

Safe on the Move

The Importance of the Built Environment

Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris
UCLA Department of Urban Planning
UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies

Seminar: Security Matters! Stockholm, May 20-21, 2010



Structure of Presentation

- Factors influencing fear in public spaces and transportation settings
- Relationship of transit crime to social and physical characteristics of neighborhoods
- Policy and design recommendations for being safe on the move

The Ideal and the Real

Increasing calls for more walking, biking, and use of public transportation



- reduced carbon emissions
- cleaner air
- less traffic congestion
- healthier lifestyle, counteract obesity, cardiovascular diseases, children's diabetes

Prevailing trends

- Increased automobility/ car ownership
- Decreased independent mobility of children
- Decreased walking and biking
- Decreased transit use

Changes in Walking and Biking for the Journey to Work Trip 1960-2000 (U.S. Census)

COMMUTERS	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
WALK	6,416,343	5,689,819	5,413,248	4,488,886	3,758,982
	9.92%	7.40%	5.60%	3.90%	2.93%
BICYCLE	N/A	N/A	468,348	466,856	488,497
			0.48%	0.41%	0.38%

Fear of transportation environments



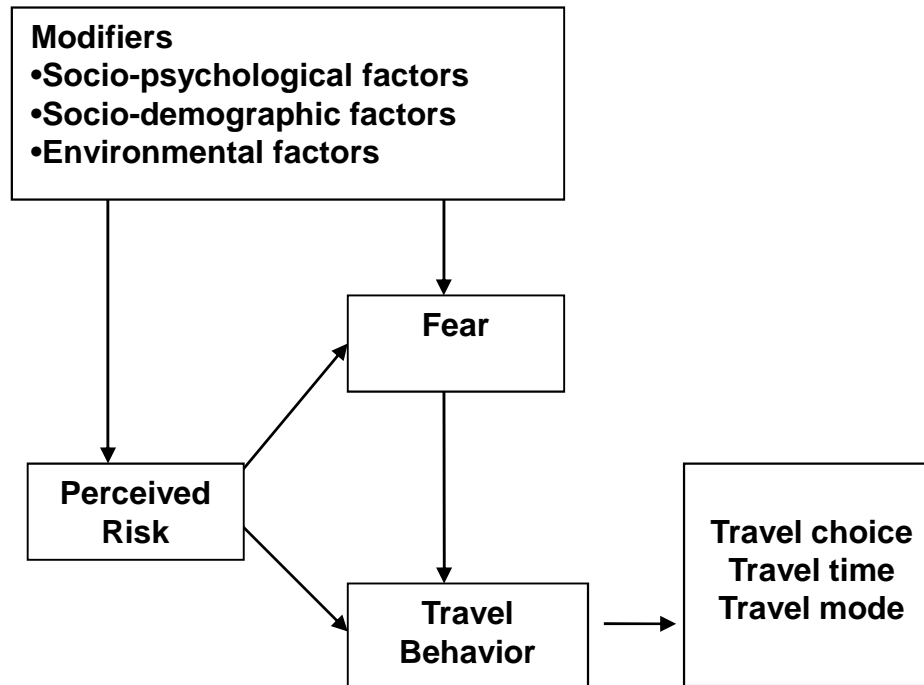
- Fear and anxiety about personal security are detractors from using public transit
- Avoidance of certain modes of transport, certain routes, and certain transit stops
- Use only during certain hours, and with company

Empirical research on the impact of fear of crime on transit ridership

- An extra 10.5% of journeys would be generated if the public felt more secure when traveling, particularly when waiting at stations (U.K. Department for Transport survey in 2002 reported in Carter 2005).
- Negative perception of passengers about transit security influenced riders' decisions to use transit in New York City, Toronto, and London (Wekerle and Whitzman 1995)
- The majority of car owners who responded to a Los Angeles inner-city survey would use public buses if they perceived them as clean and safe (Loukaitou-Sideris 1997)

Who Is Afraid and Why?

