later on in the following chapters.

In this thesis the term „criminality" is explored in connection with the public space.

By interviewing a sample of 10 individuals of different age, professional fields and coming from different cultures, I have come to know that even though people can offer various explanations of what crime is, still, they are very afraid of anything dangerous that can happen in their immediate vicinity.

By inquiring for a definition of „anything dangerous", I received answers ranging from murders, attacks, rapes, and robberies till petty crime or anything bizarre or foreign for a particular space. Also, they expressed resentment to anything out of the ordinary or that might induce them irritation, fear, anxiety, panic, such as a fear for rampages or vandalism.

Following these short investigations I have reached closer to conclude a broad alternative definition, that crime has many facets and subjective nuances, but as an overall opinion everyone perceives it as any kind of threat to an individual`s safety. Fear can have a devastating and dramatic influence on residents and it can affect their lives and their daily routine.

In the light of the previous lines, as well as in order to understand the perspective from which I argue about this topic, explanations will be offered for the following terms which are encountered in this paper with an increased frequency.

Human behavior - Human beings are born with natural responses to certain environmental stimuli. Therefore, by the term of human behavior I refer to all biological, psychological, physiological and anatomical features of the human body which altogether offer to an individual the possibility of responding to external stimuli.

Of course, it must be understood, that although normally human behavior can be influenced by culture, religion, ethics, genetics, emotions, etc, in this paper I refer human behavior as the basic elementary behavior in the broadest sense, which overcomes culture, race, space and time.

Criminal behavior- I refer criminal behavior as opposed to what is perceived by society as normal. While normal behavior is consistent with the most common behaviors of most individuals and it accepts societal standards and norms, on the other hand criminal behavior is bad intentioned and tends to violate formal or informal social norms. Also criminal behavior is seen as a threat for the safety of individuals or communities.

Crime- I refer crime as the consequential result of criminal behavior and also as a fear generator. In this paper I do not focus on a particular type of crime, but I refer the broad concept which consists of crimes ranging from minor felonies to major offenses.

Physical space- By physical space I refer to the physical surroundings in which people are situated which can vary according to different circumstances. It can be a neighborhood, a city, a plaza, a public or a private space. In this paper physical space represents the totality of elements, movable and immovable in human environment. However, this paper treats the broad term of physical space, and does not assign any dimension to it, and it can be macro-level (country, province, region, municipality, etc), meso-level (or intermediate level- neighborhood, quarters, areas, etc) as well as micro-level (building, well, construction, road segments, etc), according to Wolf, 1985,p.5 in (Scherg, 2013, p. 24).

1.4. Research question

Is there a potential connection between human behavior and the physical space? Does physical space influence human behavior in a positive/negative way? Can physical space be used as a weapon or tool to counteract criminal behavior?
This thesis explores the hypothesis that: on one hand, the physical space can have a positive influence on people, offering a feeling of comfort and on the other hand it can influence people in a negative way, instilling insecurity, panic, anxiety and fear. In the most extreme case, physical space influences criminality. The overall research question explored in this thesis is how the physical space planned in an urban area can alter human behavior.

1.5. Structure

Chapter 1 has the purpose to describe the whole context of the topic that this paper aims to explore. Therefore, in a broad sense, the reader has the chance to envision the overall concept of the topic approached in the thesis, which argues the relation between the physical space and the human behavior. The ending of Chapter 1 discloses the research question, as well as the structure of the remaining chapters intended to explore the grounds of the research question. The chapter is finalized by arguing the philosophical approach of the paper.

Chapter 2 represents a collection of theories adopted in recent years by researchers in the field. These theories were selected in the light of the assumptions that I have previously made regarding the topic and they are testing various stances of the relation between the physical space and the human behavior. Each theory exhibits particular schemes, aiming to describe the main concepts that it deals with.

Chapter 2 concludes with a main scheme in which the most important elements are extracted from these theories with the aim to prepare a sort of conceptual guideline for facing criminal incidence in urban areas. Also, this chapter includes a subsection which explains the methodological grounds of the research performed in this paper.

Because the elements portrayed in the theoretical frame depend strongly from the context and cultural issues, Chapter 3 analyzes how professionals dealing with criminality in urban areas have adopted/addressed these elements in particular cases.

Furthermore, **Chapter 4** consists of a discussion based on matching the theoretical framework (Chapter 2) with the data acknowledged from the empirical cases (Chapter 3) Information gathered in this chapter will be finalized with conceptual guidelines for dealing with crime.

Chapter 5 represents a summation of conclusions gathered in regard with the topic approached in the thesis, aimed to answer the research question. It will also exhibit the most important points drawn in the paper as well as recommendations for further opportunities.

Chapter 6 consists of personal reflections and recommendations regarding particular aspects of the paper as well as a description of obstacles encountered along the way.

This rationality of choosing this structure was planned some time ago, when I hadn`t even started my research. I knew exactly what I wanted to do but it was difficult to assign a name for it since the process of how it is going to unfold was unclear.

However, along the research I saw how this is unfolding and I observed that testing the theoretical framework with empirical cases would help to a great extent into answering my assumptions, as well as into conceptualizing guidelines aimed to deal with crime in the physical space. Therefore, the thesis is constructed in a critical pragmatic framework, following this analytical circle among theory and practice.

A critical pragmatic approach represents an analytical and interpretative framework that aims to evaluate planning practice, by examining real life cases that are very much context dependent. I saw this critical pragmatic approach fitting for managing research design, since crime has a highly pervasive nature and its implications depend on various contexts. Also, not only grounds on crime are context dependent but so are the methods used by professionals when dealing with it.

According to a critical pragmatic framework, theory is useful to see how things can be done, but real life cases are useful to see how things are actually done. Therefore, in a critical pragmatic view, the thesis aims at extracting knowledge from the theoretical review of literature on the argument and crossing it with the empirical cases which are here the discussions with professionals. The result is a hybrid that aims to create new knowledge. The synthesized new knowledge will make the basis for a new conceptual guideline, aimed to respond on how professionals can deal with crime in the physical space.

The critical pragmatic approach of the research helps into shaping much refined information and much less probable chances of being fallible, due to its inquisitive nature. Also, the analysis performed in a critical pragmatic view relies to a great extent on social investigations, approaching practitioners who are oriented to change and who are willing to share views and experience on the topic which is of interest.

A critical pragmatic analysis brings a rich contribution to the research, since it enhances the learning process and increases the chances to find good solutions. Approaching professionals represent a strategic method that offers a handful of advantages. With their real life stories, these experts share insights of their experience, with different contexts, each case having its own peculiarities. This approach offers double edged advantages, because as a researcher I had the chance to extract new knowledge from it and cross it with the theoretical findings, but at the same time, the readers have as well the chance to extract their own ideas and interpret them through their own perspective. The whole process is interpretative and context dependent.

Nevertheless, it is called a critical pragmatic approach because the analysis has to be critical and pragmatic at the same time, balancing reflections with the peculiarities of the empirical cases. It is an approach that bridges the micro-level of reflections and interpretations with the macro-level of the research question and the topic that supports it.

In this direction, the following chapter as it unfolds represents the first part of the critical pragmatic approach, where I explore and synthesize theories in regard with the topic. The knowledge extracted in Chapter 2 will be tested later on with professionals who had the chance to work with the topic that I am interested in. These professionals or "facilitative leaders" as John Forester (Forester) names them, are highly relevant in the process of research, since they help to a great extent by sharing the tools and methods they have used in approaching the topic.

2.THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Preventing crime or eradicating it has always represented a challenge, as well as it does in our contemporaneous society. More and more areas in the world are facing issues related to criminality, and furthermore, police still is the main body of control in authority to manage it. This paper aims to expand on this in relation to the physical space, and furthermore to explore additional ways to deal with it in the light of urban planning profession. So far, in some states in the world, such as Denmark is, police working in cooperation with the planning department, and that results in conceptualizing places which are much easier to control. More than that, various companies have extensive experience in performing successful projects, which through an elaborate planning process manage to reduce criminal incidence risk.

Authority and effectiveness of police is not to be blamed nor even doubted. However, what this paper aims to achieve is an argument that other methods and disciplines can also be useful in influencing criminal behavior. A better planning of the physical space in advance can participate to a great extent in enhancing the administrative system of a territory and keeping crime rates under control. The main hypothesis which makes the subject of this paper, considers that physical space influences human behavior both ways, positive and negative and assumes that this can be used as a means to influence criminality as well, reducing or preventing it.

In this direction the following set of theories which were selected are constituting a theoretical framework which highlights the topic`s considerations. The theories are depicted in a chronological order, starting with the oldest, ending with the most recent one. The authors are expanding almost on the same topic, but what makes the theoretical framework interesting is represented by the different perspectives that the initiators had regarding this.

CPTED is not a singular theory but it represents a summation of principles on how to prevent crime through environmental design. The term of CPTED was coined by Dr. C. Ray Jeffery and was actually developed concurrently with Newman`s Defensible Theory. While CPTED came to public attention in 1971, Defensible Space followed the same path in 1972. However, they both complement each other.

Oscar Newman`s research on "Defensible Space" from 1972 relies on the connection of human behavior and physical space in various residential typologies playing with density and public common spaces. People need their privacy and intimacy and they need to feel that the space is their own. As long as they are ensured of this and they protect it and make it look like home, this will result in keeping perpetrators away. He is emphasizing that concepts of private and public space is as relative as it can get in terms of social perception. In the collective consciousness, public is not always public as well as private does not always stay private. This is why he sees public spaces important in urban life and in shaping the feeling of safety in neighborhoods. He considers that an efficient method is that of people deciding together how to use the common space and how to establish a moral conduct which can be mutually acceptable in the neighborhood. In this way, strangers will perceive this as an unwritten rule of not to enter the space, since this is transmitting clear visual and sensorial signals that the space is inhabited and overseen.

Albert Hunter`s "Symbols of incivility" expands on the significance of incivilities in the public space. In his paper dated in 1978 Hunter is illustrating what fear is and how this propagates among individuals in neighborhoods. Fear of criminality makes the main topic of his paper, because according to his assumptions, fear of criminal victimization is actually stronger than fear itself. Therefore, he explores the cultures of "civilities" and "incivilities", explaining how what people actually fear in the public space is not crime, but "incivilities". People will rather fear the disturbance of the public order and any bizarre happening, than much more severe crime.

William H. Whyte`s "Life of Plazas" consists of research based on life of public spaces originating in 1980. He had dedicated more than 30 years in observing this closely. He assesses the quality of a public space according to flow and density of its visitors. His research on public spaces finds numerous connections between human behavior and the values of a space which can be variable or constant. His theory draws on the quality of these values by exposing several indicators and exhibiting how these can be administrated.

Wilson and Kelling`s Broken Windows Theory dated in 1982 highlights how crime attracts crime and how carelessness and space decay are fostering and facilitating it. At the same time, the theory implies that taking care of the aesthetics of the physical space actually ensure comfort and security. This is a very close association to Jane Jacobs` concept of "eyes on the streets". A neat space determines people to spend more time together and to get to know who their neighbors are. Having more people on the streets, in public spaces, will provide an overall impression that the space

is actually inhabited and somebody is there, taking care of it. In this way it will be much difficult for intruders to loiter or to break in.

This theoretical section aims to highlight a few aspects that describe how human behavior and then criminal behavior is related to the built physical environment. Each theory exhibits different stances and approaches of the topic, by describing the modalities that professionals have used in various situations. Best practice examples have always represented a reliable help into solving similar problems or on how to avoid doing the same mistake twice.

2.1. CPTED

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, as the name suggests, deals with clear methods of managing the physical space, by making use of the natural elements that can be encountered in the surrounding environment. Although this theory is actually represented by a collection of concepts and hypotheses, it is quite similar to Newman`s „Defensible Space Theory", so their history is a bit ambiguous. Historically speaking, the concept of crime prevention by means of environmental design was coined up by Dr. C. Ray Jeffery in his book with the same name, „Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design" which came out in 1971. Simultaneously, Newman was researching the same topic and got to publish his book „Defensible Space- Crime Prevention Through Urban Design" in 1972. However, after debating the situation, Newman credited Jeffery as the originator of CPTED term. Eventually, starting with 2004 newer models related to CPTED started to come out under the denomination of Newman/Crowe CPTED.

Even though the two theories have emerged about the same time and they almost expand on the same topic, however, CPTED tends to have a much more general applicability. Under the term of CPTED, Dr. C. Ray Jeffery argues upon the assumption that „the proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear of crime and the incidence of crime, and to an improvement in the quality of life." (Crowe, 2000)

Although CPTED represents the main collection of concepts, experience and methods, a very important point is the fact that when studied, this concept helps a professional to acquire a better handling of the project he/she is responsible with. Before mastering the CPTED concepts, a professional must know that he/she would never look at the environment the same way again. Also it has to be acknowledged that everything has to be questioned no matter how trivial, and that by learning the language of one`s own profession, targets can be understood much easily. (Crowe, 2000)

Also, historically speaking, interest in CPTED is to be found in work of Jane Jacobs, in her book „Life and Death of great American Cities" which came out in 1961. (Crowe, 2000) In her book she approached the same topic of criminality in relation to urban design considerations, with the very popular concept of „eyes on the streets". This topic was referring to natural surveillance and territorial identity. Her work inspired many professionals in tackling with this topic.

CPTED theory that exhibits these concepts in my paper is a second edition, adapted by Timothy D. Crowe. Crowe sums up his experiences with the CPTED methods, and at the same time he explains the underlying concepts of this theory. After all, the scope of this theory is to positively alter the consciousness of the large public in terms of what the surrounding environment actually is about. In this way, as long as professionals manage to understand the effect that the physical environment has on people, this can be furthermore applicable on crime. Mastering this kind of knowledge participates to a great extent in the reflective process of a professional. Therefore, questioning our decisions as well as the appearance of the physical space, is part of much more efficient and accurate planning of the surrounding space, resulting in safer places for individuals and their families.

2.1.1. Grounds

CPTED mostly consists of field observations of how between human behavior interacts with the environment and it also portrays crime according to various sources. Given the ubiquitousness of crime, as well as its cosmopolitan nature, this theory depicts crime in terms of global considerations, rightfully concluding that „Crime is so common to human existence that it is taken for granted. That is, everyone knows what it is, so it needs no definition." (Crowe, 2000, p. 14) According to Crowe`s research, there are four levels of crime in terms of how this phenomenon impacts communities and generates fear: reported crime, unreported crime, unacknowledged crime, undetected losses. (Crowe, 2000, p. 18) Crowe also argues that crime has been subject for debate for a long time among criminologists who attempted to find the reason behind this phenomenon. In this direction, he portrays crime as being possibly grounded by the following philosophies:

- legal- decision of crime is purely rational, and whenever crime happens, that is the result of the individual`s decision;

- social- criminal behavior is related to and is the result of social conditions such as lack of opportunity, improper associations, poor environmental conditions, etc;

- psychological- crime happens due to mental pathologies of individuals resulting in dysfunctional behaviors;

- biological- bizarre or scientifically valid; for an example the relation between chemical deficiencies with the human behavior;

- political- crime and criminal behavior are natural societal reactions to opressive capitalistic government; (Crowe, 2000, p. 19)
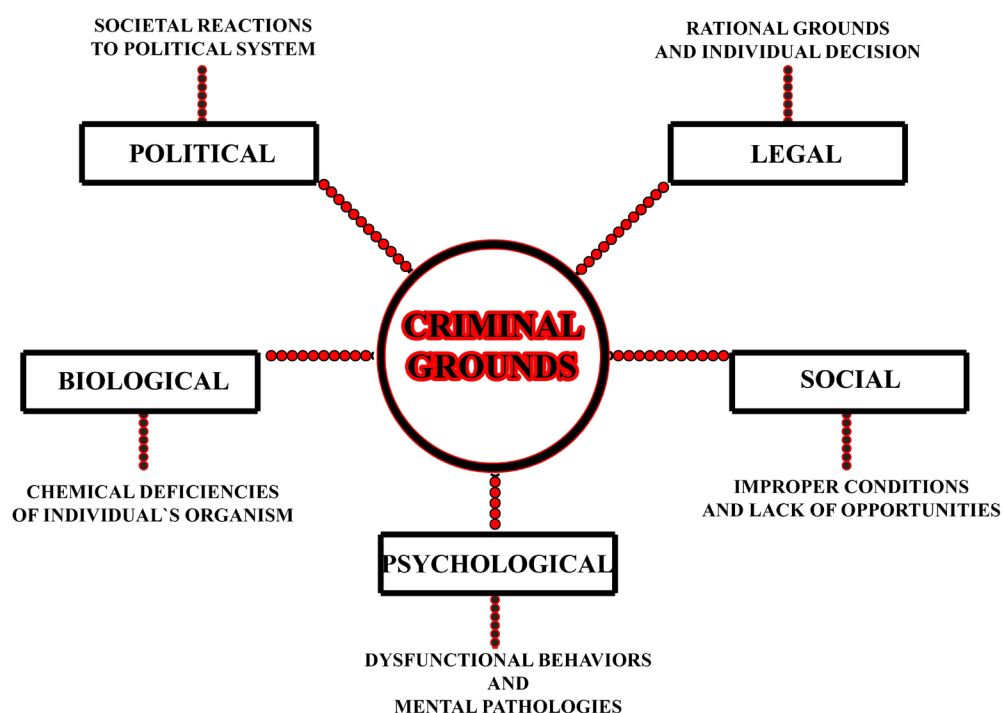

Figure 1(Crowe, 2000, p. 19)

2.1.2. Concepts and terminologies

The overall concept of CPTED exhibits the fact that physical environment can be manipulated in order to alter human behavior to such extent that consequently, crime rate will decrease and quality of life will be enhanced. In this context the term environment includes the people as well as their physical and social surroundings. The term design includes physical, social, management and law enforcement strategies, aiming to influence human behavior in a positive manner as people interact with their environment. However, in the context of influencing human behavior, it is not the case of the broad understanding of human behavior, but rather „that kind of behavior that can be influenced and evaluated in the specified human/environment relationship." (Crowe, 2000, p. 35)

CPTED requires a thorough design of the physical space with a prior analysis in terms of physical, social and psychological needs of the space-users. Also, it is required to have a mapping of the normal and expected use of space as well as it is necessary to consider predictable behavior of bona-fida users and offenders. (Crowe, 2000, p. 35)

The CPTED methods make use of design and use, which are quite far from the traditional target-hardening approach recognized in the use of locks, fences, alarms or gates. Such traditional approaches lead to constraints of use, access and enjoyment of the hardened environment. (Crowe, 2000, p. 35)

2.1.3. Strategies

According to Crowe, there are three major strategies intended to prevent crime which are interrelating:

- natural access control;

- natural surveillance;

- territorial reinforcement.

NATURAL ACCESS CONTROL · · · · · NATURAL SURVEILLANCE · · · · · TERRITORIAL REINFORCEMENT

CRIME PREVENTION
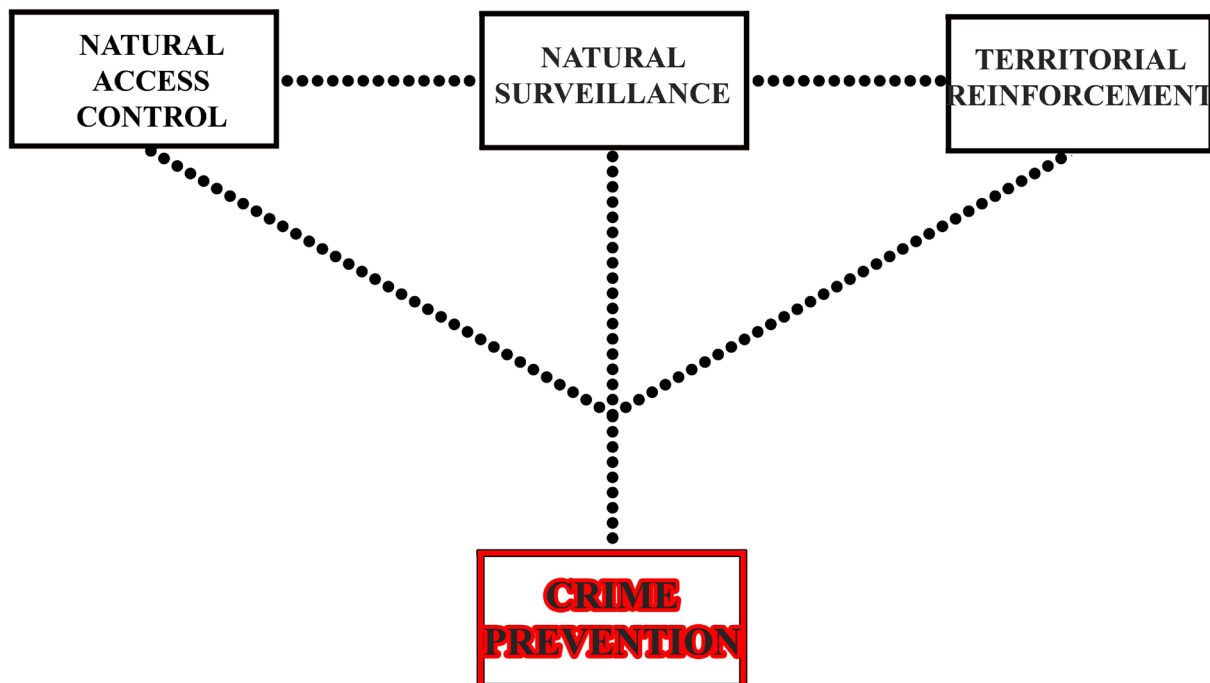
Figure 2

Access control is a design concept which aims to decrease crime opportunity. The main target of access control strategy is to deny access to a crime target and to instill a feeling of risk among possible offenders.

Access control strategies are typically classified as:

- organized-ex. Guards;
- mechanical-ex. Locks;
- natural- ex. Spatial definition;

On the other hand, surveillance is also a design concept aiming to keep potential intruders under observation. Therefore, the main target of this strategy is that of facilitating observation.

