

SECURITY PLANNING FOR PUBLIC SPACES:
TESTING A PROPOSED CPTED RATING INSTRUMENT IN BERLIN, GERMANY

By

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To my mom for her continued support
To my dad (R.I.P.) who guided me so ably for so long

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Planners, law enforcement, researchers, public officials and citizens are all concerned with safe use of public spaces. Researchers Jeremy Nemeth and Stephan Schmidt have proposed a survey instrument designed to score plazas, parks and other spaces for their accessibility and control. There is a tension, in free societies, between public use of public spaces and rules governing that use. We desire the most freedom with the greatest safety, yet those two ends can be counter to one another.

This study takes a carefully researched and designed survey tool out of its native New York environment and tests it in Berlin, Germany. We wanted to discover if the instrument adapts well to other locations and cultures. As far as we can tell, no research related to this proposal has been yet published. This appears to be the first field trial of an instrument that may prove quite useful in the future. This case study seeks to glean what factors in German society might influence how the instrument performs and what, if anything, different cultural mores might reveal. We analyze the findings and present relevant conclusions, and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This research attempts to help answer a question posed by researchers Jeremy Nemeth and Stephan Schmidt (2007, pp. 263-264): Can researchers, using the concepts and principles of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), develop a rating scheme to help determine the level of public access and safety in a particular publically accessible space? In this research, the question posed further asks whether the ratings scheme, as developed, may be properly applied to a cultural setting outside of New York City. Nemeth and Schmidt acknowledge the tension between public access and use, and security and control. They propose “an index that measures levels of spatial control [that] would allow people to make and test assertions about a successful space based on their own set of ideals” (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 285).

It should be noted here that researchers Nemeth and Schmidt use the term ‘publically accessible space’ in the article that forms the basis of this research. This results from there being three types of spaces that the public might access in New York. First are publically owned spaces managed by the public. Second are publically owned spaces managed by a private entity like a Business Improvement District (BID). Last are spaces created for public use in order to gain bonus development rights in the form of additional height and floor area in a particular development. In Berlin, we found only public spaces managed by the local government, and so we will use the term ‘public space’.

Berlin, Germany was chosen for a variety of reasons, one of which is continual physical change throughout the 20th century. New York City has been continually reshaped by capitalism and commerce. In contrast, Berlin was reshaped by the

monumental plans of Adolf Hitler and Albert Speer, the ravages of World War II, and later division by The Wall during the Cold War. Few capital cities in Europe, or elsewhere, have experienced a similar level of upheaval and change. It should be noted that the street grid remained essentially the same for both cities throughout.

Another consideration in the choice of Berlin, was our selection to receive partial funding from the Network for European and US Regional and European Studies (NEURUS) Fellow grant program. Participation in this grant program specifies affiliation with one of three European universities. Of the three choices, Berlin and Humboldt University were, by far, the best fit for this research. The other choices for the NEURUS program were Groningen, The Netherlands and Vienna, Austria. Peripherally, as this researcher's undergraduate degree focused on German history from the era of Bismarck through the Cold War, the opportunity seemed of kismet.

The next question is: Why? Why would these researchers develop and propose such a rating scheme? Why develop and test it in New York City? As they point out, there is no existing tool to compare physical locations (Nemeth and Schmidt, 2007, pp. 283-4) and as such, no data collection for researchers to consider. Their methodology was developed and tested in New York City, and bears the influence of that environment, as discussed in Chapter 2. This appears to be the first trial of the instrument by another researcher.

Nemeth and Schmidt appear to have lent considerable thought to analyzing and parsing CPTED principles, and how to score them for a rating scheme that might be universal. The research reported here seems to indicate that culture might play an

unanticipated, but important role in understanding the results. Cultural differences are perhaps not yet accounted for in the ratings scheme, as currently proposed.

The article that prompted this research is discussed at length in the literature review in Chapter 2. At issue are the results as applied to public spaces in Berlin, Germany. Surveys for most spaces resulted in a fairly uniform score within a fairly small range. We explore some possible reasons for that small range in Chapter 5, in the section covering observed cultural mores. In Chapter 4 we discuss Berlin park and plaza design, as observed, which may also play a role.