- Feelings of fear of crime cannot be described by “mathematical functions of actual risk but are rather highly complex products of each individual’s experiences, memories, and relations to space” (Koskela, 1997)



Modifiers of Fear and Perceptions of Risk

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC	ENVIRONMENTAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Experiences and Memories• Prior Victimization• Familiarity with Setting• Media Stories• Admonitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Gender• Race/Ethnicity• Age• Poverty• Disability• Sexual orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Geographic Setting• Physical Incivilities• Social Incivilities• Boundedness• Natural Surveillance Opportunities• Lighting Level

Women's fear of public spaces

- Perceived vulnerability because of lesser physical ability
- Influences of parental advices and societal admonitions
- Concerns for children who often accompany them
- Persistent sexual harassment
- Media accounts and sensationalization of crime

Modifiers of Fear and Perceptions of Risk		
SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC	ENVIRONMENTAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiences and Memories • Prior Victimization • Familiarity with Setting • Media Stories • Admonitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender • Race/Ethnicity • Age • Poverty • Disability • Sexual orientation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Geographic Setting • Physical Incivilities • Social Incivilities • Boundedness • Natural Surveillance Opportunities • Lighting Level

Source: Loukaitou-Sideris and Eck (2007)

“Physical Incivilities”



Environmental factors contributing to fear



Darkness

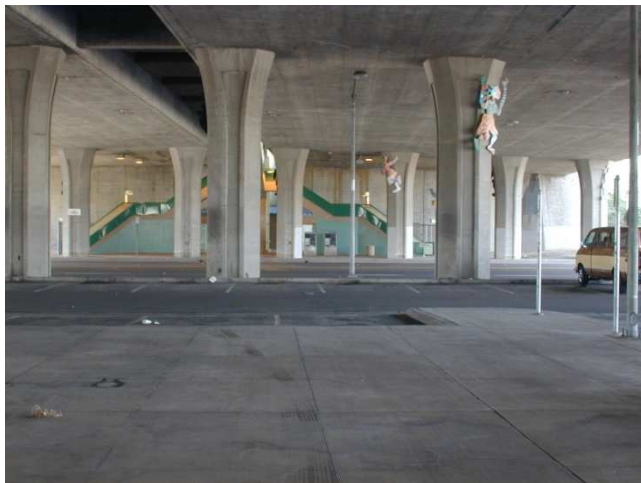
Desolation



Lack of surveillance
opportunities from
surrounding
establishments

People Fear

“... physical features, such as bushes, low lighting, and dark tunnels. Such features often limit the ‘prospect,’ or the ability to see into a place where someone may be hiding. Such features may also provide ‘refuge’ for a criminal to wait for a potential victim. Feared features are often high in ‘boundedness’ or limits on the ability to escape if danger arises. Feared places typically display some combination of low prospect, high refuge, and high boundedness.



Day in Zelinka and Brennan, 2001

Frightening Spaces



Enclosed spaces with limited exit opportunities



Anonymous and deserted open spaces

Feared transportation settings



Empty parking structures



Desolate bus stops



Empty train wagons

Crime and the Spatial Characteristics of Place

Place: a very small area – a street segment, street corner, intersection, bus stop, building– that reflects the activities of its users and may impact a specific criminal event.

A place is embedded in a **space**—a block, collection of blocks, a neighborhood, a district

Environmental backcloth: Physical factors present at a place which may enhance or decrease opportunities for crime (Brantingham and Brantingham 1993).

Hot spots: Crime tends to concentrate disproportionately in a few places.

Built environment attributes affecting crime

- Type of surrounding land uses
 - “negative land uses” (liquor stores, bars, pawn shops, check-cashing establishments, vacant buildings)
- Street layouts
- Visibility (unobstructed sight lines)
- Density??
- “Broken windows”?