Surveillance strategies are typically classified as:

- organized-ex. Police;
- mechanical- ex. Lighting;
- natural-ex. Windows; (Crowe, 2000, pp. 36-37)

Figure 3(Crowe, 2000, p. 37)

Furthermore, the concept of territoriality suggests that physical design can emphasize the sense of ownership among citizens. This concept suggests that by a thorough manipulation of the physical elements in the surrounding space, physical design can create such a space of whic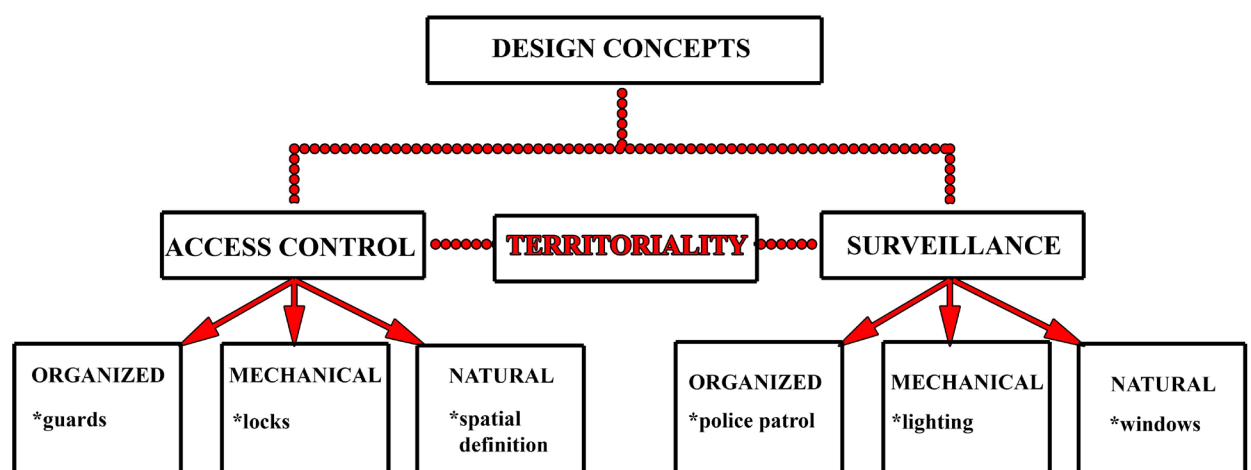h citizens can be proud, and over which they can develop a sense of ownership. In this way, they will feel that they are proprietors of that area and they will be much more motivated to engage in taking care of the space. Therefore, this strategy becomes effective in preventing criminality, due to the high risk that offenders are exposed to. (Crowe, 2000, p. 37)

Another interesting idea highlighted by Crowe is that in order for any CPTED model to be a success, it is of utmost importance that everybody understands its implications. In this direction, the three-D approach exhibited by Crowe represents an very elementary guide of how space should be used. This three-D approach revolves around three considerations of the human space:

- all human space has some designated purpose;

- all human space has social, cultural, legal or physical definitions that prescribe the desired and acceptable behaviors;

- all human space is designed to support and control the desired behaviors; (Crowe, 2000, p. 39)

In this directions, following these principles, the three-D approach can be applied by strategically answering questions regarding Designation, Definition and Design.

Designation

- What is the designated purpose of this space?
- What was it originally intended to be used for?
- How well does the space support its current use? Its intended use?
- Is there conflict?

Definition

- How is the space defined?
- Is it clear who owns it?
- Where are its borders?
- Are there social or cultural definitions that affect how the space is used?
- Are there legal or administrative rules clearly set out and reinforced in policy?
- Are there signs?
- Is there conflict or confusion between the designated purpose and definition?

Design

- How well does the physical design support the intended function?
- How well does the physical design support the definition of the desired or accepted behaviors?
- Does the physical design conflict with or impede the productive use of the space or the proper functioning of the intended human activity?
- Is there confusion or conflict in the manner in which the physical design is intended to control behavior? (Crowe, 2000, pp. 39-40)

TEMPERATURE

GRAVITY

PRESSURE

HUMAN REACTIONAL ELEMENTS

1. METABOLIC

2. PERCEPTUAL SYSTEMS
sight, hearing, smell, touch, taste,
gravitational orientation

3. SKELETAL/MUSCULAR

SOUND

HUMIDITY

LIGHT
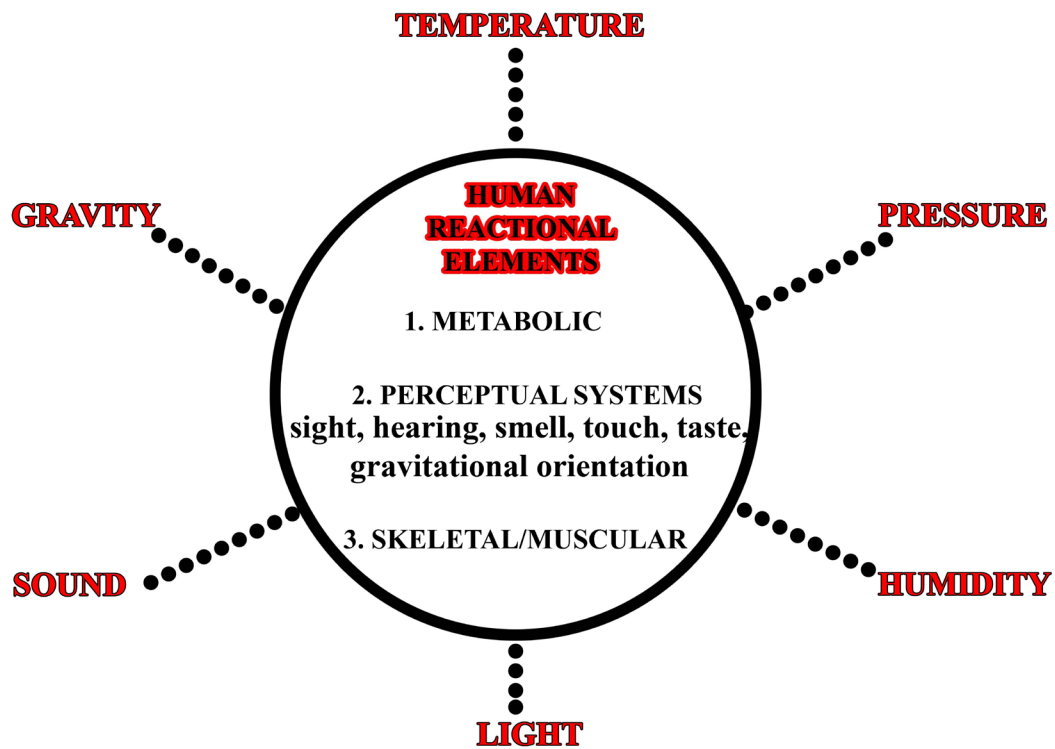
Figure 4(Crowe, 2000, p. 94)

The set of principles and theories consisted of CPTED aims to help professionals in this field to plan the physical space in a much more thorough and careful manner, with a stronger emphasis on the social sector. CPTED as a general concept not only maintains the social public order but it also replaces the feelings of fear and insecurity with those of comfort and safety.

In this direction, once I have extracted CPTED`s principles and strategies, furthermore, Oscar Newman's „Defensible Space Theory" argues on the same topic only that he places emphasis on the specific design features of housing, that can allow people to observe and be observed at the same time. His work deals with facing crime through such principles as well as with instilling a sense of security in neighborhoods.

2.2. Defensible Space Theory

Oscar Newman's work originated in 1972 provides a real help laying the foundation for a new criminological sub-discipline, which was later on called CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design).

It all started with a very peculiar situation which caught Newman`s interest, when a living complex named Pruitt-Igoe, designed by one of the most renowned architects at that time proved to be a real failure. Although these architectures were designed according to principles of Le Corbusier and of the International Congress of Modern Architects, the project did not work according to the expectations.

The living complex was high-rise development, consisting of 11 story buildings, with ground floor and first floor intended for community activity, and third floor hosting common amenities such as laundry, a communal room and a garbage room with a chute.

The inhabitants were single parents; the grounds were dissociated from the units. Therefore, as a general reaction, all the public space was vandalized, since the residents were not able to identify themselves with the space.

All the public available space that people shared soon started to be vandalized and to be perceived as dangerous, because of the message that the surroundings were transmitting. Given the advanced state of physical decay, the project never acquired more than 60% occupancy and 10 years later it was demolished.

In the nearby proximity there was an old row-housing complex named Carr Square Village, inhabited by the same population typology. However, at the same time with the high rise development decline, the row-housing was fully occupied and far from any decay or hindrance. It was then when the main research interest was defined, by linking the significance of physical built environment with human behavior.

In the beginning, the theory resembled a collection of analogies of how human behavior is affected by the living conditions, according to three different typologies: single family housing, walkups and high-rises.

Each housing typology sheltered a varied number of individuals who consequently had different space surfaces to share in common. What Newman intended to prove with his observations was the fact that the sense of ownership of a territory and belonging to this one, will be reduced according to the amount of space that they have to share.

For instance, the single family housing had three different subcategories: detached houses, semidetached houses and row grouped houses, but each of these categories involved a clear boundary which clearly separated the houses, as well as a garden with individual access to it, which was seen as private space.

The walkups implied a different situation, consisting of a larger grouped housing which sheltered about six families, sharing the same common access to the building, the hallway as well as the garden surrounding the housing complex, being seen as semi-public space. Even though the space was common for the inhabitants of the building, strangers were not allowed.

The third category was represented by the high-rise, which at the same time was the most problematic. It sheltered about 195 families on 15 floors, and all the space beyond the apartments` doors was commonly shared by everybody.

Sense of ownership was revealed only within the dwelling. Even though the commonly shared space was designated as semipublic, everybody perceived it as entirely public.

Defensible Space Theory acknowledges that if a reduced number of families share a space together, it is much easier for them to reach consensus regarding the use of the space, controlling or administrating it. At the same time, as the number of inhabitants increase on a certain territory, the more difficult it will be for them to find common ground and to reach common solutions, because nobody perceives space as their own, and therefore they don`t feel rightful owners of the space, nor do they feel responsible to manage it.

Any initiative to operate with the space would determine them to feel like not complying with each other`s privacy, intimacy. Hence, it is much easier for strangers, „irregulars", villains to break in this space, since they do not feel constrained by any rule, nor do they perceive the unwritten rules of the territory.

```
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│   SENSE      │      │  MAINTANANCE OF  │      │              │
│    OF        │●●●●●●│  PHYSICAL SPACE  │●●●●●●│ TERRITORIALITY│
│  OWNERSHIP   │      │                  │      │              │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────────┘      └──────────────┘
        │                                                │
        └────────────────────────┬───────────────────────┘
                                 │
                         ┌───────────────┐
                         │    SAFETY     │
                         │     AND       │
                         │   SECURITY    │
                         └───────────────┘
```
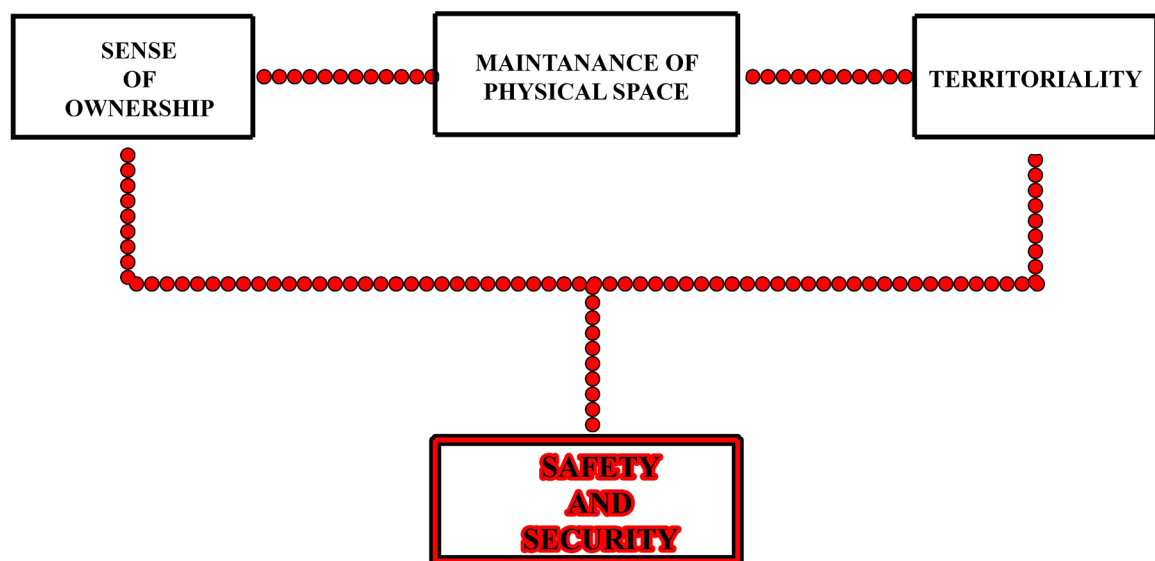
Figure 5

It is extremely interesting how these theories unveil methods and examples of how human behavior is influenced by the physical space. For an example, in the case of Broken Windows Theory , which will be explained later on, even though concrete methods were applied for the neighborhood`s safety, the positive outcome that came later was not due to these, but due to a responsiveness. Once a foreign element emerged into the scenery, it stirred up the locals` reactions. While having police patrols as pawns in the public sphere, people self induced themselves the idea that streets are much more secure.

When the streets were perceived as safer, the following step was for the locals to maintain them that way, and by doing so, the sense of ownership was highly solidified, engaging people to protect not only their own houses, but their neighbors` as well.

As long as the prevailing feeling is that of safety and security, in its turn it will attract an overall state of safety. In the light of these theories, security and safety are synonyms with clean, neat streets and well maintained dwellings and physical space. The social experiments performed in these theories prove how easily people can be influenced and how the altering of the physical environment −positively or negatively- can stop or encourage various types of incivilities, be they serious or minor.

As for incivilities, if they are not controlled at the right time, when a space is threatened with deterioration, the decay process will only get worse. Incivilities attract other incivilities and types of behavior which can be associated with these.

The more individuals sharing a territory, the more difficult it would be for them to reach a common conclusion over how to use that space. In most of cases, public spaces represent only transitory areas, which are covered by people only when they need to get from point A to point B, and situations where people actually spend time or interact in such areas are rather rare.

An interesting point regarding what is seen as public and what is seen as private outside the personal residence is represented by the association street-sidewalk. While the sidewalk is perceived by the legislation as public, actually in the everyday life it doesn`t have exactly that value. Right outside their residence, each owner feels entitled over the adjacent slice of sidewalk. This phenomenon can be easily observed out of how owners usually park their cars with such precision, on the sidewalk, right in front of their residence. Although that space is commonly shared, this unwritten law is applicable almost everywhere. Consistent with this sequence of events, the sidewalk moves in the semi-private sphere, where citizens feel they are somehow in control over the space they are living in. Therefore, by controlling the sidewalk and the street, this strengthens their sense of ownership. The sidewalk becomes an extension of the private residence, passing from the semi-private sphere into the private one, where the citizens are feeling entitled over the piece of sidewalk in front of their residence and somehow, over the street. This happens in particular when a smaller number of individuals share the same territory. The only public space which retains its public character and continues being perceived by people as public, is represented by the center of the street. (Newman, 1996, p. 19) Even in this situation, this particular perception on what starts being perceived as private and what stays public depends somehow on the dimensions of the space.

The narrower the streets, the less will they be perceived as public, because it is easier for citizens to keep an eye on them, as well as they are closer to their residence. On the other hand, the larger and the more spacious the streets are the more public awareness will they acquire.

It`s extremely interesting how according to different scenarios, the sidewalk takes on different facets, for an instance, the cases brought up by (Whyte, 1980, p. 54), where the sidewalk loses its transitory function and it becomes an interaction basis.

However, this sense of ownership over the sidewalk or over the streets is active only as long as they are directly neighboring the residence, or an adjacent space clearly defined and perceived as private. On the other hand, if the sidewalk is split apart from the residence by a space which is defined as public, then, the citizens will lose any proprietary or control sense over both, the sidewalk and the street. This phenomenon occurs with predilection whenever the space is shared amongst more individuals. As long as the territory surrounding the residence maintains a public value, that is also how the sidewalk and the street will be. In such a situation, a much more precise space management and a much more thorough control become necessary, supported by security force.(Newman, 1996, p. 20)

That is the point where citizens lose control and the access of strangers on the territory is facilitated by the physical appearance of the surrounding built environment.

However, Newman exposes another solution, where the residences inhabited by more individuals can convert the feeling of control over the space, from public to semi-private, by increasing the number of accesses in the buildings. If a building is inhabited by more families on various floors and the number of accesses doubles, then at the same time the visual perspective enlarges and it becomes much easier for the inhabitants to observe who comes in and who goes out of the building. This is a modality to control the access of strangers in the building. Therefore, they will feel empowered over the territory and they will feel much more in control and much more determined to protect their space.

Certainly, while we are discussing the relation between the human behavior and the aspect of the physical surrounding space, it must be specified that there are many other elements to be considered. The social capital represents a fluctuating and uncertain resource, therefore the social factors interact in various modalities with the physical elements, offering different results. Therefore, the most influential factors are represented by the percentage of population receiving welfare, the building height and the number of families sharing the entry of a building.

An important increase in criminal incidents has been detected with predilection in those areas where social projects were prevailing. At a point where families with problems are concentrated on the same territory, the odds grow for those problems to aggravate and to attract more similar causalities, therefore increasing crime rate. Large low-income projects or low-income projects bordered by other low-income projects represent higher criminal odds rather than the isolated projects. (Newman, 1996, p. 24)

Youth growing up in such doubtful neighborhoods have more chances to soar into criminal fatalities, given the experience they have been having in childhood. They learn how to use the surrounding physical space in order to facilitate their criminal tendencies. They adapt to the environment because the elements of the built environment represent potential resources for attack plans.

Even though Defensible Space Theory draws mainly on the relation between citizens and their residences, I find that inquisitive regarding how human behavior responds to the physical details of the space. Residences in their turn are part of a much complex assembly, which will determine their safety status in the future. In theory, Newman exposes various housing typologies: social housing, single parent family housing, elderly housing, high-rise, low-rise, walkups, etc. After a lengthy research, Newman manages to capture how each housing type represents some specific peculiarities, and how these predetermine behavioral patterns. Even though at the beginning all projects are initiated with the same rhythm, along the way it can be observed how some of these keep the same pace, while others start to degrade, contaminating surroundings as well.

In this respect, Newman finds a solution to these projects, bound to be doomed, by suggesting a series of strategies which are increasing the chances for the space to revive. Making use of Defensible Space Theory, the number of criminal incidents decreased and along with that, at the same time the quality of life increases. He explains for an instance how a simple street restructuring can shape new neighborhoods, much more stable, with much more united communities. Altering the physical appearance of neighborhoods also has an effect on how the community functions. By limiting vehicular access on streets and pedestrianizing most of them, the neighborhoods become safer places for children to play in and much more facilitative in citizens` interactions. (Newman, 1996, p. 41)

This new type of neighborhood allows a better visibility over the territory. The smaller the neighborhoods, the better for citizens to know each other and to easily oversee the children`s games, as well as the strangers access in the area. While the neighborhood becomes so familiar for them, it will be perceived as personal property by everyone who is a local there, preventing this way any inappropriate or unwanted activity, especially those related to drug trafficking, prostitution, or any other obtrusive events for the public peace.

In this connection, citizens turn to better know who their neighbors are and how to have more trust and how to better protect the space that they inhabit. The physical space is bivalent and has two edges. On one hand, the space can frighten and stir up panic and anxiety feelings, determining the locals to fear the outside tensions and to spend more time particularly inside the residence. On the other hand, the space can also represent the warmth and the comfort of a home, inviting everyone outside, and encouraging interaction. Using the physical space as a tool to maintain public order, the locals can jointly build up the rules of a moral conduct which has to be mutually agreed in the neighborhood.

Within this theory, Newman suggests that the odds for criminal incidents to happen are lower in an area which is overseen and taken care of. Using surveillance as a method of social control becomes effective when citizens know each other. This becomes possible with alternating the following elements:

- territoriality- subdividing buildings and grounds into areas of influence to discourage outsiders from entering and motivating residents to defend their areas;

- surveillance- designing buildings in such way that it easily permit natural observation and overlooking the area;

- aesthetics- designing the public housing in such way that it avoids notoriety and that it creates a good impression for residents and for visitors as well;

- boundaries- strategically placing the project in close proximity of areas already known as safe;

Territoriality revolves around the sub-division of buildings and grounds into smaller areas of interest, to determine and motivate people to protect their own space, so that perpetrators will feel discouraged to perform any mischievous activity. Surveillance presumes that the buildings should be designed in such a way that permits easy overseeing over the proximities. Image relates to the aesthetics of the physical space, and presumes that the design should be carefully chosen so that it avoids potential notoriety. The environment element consists of adjoining the housing project with other areas already known as safe and well reputed.

In this direction, the following theory was chosen due to the fact that it argues about the same related topic, which is how the appearance of the surrounding space can influence human behavior. Particularly, Hunter expands on how fear is perpetuated due to lack of social order which is mirrored in how physical space looks like. Also, Hunter`s theory exhibits how people can subconsciously perceive various feelings according to the appearance of the physical space.
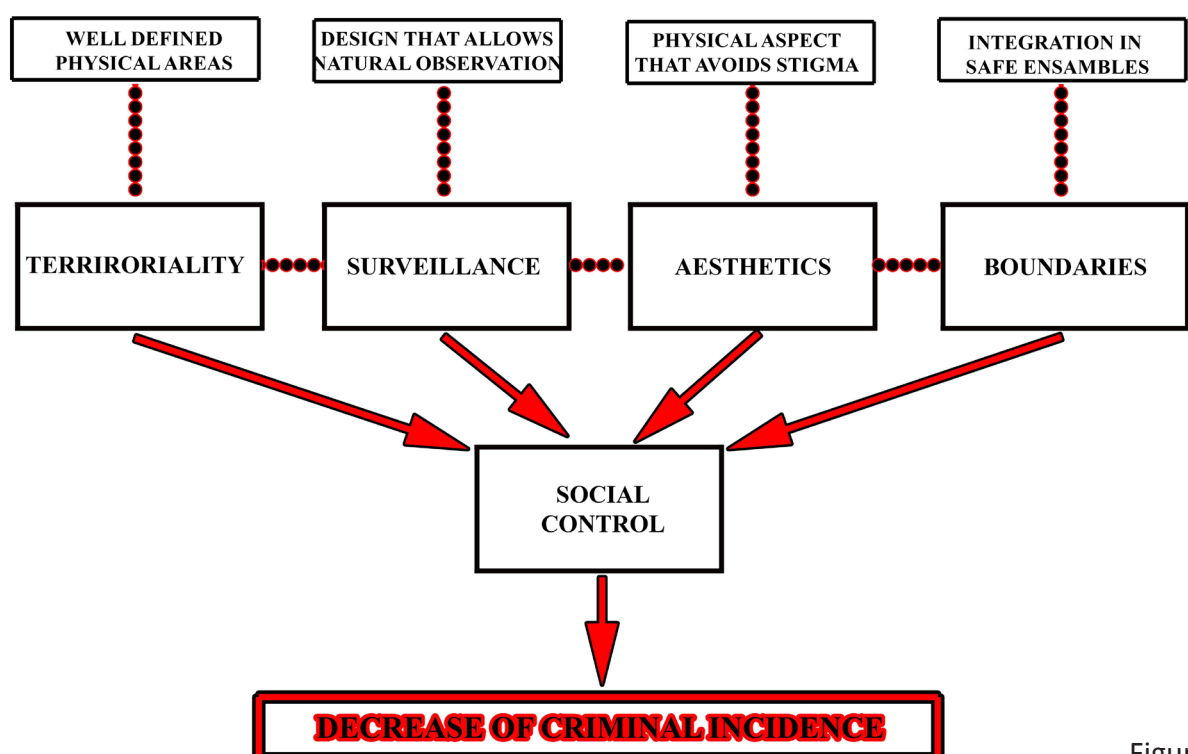

Figure 6

2.3. Symbols of Incivility

Albert Hunter`s paper originates in 1978 and focuses primarily on the social factor, performing research in order to explain the emergence of fear in the public spaces. The topic is also related to the social disorder in urban neighborhoods and how this relates to fear among citizens. The basis of the theory is given by reactions to "Crime Project of the center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University" and it consists mostly of field observations collected throughout a year and his work is theory generating rather than theory testing.

One of his main observations which are highly relevant for strengthening my hypotheses is that the fear of criminal victimization in urban space is actually much more common and piercing than victimization itself. In this direction, he explored the reasons which are grounding fear. Why are people actually afraid of in public spaces? The answer to this question is to be found in the following lines. Hunter considers that the external factors of the environment are much more relevant than the psychological considerations, which are only defining the variety of personalities among human behaviors. In the attempt of explaining fear of citizens he does not neglect the psychological perspective of the problem, but he considers that what actually counts in this matter is the external physical environment.

According to (Hunter, 1978) both incivilities and crime are equally representative for the overall ensemble of social disorder, but in the light of his research he found out that incivilities are actually more fear-generating than crime. Also, given his research, the concept of „fear" covers related sub-concepts such as „concern" and „risk". His paper analyzes reac-

tions to fear according to these sub-concepts, while translating the general term of „crime" through robbery, burglary, murder and rape. Hunter analyzes „incivilities" by bordering this term with fear and social disorder. Firstly he describes the phenomenon of civility by taking San Francisco as an example to exhibit the fact that this city has a greater tolerance for diversity of behaviors, comparing to other cities. A pertinent observation is that behaviors do not vary in the public space, but they are just perceived differently and they receive different reactions. „It is not that behaviors are different in public places but they are responded to differently." (Hunter, 1978, p. 3) He connects this phenomenon to what can be generally described as „culture". In this direction he acknowledges the existence of some cities that develop their own culture about behavior in public space which eventually offers the city`s nuances in „image" or „feeling". (Hunter, 1978, p. 3)
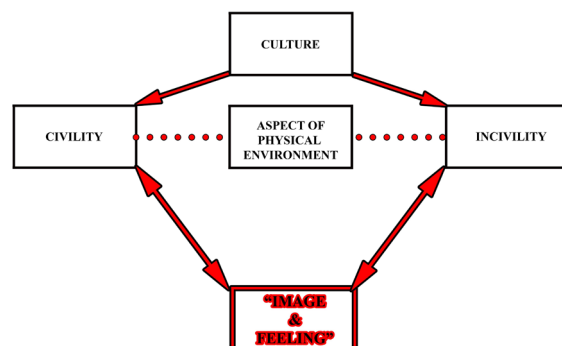

Figure 7

According to these, the culture of civility differs from one city to another. Given the diversity of such cultures, each city, country, space, area, perceive public encounters in a different manner, which consequently results in the fact that what public order means in an area might not be the same in a different location. In his paper Hunter cites Claude Fischer 1975 who`s work brings parallels to these hypotheses, with his „sub-cultural theory of urbanism", where he connects the enhanced tolerance of behavioral diversity with the concepts of disorganization and disorder. Fischer also observed that among residentially segregated cultures there is a certain internal solidarity which enhances and protects public encounters. Given this, we can extract that in a neighborhood subculture everybody knows everybody, people have a higher tolerance for their neighbors, and that is why the feeling of fear is not so pervasive, since public encounters are much more controlled and overseen.

Hunter also cites Ervin Goffman and his paper „Behavior in Public Spaces", defining the processes through which individuals mutually decide what is defined as „public order" in their context. In the collective consciousness of a city there is a very smooth border in terms of what is private and what remains public. Therefore, given the issue of these conflicts over rights in urban spaces, public order must be renegotiated. In these cases culture is no longer a determining factor, but the emphasis is represented by specific sets of rules. Hence to this, despite of the diversity of human behaviors, in an inhabited shared space public civility takes the shape of a uniform, to which everybody must comply.

Furthermore, Hunter develops a few explanations regarding the relation of incivilities in physical urban spaces with the feelings of fear and insecurity that citizens experience. In order to explain his arguments, he used inspiration from urban sociology which studies the metamorphosis of cities and implications of this over the everyday routine of people. An interesting fact inspired by Hunter`s research is that when the citizens adapt these changes to their routine and needs, that actually can be translated through the establishment of a new public social order. People are negotiating their public order.
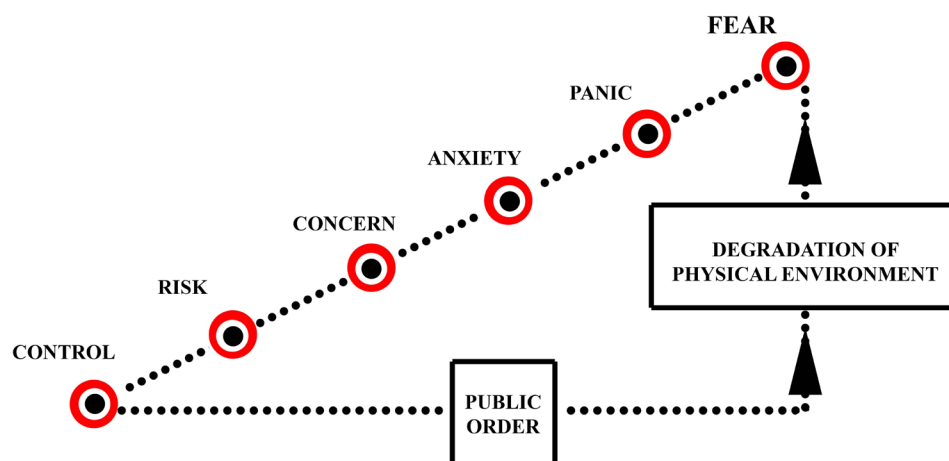

Figure 8

33

Hunter also cites Whyte, in „Street Corner Society" (1943) who was offering as example the case of a slum community with street corner groups, organized according to a system of personal loyalties among peer groups and families. (Hunter, 1978, p. 6) Alternatively, another example offered by Hunter comes from Gans, „The urban villagers" (1962), where he states how a peer group culture, associated with families and ethnicity formed the basis of solidarity in the neighborhood. (Hunter, 1978, p. 6) Also, according to Hunter, a similar example comes from Suttles, in „Social order of the Slum" (1968), where by the concept of „segmented social order" he describes how personal civil ties and territorial separation of potentially conflicting racial and ethnic groups maintained order in a West Side neighborhood of Chicago. (Hunter, 1978, p. 6)

In this direction, Hunter argues that whenever neighborhoods are subject to change, the social structure also changes, and along with that, routine of people. This leads to the occurrence of the so-called incivilities, directly influenced by a lack of pre-established public order. With this, Hunter implies that the absence of a civil public order results in personal fear. (Hunter, 1978, p. 7)

Although Hunter focuses primarily on the nature of incivilities as a result of face to face encounters, he also acknowledges the existence of physical characteristics of incivilities. He explores incivilities according to the physical environment of cities, borrowing the term of „physical residues of the actions of others" from Webb et.al.1967. He explains how the erosions and the excrescence of the physical space translated through decrepit architecture, burned out buildings, litter and garbage in the streets, can altogether participate in

shaping the overall image of the space, as well as imaging the type of people who live there. According to these, not knowing much about that particular area, an outsider can use these physical indicators to determine what kind of space is that and what kind of people inhabit it.

„With no personal encounters, these signs adequately communicate an image of „disorder" and specifically the loss of a civil society. Well kept neighborhoods, to a degree independent of social class, communicate a semblance of order, and I would suggest, result in less fear."(Hunter, 1978, p. 7)

However, Hunter is not neglecting the connection of physical features of incivilities with serious crime, but what he aims to exhibit is that these in-civil physical characteristics are much more present in people`s everyday routine and much more probable to instill fear and insecurity among citizens, due to the frequency with which they are experienced.

According to Hunter, contemporaneous urban sociology assumes that the state and its formal authority cannot hold full responsibility in maintaining social order, but hold only a partial and limited role. At this point Hunter recalls James Q. Wilson as a police observer, who noticed that the purpose of this state authority is of course that of catching criminals and enforcing law, but at the same time, to maintain the spirit of public order. According to these, what police has to deal with on streets is a sense of disorder, fear and insecurity that citizens experience day by day, and much rarer with factual crime. Of course, the feelings of fear and security can have different values from one community to another, according to what is perceived as social order by people inhabiting a particular area.

by people inhabiting a particular area.

Simultaneously, Hunter argues that in the context of state`s accountability of maintaining order, the physical incivilities represent an obvious indicator of the degree to which the state gets involved in maintaining social and physical order in some areas.

However, what Hunter aimed to express with his paper was the fact that fear in the public space actually represents a fear of incivilities and a fear of social disorder. Therefore, anything related to social disorder might represent a nuisance in the everyday routine of the citizens. Both fear of social disorder as well as fear of incivilities represent threats to an individual`s own safety, resulting in fear. In the light of his paper it can also be concluded that fear actually results from experiencing incivilities rather than crime, because even though some particular urban spaces relate incivilities directly with crime, incivilities have more chances to instill fear among citizens due to their pervasive nature and due to the frequency with which they occur.

The elements envisioned in Hunter's work are complemented by the following theory, represented by William H. Whyte's research on „social life of urban spaces". Whyte`s work has proved to be complementary to this theoretical framework. Whyte was a pioneer in studying human behavior in public spaces and his work was mostly centered on this topic. Therefore, by closely observing people`s daily routine in the physical space he brought a consistent contribution to strengthen the idea that life quality can be enhanced along with betterment of space.

2.4. "Life of public spaces"

William Whyte who has actually dedicated more than 30 years of research over how the physical space interacts with human behavior and his paper, „Social life of small urban spaces" draws on how the built environment has various effects on human behavior, in the smallest details. His research was aided by recordings, interviews, but mostly on direct personal observation of the space. First of all he assesses the quality of the space according to the volume of visitors that the space shelters for a certain amount of time. Mostly, he refers to the rush hours, when everyday activity is at its peak. In Whyte`s vision, the more people a place hosts, the better it is.

Even though the criminal behavior hides numerous symbolisms and various unknown origins and grounds, a certain fact is that at the surface, there are a few drivers which can easily stir up fear or controversy among groups, communities, individuals. Either it is a street, a neighborhood or a plaza, there is a natural longing of people to feel safe and unthreatened by any external factors.

Each public space has a particular vibration, causing it to function in a unique way, different from other spaces. This vibration determines the dynamics of a particular space, according to the culture and context it is part of. Even though each space has unique dynamics, there is however a common fact, irrespective of location and residents, and that is how the physical space communicates with people in a global language.

For an instance, inhabitants will always feel cornered in a disreputable territory, endorsed by drug dealers, pimps, prostitutes, or frequented by thieves. This way people`s trust in that particular space is altered and the feeling of unsafety will self extend furthermore, at-

tracting more similar events and perpetuating its notoriety and poor quality.

His interviews with people covered curiosities such as where they came from, where they were heading to, where they were working, or what did they think of that public place. But the most interesting part was that these questions could have been easily answered by simply observing their actions. Whyte`s paper successfully proved how people`s actions speak a better truth than the one they are verbalizing, especially regarding space preferences.

Whyte`s paper extremely relevant in explaining how deceiving can be the most common perceptions in terms of how people use the space and what they really need in a city. For an instance, a very clear example is that of how children use space. The most common perception is that of kids needing particularly designed playgrounds, colorful, complicated, glittery or centrally placed. However, on the other hand, if we truly analyze children`s behavior, they will be attracted for a very short time and afterwards they will soon become uninterested, because that design is not stimulating their creativity either way. They have an innate curiosity for adventure and they adapt the elements of the physical environment by converting them into toys.

There is no need for great efforts to be done in order to achieve high quality space, but however there is a great need for care about details and people`s needs. Most of the times, the efforts are undergone in the wrong direction, and essential to specify, the large financial resources invested in needless and unaesthetic design. Whyte emphasizes that in his paper promoting quality rather than quantity.

„It is far easier, simpler to create spaces that work for people than those that do not- and a tremendous difference it can make to the city life." (Whyte, 1980, p. 15) „It takes a real work to create a lousy space.[...] Sometimes, some places represent only a design conceit." (Whyte, 1980, p. 29) They look pretentious and sophisticated and they are anything but comfortable.

Also, during his research Whyte assessed space dynamics in terms of how static or transitory can the physical space be, according to how this is used, for spending time, or as rendezvous spot. Also, part of determining the quality of a space, according to Whyte, revolves around feet-movement. Direction of pedestrian flow indicates preference and speed of the pedestrian flow in a particular physical space tends to indicate enjoyment of the area.

By studying space dynamics and by means of direct field observation he managed to dismantle many myths and preconceptions of architects and planners envisioning what people need in urban spaces. For an example, people do not need to be directed to seating, because they will choose the most comfortable spots on their own. A first impression would be that of people preferring benches for seating, but on contrary, as Whyte observed, individuals will rather choose the ledge of a pool, a lawn or steps of an institution as seating spot.

In this sense, even though Whyte`s research argues about the dynamics of public spaces, he manages to determine very clear objectives in terms of physical indicators of the surrounding space. A balanced correlation of these indicators can altogether participate into creating a good qualitative space.

2.4.1. Congestion

2.4.2. Landmarks / Defining elements of space

An interesting perspective drawn by Whyte is that of self congestion. According to his research, supply creates demand and what attracts people is other people. Connected to this, he specifies that this phenomenon can easily be tracked by observing the space in detail. According to Whyte, people always use terms like „escape" and „oasis" and they always state that they want to go as far as possible from the city, but their behavior show exactly the opposite. Contrary to general opinion that people need private spaces to communicate, Whyte has observed that actually people feel much more comfortable in the middle of the pedestrian flow, because it makes them feel more motivated, alert and active, doing so by pure instinct.(Whyte, 1980, p. 21)

Whyte has noticed that in terms of standing patterns, people have a strong preference for well defined places, which have a certain identity. People need specific patterns or landmarks that can be associated with the space, such as poles, pillars, statues, flags, because this helps them into better defining and understanding the space. Also, this enhances the sense of territoriality

2.4.3. Sitting space

- comfort- sitting spaces need to be physically and socially comfortable for everyone
- simplicity- there is no need for un-necessary ornamentation- the simpler the space, the better the quality; people are much more attracted to spaces where minimal interventions are done;
- flexibility- constraints need to be avoided and people must be able to choose freely; this also refers to divisions and backside- divisions in benches or other sitting typologies are too conditional and impose discomfort; people need to choose with who, where and how to seat;
- accessibility- they must be easily accessed by everyone and it also needs to include amenities for handicapped;

2.4.4. Exposure to natural elements

In Whyte`s opinion, the urban physical space is much more than architecture, corners, verticals and horizontals. He argues that usually architecture is the last thing that people think about when using a space. What actually concerns them is the feeling that this space instills. Therefore, the natural elements participate to a great extent in enhancing the quality of a space.
- sun- energy generator and „people-magnet"; people are attracted to light and warmth, therefore a place with large sun exposure will always attract people;
- trees- „the best time to sit under a tree is when you have sun to shade from"-this argues that all elements are interconnected and function best when paired; there have been various studies proving the stress-reducing effect of vegetation in urban environments;
- wind- a well planned urban space will protect citizens from strong winds and also will adapt wind`s strength to the needs of people;
- water- either natural or designed in the urban space represents a fine intervention best when people have access to it;

2.4.5. Food

2.4.6. The street

Food is perceived in this context as dynamics-generator due to the optical leverage given in the physical space. In a tarnished space lacking activity, the strategic placement of food vendors can only benefit to the life of that urban space. Whyte argues that „food vendors have become the caterers of the city`s outdoor life". (Whyte, 1980, p. 50) The philosophy of the food vendors' culture is that food attracts people and people attract more people. Also, Whyte states that these vendors have very good instincts in detecting space that work, because in the light of their profession, they are constantly testing the market.

According to Whyte, successful physical public space starts at the street corner, because the activity undergoing in the street corner represents a great show. In Whyte`s vision, the street is seen as a "river of life" in the city and people come to places adjacent to the street not to escape but to partake of them. The street is a constant generator of movement and it keeps people alert.

Also, in Whyte`s vision which is somehow similar to Jane Jacobs` philosophy. „Eyes on the street" is what prevents crime and insecurity. By promoting a large amount of people in the street and increasing pedestrian flow in the physical space, this strengthens the development of social order, which eventually keep fear and crime under control. (Scherg, 2013)

2.4.7. The „Undesirables"

This section relates to the efforts that are endeavored to design a space to be attractive or not, in order to attract certain visitors, or to keep others away. In this direction Whyte offers examples where benches were made too short to be slept on and spike have been put in ledges so that loitering was prevented, and as a main idea, to keep the „undesirables" away. In the context of his research, Whyte describes undesirables as the most common faces in public spaces, avoided and sometimes feared by everyone. Contrary to popular beliefs, people are more afraid of undesirables- loiterers, drunks, noisy teenagers, bag-women, homeless- rather than the more serious offenders such as drug dealers, thieves, rapists, etc.

On the other hand, in the light of a thorough observation, Whyte observes that actually these „undesirables" can participate to a great extent in reducing crime of a particular area, because in case of a felony, they are the first to notice and most probably they know who the offender is, given the amount of time spent there.

Whyte also exhibits the situation where many corporation executives who don`t exactly know how urban space functions, make inappropriate decisions regarding the use of space. This is how, in the attempt of keeping „undesirables" away from a particular area, with the planning decisions made in that case, the particular area becomes empty, tarnished, resulting eventually in exactly the kind of space that „undesirables" prefer. Therefore, what will work in such a situation is exactly the opposite and that is making the space attractive for everyone else.

Whyte argues that most of the public spaces have a person who spends most of the time there, having different roles- guard, observer, food vendor, guide, etc- to whom he assigns the denomination of „mayor". The „mayor" of a public space knows who the regulars are, who the new faces are, he knows people`s routine and preferences.

2.4.8. Triangulation

By means of triangulation, Whyte exhibits the fact that in a physical space it is not sufficient to solitary use the indicators that are increasing the quality of a space. What he observed is that in the most populated and lively spaces, there is a very clear and obvious equilibrium, visually and sensorially detectable, among the physical indicators of the physical space. The balanced correlations between these indicators result in enhancing people`s interaction, increasing feelings of security and comfort.
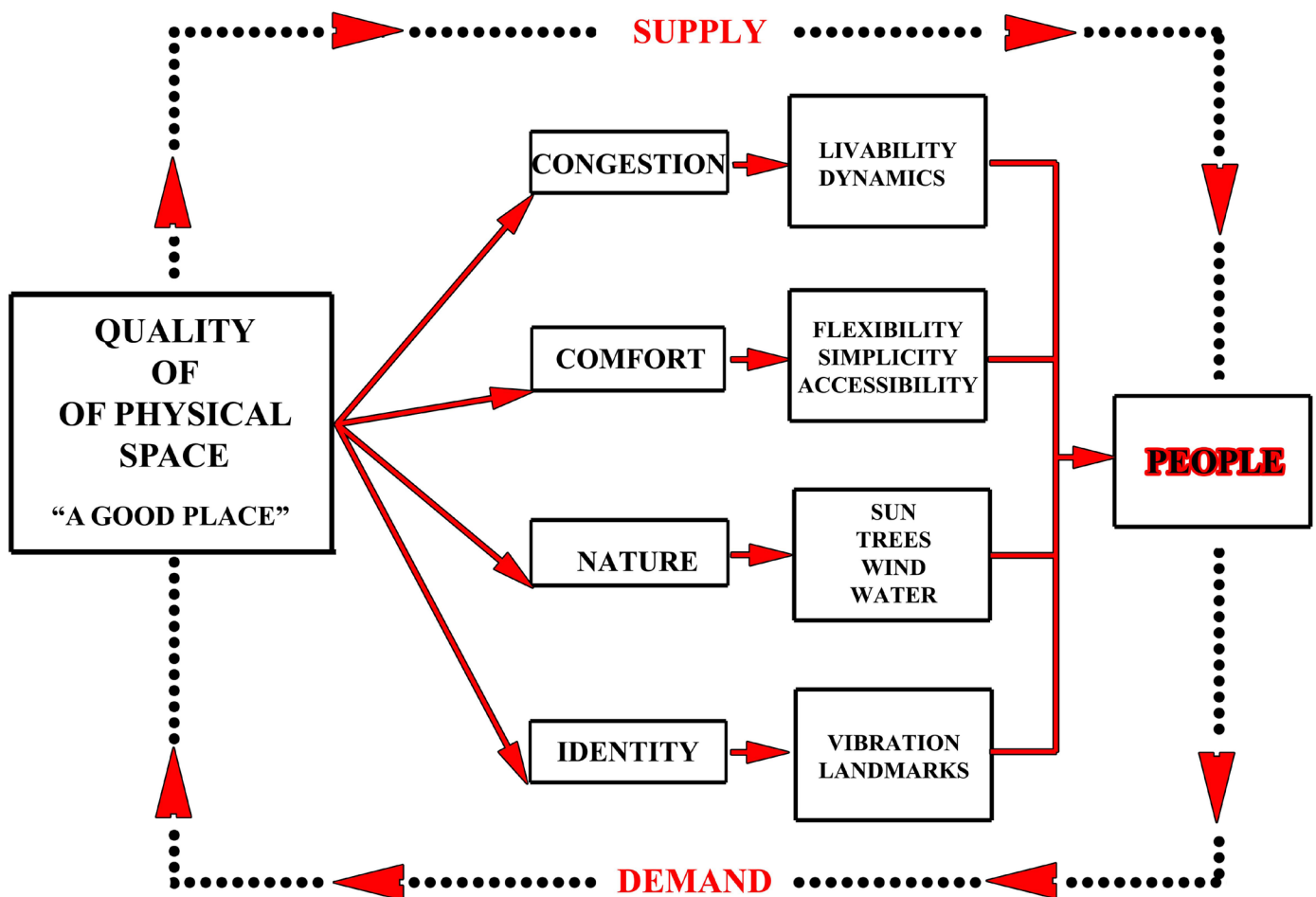

Figure 9

2.5. Broken Windows Theory

The „Broken Windows Theory" argues about the connection between criminality, physical environment and the main authoritative body of control which is represented by the police. This theory emerged in the early 1970`s in New Jersey, when the government came up with an initiative to reduce criminality by multiplying the number of operating police patrols, assigning them to patrol on foot. The police officers` general response was not so positive, since they were taken out of their comfort zone. The police was prohibited from using the traditional car police any longer, which used to confer them flexibility of action, speed and shelter in case of bad weather challenges. (Wilson & Kelling)

For a long time, speculations have been made regarding the effectiveness of this initiative, especially after an experiment has been performed with the purpose of checking how much had been changed in terms of crime records and statistics. After a considerable amount of time, it came with no surprise that the criminality level remained the same, with no positive fluctuation. What did change however, was people`s perception of space.

What is really exciting about this theory is the fact that it strengthens the hypothesis that criminality cannot be limited solely by supervision methods, control or force. The effectiveness of police patrols proved to be useful to a certain extent by altering the way in which people perceived security of space.

Even though we cannot offer a clear prescription of how criminality can be fought, there are however certain strategic directions that can at least enhance chances of this to happen. For example, if we observe the police effectiveness in Broken Windows Theory, patrols` action had not reduced criminality, but their presence on the streets influenced people to a certain extent. Being more present on the streets, the classical austere stance has been replaced by a sober attitude which has acquired a much more approachable and amenable nuance. Being active in constant patrol beats, the officers changed the sense of the public space, by tearing down the old boundary of the police vehicle. Becoming part of the public space, on daytime as well as on night time, police authorities became actors in the public sphere.

The highest enthusiasm of inhabitants towards patrols presence in their neighborhood has quite peculiar grounds. The general perception was that crime had been reduced when the public space was cleared of drunken people, beggars, prostitutes, panhandlers. (Wilson & Kelling, p. 2) It was not a concrete action that reduced crime, but solely the presence of patrols on streets, symbolizing safety and conferring security and comfort.

While the initiative for safer neighborhoods was being tested it was proved that criminality had not necessarily decreased, but this operating method had a good influence on the social capital: inhabitants of the patrolled area felt much safer, and the police officers had higher morale, greater job satisfaction and they were more confident. An unapproachable initiative in the beginning turned out to have an unexpectedly positive outcome. Given the situation presented in this theory, the streets turned out to be much more secure, not statistically speaking, but in the light of the human perception.