Transit Crime in Los Angeles Bus Stops

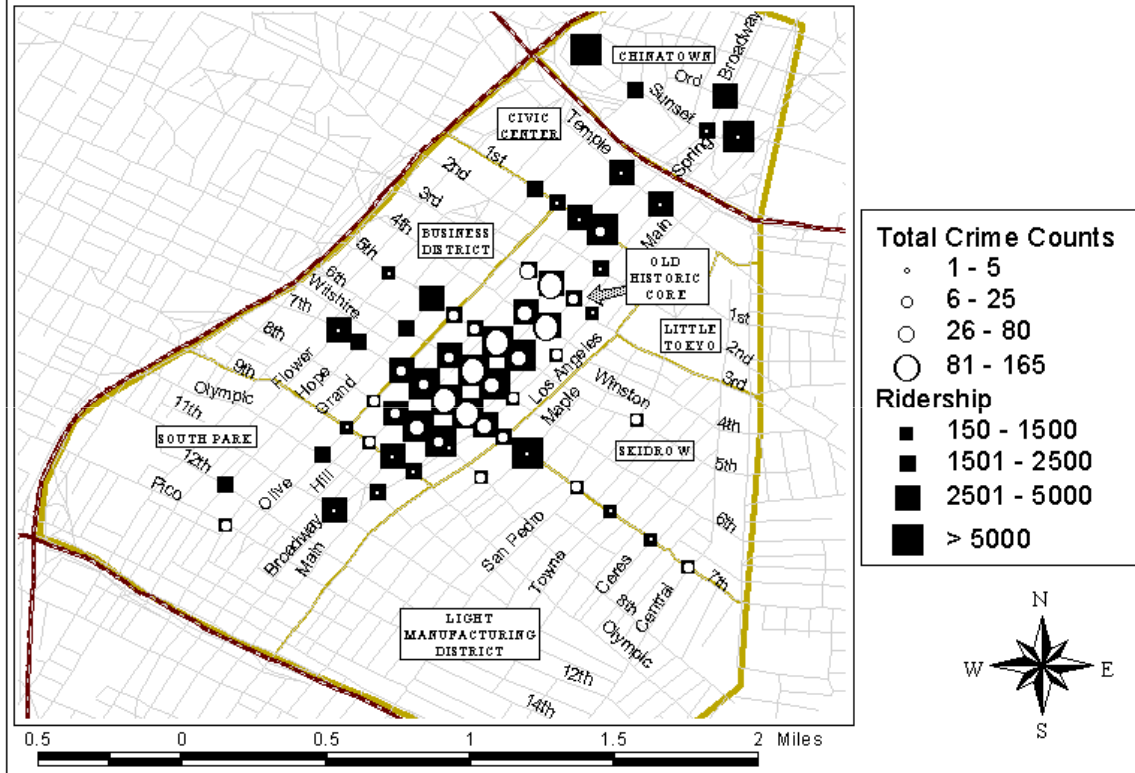


Study sample:

100 downtown LA intersections with bus stops--collection of data in 50-meter radius around the intersection (about ½ block in either direction)

2805 bus stop crimes
577 serious (Type 1) crime incidents
2228 less serious (Type 2) crime incidents

Ridership and Total Crime Counts at the Study Intersections



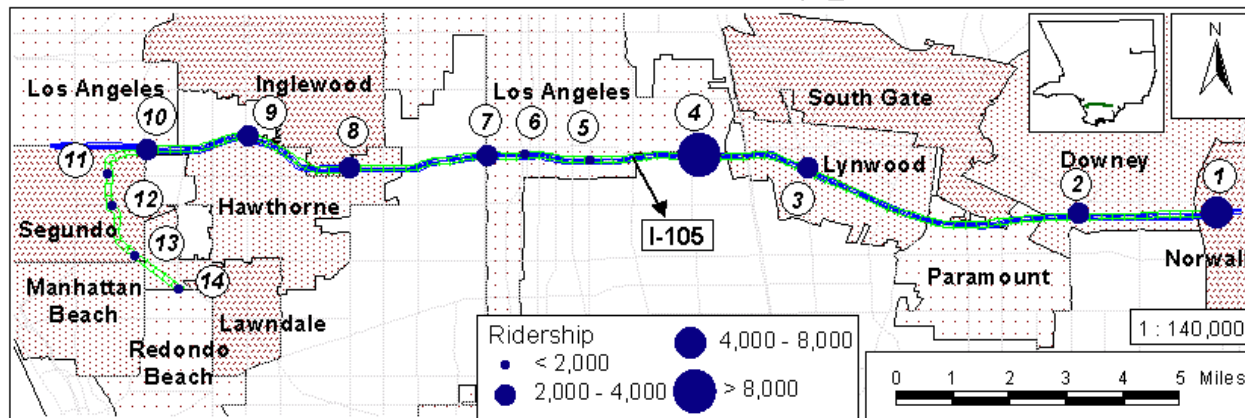
Transit Crime at Los Angeles Green Rail Stations



Study sample:

14 stations and 24 parking lots
Collection of data in 1/4 mile
(0.4 Km) radius around each
station.

540 crime incidents
172 Type 1 crime incidents
328 Type 2 crime incidents



Environmental Indicators: Bus Stops

- **Urban Form Characteristics**

- *Factors facilitating escape*
 - Alley/mid-block connection
- *Land Use*
 - Single-family
 - Multi-family
 - Small/Open Air commercial
- Small Closed front commercial
 - Liquor stores
 - Check cashing
 - Adult movie theaters bookstores
 - Surface parking lot
 - Parking structure
- *Condition*
 - Vacant lots / buildings
 - Run-down establishments
 - Graffiti/Litter

Street Characteristics

- Street Vehicle Traffic
- On Street Parking

Bus Stop Characteristics

- Visibility
- Lighting
- Public Phones
- Bus Shelters
- Caretaker/ Guard
- Police Substation
- Pedestrian Presence