Initially, locals were afraid of crimes happening in the public space, which according to the authors could have been translated as „possible attacks coming from strangers", but also of less violent intrusions, caused by drunks, homeless people, beggars, loud teenagers, mostly people who were not popular faces around the neighborhood, so called „irregulars". (Wilson & Kelling, p. 2) Ergo, people were divided in two categories, according to the frequency of visiting the area: „regulars" and „strangers".

Thus, in the absence of police, the space with its dilapidated nature was constantly exposed to spontaneous threats, being extremely permissive with the „strangers". Physical space was subject to deterioration, unveiling a frail ground, very permissive with various types of incivilities.

Once the patrols were constantly present on the streets, they became part of the whole scenery, altering the initial state of the public physical environment, and at the same time altering human perception in a positive way. One of the police patrolling officers named Kelly was reputed for not enforcing the law by the classical constabulary code, but he had his own informal ways of protecting the neighborhood of which he was responsible. By patrolling everyday he got to know who the „regulars" and who the „strangers" were, and he designed his own methods and solutions of how to control them. These solutions were most of the times designed together with the inhabitants of the neighborhood, and if the strangers pursued their malvoyant behavior, they were mocked and punished in the most ridiculous ways by locals, because the officer was offering his consent. In this way, people were engaged into protecting

their own space. The sense of ownership was significantly increased and the locals were influenced to protect the space and to fight the fear of the unknown and of victimization.

It has to be specified that locals` feelings of fear had been of two types: a real fear of factual crime and the second one, a fear that the street might represent a source of unwanted encounters or a source of problem causing. Actually the latter was more of an issue rather than the first one, because it was a driver for constant tension and anxiety. The „broken windows" theory draws on the association of safety and security with public order on the streets of the neighborhood.

A neighborhood where windows are broken, litter lays in the middle of the road, or lights don`t function at night time represents an easy target for villains, by its frail, destructured and dilapidated nature. A broken window can be a isolated event as long as this remains broken for a very short time. Once that amount of time lengthens, the risk of such event to multiply increases directly proportional. This is how a single incident can attract a long series of similar events which in their turn can also worsen and this is why such „broken windows" represent a symbol of carelessness, by tolerating various incivilities. On the other hand, a neighborhood which looks neat and is maintained in an acceptable aesthetic appearance is less permissive with strangers. A well kept aspect of the surroundings determines any potential stranger to acknowledge the fact that a particular space has an owner, who constantly controls it and inspects it. A well maintained space can be intimidating with an individual who is not a regular of the place.

The „broken windows" figure of speech is somehow a limitative concept, because it actually draws attention on various other similar eventualities. In the light of the same concept, an eloquent example on how this principle works, originates in 1969, when Philip Zimbardo, a Stanford psychologist tested Broken Windows Theory by abandoning two cars in two different locations: Bronx, New York and Palo Alto, California.

In the Bronx, it was only a matter of a few minutes until vandalizing the car occurred after its abandonment on the street. Of course, given the notorious reputation of the neighborhood, nothing valuable could have resisted intact more than a few minutes. The ill famed past and the long series of uncivil events that took place brought along a physical deterioration of the space and encouraged malvoyant behaviors to grow.

On the other hand, in Palo Alto where the neighborhood was famous for its neat and well maintained physical appearance, the car stayed untouched for more than one week. However, at a certain moment a strikingly interesting phenomenon happened. Zimbardo decided to start vandalizing the car, so he was the first to make a move in that sense. By breaking the cars windows and altering the seats, he gave way to a long series of similar movements. This way, other locals felt encouraged to do the same, not because of need, but because of fun and because of human need to belong and to imitate. Belongingness Theory explains how people engage themselves in various actions that other people exert, most of the times involuntary and because of an intrinsic need to belong to a group, community, etc, theory on which I will expand later in this paper.
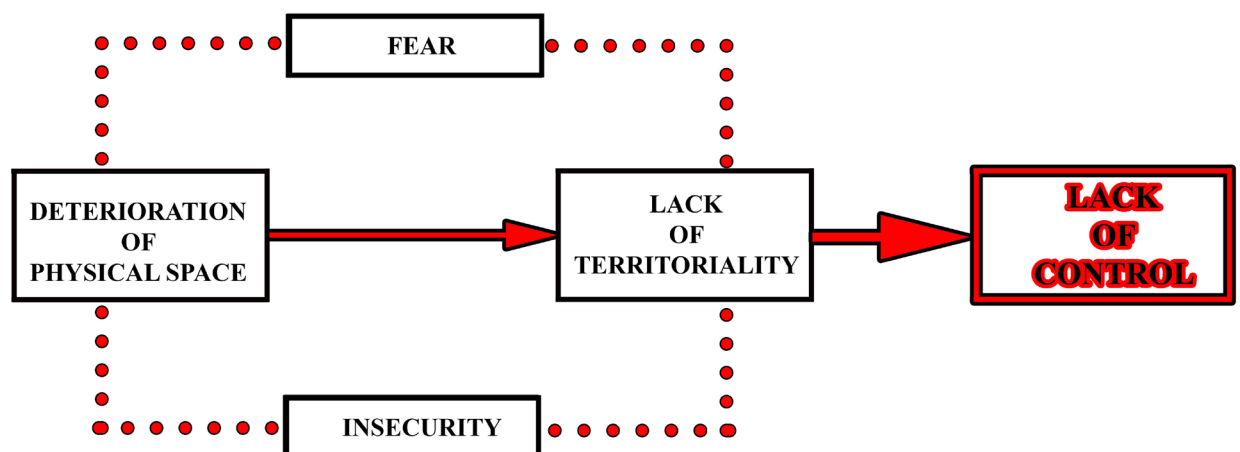

Figure 10

The conclusion for this experiment was highly impressive, strengthening the reasoning behind Broken Windows Theory. A jaded space which is not being taken care of and which is highly slattern, gives the impression that it does not belong to anyone, and therefore is more permissive with uncivil behaviors. A single isolated event is enough for a long series of unfortunate events to take place. Furthermore, if such incivilities are not controlled at the right time, they are a risk of much more serious crime to take place. The appearance of the space we are living in definitely shapes the human behavior and most of the times this happens inadvertently.

Another theoretical direction which specifies inopportune presences in the public space can be encountered in Whyte`s paper, under the denomination of „the unwanted", on which I will expand later. (Whyte, 1980, pp. 62-63)

However, as a main general idea, Broken Windows theory expanded on the impact that visible deterioration and absence of care for the physical space in urban neighborhoods can have over the human behavior.

2.6. Conclusions

It is extremely interesting how these theories unveil methods and examples of how human behavior is influenced by the physical space. For an example, in the case of Broken Windows Theory, even though concrete methods were applied for the neighborhood`s safety, the positive outcome that came later was not due to these, but due to a responsiveness. Once a foreign element emerged into the scenery, it stirred up the locals` reactions. While having police patrols as pawns in the public sphere, people self induced themselves the idea that streets are much more secure.

When the streets were perceived as safer, the following step was for the locals to maintain them that way, and by doing so, the sense of ownership was highly solidified, engaging people to protect not only their own houses, but their neighbors` as well.

As long as the prevailing feeling is that of safety and security, in its turn it will attract an overall state of safety. In the light of these theories, security and safety are synonyms with clean, neat streets and well maintained dwellings and physical space. The social experiments performed in these theories prove how easily people can be influenced and how the altering of the physical environment –positively or negatively- can stop or encourage various types of incivilities, be they serious or minor.

As for incivilities, if they are not controlled at the right time, when a space is threatened with deterioration, the decay process will only get worse. Incivilities attract other incivilities and types of behavior which can be associated with these.

In this direction, the exhibited theoretical framework helps on one hand to offer much more substantial knowledge on the relation between physical space and human behavior and on the other hand it provides a better understanding of how have other professionals managed this. What is interesting about this theoretical framework is the fact that even though all the theories cover almost the same topic, each of its authors has approached it in different manners, with different methods and vocabularies. These theories are synthesized in the following scheme which offers an insight into the theoretical framework.

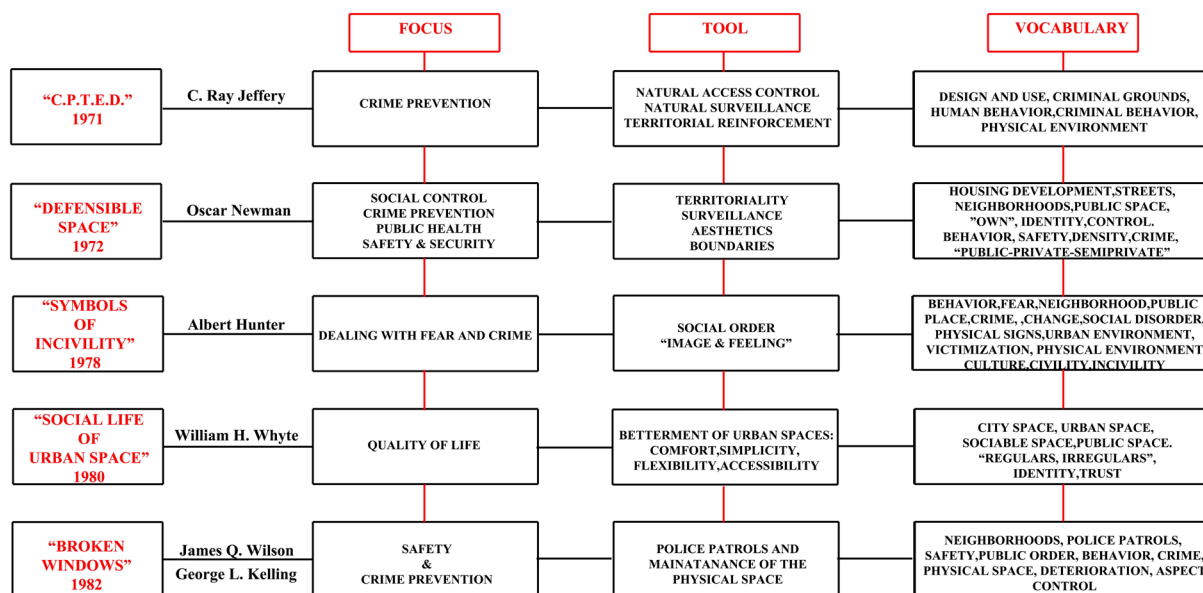|		**FOCUS**	**TOOL**	**VOCABULARY**
"C.P.T.E.D." 1971	C. Ray Jeffery	CRIME PREVENTION	NATURAL ACCESS CONTROL NATURAL SURVEILLANCE TERRITORIAL REINFORCEMENT	DESIGN AND USE, CRIMINAL GROUNDS, HUMAN BEHAVIOR, CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR, PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT
"DEFENSIBLE SPACE" 1972	Oscar Newman	SOCIAL CONTROL CRIME PREVENTION PUBLIC HEALTH SAFETY & SECURITY	TERRITORIALITY SURVEILLANCE AESTHETICS BOUNDARIES	HOUSING DEVELOPMENT, STREETS, NEIGHBORHOODS, PUBLIC SPACE, "OWN", IDENTITY, CONTROL. BEHAVIOR, SAFETY, DENSITY, CRIME, "PUBLIC-PRIVATE-SEMIPRIVATE"
"SYMBOLS OF INCIVILITY" 1978	Albert Hunter	DEALING WITH FEAR AND CRIME	SOCIAL ORDER "IMAGE & FEELING"	BEHAVIOR, FEAR, NEIGHBORHOOD, PUBLIC PLACE, CRIME, ,CHANGE, SOCIAL DISORDER, PHYSICAL SIGNS, URBAN ENVIRONMENT, VICTIMIZATION, PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT CULTURE, CIVILITY, INCIVILITY
"SOCIAL LIFE OF URBAN SPACE" 1980	William H. Whyte	QUALITY OF LIFE	BETTERMENT OF URBAN SPACES: COMFORT, SIMPLICITY, FLEXIBILITY, ACCESSIBILITY	CITY SPACE, URBAN SPACE, SOCIABLE SPACE, PUBLIC SPACE. "REGULARS, IRREGULARS", IDENTITY, TRUST
"BROKEN WINDOWS" 1982	James Q. Wilson George L. Kelling	SAFETY & CRIME PREVENTION	POLICE PATROLS AND MAINATANANCE OF THE PHYSICAL SPACE	NEIGHBORHOODS, POLICE PATROLS, SAFETY, PUBLIC ORDER, BEHAVIOR, CRIME, PHYSICAL SPACE, DETERIORATION, ASPECT CONTROL

Figure 11

However, having these theories in the background, participates to a great extent into understanding the connection between physical space and human behavior, furthermore by helping into shaping a set of guidelines that can influence human behavior and furthermore, deal with criminality. Altogether, the theories argued in the theoretical framework have different contributions brought in by various contexts. Crime occurrence has multiple grounds, therefore the concept of deterring crime or of constituting s sense of social control is very much context dependent. This context dependency will be expanded on in the following chapters, and will be particularly emphasized in the Discussions chapter.

2.7. Methodology

Does physical space influence human behavior, and furthermore, deal with criminality? I reflected on how can I prove this and more important, how can I explore it. In this direction I started to search for theorists who performed research in the same area or who worked with the concepts that I was interested in. In this direction, I managed to find the theories which constituted the foundation for the above theoretical framework.

Although the relation between physical space and human behavior is constantly subjected to investigations, I observed that the theories that I used in this paper were repetitively used as references in many documents. Therefore I decided to narrow down the search and eventually I structured it as it can be observed in the theoretical chapter. Even though the theories cover the same topic in a broad sense, each theory contributes with specific features. I have constructed a scheme for each theory, to illustrate their particularities.

Having already drawn my hypothesis, I started to search for a case which could have been related with the topic of the thesis. In that direction, I came across with the case of Medellin city, Colombia, which was of utmost importance for my research.

I considered it highly interesting due to its history burdened by violence, conflict and hindrances that severely affected people`s everyday lives. However, this entire crisis was followed by a sudden successful development and an utterly advertised decrease of crime occurrence. Concurrently I considered that this case can provide a fruitful opportunity to test the principles grounded in the theoretical framework.

From there, having researched about the city and the transition episodes that it went through, I was curious about the key behind the startling success of nowadays, and the extent to which this related to my hypothesis.

Considering the reflections that I have dedicated to the main topic as well as the numerous articles that were claiming for planning and architecture for the city`s positive change, I decided to search for professionals who contributed to this development. Therefore, since I have encountered Mr. Perez`s name associated with the city, I decided to contact him and elucidate the mystery behind the change.

On the other hand, part of my criteria in searching for professionals able to answer to my inquiries could also be ascribed to the amount of experience and intercultural exposure. I considered that discussing with professionals who have vast experience and who had worked with the topic that I am interested in, might bring interesting nuances to my research.

Also, I considered that if the professionals have worked in various cultural environments, it could be relevant to test how applicable my hypotheses were, as well as the concepts exposed to the theoretical framework.

Notwithstanding, it has to be specified that this method is purely explorative and interpretative. The purpose of synthesizing a set of theories into a theoretical framework had the purpose to summarize work and research that has already been performed regarding the topic approached in this paper. The theoretical framework contributed into refining my assumptions and the path of research.

Then, furthermore, crossing the theoretical framework with the empirical cases contributed into testing how applicable my assumptions were.

In my vision, the theoretical framework could not alone answer my assumptions, and that is why I considered necessary and intriguing at the same time to arrange conversations with professionals.

This crossed process brought my assumptions closer to the real life and had a deep contribution in exploring the main topic. Crossing the theoretical framework synthesis with the empirical cases solidified the answer to the research question and helped into conceptualizing possible solutions in a set of guidelines. These guidelines are the hybrid resulted from merging theoretical features with the peculiarities revealed in the empirical cases, by discussing with the professionals.

Of course, this method does not guarantee that it will offer an exact answer, or that it will provide specific measures that can absolutely eradicate criminality in the physical space. However, by its explorative and interpretative nature, it allows professionals to share their real life examples which bring the theory closer to reality, which eventually makes the assumptions surpass the theoretical perspective.

Ergo, I resonate with Forester`s perspective. In his work he approached the same critical pragmatic method. Carrying opened discussions with professionals brings us closer to the truth, and provides clear objectives of how to become better professionals. The truth is always debatable and fallible and so is professional practice. That is why a critical pragmatic approach does not only offer a large variety of interpretations for me as an author, but also for the readers.

Readers can extract knowledge from the practice examples explored in this thesis and uncover how professionals acted in a certain context. But on the other hand readers can also extract information and questions over the method, and the way in which I decided to perform the research and discuss with the professionals.

The discussions conducted with the professionals were carried in a relaxed manner and were kept opened. I didn`t want to intervene too much with arguments and opinions because I wanted to give the professionals the freedom of expanding on their experience, so that I could extract clear details of the particularities that they have worked with. The most important feature of using this method was the advantage that they contributed with their own insight perspective.

In this direction I had the privilege of discussing with professionals who had constantly been involved in dealing with practice explored in this paper. If the theoretical framework didn`t provide enough credibility, the empirical cases complement the theoretical perspective and bring new insights in the research.

The topic that I have approached in the paper is fairly complex and has numerous grounds; therefore the method that I have used can only explore the issue and contribute with recommendations and suggestions. Hence, I observed that the more complex the topic is, the more interpretation the investigation it requires... Since human behavior and crime have very intricate foundations, it makes very hard to be measured. In this case flexible alternatives of investigation are in need.

The method here brings new knowledge in the field of the problem, because a professional has already worked in the real life with real cases with the concepts encountered in the theoretical dimension. Theory is an important basis, but it adds to the challenges of real life practice. Discussing with professionals brings new insights in the research, because they have already worked with it and they have experience in detecting which theoretical concept seems to be feasible or not, according to limitations and contexts of the professional world

A critical pragmatic perspective brings new contributions and new knowledge in exploring the topic of the paper, because each professional who contributed in the section of the empirical cases has a unique view towards the problem. Their vision and the methods they use in projects are unique contributions and cast unique perspectives towards the research. This method was very much inspired by Forester`s critical pragmatic view that he approached in his paper, "planning in the face of conflict". His method approaches professionals and constitutes discussions and stories of these "facilitative leaders", as Forester names them. The stories of these facilitative leaders represent a strong motivation into reflecting about practice, about how things can be done. Therefore, in the light of this section and given the previous theoretical framework, the knowledge extracted from the empirical cases will contribute in conceptualizing a set of guidelines aimed to uncover how we can deal with crime.

3. EMPIRICAL CASES

This section exhibits various stances of how physical space influenced human behavior and how did this influence crime, by collecting information from professionals who faced this topic along time, in their careers. Once extracted from the theoretical framework that the human behavior is strongly influenced by the physical space, this chapter contributes with a series of stories told by professionals, which sheds a different light on the topic. The hypothesis made in the paper can be tested both within the theoretical framework but also matching information with real life stories. These stories depict challenges that the professionals have faced in regard with this topic.

In such a debatable matter as associating criminality with the physical space it is extremely easy to opinionate and to support either to oppose the hypothesis that human behavior can be influenced by this correlation.. The theoretical framework that I have exhibited earlier offers a few perspectives on the topic and it can also help into formulating and constituting guidelines that can attempt into dealing with crime in a physical space.

On the other hand, if we cast a much more thoughtful glance outside the theoretical world, over situations that are really demanding, in areas in the world that exhibit tough challenges and experience crime on a daily basis, than it becomes a real curiosity to investigate if these theories function or not.

In this direction, with this section I aim to approach a different method and call into question the knowledge that I have gained from the theoretical framework. This method consists of having discussions with professionals in the field, who have encountered this topic along time in their careers. In this way I had the opportunity to test to a certain extent how applicable is this theoretical framework, relying on their professional perspective.

The chapter consists of three cases, each of them exhibiting information collected from various areas around the world, emphasizing on one hand how cosmopolitan crime and fear can be, and on the other hand, how the professionals deal with it locally and in diverse contexts. What the three interviewees have in common is the professional field and to a certain extent, the vision towards the topic. In this connection, Jorge Perez Jaramillo, Anton Rysling- and Sonja Stockmarr helped into making the subject of this chapter. I have followed a chronological order, therefore the section starts with the first discussion that I have carried,-April2014 and ends up with the most recent, in May 2014.

3.1. Mr. Perez

Given the topic that I have approached in this paper, I can state that it was not easy to pick a case to start with, since nowadays the areas affected by violence and crimes are much more numerous than the unaffected ones. However, keeping in mind the relevance that a case needed to have for my research, the most eloquent example that I could have found to start with, was Medellin city, Colombia. Given its notorious past, the painful transition, as well as its startling rebirth, I found it to be an eloquent case for the research.

Medellin City was a highly interesting topic for my research, given the multiple challenges it has seen. It is one of Colombia`s largest cities and it represents a surprising example which proves that things can be changed for the better. It has a conspicuous history, on which various prolonged conflicts had left their marks. The city had gone through various economic, social and violence issues, instilled by drug trafficking and armed conflicts between drug cartels, communist guerillas and paramilitaries. In the 1990`s, Medellin was ranked as the most dangerous city in the world. Later on, after almost a decade of abuse and conflict, the city has a completely new facet. (Cerda, et al., reducing violence by transforming neighborhoods- A natural experiment in Medellin, Colombia, 2012)

According to Architecture in Development Organization, in 2001 May the local newspaper, "El Colombiano" came up with a new article, named "Architecture has transformed Medellin", in which they were explaining the very positive changes that occurred in the city, associating these with the urban and social development which had been blooming for the last years. In the light of these events, crime and unemployment had dropped and people felt much safer in the streets. The article stated that the city achieved a blooming development, despite of its young planning history.

While I was performing the undergoing processes of searching for people who can help by talking about the development of the city, I got contact with the planning department of the city, given the fact that it had the main authority in deciding the city`s future. Therefore, this was the best modality to check whether the information found out from various sources was right or wrong. However, contacting the director of the planning department was achieved and he showed enthusiasm into helping with the research.

Drawing on the hypothesis that the physical space has a great significance in influencing human behavior, and furthermore in deterring criminal intentions, Medellin`s situation was highly relevant in proving how urban planning strategies not only change the physical appearance of the city, but can also affect in reducing crime rates. Of course, as it was found out on the way, decrease of criminality didn`t come as a surprise. It was also not really planned, as at first sight it was taken into account at each step and in each initiative.

In this direction, I started the discussion by introducing myself more thoroughly in the first instance and specifying the reason why we were having the discussion. I stated what my interest is and what I am aiming with the paper and I also argued my interest for Medellin city.

Of course, for Mr. Perez was quite clear why Medellin is an interesting case, as I was clearly not the first person to make inquiries about it. The city`s story has attracted researchers as well as constant media attention.

However, Mr. Perez started to expand on his experience as well as the truth behind the city`s development. He knew how interesting the case of Medellin is around the world, since it is quite difficult to find a similar city that has succeeded in so many ways while being burdened by a vast complexity. In this direction Mr. Perez also argued the reason why he answered to my inquiries, by explaining how important it is for professionals to share knowledge and spread the news, since new challenges always arise.

Mainly Mr. Perez is an architect who graduated when he was 23 years old. Since that moment, he started to work as a professor assistant in school, and simultaneously he also laid the foundation of his own personal practice with his own work studio. According to Mr. Perez, In Colombia young professionals work for a while in big practices before opening their own and people of his generation had started very soon. Having his academic work in school, Mr. Perez started to be very active and involved in urban matters even since he was a student. In school he soon became very close to students due to his activity, critique and involvement, so he also became a leader among other professors.

Later on, when he turned 28, he was elected the Dean of School of Architecture in Medellin. Everything changed for Mr. Perez at that moment because his life took a different turn. Even though he was planning to attend a Master program in New York, this was a decisive point in his life so he decided to stay in Medellin and become a Dean. Having such a responsibility meant more for Mr. Perez than only leading a school. This meant not only being a good representative for the school, but for the city as well.

Those were difficult times for the city, because they were experiencing the worst crisis they have ever seen, so he led the initiative of many inspirational solutions to the problems that the city has had, by organizing discussions shared with various organizations. The city was experiencing a critical moment so this was a matter of interest for everyone and they needed multiple perspectives over finding solutions for the city`s trouble. Therefore, being a Dean at that time was more than being solely an administrator of the school, but it has also placed Mr. Perez in the position of sharing responsibilities with important people in the society. Hence, these discussions and collective processes represented social propellers for Mr. Perez`s involvement in the city and the school was a laboratory for performing this.

He was Dean between 1993 and 2001 and in that period of time he inspired an entire generation of architects who subsequently have become part of the process. Most of the architects, who contributed to the blossoming development of the city, were partners inside the school.

Then, in 2004 Mr. Perez was named Deputy Director of Planning in the Metropolitan Area of Medellin, for 4 years. The Metropolitan Area is the institution that represents the associations of municipalities of the region where Medellin is located, and it has the responsibility of planning over the Metropolitan region, with environmental and transport systems of the whole region. It is responsible with constituting the general plan that each municipality such as Medellin has to develop in a very detailed manner.

While he was the Deputy Director of Planning for the Metropolitan Area, he participated into inspiring the Metropolitan master plan for the city which now is leading the process of ten municipalities. In 2008 Mr. Perez stopped working in the public sector and returned to his private studio, and in 2013 the mayor invited him to be Planning Director of Medellin, authority under which he works now.

Furthermore, I expressed my curiosity towards the city`s transition as well as to its notorious reputation in the 1990`s of being the most dangerous city in the world. Along with that, I invited Mr. Perez to exhibit his knowledge towards that subject. Altogether, I was curious about the factors that stirred up the drastic decrease of crime rate and whether the successful results were expected, unexpected, planned or unplanned.

Mr. Perez was highly enthusiastic to talk about this, since it is such a representative issue for the city, and every time he has the chance to share ideas with professionals, he is glad to help into clarifying the truth. In this connection, he started describing the process that Medellin has been going through between the end of 1980`s and the beginning of the 1990`s. For about a decade, the city was subject to a massive crisis, which came as a consequence of a huge urbanization process that multiplied with one tenth the population of the city, from the 1950`s until the end of the century.

Mr. Perez portrayed that what was happening was a huge urbanization process of urban growth with exploding communities. More than half of the city`s population lived in informal settlements, inhabited by people who moved to the city trying to find a better way to live. However, urbanization was not the only problem. On top of everything, the city was struck by an economical crisis. During the second half of the century, Medellin was a very important economical manufacturing industrial city in Colombia. But during the 1970`s and the 1980`s, most of Medellin`s manufacturing companies went bankrupt, because they no longer had the supporting infrastructure. The city lost the main railway connection, which was the main portal that assured connections with the rest of the world. Being in the middle of the Andes Mountains and located in such a complex geography, the main element that was assuring a good functioning of Medellin as a manufacturing city was the railway connection.

Given the fact that Colombia destroyed the railway network during the 1960`s and 1970`s, from that point, Medellin was disconnected from the world, and the city`s companies and industries lost competitiveness, as well as the possibility to export goods and to have benefits. At that time more and more people were looking for jobs and it became too difficult for the city to provide. Communities were living in the poorest conditions, mostly in informal settlements.

Therefore, the period between 1970`s and 1980`s represented a grim time for the city with growing problems like the collapse of industrial development, speeding urbanization, political issues, and of course, on top of that, terrorism and the very well known narco-traffic culture led by Pablo Escobar.

This series of problems participated altogether into creating the stigma of the city. As Mr. Perez stated, "This made us the worst city you can imagine because we had the highest rate of homicides in one year, in 1991, the highest that you might ever see in the world.

Because now in the world you can see 180 homicides per 100 000 inhabitants in one year, but in those years, in 1991, we had 381 homicides per 100 000 inhabitants in one year. So we were a city under suicidal causes. It was a destructive moment for the city. Everything was wrong and impossible here. We were a black hole in the world. We were rejected by everyone, we were rejected even inside Colombia, so our economy, our communities, were in the worst moment you can imagine."

Then, according to Mr. Perez, during the 1990`s the city actually started to experience the process of change that shaped it into the city of nowadays, that everybody wants to see. It was a shared process that included participation of all social sectors: private, entrepreneurship, academics, ONG`s, private sector, basically everyone. Every person in the city was involved and trying to find a way in building up a vision for the future, with organizations, with debates, forums, congresses, public conferences.

It was a dynamic, diverse dialogue among all sectors of the society, which was supported by the vision of planning, because the city`s educational system was reliable in emphasizing planning as a discipline and keeping it acquainted to the planning clauses that were popular around the world. Even the ideas and methodologies used by Jose Luis in designing the general plan, were leading ideas of planning processes in the world. Together with that, Mr. Perez specified that Medellin also had a school of engineering for more than a century, two schools of architecture, schools of law, social sciences, and medicine, therefore during the crisis in the 1990`s, education was very important, but also the tradition of

planning. So, as Mr. Perez argued, starting with the 1990`s, the city has been developing a collective shared planning process, with the shape of a civic project, which was the basis of nowadays success.

Mr. Perez knew that many articles in the world presented the success of Medellin as the result of projects based on infrastructure, or architecture but he did not entirely agree with this vision, stating that they are only tools. He specified that these are elements of a larger project and consequences of the social-political process that the communities have developed before.

I have to specify that along the way I have not stated any of my assumptions, fearing that doing so might influence Mr. Perez`s potential responses. Therefore, I continued with the same pace, listening to Mr. Perez and keeping the same relaxed track of the discussion, curious and looking forward to see where this was going.

Mr. Perez reinforced his statement, by saying that individual projects such as "Metrocable", or a library, or a botanic al garden cannot individually transform a whole community, but that the key to that is building up a collective project and with that will appear the infrastructure, the buildings, and so on. Also, along with that Mr. Perez stated that social problems cannot be solved through architecture or physical interventions. In Mr. Perez`s opinion, such projects need to be part of a collective vision, because leaderships need to be created as well as consciousness regarding the problems. For solutions to come up, co-responsibility has to be built among the people and the government.

Furthermore, Mr. Perez continued to draw on the series of events that Medellin has experienced. In 1991, Colombia had a new constitution, which empowered the municipality as one of the strongest powers in the organization of the state, making the local democracy very powerful. Again, Mr. Perez issued that the main influential factor in creating the nowadays reality of the city was ascribed to the local participatory process.

At that point in the discussion I remembered that at a certain moment I have encountered an article where social urbanism was recognized as a planning tool which integrated political will, governance, civil society, architecture and landscape design altogether to wash away the stigma of the city as well as to diminish its problems. (Fajardo, 2013) Therefore, given the political hue that the discussion took on, I dared to ask Mr. Perez for more details regarding this social urbanism that the article was displaying.

Mr. Perez was aware of the social urbanism and its popularity in the city, but stated that this was "a beautiful, inspirational, successful moment", that was led by the mayor Sergio Fajardo between 2004 and 2007 which was pursued until the government of Alonzo Salazar. "It was a moment", he said, "but things started long time before, because if you look at the main projects of the city, like Plaza de los Pies Descalzos of EPM, it was built from 1998 until 1999, so six years before social urbanism. If you look at Parque de los Deseos, or Library of EPM, Plaza Mayor, or at Metrocable itself, they were done before social urbanism came up. But however, social urbanism represents a successful moment of all the ideas that were inspired in the 90`s inside schools, because the political project

that Sergio Fajardo led was a multi-sectorial politic and civic movement and a synthesis of the collective discussions of the 90`s, it was a way of taking the power of the city by civic people, people who were inspired more than the traditional politicians in the ideas of the communities, people who were representatives of the communities, not representatives of political parties. The transformation that came with the social urbanism process was a very important moment of synthesis but as I have already said, it is important to understand that the root of the urban transformation, the root of the participatory processes and the root of using infrastructure and public buildings to transform the way that we live in a city started many years before. I might say that from 1995 to 1998 we developed what was called the strategic plan of Medellin and that plan is if you read it, if you read the objectives and the strategy projects of the "plan Strategico" of 1998 you will understand that we have won that. We developed a strategy process during those years and after that we have been able to use that one to transform many things in our reality. So let`s say that the moment as I already said, the social urbanism moment is powerful but it does not describe the whole thing."

Having heard the enumeration of the physical interventions such as libraries, parks, gardens, I became curious if they were constructed simultaneously at the same time as part of a large strategy or rather sporadically as individual projects along time, because in my vision this could have been a symbol of a calculated strategic plan of how to change the city for the better.

Then, Mr. Perez explained that in Colombia it is mandatory for each city to have a "Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial" which is a sort of a general land use plan for the city. Under the auspices of Colombian Law, each mayor has to develop such a detailed and precise plan after being elected. "We have been constructing those from 1998 until now. So from my point of view this is a consequence of that shared vision that was built in the 90`s, it`s a consequence of the strategic plan of the 1998, and also a consequence of the Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial of 1991. After that it`s mainly a consequence of good leaders at the right moments, with exigent processes of the communities"

Given the direction of the discussion and having heard Mr. Perez`s specifications regarding "Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial", my next curiosity was if crime prevention was ever a target considered in this plan or any other plan, or if it was just an positive outcome. As a response to my inquiry, Mr. Perez stated that this was the overall objective from the beginning. At that point the collective participation phenomenon was brought back in the discussion: "The crisis between the 1980`s and the 1990`s inspired the society into this collective participation, to operate with violence, terrorism and with the other problems that the crisis has brought. And the main idea was to find a way for inclusion, convivence, to prioritize the social human development of the excluded communities of Medellin, trying to build together social peace processes, convivence, inclusion. So in searching for that, we created together a shared vision, where I understood that urbanism, infrastructure, architecture, could be part of the main things to develop and contribute to convivence and eradication of the crisis."

In this way, I came to know that crime prevention was a target from the very beginning of every planning initiative, but I was also curious towards this, if there were any clear objectives, guidelines or policies aimed to deter crime. Then, Mr. Perez argued that the objectives were the very conclusions of the diagnosis developed by the public and private sectors in the city. What happened was that for the first time in history, all sectors from Medellin`s communities made a sort of an agreement, a shared vision of what needed to be done to supersede the crisis, based on "inclusion, convivence and education", as Mr. Perez stated.

Also, he added that at that point, urbanism and architecture became very powerful components in that process, because every planning organization and every company started to operate according to those guidelines, in order to perpetuate the success. "Also, the government agreed that that`s the main thing, so we are actually working together. One of the things that we have learned about the city is that there are some things that are shared by everyone. It doesn`t matter what type of group you represent, or what institutions are there, but the idea and the objectives are shared by all. That`s very important.", added Mr. Perez.

Furthermore, I shifted the focus towards a different interest of mine: the concept of trust among social dynamics, as in to what extent did the state trust the people and also, to what extent did the people trust such an intervention. Most of the documents I have read about Medellin`s development referenced "Metrocable" as an influential factor in improving social dynamics. (Fajardo, 2013) (Correa, 2006) (Merchan Bonilla & O, 2011)

Metrocable was a public transportation gondola lift system, designed to connect some of the poorest areas of the city and was also regarded as the first Cable Propelled Transit system in South America.

The answer to my curiosity was soon elucidated by Mr. Perez, as he started to tell me a bit of Metrocable`s history. "Metrocable actually is completely public investment and the base of the projects was a participatory process with the communities. And it is the most loved public company by the citizens in Medellin, because they have understood during the years how this is mainly an opportunity to live in the city and to have accessibility, because they are territorially and socially excluded. Metro has provided a way to have the chance to be part of the community. So the Metro symbolized a social participatory process and that was part of the way they used to develop infrastructure. So during the beginning of the project, they worked a lot with the communities, their leaders, and with the leadership organizations that were developed through the 90`s. So it was like this: first you have the process of the 90`s with the participatory social inclusion process. After that, you have the leaders, who have the chance to communicate with the communities, because they are organized and they know what they want and what they don`t want. So after that, the infrastructure appeared, so the Metrocable is a type of second phase of transforming the barrios. The Metro offered them infrastructure. This is how Metrocable was developed, with a huge participatory process. And after that, with the new process inspired by Mr. Fajardo called "social urbanism", came the third stage of the project because they used the infrastructure for transport of Metrocable as a tool to transform a whole barrio, a huge transformative plan, which was called PUI- Projecto Urbano Integral. So if I can resume it was a social process of the 90`s, then the infrastructure of Metrocable, with participatory process and the PUI- Projecto Urbano Integral of social urbanism, that was also a participatory process. So it`s a continuity, a complex and continuous war to get over the communities.", argued Mr. Perez

The discussion continued at the same pace and Mr. Perez continued to highlight how the social investment in Medellin has contributed to increase the quality of life in communities. I asked about social life in urban spaces before and after the transition, because I was curious how social dynamics were affected by this change that the city was experiencing and how people used the physical space. At that point Mr. Perez recounted with a melancholic touch that in those times people`s identity was undefined. "It`s difficult because one of the things that happened in the 90`s was that we were not citizens. We were just living in a place where we could not use the city, because the terrorism and the violence were ways of excluding the citizens from the public spaces, excluding us from the city life. So we were not citizens, we were just inhabitants. We used the city, we walked in the city, we lived in the city but we were not sharing our lives in there. So I think we have conquered the city for ourselves through public interventions, like new parks, new plazas, transport systems, new libraries, botanical gardens, sports facilities. We have understood that civic buildings, public spaces and public infrastructure, the city itself is our way of living together. So what represents Medellin is how the city returned to our citizens.

I am not sure if I am clear but we lost the city, and now we own the city again. Now we are the owners of the city."

So the way I saw it, eventually the physical space interventions had an utmost importance in holding people together and facilitating social dynamics. This also made me think that territoriality after all is global and sense of pride and ownership are equally recognizable anywhere in the world. Mr. Perez reinforced his statement, agreeing that physical change was partly responsible in strengthening the city`s identity, but that it can also cause problems. "If you go today at Parque de los Deseos, you will see that there are too many people. So sometimes you have problems if space is overused. Also, people are not comfortable there, so we need to keep on talking about public space about public facilities for the communities."

At that very moment Mr. Perez`s got me wondering about this statement, because I had the feeling that overcrowding might signalize the lack of a thorough analysis prior to the planning of the physical space, which can be sensed when Mr. Perez says that people are not comfortable there. A physical space needs very clear targets and defined purposes, otherwise people can get confused and this consequence can either result in depletion of the space, either in overcrowding, as I could sense it is the case of Parque de los Deseos. However, Mr. Perez added that there are various undergoing projects nowadays aiming to improve quality of life by physical interventions and he specified that part of the latest work are courageous macro projects, like Parque del Rio, or the Metropolitan Greenbelt, the latter aiming to control urban expansion as well as to preserve the environ-mental features. In here, Mr. Perez also added that these projects act as transformative strategies for people`s lives, due to the influence that public spaces have on them. Given the situation where there are people living in the worst conditions, a well integrated public space with the right facilities will surely be transformative for the people inhabiting it.

Having heard about the large amount of work undergoing, I was curious if crime prevention still represents a target in their projects, and if this can be reflected in any guidelines. "We are working on that all the time, but now the main investment of the city is in education and social inclusion, and that means convivence, working for safety, for controlling the territory and bringing the communities enough control of their lives.", argued Mr. Perez

In this connection, having the chance to understand the overall concept behind the city`s transition depicted through Mr. Perez`s point of view and experience, I decided to soon finalize the discussion, but not before asking clearly what was the influence of the physical space over people in Medellin, and if that had clear effects on people`s behavior. Then Mr. Perez enthusiastically recalled a touching moment of the past, regarding this topic, portraying the situation behind the construction of Metrocable public transport infrastructure. During its construction, there were a lot of political debates and corruption based scandals, fact which determined the people to hate the Metro infrastructure. But soon, a social process was initiated with the name of "Metroculture", spanning in schools and inspiring children to have a different attitude towards the metro development.

"The main idea was to understand that if we were able to forget about the problems of corruption and if we were able to dream together about how the metro transformed our lives, we could be able to understand the Metro in another way. And that happened, truly, because if you come to Medellin and you go inside the Metro, you will immediately understand that there is a different attitude and a different city inside the Metro than it is outside. And that`s because we have been able to use culture, education and participatory processes to share a vision about things. So that has happened also with public places, parks, new schools, with infrastructures that we have done, we have learnt that urbanism is a better logic strategy also. It`s not only a problem of urban design, architectural, or engineering design, it`s also a social design, how can you imagine that the community is able to own by themselves the project that you are doing in the Master Plan or in the Technical Plan. So in the end, a city is a social problem, it is not only a problem of architecture, or urbanism, or engineering. It is a multidisciplinary process that in the end is a civic collective project."

Eventually, even though Mr. Perez does not fully credit interventions in physical space, he refers to "social design" as a means to increase territoriality. Along the discussion many times have I had the chance to sense that territoriality was of utmost importance in the city`s transformation, only that through Mr. Perez`s perspective this was not due to physical interventions. Mr. Perez ascribes the enhancement in quality of life as well as the increased pride of the city and sense of ownership to the participatory processes. Also, Mr. Perez sees the success of the city as a consequence of a multidisciplinary process with a focus on social design rather than urban design.

It was of a great inspiration to listen to Mr. Perez`s view as well as to see the truth through the eyes of a professional much closer. Mr. Perez offered me the privilege to learn about a case of success. The city of Medellin was sorely tested and it was burdened with an extensive time of crisis. Mr. Perez was the right person at the right time to explain how the city managed to wash away the stigma of being the most dangerous city in the world. Mr. Perez proved to be truly instrumental in managing with the development of the city and his vast experience is an inspiration for professionals all around the world.

3.2. Mr. Rysling

The undergoing investigation of my research has brought me closer to the Gehl Architects vision, which has history in people-oriented approach. The projects performed by Gehl Architects are well reputed, given their impeccable attempt to fight for better, healthier and safer cities. Their policy involves people in all stages of a project. I considered that approaching this vision would bring me closer to solve the mystery behind human behavior in relation with the physical space.

The efforts undergone by Gehl research represent an effective guide over what is supposed to be a qualitative planning of the physical environment, specifically oriented towards people`s needs. Each project that was carried out contributed to an impressive amount of experience and knowledge on how people use space. And usually, people are using the physical environment rather different from what designers expect them to. Gehl Architects are renowned for their projects of effectively designed spaces all around the world, which makes their practice extremely cosmopolitan and well taught in people oriented approach.

Having learnt so much from the different environments, they demonstrate that life quality can be improved anywhere, irrespective of cultural differences. Perhaps one of the most efficient way to do this is to tackle with the public spaces, because that is the main driver in people`s interactions. That is the shelter of the social life in an urban settlement, and at the same time it influences people to find the most advantageous uses for their space.

In this direction inquiring more information for my topic, I have encountered that Anton Rysling has been working for some time at Gehl Architects and also that he wrote his thesis on crime prevention thorugh urban planning in South Africa, Cape Town. At that point I knew that a discussion with him would bring fresh contributions and interesting insights for my research. Therefore, I contacted Mr. Rysling and he was glad to help.

As well as in the case of the other interview, I preferred to maintain a relaxed pace of the discussion, as an opened conversation. Therefore, I presented my thoughts to Mr, Rysling, talking a bit about the topic of my thesis and where I was going with this, and I presented him a few of my curiosities as it will unfold in the following lines. Having these in mind, the discussion invited Mr. Rysling to talk about his experience with the topic, and his views upon it.

I considered that in order to extract knowledge from the role of the professional and his experience in tackling with the effects of physical space on human behavior as well as on crime as a broad phenomenon, I asked Mr. Rysling to expand on his background as well as on his present occupation.

In this direction, I found out that Mr. Rysling graduated as an Architect from Copenhagen School of Architecture and Design and he always had a deep interest for development of cities in developing countries. Pursuing this interest, he had been studying and performing field studies to Ghana, Mali, Thailand, and even more, wrote his thesis on crime preventing through planning in South Africa. In the process of writing his thesis, Mr. Rysling worked with Cape Town Municipality for five months. Then he started to work for Gehl Architects, as an international consultant on urban matters.

For a short moment, Mr. Rysling offered me a few insights over Gehl Architects` work, describing how their main focus is on people friendly urban environments. So in that professional context, he worked for the company as a project manager in Sweden, Denmark, Australia, Brazil, Guatemala, and various other places. Then after four years with the team, he ended work in Gehl Architects to be a freelancer, occupation the still has nowadays, carrying projects in West Africa, Senegal,in for an international organization that is works with creating conditions for young people, like teaching urban planning in Dakar, Senegal. His latest location is Denmark, Copenhagen, from where he works nowadays with his freelancing projects.

Given the fact that the very first factor that caught my attention was the topic of Mr. Rysling`s thesis, I asked him to expand on that and to argue the choice of that specific topic and location. Mr. Rysling then described how his interest in architecture has always been inclined towards the relation between the spaces that are built for people, and their residences. Given the complexity of space in a city, urban spaces presume conditions that can create a better life and motivate people into socializing with each other.

Then, Mr Rysling argued that there are very poor urban environments that can create fear, anxiety and distrust in people. However he also opinionated that the process can be reversed, and people can be engaged into meeting each other and participate together in creating lively environments and better social conditions by urban planning.

At that point, Mr Rysling recalled the time he has spent in South Africa, writing his master thesis in Cape Town, specifying that it was highly interesting for him to witness the projects that were done there, because through those projects there was a deliberate attempt to create urban environments that were sucking out resources from people.

With the political influence, people were separated on a skin color basis; therefore people who were not white were placed in neighborhoods lacking facilities and where they encountered difficulties and obstacles everywhere, such as the long distances until work, low densities, lacking infrastructure, and where social life was on a delicate ground.

Therefore, the time that Mr. Rysling has dedicated into working for the Municipality, he had strived to reverse these processes, and to create equal chances for people, of living in a better urban space. This project was named "Dignified Places", which was very inspirational and representative, because basically that is what it was aiming to do: provide dignity by means of urban planning and design for those people who have been neglected for a long time.

Having already encountered the case of Medellin where Mr. Perez was arguing the city`s rebirth from the crisis on a large scale, I was wondering if this was also the case, so I asked Mr. Rysling whether the so-called "dignified places" were all around the city or if it was the case of a smaller scale neighborhood or area. In this direction, Mr. Rysling recalled that they were working with "Cape Flats", which consisted of a big area somewhere outside the city. People from inner city neighborhood were relocated in "Cape Flats", which was mainly a vast desert

Also on a further research, "Cape flats", also known in Cape Town as simply "The flats", were an apartheid government residential complex, for non-white. This racial segregation was enforced through legislation by the national government. Races based legislation such as the Group Areas Act and pass laws forces non-white people move out from the central urban areas which were designated for white. It was illegal for the so called "Black and colored" population to live elsewhere than the informal settlements of the "Flats". (http://africanhistory.about.com)

Mr Rysling also specified about his collaboration with Barbara Southworth, a South African professional and who helped him a lot in running inspiring initiatives for public spaces. Another influential factor that helped Mr. Rysling in creating inspiring movements through urban planning projects was the fact that he had Jan Gehl as a teacher in the School of Architecture. Jan Gehl`s approach in planning was inspiring and down to earth, by emphasizing social issues in urban planning aspects. Mr. Rysling acknowledged at that moment the advantage of having dedicated and abstract teachers.