Environmental Indicators: Transit Stations

- **Urban Form Characteristics**

- *Land Use*
 - Single- and multi family
 - Mixed Use
 - Office
 - Retail (neighborhood / Big Box)
 - Industrial
 - Surface parking lot/ parking structure
 - Vacant land
 - Open Space (parks)
 - Specific negative land use
- *Condition*
 - Density
 - Vacant buildings
 - Neighborhood condition
 - Building stock condition
 - Neighborhood dynamics (decaying, stable, prosperous)
 - Sense of safety (good, average, poor)

Street Characteristics

- Street vehicle traffic
- Pedestrian Traffic

Station Characteristics

Park N Ride Lots

- Graffiti/Litter
- Distance from platform
- Lighting
- Fencing
- Security Guards
- Pedestrian Presence

Platform

- Graffiti/Litter
- Type (overpass, underpass, surface)
- Lighting
- Guards/police
- Pedestrian Presence
- Visibility from surroundings
- Hiding Places

Environmental Variables Related to Bus Stop Crime

Variables Associated with High Crime Rates	Variables Associated with Low Crime rates
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Alleys and mid-block connections 2. Liquor stores and other undesirable establishments 3. Vacant buildings and lots 4. Run-down buildings 5. Litter 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Large/closed front commercial 2. Visibility 3. Bus shelters 4. Street traffic 5. Pedestrian presence