I must admit that it was inspiring to listen to such an enthusiastic and involved professional as Mr. Rysling and I was curious this dedication and all these efforts endeavored with his thesis were intended for the private or for the public sector, and also what he was aiming with it. Then, Mr Rysling started to argue that the thesis consisted of the transformation of a big area in the city called Gatesville that comprised a lot of public functions. In South Africa, as Mr. Rysling depicted, there are a lot of safety issues, which are a really big concern, and the way in which people deal with it is by putting out fences, barb wires and big walls, for protection.

All these, as Mr. Rysling implied, have a big impact on public life. There are never people walking out on the streets, because everybody drives. And if nobody walks, but everybody drives, the public space dies out, creating loss for the city. Being intrigued by this situation, in his project Mr. Rysling tried to create a different image of the city, using Jan Gehl principles in planning and his down-to-earth approach, which mostly rely on social control and territoriality.

"Social control in this stance was not a negative thing, but it was pretty much about creating spaces owned by people, bringing ownership to these spaces so that they oversee what`s going on in these spaces, without the need of wires and big walls. So it was very much about working with shared space, and working with the edge between the residential and the public space so that people have easy access. It`s about work with planned gardens and planned yards so that people are invited to be part of it, to take out some of the domestic functions and put them into the public space, for instance when they have morning coffee on the terrace. And all these I figured that if we could introduce with working carefully with the edge between the residential building and the public space, you can invite people out into the public space, so that any perpetrator or any criminal who would enter the area would sense that he is being watched and will be discouraged in doing anything wrong there, so he would go somewhere else.", stated Mr. Rysling.

Also, in the process of explaining how territoriality works, Mr. Rysling drew a parallel to the place where he currently resides, in Denmark, Copenhagen. The area is called Brumleby, it was built in the 1960`s, and it portrays an extremely eloquent example of how principles of territoriality can change people`s lives: "When you enter this neighborhood that I am living in , even though there are no locked doors, as soon as you enter, you feel immediately that you are in someone else`s territory, because there are front yards where people are present at all times, so if you do anything wrong, steal a bicycle or commit a burglary, there you are at a high risk of drawing attention

It was interesting for me to see how my assumptions were also shared by another professional who had such a vast experience. However, having the theoretical framework in the background, I was also curious to see what Mr. Rysling thought in regard with the role of police on the streets and if that had a higher or a lower consideration in his experience.

Mr. Rysling didn`t completely negate police`s authority, because in extreme cases as he says, they play an important role, but however, he didn`t see the role of the police essential in residential areas. "Police is important of course. If someone attacks you, you have to call police of course. But I don`t think that the presence of police in the streets should play any role in any residential regiments. Perhaps in some parts of the world they do. I mean I used to work in Guatemala City which is even worse than Cape Town. They have people and guns all over. I am from a peaceful part of the world but I have seen a lot of other places where situation is different. I don`t think it`s

economically viable for a society to put out policemen all over. I don`t think that`s a way to go.", argued Mr. Rysling.

I remembered the reflections that I had on the theoretical framework and Mr. Rysling`s statement was complementing my assumption that it is easier, cheaper and more sustainable to design an area which communicates and assures safety and security from the beginning, rather than paying for constant additional interventions and security.

Another negative feature described by Mr. Rysling in terms of designing social control was in regard with gated communities, to which he referred as being a very sad type of development in urban life because it reduces permeability of the city and it builds distrust. "You have one entry point with a guard, and you always have to get checked before getting in." He had the chance to see many of these, and all of them communicated the same message. All developers want to sell them pointing at the great safety advantages they come up with, only that in reality, they bring a huge disfavor, by breaking the balance and aeration of the city.

Earlier in the paper, my research thread regarding human behavior and physical space, determined me to realize that fear and fear of crime are two different, but interrelated factors that were to affect constituting the guidelines that I was to prepare. The ground of my reflections aimed that fear and fear of crime are different concepts but interrelated and they influence each other. Hence, while fear that people experience outside their homes comes from what the physical environment communicates to them, I realized that this fear they experience lays the foundation for crime, which will result eventually in fear of a bad physical environment.

Consequently, the bad physical environment becomes facilitative for crime; therefore, fear becomes fear of crime. Whichever the case was, being inspired by Mr. Rysling`s narration and his multicultural experiences I considered he is the right person at the right moment to inquire how the concepts of fear and fear of crime are perceived in different areas of the world, and if in the areas that he had the chance to experience, do these concepts also stem from the appearance of the physical space.

In this direction, Mr. Rysling referenced the experience he had in South Africa, where he had the chance to experience and to witness what fear is, because over there, a feeling of fear always prevails. There is a constant state of alert and of being at risk, and public spaces are avoided, particularly at night. According to Mr. Rysling`s relating, most of residential complexes are surrounded by walls, in the attempt of protecting themselves from the public spaces that look deserted and dangerous. "I think that in a healthy society the no-man`s-land is everybody`s land.", states Mr. Rysling. Along with that, he specifies that if people barricade themselves from the public spaces in South Africa, is perfectly understandable why they do so, because there is no trust inside the community. There is always a risk that strangers can intrude in people`s personal residences, for robberies and burglaries. "So I think that the concept of public space is very much linked with the general sensation of trust. I think trust is really the keyword here. It is a very important asset that a society can have, create or lose. […] . If you create trust in the society you can start to reap more benefit from the public spaces because people will tend to use them more." added Mr. Rysling.

Also, in this direction, he explained that in the absence of public spaces, people from Cape Town enjoyed festivities and cultural events indoors. Mr. Rysling himself attended a jazz festival in large complex hall. In other circumstances and in other cultural context, such an event would be probably held outdoors, as it is the case of Copenhagen

Having already experienced from the last interview with Mr. Perez, how the physical space was approached in the Colombian culture and having the chance to see what is prevalent there terms of planning, I was also curious how Mr. Rysling felt the transition of cultures, coming from a harmonious and trustful society like Denmark, and eventually living in South Africa where he was constantly held in a state of alert.

To this, Mr. Rysling argued that fear can be part of the culture, in the sense that in South Africa fear is a prevailing everywhere, and people always have to be alert and active in searching solutions of managing risk. Also, Mr. Rysling implied that culture is not immovable, since it is always affected by all sort of elements. It was also the case of trust or distrust in Cape Town. Perhaps they used to trust each other, but given the crimes and hard times, culture has changed to what it is today.

At that point in the discussion Mr. Rysling exhibited another example from Copenhagen, portraying methods that a different culture approaches in managing risk. Gehl Architects, who are very representative for their people-oriented approach, were very instrumental in changing the physical space in a positive way. Gehl Architects were very instrumental in making the change happen.

Every time a new public space was created in Copenhagen, they went there to measure the amount of people using the space, so that clients and politicians can have a proof and good reasons to invest. Therefore, the monitoring and the statistics effectuated by Gehl Architects each decade, helped into keeping things under control. Their graphics showed that when attractive public spaces were designed, they tended to be more populated and livelier. "If you create attractive public spaces, people will tend to use them. And yes, the quality of a space can very much influence human behavior." concluded Mr. Rysling.

Comparing to Cape Town, where situation turned chaotic and fear was pervasive, it was never the case for Copenhagen. Change was always kept under control, as well as society, so chaos and unfortunate events on a large scale never had the chance to take place. Different cultures have different ways of managing things, and that particularly is what makes each culture distinctive.

Having the opportunity to see that Mr. Rysling`s statements were reinforcing my assumptions, I also inquired him to share his view towards crime prevention through environmental design. I was curious if he was aware of this or if he ever used such guidelines for any project. Also, I was curious what Mr. Rysling thought of this method`s efficiency. However, Mr. Rysling has not heard of such guidelines but then he started to draw on a very interesting point regarding security and persons who are providing it.

Extracting from this, importance of guidelines is indubitable, because the only way a private individual can take care of his property is the hard way, by using fences, walls, security cameras and barbed wire, which overall leads to distrust, a depressive development and an offensive aspect of the physical space. That is why safety and security are responsibilities for politicians, planners and architecture professionals, who must be able to think on an urban scale: "That`s why we need politicians, and planners, and architecture professionals, to step in and say that we want an urban environment which is not full of walls and barbed wire, and that looks like we`re in a war, you have to do something at a different level, on an urban scale. That`s where you can come in with principles of social control and territoriality, where people can easily establish territoriality of the public spaces that surround their neighborhoods, so that it will be less attractive for a criminal to perpetrate, to do any criminal action in that neighborhood.", argued Mr. Rysling.

I exposed to Mr. Rysling the fact that along my research I have encountered cases where the decrease of crime rate was a positive outcome of successful projects, but it was not always targeted from the beginning. I was curious if crime was a main target in any of Mr. Rysling`s projects. In this direction Mr. Rysling confirmed, and stated that in most of the projects that he had performed in high risk areas, crime was the main target. For an example in Cape Town, where crime and fear are so pervasive, developers are very conscious about the marketability of their houses. They know that if from the outside a house looks easy to break in, they won`t be able to sell it. So in this direction, all the projects start by searching the best way of ensuring safety and security. Mr. Rysling also exhibited a case where he carried a project in Sierra Leone, which once it was finalized it seemed to not work.

The project was a residential complex. Then eventually, when he talked to people and asked what the problem was, they blamed it on the design of the houses. The houses didn't inspire much safety, and people requested extra metal bars in front of the windows.

Hence, discussing with Mr. Rysling made me realize how important it is to pay attention to people`s needs and interests before starting a project. What reinforced my opinion was the moment when he specified of another project in Copenhagen, under the auspices of Gehl Architects, consisting of a layout change for an entire street, called Nørrebrogade. Traffic was drastically reduced, and the sidewalks became wider. That project stirred up various reactions on both sides, positive and negative. Some people loved it, but others were disappointed.

According to the quality of the space, and according to the extent that the space is responsive to people needs, in a fortunate case, the result is making people feel proud of their space. It will increase the sense of ownership and territoriality. To this assumption, Mr. Rysling added a real-life example of a project he carried in Senegal, Dakar, where public places are not in the best shape, because people are really poor and nobody cares about the public space. In that case, the method that he approached was by sensitizing people and engaging them to take action into transforming the space. The purpose was to transform the space to that extent until they become proud of it.

Mr Rysling was reinforcing his previous statements regarding territoriality and people`s sense of pride towards the place they are living in, by recalling the "Dignified Places" project. At that point I recognized another feature of the previous synthesis from the theoretical background, which was the identity that physical space can provide. Hunter has also touched this nuance with his paper, "Symbols of incivility". According to Hunter`s theory, the physical space can say more about a community, than people can.

Therefore, aesthetics and the condition in which the space is maintained, can communicate very clear messages regarding what kind of people live in there. Of course, lifestyle and culture also have a say in this, but the reactions that people have from outside are global. "I think that if you live near a public space which is neglected, it mirrors back at you and offers a perspective of who you are. That is an image of who you are. And if something is done, which is very nice and next to you, for an example if the municipalities, the public authorities come and renovate a public space, invest money in there, it`s a way to show that they care about you. And that is why the project that I was part of in Cape Town was called "Dignified", because it was a way to give dignity to people who lived humiliated for a long time. Suddenly when they saw that the city was coming and investing in humanizing public spaces in really poor neighborhoods, that was causing great pride."

Given the line of the discussion I have realized how much the physical space can influence the human behavior. It can shape the identity of a community; it can instill fear, or right the opposite. It can determine people to be proud and it can enhance social dynamics by encouraging people to interact. Not the least, with all these fortunate and strategic changes in the community, it is much easier to reach social control and to deal with criminal behavior.

When authorities use people-oriented approaches, the result can be very effective. In this direction, Mr. Rysling introduced me to another case of how people were sensitized. The example was located in Tirana, Albania and had Edi Rama as the main character. Edi Rama is the mayor of the city, and what make the case so special and worthy to mention is that he started to paint the city. Being a painter in his free time, Edi Rama used this and led an artistic movement of covering the city in colors. That was a big success, and in the parts of the city were his paintings prevailed, the tax revenue had increased. That meant that people started to feel a sense of belonging to the city and a sense of pride, because of that. They were more willing to pay tax, because they knew that they were being cared for, and that somebody took their interests and well being into consideration. In that sense, Mr. Rysling concluded that urban planning can definitely be used to influence human behavior and keep crime under control.

Following the thread of the discussion, I also recalled that crime can have so many nuances, ranging from petty offenses like robberies, until homicides. Therefore I asked Mr. Rysling to what kind of crime had he referred when he said that urban planning can deal with it. In that sense, Mr. Rysling added that what urban planning can do is deal with the crime as a general phenomenon. Criminal behavior can be discouraged for an example by designing an aerated neighborhood, in such way that potential intruders will know that they cannot commit any offense, because they can be seen at any moment. Adding to this, Mr. Rysling remembered of another example that he had the chance to witness. In South Africa, he visited a residential neighborhood called

Jason`s, which was equipped with comfortable balconies. Most of the time, the old ladies of the families living there used to there, drink coffee and chat with each other across from the balconies. Consequently, crime rates dropped in that area, particularly because of that. The fact that somebody was there all the time, drinking coffee, watching over the kids, resulted in a very effective method to keep criminals away.

In this spirit, listening to Mr. Rysling`s experience and his very eloquent example of how a physical feature can increase trust in that particular space and in the people living there, I inquired to hear more on the feeling of trust. Whyte`s theory was also arguing that trust is an important element in the social life of a public spaces. Related to that, Mr. Rysling gladly exhibited another example from his experience where he learnt that one of the things that can guarantee the failure of a public space is the lack of maintenance. The example he offered was a project that he worked with in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in the biggest public space that the city had. The space was neglected and it clearly communicated that visually. When Mr. Rysling asked for reasons behind the carelessness, the administrators blamed it on the homeless people. They said that the only users were homeless people, therefore they didn`t see any purpose in an embellishment of the space. The irony was that by not transforming the space and maintaining it in that ill condition, the space remained favorable for the homeless. So the intervention performed in there was towards the urban furniture. Since homeless people used the benches all the time, Mr. Rysling changed the configuration of the sitting places and issued a maintenance plan, so that the dynamics of space can change and so that other users can also approach.

Reflecting for a moment towards all the practice examples that Mr. Rysling has provided along the discussion, I was curious if he used any set of guidelines. Mr. Rysling confirmed, by adding that it is necessary to have a set of principles, and that most of the principles that he worked with have been developed by Jan Gehl. "The basic principle is to get people together and create environments that are people friendly. In a broad sense, I think that brings out the best of people. It makes people want to live in the city, it makes them happier about living there, it makes them want to protect their environments, cherish them. So I think those principles are simple. You need to make the city a nice place, and make people care for each other. It might sound romantic, but I really think that works when it comes down to business. Jan Gehl used to say that the cheapest investment that you can make in a city is upgrading public space. You have a lot of benefits that are hard to think about." stated Mr. Rysling.

In the same direction I recalled "12 criteria of a space". This was a set of guidelines that I have encountered along my research and as far as I managed to find out, they were prepared by Lars Gemzøe, under the auspices of Gehl Architects, for the design of pedestrian places and networks, with people in mind". These steps, if taken into consideration while planning a space, were promising to exponentially increase the qualitative value of that particular space. (Gemzøe, 2006) Therefore, knowing that Mr. Rysling has worked with the company for some time, I was curious what his view was towards this set of guidelines and how efficient they were. Mr. Rysling confirmed their existence, specifying that they were meant as a checklist in every public space that they have worked for.

In this light of events, the discussion with Mr. Rysling ended up constructively with concluding and clarifying which exactly was the set of criteria and what did it consist of. Mr. Rysling helped to a great extent by sharing glimpses of his extensive and inspirational experience. His professional narration strengthened my assumptions and strengthened the view I had towards practice examples. The challenges that Mr. Rysling encountered in his projects are an inspiration not only for dealing with the topic I debated in this paper, but also for real life situations.

PROTECTION

1. Protection against Traffic & Accidents

- traffic accidents
- fear of traffic
- other accidents

2. Protection against crime & violence (feeling of safety)

- lived in / used
- streetlife
- streetwatchers
- overlapping functions - in space & time

3. Protection against unpleasant sense experiences

- wind / draft
- rain / snow
- cold / heat
- polution
- dust, glare, noise

COMFORT

4. Possibilities for WALKING

- room for walking
- untiering layout of streets
- interesting facades
- no obstacles
- good surfaces

5. Possibilities for STANDING / STAYING

- attractive edges »Edgeeffect«
- defined spots for staying
- supports for staying

6. Possibilities for SITTING

- zones for sitting
- maximizing advantages primary and secondary sitting possibilities
- benches for resting

7. Possibilities to SEE

- seeing-distances
- unhindered views
- interesting views
- lighting (when dark)

8. Possibilities for HEARING / TALKING

- low noise level
- bench arrangements »talkscapes«

9. Possibilities for PLAY / UNFOLDING / ACTIVITIES

- invitation to physical activities, play, unfolding & entertainment - day & night and summer & winter

ENJOYMENT

10. Scale

- dimensioning of buildings & spaces in observance of the important human dimensions related to senses, movements, size & behaviour

11. Possibilities for enjoying positive aspects of climate

- sun / shade
- warmth / coolness
- breeze / ventilation

12. Aestetic quality / positive sense-experiences

- good design & good detailing
- views / vistas
- trees, plants, water

Figure 14 (Gemzøe, 2006)

3.3. Ms. Stockmarr

In the process of searching for professionals who might have answers and experience towards the topic that I was interested in this paper, I considered that it would be nice to have another vision from the Danish culture of planning. Studying and living in Denmark offered me the opportunity to witness what people-friendly cities look and feel like. Almost one year ago Henning Larsen Architects caught my attention with their method of approaching the physical environment. Danish culture of planning is world renowned for social-responsible approaches and Henning Larsen Architects work with the same principles. They exert their exemplary vision and adapt it according to the specific context of each project they undertake not only in Denmark, but all around the world. Also, Henning Larsen Architects place strong emphasis on people and projects that strengthen the community.

In this direction I contacted Ms. Stockmarr who is the main responsible with urban planning matters in the office that the company has in Copenhagen. Ms. Stockmarr had left the office for a short amount of time, on maternity leave, and with all these she showed enthusiasm in helping. Therefore we managed to have a short discussion where Mr. Stockmarr expanded on the topic covered by this paper.

Again, the discussion started with me, explaining who am I, where I come from and why I am interested in this conversation. I explained to Ms. Stockmarr that discussing with professionals like her brings a great contribution to my research. In this light of events I also invited Ms. Stockmarr to talk a bit about her professional background.

Ms. Stockmarr has built up her education in architecture and planning in Copenhagen, and has been working with city planning for eight years in Henning Larsen Architects, where the projects scale range from large city developments projects, to urban planning and design for small street-scale projects, squares, plazas, etc. For the moment she was on maternity leave, but she was planning to go back to office as soon as possible.

Recalling the past she remembered that at the time she joined the company, in 2006, Henning Larsen had won a huge competition which consisted of a 5 million sq meters project in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The project is still under construction. Besides that, Ms. Stockmarr specified that the company also has smaller projects undergoing, and in this stance she specified a few urban squares in Copenhagen or projects undertook with Aalborg`s Library.

Ms. Stockmarr also has a certificate from DGNB, which is a system that provides information on how to make city development projects more sustainable. An interesting fact that Ms. Stockmarr has revealed is the fact that the company is constantly researching how the physical environment affects people`s lives. They have engineers who test winds` frequency, because apparently, wind is a highly influential tool in social control.

This statement was highly complementary for my research. Ms. Stockmarr`s statement was strongly mirroring my assumptions, as well as the insights brought in by the theoretical framework, where Whyte used the exposure to natural elements to increase quality of a space. At that point my assumptions were reinforced in terms of how the physical space and its elements can be used as tools of influencing human behavior

Ms. Stockmarr clarified that they had witnessed in numerous times successful results in influencing social dynamics by using wind as a tool. "The windier it gets, the less people will stay in that area, and so on, so you can actually influence people to sit or walk in certain areas, according to the target of the project of course." argued Ms. Stockmarr.

Furthermore, Ms. Stockmarr acknowledged that this manipulation of the physical environment is somehow an element of novelty and that it can also influence crime. Given the possibility of determining pedestrian flow, speed, density, the overall process can discourage crime. "If you have a certain area and you make the wind stronger you know that people will not stay in that area. You know, for an example criminals, they stay where it`s dark and comfortable. So that`s how we work and that`s also what I do.", added Ms. Stockmarr.

In this light of events, Ms. Stockmarr continued to talk about the international projects that she worked with, going all the way from Canada, to Saudi Arabia, and so on. At that point, a new curiosity has occurred for me, regarding how those projects dealt with criminality, given the international context as well as her experience as a Danish planner and architect, so I asked Ms. Stockmarr to expand in this regard. Then, Ms. Stockmarr explained that she has never measured crime in that context, but on the other hand, she measured the good results of her projects, in terms of comfort. She reinforced that the use of wind as a tool has a definite say in how comfortable and populated a space will be: "This means that you can actually measure the speed of the wind, and that is also a way of measuring the comfort. And I do believe that if you design urban spaces as truly windy with a lot of light, then nobody will stay in the area. So of course, that will affect the area if what you want is people not staying in the streets and if you have a certain area which has too many problems, like crime on streets or young people hanging out. That`s a way of designing. We use natural knowledge to develop these areas. I mean, we haven`t measured it, I can`t tell you for sure, but I do believe it is a way of designing."

In this direction, I have observed how Ms. Stockmarr`s approach was very much inclined towards the use of environmental concepts as tools to influence human behavior and furthermore, to deal with crime. Then, Mr. Stockmarr raised a very interesting point, explaining how easy it is for a professional to determine the quality of a place, relying on each person`s individual ability of searching for comfort in the physical space surrounding us. "If you buy a coffee and you want to drink it outside, it is pretty easy for you to see where you would feel more comfortable to sit and drink it." So according to Ms. Stocmkarr, the specific elements that can be found in the physical space can control social dynamics, by playing the levels of comfort.

Then Ms. Stockmarr oriented the discussion again towards the phenomenon of crime, stating that criminal intent can absolutely be controlled, by alternating environmental concepts. These strategies are very effective in tackling with human emotions, and since people are very instrumental in detecting immediately what comfortable is or is not for them, this mirrors down in their behavior. Also, Ms. Stockmarr argued that crime also function in that way. Criminals are attracted to spaces that are facilitative for their actions.

According to Ms. Stockmarr, social gatherings can be encouraged or discouraged in a particular area, depending on how external factors such as wind, humidity, sound, sun, temperature, and so on, are alternated in the planning of that space.

An important aspect that Ms. Stockmarr placed emphasis on is that using environmental concepts in planning is an easy and flexible approach, since every culture exhibits various peculiarities. Every country has different natural features, which can be used as tools in planning. In this direction, Ms. Stockmarr offered as example a project that she carried in Canada, Toronto. In the process of planning the area, they used wind and humidity, because these elements are highly pervasive in that culture. Therefore, since every location has specific elements, they can be used in any planning project. Using environmental concepts can create good places where people enjoy, but by using the same tools but reversing the process, people can also be kept at distance.

Following the line of our conversation, I remembered one of my fears toward the topic approached in the paper. My assumption towards the broad idea of the topic was that physical space can influence human behavior, and furthermore, crime, but at the same time I was constantly questioning myself whether this is applicable worldwide, in any kind of context.

So far, the theoretical background as well as the previous discussions with the professionals had confirmed my hypothesis, that independent of culture and the place where an individual comes from, the physical space communicates messages in a global language. However, I decided to test my assumptions

again, by inviting Ms. Stockmarr to opinionate on that.

At that point Ms. Stockmarr argued that the way in which people react to the physical space is independent of culture or religion. "I have seen people`s reactions in the physical space in Canada, In Denmark, in Saudi Arabia, but this has nothing to do with culture or religion, or things like that, this is just physical. You won`t walk into fire for an example, that`s just the body that reacts. I think by intuition you don`t walk where your body doesn`t feel right. I think that`s a very strong tool.", argued Ms. Stockmarr.

However, returning to crime in discussion, Ms. Stockmarr opinionated that we can never get rid completely of crime in the public space, because there will always be isolated cases and strange occurrences, but what we can do as professionals, is to try and create a better environment for everyone, more inclusive, so that people can get more physically attached to the place.

I observed how the discussion was revolving now around the concept of territoriality which so far has been mentioned most often in the theoretical framework, as well as in the previous discussions with professionals. Ms. Stockmarr also reinforced her statement adding that when people become more attached to the space, they will also be more protective of it.

"Very often you can see that for an example, in a building if we have balconies turning towards the street, and if you just leave out a pair of shoes on the balcony, then people can actually see that somebody is living there, so you will have a natural feeling of "big brother is watching you".

If you have people living there and actually liking the area, and soon you know that you enter that public space and you can actually see people using their balconies, they overlook the space.

Then, if you are in a public place, close to a dark façade, you will start to behave differently, because no one can see you. And I think that not even cameras, they don`t make the best weapon in these cases. I think people are the best weapons, because people are afraid of people. So for example if you have an area which is filled with crime or something like that, then it`s important that you have windows turning to the square or to the public space, so that you can always be somehow caught by someone`s eyes.", added Ms. Stockmarr.

The discussion with Ms. Stockmarr continued in the same relaxed pace, expanding on territoriality concepts and on how the physical space determines the identity of the people living in it. I had the privilege to share impressions with a professional who had a vast amount of experience and who actually worked in the real life with the concepts that made the basis of my paper`s topic. It was reassuring to see how my assumptions could be tested within the theoretical framework, as well as through discussing with Ms. Stockmarr. Also it was highly appreciated that Ms. Stockmarr offered a significant amount of time for this discussion, given the circumstance of being on maternity leave.

In this sense, given the knowledge framework constituted by the conversations performed with the professionals, influenced me to start a reflective process. This reflective process consisted of extracted and reviewing data from the theoretical framework and cross-ing it with the knowledge resulted from the empirical cases, as it unfolds in the following chapter.

According to the research design approached in the previous chapter, the most representative elements extracted from the empirical cases will be synthesized and visually outlined in schemes. These schemes have aim to communicate in a more graphical way the knowledge that has been produced.

4. DISCUSSIONS

The contribution of this chapter consists in high support for my research, because in big lines it explores the connection between the human behavior and physical space by crossing the concepts extracted from the theoretical framework with the knowledge extracted by discussing with professionals. Altogether, I had the opportunity to test my hypothesis, and nevertheless, to see how applicable they are in real life cases.

This section debates all three discussions with Mr. Perez, Mr. Rysling and Ms. Stockmarr, each incorporating a scheme that aims to visually communicate the results. The chapter ends up with a final scheme represented by cross data. At the same time, this hybrid scheme is envisioned as potential guidelines to deal with crime in the physical space, covering the whole data conceptualized and discussed in this paper.

4.1. Vision 1- Mr.Perez

Contacting Mr. Jorge Perez Jaramillo was aimed particularly to discuss the key of success in deterring criminal incidence in Medellin, Colombia. The city has been through hard times and for a long time has worn the stigma of the most dangerous city in the world. Mr Perez has patiently answered to all my curiosities in regard with this topic and I must admit it was gratifying to listen to his complex explanations.

As a main conclusion, Mr. Perez not only that helped me to test my assumptions, but he also added complexity to my research. As I was assuming that physical space has a strong capacity in influencing human behavior and furthermore, criminal behavior, Mr. Perez assured me that the situation is more complex than that. According to Mr. Perez, physical interventions cannot alone reduce crime rates. I was surprised by his assumptions and I was looking forward to listening more.

Then, along the discussion Mr. Perez expanded on how interventions in the physical space have to be part of a broader socio-political process, where all social sectors need to cooperate. Such a socio-political dialogue can improve vision in planning, which can furthermore influence criminality.

This again was an effervescent moment in my research, because I started to see clear differences between the knowledge that I have gained from the theoretical framework, and the information I was receiving from Mr. Perez. I started to question myself if the concepts exhibited in the theories were effective in dealing with crime, given all the news that I received from Mr. Perez.

However, what I realized was that the case of Medellin was unique, and difficult to compare with other cases. The problems experienced by this city were so severe and numerous that hardly had anyone hoped for a recovery

Mr. Perez`s point of view over the case was a true challenge in my research, because it determined me to reflect more intense regarding my undergoing research process as well as regarding my own hypotheses. It helped me realize that culture and nature of our profession are vibrant elements in how we perceive a problem and especially how we envision solutions for it.

It is understandable why Mr. Perez places such a strong emphasis on the political processes, given the complex nature of his profession. Having started as an architect, being actively involved in urban matters, being Dean of school of Architecture and then eventually Director of Planning requires a lot of responsibility and therefore, along with that comes different considerations towards how things can be solved. Given the multidisciplinary nature of his profession, Mr. Perez ascribed the success of the city on the shared socio-political vision of the city, and on the participatory processes that the leaders of the city have been promoting for a long time.

Mr. Perez credited politics for Medellin`s successful transition, and it is understandable, given his experience and the numerous episodes of transition that he experienced along with the development of the city. I see this unfolding under cultural auspices in terms of how we test a situation as professionals. Often, we have different nuances that define our roles as facilitators, when we tackle with problems. These nuances can be represented by the orientation we have chosen in our profession, the cultural context that we are coming from, or the length of experience we have gathered.

At the same time it is interesting to keep in mind that Mr. Perez expanded on the broad transition movement that the city has gone through, and in this direction it makes sense why a solitary structure or a solitary physical intervention project cannot exert a massive change for a whole community.

Discussing with Mr. Perez made me reflect on the kind of area that a further sequel of my thesis should aim and I realized that my interventions have to start in a small scale area, of small dimensions. As Mr. Perez specified, a big change starts with "a beautiful, inspirational moment".

This is how I reached the conclusion that an effective and successful change starts with small steps, but needs to be supported by a flexible and social-oriented vision in planning. After all, having discussed about criminality, Mr. Perez acknowledged that that influence of architecture and urban planning interventions in the physical space can unquestionably influence people`s lives and can be part of crime and crisis eradication.

Mr. Perez`s examples of practice were consistent with the theoretical framework presented in the previous chapter, particularly with Hunter`s "Symbols of incivility". Hunter explains how certain cities can develop their own culture in terms of behavioral concerns. So what was specific for Medellin was the culture of fear and problems that the city has been associated with for a long time. Also, according to this theory, the physical space has the power to shape the identity of people inhabiting it, which was also the case of Medellin. People were ashamed and continuously affected by the stigma of the city, which was mirrored in everyday lives.

Also, as exhibited in "Broken Windows The-ory", the lack of maintenance in the physical space brought along carelessness, encouraged crime and perpetuated its occurrence. But then, when the process was reversed, through the multidisciplinary process that has put the people first, it all resulted in a fortunate outcome which can be seen nowadays and which makes the city a global attraction.

One of the most impressive moments of the knowledge that Mr. Perez has shared with me was at that point when he explained the hard times that the city has went through and how this affected social dynamics. Given the complex transition that the society was forced to experience, the civic buildings, the public spaces and infrastructure like Metrocable brought people together and motivated them to be proud of their city. I saw this as a reference to territoriality and an increase of ownership sense, fact that attracted people and united the community.

In the light of the discussion with Mr. Perez and keeping in mind the knowledge gained from the theoretical background that I have reviewed, I can say that dealing with crime, especially in cases like Medellin, does not only rely on planning, design, or architecture, but more on a multi-disciplinary process, where urban planning and architecture can be complemented by social design.
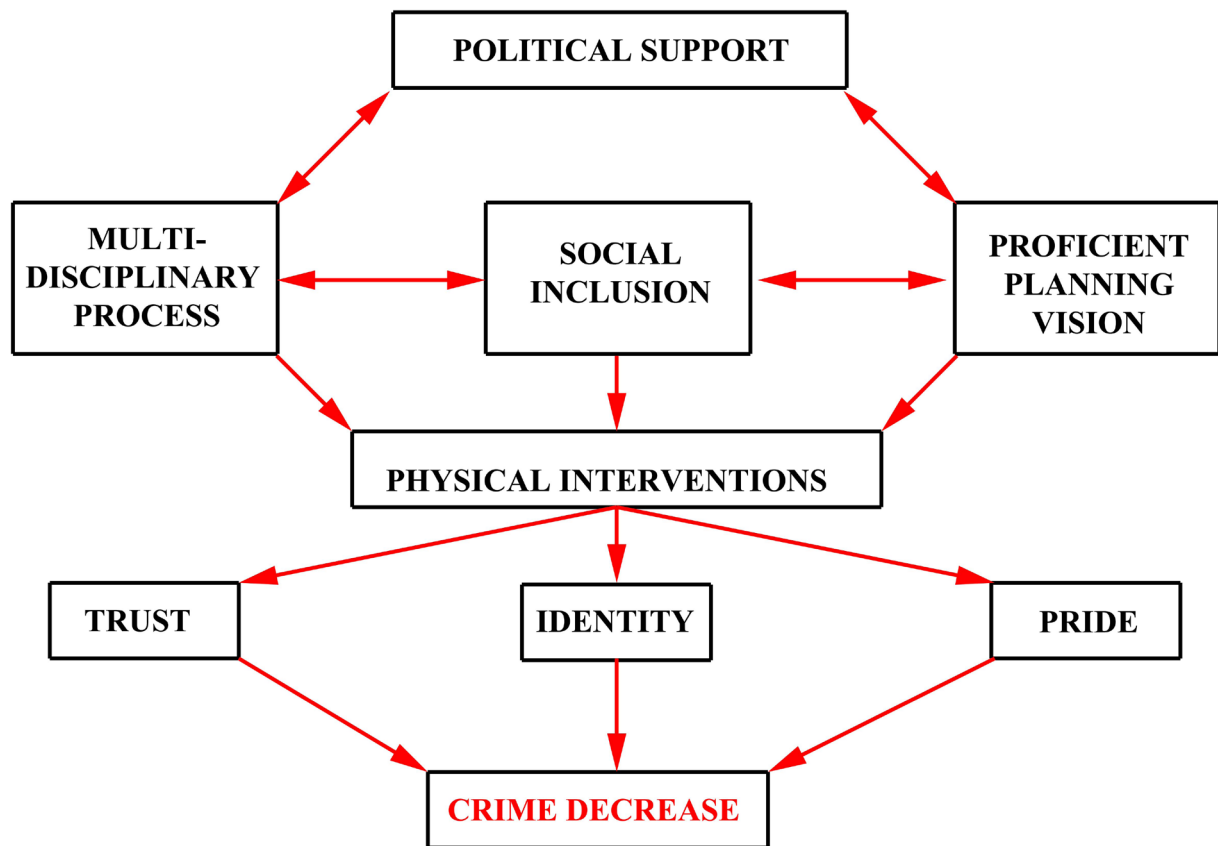
Figure 15

4.2. Vision 2- Mr. Rysling

Discussing with Mr. Rysling summarizes that quality of life and the wellbeing of a community come from the message that the physical space communicates. Residential complexes and the adjacent spaces surrounding them need to be opened, aerated and to permit access. Gates, fences, walls, barbed wires or police intervention are not the best way to assure safety and security.

Nevertheless, territoriality continues to be the most influential concept with the most efficient results in social control. The traditional use of bars and walls intended for protection have the exact opposite effect, creating an offensive space, facilitative for crime and fear. The appearance of physical space can either convey trust, either distrust, where both concepts eventually have characteristic effects on people inside a community.

Trust is a definitive asset for a community and participates to a great extent in increasing safety and security. Culture is definitive as well in how things are done, because it influences professionals into approaching various methods, some more effective than others. Also, each culture defines territoriality according to their specific needs.

The planning approach that Mr. Rysling has used in his projects is people-oriented and down to earth, being inspired by the principles that Jan Gehl himself has been always promoting. These principles militate for a better vision in planning that puts people`s safety and security first.

Along the discussion, my assumptions were reinforced when I recognized most of the theoretical concepts covered by Mr. Rysling`s experience. One of the first moments that debated such concepts was when he argued that with the approaches that he used in most of his projects he tried to enhance quality of life and influence people into socializing and get to know each other.

Each of the theories presented in the theoretical framework has been touched while discussing with Mr. Rysling. Of everything that he exhibited, I have observed that Mr. Rysling has focused very much on territoriality in his projects. As CPTED and Oscar Newman`s "Defensible Space Theory" emphasize, territoriality is one of the most important elements in planning the physical space because it determines people to grow attachment to the space and it engages them to be more protective of it. Social dynamics are stimulated which contributes to a great extent in dealing with crime.

Mr. Rysling exhibited a project that he worked with in South Africa, called "Dignified Places". This was an inspirational project and it used urban planning and design as main tools to deal with human emotions and influence human behavior. As the name suggests, the project aimed to provide dignity through territorial reinforcement. Given the former racial segregations performed by the traditional South African planning methods, the "Dignified Places" project was targeting to enhance quality of life for people who had been neglected for a long time.

The project increased territoriality by opening the space to everyone. Since fear and crime have a highly pervasive nature in South Africa, the traditional methods to ensure safety consisted of using fences, walls, metal bars in front of windows or barbed wire. Mr. Rysling`s approach consisted of opening the space and removing traditional features of providing security. By using this approach, Mr. Rysling increased territoriality and assured a better natural surveillance.

His methods were consistent with the theoretical framework, particularly with CPTED and "Defensible Space", since both theories bring strong arguments that using design concepts can provide access control, surveillance, and enhance territoriality. Also, in Mr. Rysling`s approach it was easy to identify the features of a defensible space, providing territoriality, natural surveillance, good aesthetics and inclusion in a safe area.

Also, an interesting point drawn by Mr. Rysling is regarding change and people who have the power to make it happen. A single individual can only think about personal property, and especially in a fear and crime driven culture as South Africa was, the only thing that people can do about safety is surround their houses with fences, metal bars, barbed wire or installing surveillance cameras, which are not at all the best means of ensuring protection.

To that, Mr. Rysling emphasized the role of professionals in taking action in the city`s life. An individual can only take action for their own property, but politicians, planners and architects have the necessary knowledge and tools to make progress and change happen for an urban scale.

I could also recognize principles used in Hunter`s "Symbols of incivility", in Mr. Rysling`s practice examples, in terms of how the physical space shapes the identity of people and also determines their daily routine or capacity of establishing social order. People`s lives are highly influenced by the physical space there, because given the pervasive nature of fear and crime, most of the architecture reflect this and it all mirrors down in people`s behaviors. They lack trust and social dynamics are weak.

However, all of Mr. Rysling`s projects had a direct target of increasing territoriality and along with that, offering to people the possibility to create their own stories, to shape their own identity and to be proud of it. Mr. Rysling`s practice examples have been inspirational and provided me with the possibility to check my assumptions, as well as the concepts extracted from the theoretical framework
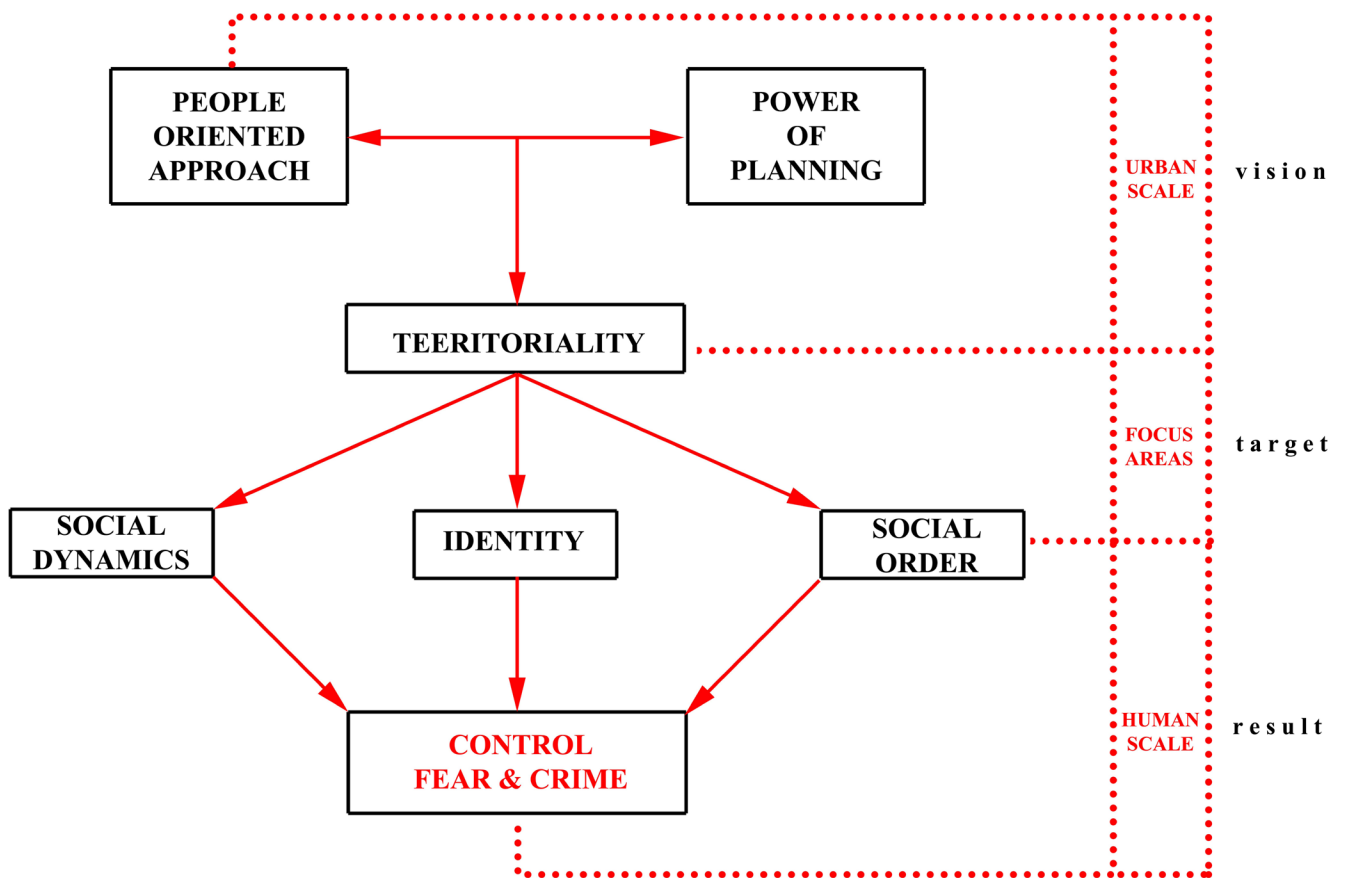
Figure 16

4.3. Vision 3- Ms. Stockmarr

The last discussion, with Ms. Stockmarr contributed to a great extent into testing my assumptions and at the same time, the concepts highlighted in the theoretical framework. Ms. Stockmarr`s professional experience as well as her exposure to multicultural environments added complexity to the perspective of the research.

The conversation carries with Ms. Stockmarr expanded particularly on the influence that the physical environment has on people. It was a restorative point in the research when Ms. Stockmarr offered practical examples of how people were influenced by the planning projects. Also, in a greater detail, it was specified that this was mirrored in a decrease of criminality in many cases.

Furthermore, the distinctive feature of our discussion expanded on the use of natural elements in projects, due to the influence that they exert on people`s behavior. Ms. Stockmarr explained the advantages of incorporating these elements in the design process. It is cheaper, easier and healthier to use environmental concepts, because every culture has such resources.

Ms. Stockmarr`s practice examples were consistent with the theoretical framework, and particularly more congruent with Whyte`s philosophy of urban spaces. Whyte was arguing in his research how the exposure to elements of nature can improve the quality of a space, mirroring down in improving social interactions. According to Whyte, this improvement of social life in urban space constitutes a better control. That is why, in the eventuality of criminal incidents, there are more chances that people will intervene. Of course, quality of an urban space is not limited to the use of natural elements or environmental concepts, but they play an important role in social dynamics.

Ms. Stockmarr`s statements were very consistent with these theoretical concepts. In terms of environmental concepts can influence human behavior and deal with crime, Ms. Stockmarr specifically illustrated that using wind in projects has been an effective tool of social control. In all the projects there were people engaged with particular measurements of wind power, frequency, location, because this is an inexhaustible resource. As Ms. Stockmarr stated, "we will always have wind. Wind doesn`t go anywhere."

Ms. Stockmarr depicted how the modeling the occurrence of wind constituted the sense of comfort, with an emphasis on the projects she attended, in Saudi Arabia, Riyadh as well as in Canada, Toronto, both being overcrossed by strong winds. Comfort was also an important feature that Whyte was ascribing to the constitution of a qualitative space.

An important aspect touched by discussing with Ms. Stockmarr was the pervasive nature of people`s responsiveness. When I was debating in the discussion the reactions that people have to the change of the physical space, I had again the opportunity to be offered explanations extracted from real life cases.

Since Ms. Stockmarr had the opportunity to work in multicultural environments, she touched a very important point. In all the projects that she worked with, she observed that people reacted in the same way to the indicators of physical space, because the behavioral reactions are independent of culture, religion, geographical location.

Physical reactions are only the body`s response, independent of our will. CPTED concepts can be recognizable in this stance, since according to this theoretical view, humans are highly responsive to external natural stimuli.

Also, in the same line of events, discussing with Ms. Stockmarr touched the concepts argued in the "Broken Windows Theory". When I inquired Ms. Stockmarr`s stance towards the effectiveness and the role of the police on streets as main authority responsible with social control, she confirmed that police alone cannot control people.

Again, she reinforced that architecture and environmental concepts are closely related to people`s actions and behavior in the physical space, illustrating the "ghetto" culture, where usually fear and crime are intrinsic to its nature.