Bus Stop Crime Project

Crime per 100 and Alleys

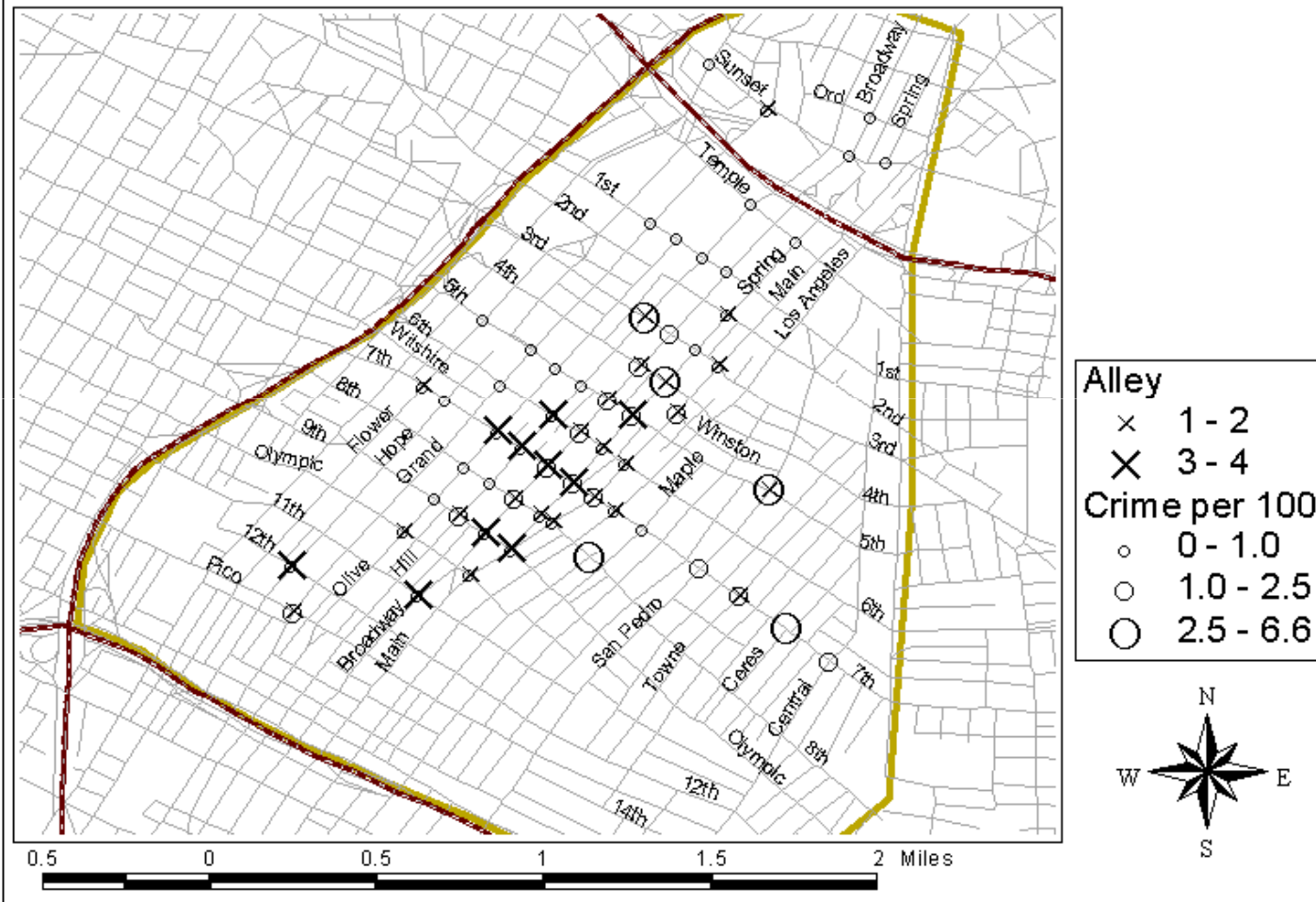


Figure 3

Environmental Variables Related to Station Crime

Variables Associated with Higher Crime Rates	Variables Associated with Lower Crime Rates
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Large park-and-ride lots2. Underpass platforms3. Poor visibility4. Residential/retail land use5. Liquor stores and other undesirable establishments6. Graffiti and Litter7. Dilapidated buildings	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Official/industrial land use2. Well-kept streetscape3. Well-kept buildings



Dark and desolate station parking lots under freeways



Dark underpass stations



Hiding places, nooks, and corners



Limited opportunities for natural surveillance



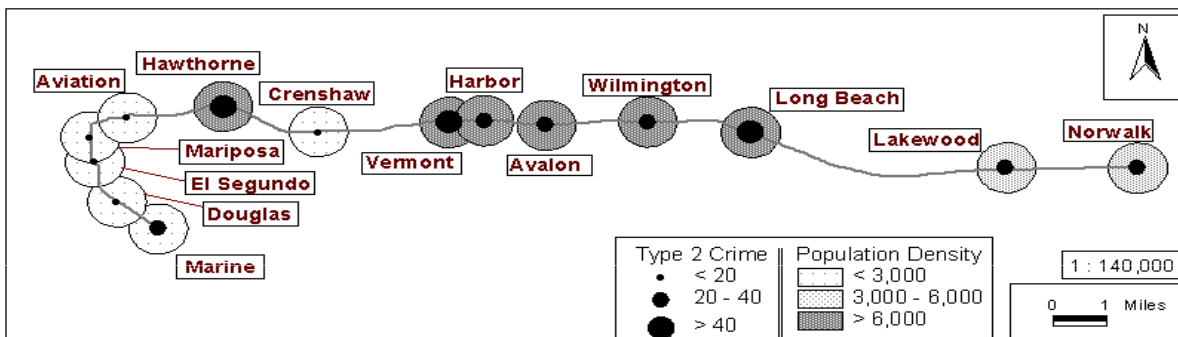
“Negative land uses” in the vicinity of transit stops



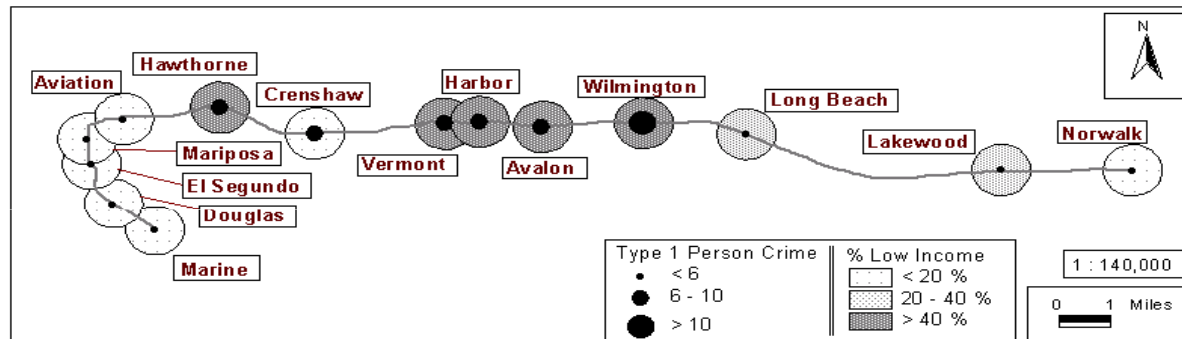
Socio-demographic variables related to transit crime

Variables associated with higher crime rates	Variables associated with lower crime rates
1. High population density	1. Owner-occupied homes
2. More persons per household	2. High-income households
3. Younger population	3. Neighborhoods with majority white population
4. Population with less than high school education	4. High numbers of population with college education

Relationship between Type 2 Crime and Population Density



Relationship between Type 1 Crime and Average Household Income on station neighborhood



What needs to happen

- Prioritizing needs
- Adopting a ‘whole journey approach’
- Tailoring initiatives to needs
- Enhancing visibility and natural surveillance
- Fixing ‘broken windows’
- Keeping away from bad neighbors
- Adopting a multi-pronged approach to safety



Thank you!