The ghetto culture perfectly depicts how deterioration of the physical space and the lack of maintenance attract crime and perpetuate its occurrence, and implies how necessary it is to instill a sense of social order and territoriality that can further provide natural surveillance and sense of belonging and pride for the physical space. All these concepts extracted from the discussion with Ms. Stockmarr as well as from the previously constructed theoretical framework have reinforced one more time how the physical space affect people`s behavior and how can this be used as a tool of controlling social dynamics and furthermore, dealing with crime.
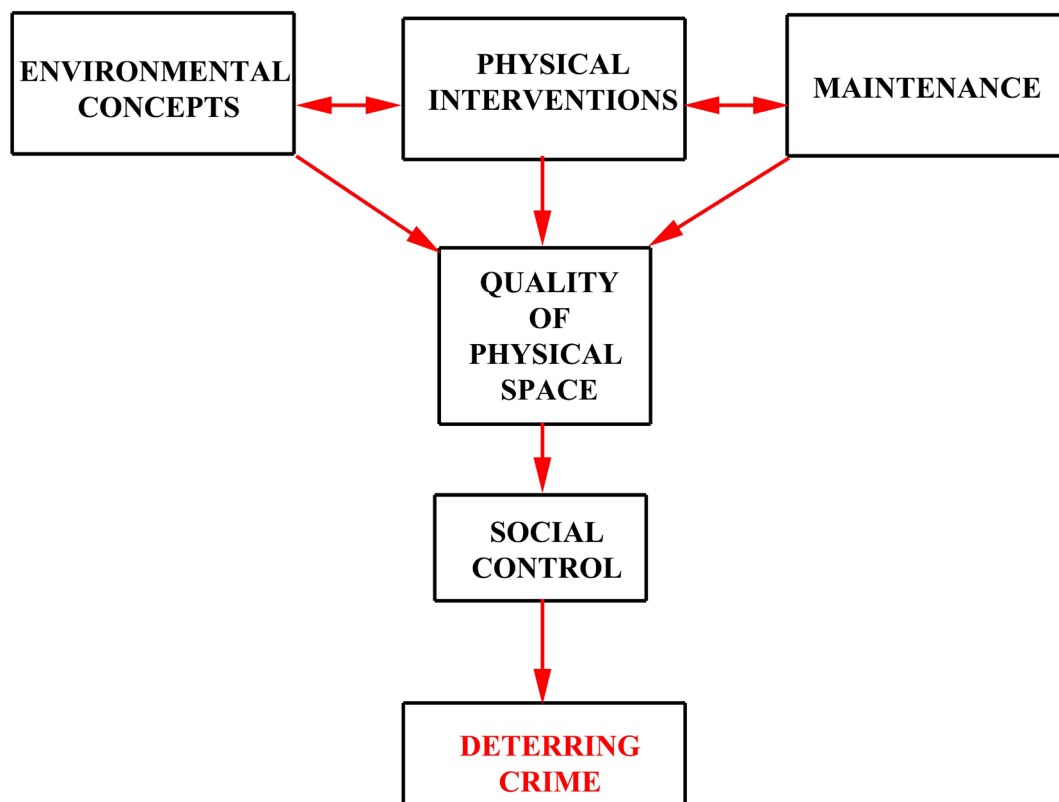

Figure 17

4.4. Guidelines

The discussions performed with professionals participated to a great extent into testing theoretical knowledge on the outside world. Best practice examples are not only inspirational but also a creative way to deal with the challenges that arise in this profession. In the light of this paper, the discussions with professionals tested the theoretical framework and helped into conceptualizing a set of guidelines for dealing with crime in the physical space.

The theory matched most of the assumptions argued by professionals and the most encountered and verifiable concepts were those of territoriality, pride, trust, sense of ownership, identity, social interaction and social control. At the same time, the best practice examples exhibited by professionals proved that indeed, human behavior is influenced physical space, and that by using the latter as a tool criminality can also be kept under control.

It was interesting to observe that even though professionals shared the same background, the same education of architecture and urbanism, however, their visions varied around the topic of research. Neither of them is contradicting that the physical space has a strong influence on human behavior, but each of them ascribes this to different contexts and indicators. Mr. Perez places a strong emphasis on politics, Mr. Rysling stresses on the tactics of sensitizing people through physical interventions and increasing territoriality and Ms. Stockmarr references the importance of environmental concepts and manipulation of physical environment by their means. Ergo, crossing these nuances emphasized by the professionals in the empirical cases with the knowledge extracted from the theoretical framework, results in a set of hybrid guidelines aimed to deal with criminality in the physical space. These objectives are reflected in the following scheme.
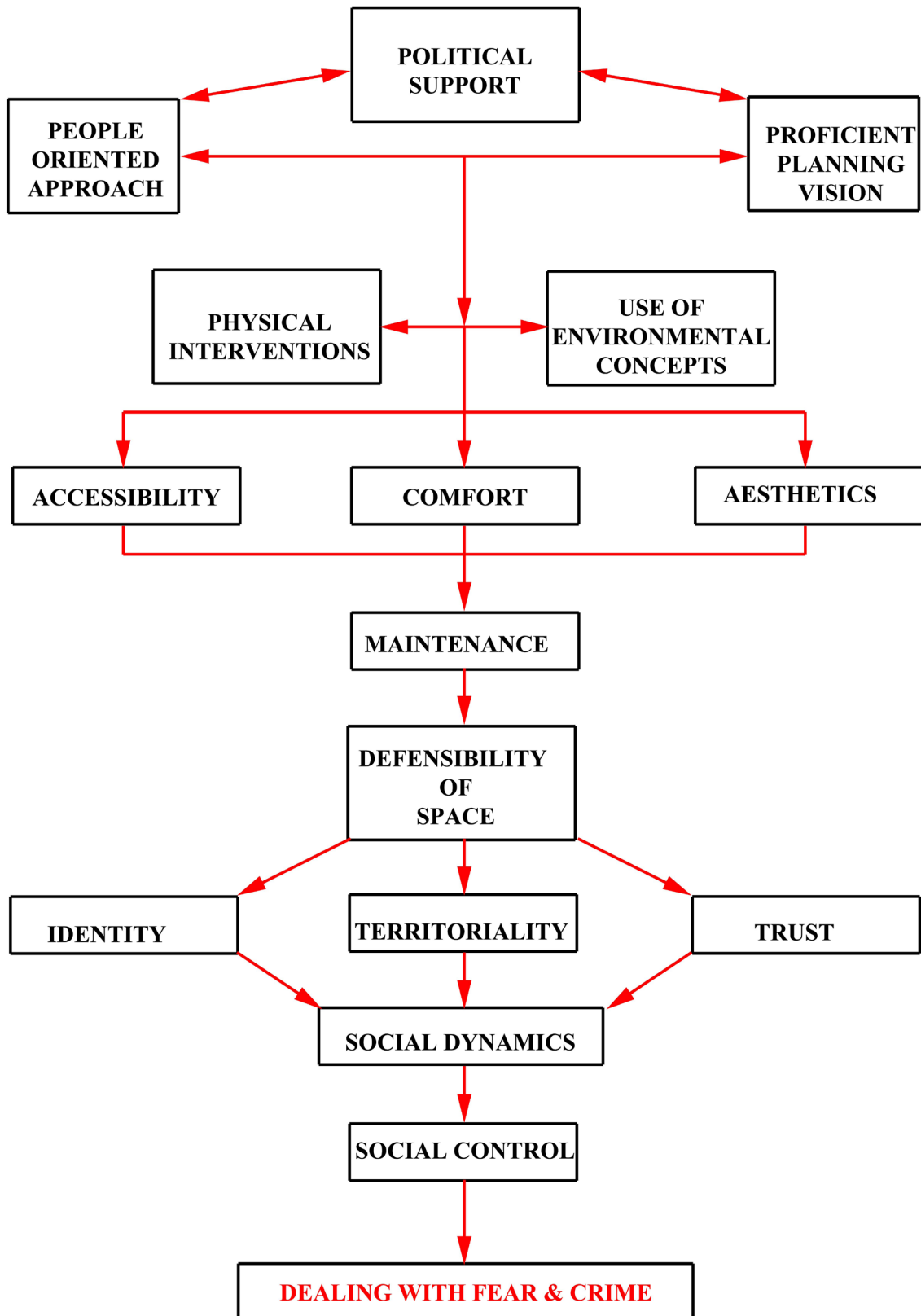
Figure 18

5.CONCLUSIONS

Is there a potential connection between human behavior and the physical space? Does physical space influence human behavior in a positive/negative way? Can physical space be used as a weapon or tool to counteract criminal behavior?

In the process of thinking how to answer these questions and how to start the research, in the very first moments I became aware that criminality was and will remain a disputed topic, to which very few know its causes and to which even fewer can find solutions of fighting it or preventing it. Even these reasons laid the doubts whether planning and research makes any kind of sense and if criminality can be deterred also through other methods besides enforcing the law by police that has always been the main body of control in society.

However, summing up all the questions that I have asked in the research and to myself as well, I concluded that it cannot be accurately guaranteed that criminality can be entirely prevented or eradicated, but what can be guaranteed is that urban planning strategies would consider and being aware of the importance of dealing with crime.

I had the opportunity to deepen this topic and what is clear and definitive is that the professionals who also tackled with this topic mostly had the same concepts in research and they all shared almost the same vision towards the connection between the human behavior and the physical space. The fact that humans are physically, biologically and psychologically designed to respond to external stimuli of the physical space is strengthening the assumption that criminal behavior might as well be altered.

The theoretical framework contributed with new knowledge regarding the rationalities behind crime. Given the fact that the human has a wide set of reactions in various stances, in performing activities denominated as "crimes", people can have political, legal, biological, social, or psychological reasons, of which of course none can entitle an individual as having the right to do so.

Therewith, the most influential factors are represented by the nearest elements of the physical space where we live, play, walk, work. Even since the earliest times, "home" represented the space where we evolved and grew up physically and emotionally. Ergo, the physical characteristics of the buildings we are living in, as well as the structure of the streets and neighborhoods can define behavioral patterns.

The design of these physical features can predetermine categories of users therefore it can be used as a tool in behavior modeling. The response of human beings to the physical space is instinctive and independent of personal will and consent.

Whether it is a private residence, whether it is a limited sidewalk or street that leads to work, the physical space has an increased influence on the daily routine that unfolds in our lives. On these grounds, manipulating the physical space and alternating its components can be an influential tool of deterring criminal behavior.

An important feature contributes to social control is the concept of territoriality. If planning the physical space strengthens the sense of territoriality, then the citizens of that area will be ascribed with a feeling of ownership on that particular location. In this way, they will feel that it is their responsibility to protect the space.

I see this as a subversive help with long term lasting results, because it does not only offer a prescription, but it is also a method. It helps people into helping themselves. More collaborative planning rises up the sense of territoriality.

Along with this, the community becomes more united and it motivates people to bond and protect their own properties, but their neighbor`s as well. This helps people constitute a standard demeanor, which will be mutually accepted, respected and recognized on streets, neighborhoods, and other typologies of physical space.

Having solidified the sense of territoriality, this leads in a target hardening and influences strangers to think that intruding in that area might be a difficult task, because basically it feels like entering one`s home. A place that looks like home, feels like home. At any moment an intruder would stir up suspicions because anybody can observe. Also, in order for territoriality to be feasible, the physical structure of buildings needs to permit natural surveillance and access control. Buildings need to be oriented in such way to face the main accesses, so that people can easily observe who goes out, and more important, who comes in. In this way, it is easier to keep strangers` access under control, in a fitly framed together community, socially and territorially.

Territoriality is supplemented by the aspect of physical space. This means that in order for a space to be defensible and a hard target for offenders, it needs to physically express this. The targeted area has to depict that somebody lives there, observes, and any mischievous activity can be spotted at any time. The physical space speaks for itself. Any potential project will have more success in deterring crime if it is integrated in an area which is already known as being safe. Hence, reputation is transmitted through the borders and the physical delimitations of the focus area.. Such integration will predetermine the dynamics of the space as well as people`s routine and general demeanor.

I see this as a puzzle. Setting the right pieces from the beginning, saves us a lot of effort along the way, into making things right when it`s already done. Overall, the specified concepts have a high contribution in the defensibility of space and deterring crime.

However, throwing ourselves in courageous attempts to fight crime or promise to prevent it is perhaps not the most advisable thing to do. What I found out on the way is that actually in the physical space people actually confront fear rather than fear of crime. The fear of the unexpected is much more pervasive and disturbing than the thought of crime itself. Ergo, what came up as a conclusion of the theoretical framework as well as from the empirical cases section, fear outside of our nearest personal space is instilled by the appearance of the physical space.

Culture also has to be taken into consideration, since I found out that various cities develop different levels and types of tolerance for behavioral diversity. This tolerance is however debated at a community level, which takes us back to the concepts of territoriality, identity and to how can the physical space become more comfortable and similar to "home". In order to gain these qualities, the community needs to establish a mutually accepted social order.

Social order is combative to the feeling of fear as well as to the criminal behavior, because they can be held under control much easier. For a physical space to control criminal behavior, it needs to visually express social order. The feeling of fear grows exponentially with the degree of deterioration in the physical space. The more desolate and unmaintained the space is, the more it increases the chances that people will feel terrified and frightened in that area.

These feelings of fear have a strong influence in increasing the lack of security and trust. Once the people stop trusting their surrounding physical space, this will also be reflected in the way they interact inside the community. Bonds will break and social dynamics will alter. Furthermore, in a society where there is no trust or harmony in the social dynamics, this leads to a decrease in involvement and interest. Since interest is strongly connected to the well being of the community, when this has vanished, so has the public order.

This leads to the deterioration of physical space and to the destabilization of the social relations. If trust and involvement are gone, so is the interest of people. Where this phenomenon takes place, the consequences are translated through criminal activities, because the nature of the physical space is facilitative for that and easily permits access of strangers.

What we are, what we think, where we live and the way we perform all these are saying more things about us than we can say about ourselves, on our own. Before having the chance to meet and interact with other people, the aspect of the physical space is a strong visual communicator. It talks more about our identity, than we can. People feel safer where the physical space communicates a feeling of social order, and this eventually contributes to the decrease of criminal incidence.

The research performed in this paper proved to be more inclined in exploring the relation between the physical space and human behavior, rather than promising methods of eradicating crime. Only by establishing the structure of people`s relation with the physical space and the mechanism of how these interact, only then can we intervene with guidelines, methods, and strategies. Once we determine the mechanism of human-physical space relation, than the physical space can be manipulated and be used as a tool, in constituting some guidelines aimed to influence criminal behavior in areas of risk.

The guidelines conceptualized by this paper cannot guarantee a decrease of crime but however, they can act in manipulating the physical environment to increase quality of life, territoriality and social dynamics. By reinforcing pride identity, belongingness and a sense of ownership in the community, this itself contributes to instilling social control

Quality of the space is also an influential element to be considered. For a space to be successful, it needs to be congruent with people`s needs. If the space is populated by large amounts of people, this is seen as a quality indicator, because it means that the particular space is responsive to people`s requests. There are very clear elements that represent influential elements in defining a qualitative space. If a space presumes comfort, simplicity, flexibility and accessibility, then it has all the chances for the area to become populated, with high livability. More than that, the identity of the space has a very high influence. For a space to be qualitative, it needs to be well defined.

The quality of the space can be constituted by triangulating features like: congestion, landmarks, sitting spaces, exposure to natural elements-wind, sun, trees, water-, food providing spots, street and sidewalk. Well balanced relations of these indicators can altogether reinforce territoriality and increase quality of the space by encouraging social interactions. People are a very flexible resource and since "supply creates demand", then if a space is highly qualitative and provides good functions, it will attract people, who will in their turn, attract even more people. In this way social dynamics are stimulated, and performing crime is a hard target in this kind of space. A populated and lively space is not facilitative for criminal activity, because anyone can intervene at any time.

Human behavior is highly responsive to the variables encountered in physical space. A space which is neglected will result in further deterioration and it will consequently attract similar eventualities. A physical space in deterioration will attract bad occurrences which are nurtured by such an environment, making it highly facilitative for criminal activities.

Henceforth, even though the necessity of police is indubitable in maintaining order in the physical space, however, it is not the only responsible with keeping this sense of order. Physical space must be maintained at the right time, to not provide chances of deterioration and crime to further perpetuate. A deteriorated physical space becomes an easy target since it visually communicates that there is "no-man`s-land", therefore nobody is there to take care of it, nobody is alert, active, and so, any perpetrator can intrude and loiter, having the feeling that nobody would bother to intervene in case of a crime or other type of mischievous activity. It is a much easier and cheaper way to prevent crime by well maintaining a physical space rather than fighting it in an already deteriorated and bad reputed area.

A very important feature is also in communication and constant interest in what people need. If the physical space is not providing people`s specific requirements, most likely, it will not work. Culture of "the public place" can be used as a tool in deterring crime or at least dealing with it. If a public space has a good quality and if that can be translated in a pleasant and attractive aspect, people will feel proud of that. Public space can be used as a tool to sensitize people and motivate them to bond. Good social dynamics represent a sustainable manner of maintaining a place safe and secure.

6. REFLECTIONS

The phenomenon of crime remains a subject of controversy, since nobody can offer a proper definition of what causes its occurrence. However, all around the world people`s lives are affected by crime and fear every day. Insecurity and crime related phenomena represent hindrances in the life of communities, affecting the everyday routine and attracting deterioration in the quality of life.

Ergo, it was difficult to find a case study for testing the applicability of my assumptions. Time has been a great limitation in the research. Having the complexity of the topic, as well as the limited amount of time for constructing the thesis, it was impossible to pursue the first direction I planned for the research.

At the beginning of the research it was of high interest to find a case represented by high crime rates, where methods of manipulating the physical space have never been used for dealing with crime. I was searching for a potential case according to crime statistics, on a global as well as in a European context. However, in the attempt of pursuing this plan, I encountered another obstacle, which was the reliability of sources. It was a hindrance, because when I started to perform a verifying process by contacting the people responsible with the measurements, it was taking too much time. Therefore, since the sources and statistics could not be trusted completely and checking the validity required more time, I decided to reconsider the research method.

In this direction I have approached this critical pragmatic perspective and expanded on the information that I already had. Ergo, I consider that this research can represent an early stage of a much larger project. Given the knowledge produced in the paper despite of the limitations that challenged the research progress, all in all, this thesis is an explorative study that can be further expanded.

Also, the literature that covers the topic of fear and crime is extensive and involves multidisciplinary studies, so it could not be covered in these few months ascribed for the research. However, in the eventuality of a potential project that concerns crime prevention through manipulation of the physical space, this paper can be used as guidelines and research orientation point. A more extensive literature review can as well enlarge the research perspective and increase the possibility of finding more innovative solutions. Whichever the case, social studies have an indubitable importance in the research, since I consider people as a main resource to work with.

An iterative concern that followed me across the research was regarding the clear denomination of the research problem. Having my assumptions that the physical space has a strong influence on human behavior, I observed that I actually targeted "dealing with crime" rather than promise to "crime prevention".

In the circumstances depicted in this critical pragmatic research, it was proved that it is more correct to exhibit attempts of dealing with crime, rather than promising to give prescriptions of eradicating it. Part of this explanation is ascribed to the scale of the physical space that I am expanding on. Given the broad perspective of the concepts that I have worked with and using multiple scales in discussion-street scale, neighborhood scale, city scale, etc- it is unfeasible to promise eradication of crime, without a specific focus area. However, the paper consists of exploring strategies of dealing with fear and crime and finalizes with recommendations.

Specific recommendations come in regard with the knowledge that professionals use in projects that tend to deal with the topic which is covered in the thesis. I consider that the approaches that are used need to be more social oriented since people alone do not have the authority, means or knowledge of making change happen on their own. Also, as I have witnessed in the process of research for the thesis, chances for solutions to be effective increase significantly if professionals use cross disciplinary knowledge.

All in all, this paper might be of interest in public and private agencies, architects, planners, who have an interest in how the physical space can be used as a tool for social control and furthermore, in dealing with crime.

References

Abu-Lughod, R. A. (2010). Planning for crime reduction . Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society , 51-64.

Anderson, R. E., & Irl, C. (1990). Human Behavior in the Social Environment-A Social Systems Approach. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The Need to Belong: Desire for Interpersonal Attachements as a Fundamental Human Motivation. Psychological Bulletin , 497-529.

Brehm, S. S., & Kassin, S. M. (1993). Social Psychology. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Cerda, M., D, M. J., B, H. B., J, T. H., F, D. L., Alexandra, R., et al. (2012). Reducing violence by transforming neighborhoods- A natural experiment in Medellin, Colombia. American Journal of Epidemiology , 1045-1053.

Correa, C. A. (2006). Proyecto Urbano Integral en la Zona Nororiental de Medellin- Un Modelo de Transformacion de Ciudad. Madrid.

Crowe, T. D. (2000). Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (2nd ed.). Butterworth-Heinemann.

Eimer, M. (2004). Multisensory Integration: How Visual Experience Shapes Spatial Perception. Current Biology , 115-117.

Fajardo, M. C. (2013). Architecture, Urbanism and Landscape Design as catalyst to urban violence; Medellin, Colombian case study . Hangzhou.

Forester, J. Planning in the Face of Conflict- The surprising possibilities of facilitative leadership.

Gemzøe, L. (2006). Quality for people- A set of quality criteria for the design of pedestrian places and networks- with people in mind. Copenhagen.

Hunter, A. (1978). Symbols of Incivility: Social Disorder and Fear of Crime in Urban Neighborhoods. U.S. Department of Justice.

Merchan Bonilla, M., & O, A. P. (2011). Strategy for Territorialization of Security-Making Medellin safer-Together we can. Laboratorio Medellin , 52-70.

Newman, O. (1996). Creating Defensible Space . US Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (2005). Systematic social observation of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods. American Journal of Sociology , 603-651.

Scherg, R. H. (2013). Kriminalpræventiv og utryghedsforebyggende miljø- og byplanlægning- en vidensopsamling. Aalborg.

Stollard, P. (2005). Crime Prevention Through Housing Design. London: Chapman & Hall.

Whyte, W. H. (1980). The social life of small urban spaces.

Wilson, J. Q., & Kelling, G. L. (n.d.). Broken Windows Theory.

Online sources

http://www.africanhistory.about.com. (n.d.). Retrieved March 20, 2914 from http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/tp/Aparthied101.htm;)
INTERPOL. (n.d.). www.interpol.int. Retrieved April 02, 2014, from Crime Areas: http://www.interpol.int/%20%E2%80%9Cen/Crime-areas;

Further readings

Sinkienė, Jolita; Stankevičė, Inga ; Navickaitė, Kristina; (2012). Saugaus miesto kūrimas taikant miestų planavimo ir vystymo metodus."Creating Safer Cities through Urban Planning and Development". Public policy and administration (Viešoji politika ir administravimas). 390-403.
Kuo, Frances E; Sullivan, William C. (2001) ENVIRONMENT AND CRIME IN THE INNER CITY Does Vegetation Reduce Crime?. Environment and behavior. 343-367.
Kuo, Frances E; Sullivan, William C. AGGRESSION AND VIOLENCE IN THE INNER CITY. Effects of Environment via Mental Fatigue. Environment and behavior. 543-571.
Kuo, Frances E.(2001). COPING WITH POVERTY. Impacts of Environment and Attention in the Inner City. Environment and behavior. 5-34.

Kuo, Frances E; Sullivan, William C; Levine-Coley, Rebekah; Brunson Liesette. (1998). Fertile Ground for Community: Inner-City Neighborhood Common Spaces. American Journal of Community Psychology.823-851.

Politecnico di Milano, DiAP, Laboratorio Qualità Urbana e Sicurezza.(2006). PLANNING, URBAN DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT FOR CRIME PREVENTION HANDBOOK.
Knutsson, Johannes; RESTORING PUBLIC ORDER IN A CITY PARK.
Sampson, Robert J; Raudenbush, Stephen W.(1999). Systematic social observation of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods. American Journal of Sociology. 603-651.
Fukuyama, Francis; (1995), Trust. US Free Press.
Wilkinson, Richard; Pickett, Kate;(2009).The spirit level. Why greater equality makes societies stronger.Bloomsbury Press.New York.