In the wake of 9/11, public safety is a special concern for planners, architects, government officials and law enforcement. Certainly the City of New York, in the wake of that catastrophe, is more keenly aware of security than ever. The point was reinforced by the bombing attempt in Times Square in May 2010 (Baker & Rashbaum, 2010). In that instance, an observant street vendor alerted nearby officers of the threat and action to protect the public, including partial evacuation of the area, was taken immediately. New York, therefore, seems a natural location to develop and test an instrument such as the one proposed.

We must also explore the nature and purpose of public spaces, and why they are important to cities and their residents. What function do parks play? What is the historic purpose of plazas? It should be acknowledged at the outset that streets and roads consume the largest percentage of public space, although for the most part they are not addressed here. Our purpose was to survey gathering spaces, not travel spaces. Roads serve mainly to move traffic and for commerce purposes, while parks and plazas serve as community focused gathering points. Two exceptions are included: Wilmersdorfer

Strasse, an all pedestrian shopping street; and Parchimer Allee, a suburban corridor that is of some concern to, and was suggested by, Berlin Police. These two streets do function in a manner similar to a park or plaza.

Function of Public Spaces: Parks

It is often said that parks are the 'lungs of a city'. A casual web search will suggest that many attribute the phrase to Frederick Law Olmstead. Scholars attribute the idea to William Pitt the Elder, and others, in London in the early 1800s (Thompson, 2011, p. 189). Simply put, it was suggested that green spaces contribute to good health in many ways, not the least of which is space for recreation. "When designed well and widely used, parks help create a sense of community" (Atlas, 2008, p. 359). Parks also allow city dwellers active recreation opportunities.

Of note for this research is the "*Volksgarten* – a German concept of the late 18th century that stresses the park as a medium for public education and the mingling of social classes" (Kostof, 1992, p 169). By the early 20th century, the park ideal had grown to include active recreation as a focus of park space, and thus the concept of the *Volkspark* emerged in Hamburg (Tate, 2001, p. 105). This speaks to the German predilection for pursuits related to health and fitness. Most parks surveyed include active recreation elements.

Given the pall of pollution that accompanied the Industrial Revolution, the impetus to include green spaces seems quite natural. You can see the 'lungs of the city' ideal manifest itself throughout Berlin. Passive recreation co-exists with active recreation with the placement of trails, soccer pitches, tennis courts, *kinderspielplatz* and the like. A *kinderspielplatz* is a special active recreation space for small children. Green spaces also provide refuge from the hustle and bustle of urban living. Larger Berlin parks

feature areas of heavy natural vegetation that may speak to the German myth of the forest.

“One of the more flattering stereotypes about Germans is that they have a special relationship with ‘their’ forest” (Imort, 2005, p. 55). In popular imagination, it is hard for Americans to consider German folklore without the Brothers Grimm and certain of their characters. In the story of Hansel and Gretel, or Little Red Riding Hood, the most critical common character is the German forest. Without the forest, those two stories, and many others, simply could not be.

Some wax rhapsodic: “[T]rees stand undaunted in the mysterious German forest, permanently providing shelter and succour [sic], wilderness and nature” (Kreiner, 2008). In contrast to the disorder of nature, and seemingly not in contradiction, the Black Forest is an orderly place borne of forest management: Essentially a planned and planted spruce plantation (Imort, 2005, p. 56). Germans see no conflict between an appreciation of the wild forest ideal, and the imposition of ‘German order’ upon the same (Imort, p. 56).

The root of *Waldgesinnung*, or ‘forest mindedness’ is partly attributed to *völkisch* authors that “presented forest-mindedness not as a learned cultural pattern, but as a national characteristic of Germans that was supposedly the result of two-thousand years of coevolution between forest and people” (Imort, p. 56). The *völkisch* movement was strongly tied to the emergence of Germany as a nation after unification in 1871 under Otto von Bismarck. Volk means ‘folk’. Like many other German traditions, the *völkisch* movement had nationalistic overtones, and was co-opted by the National Socialists in their rise to power in the Weimar era (Stackelberg, 1981, p. 1).

A desire for re-connection to the land also influenced the writings of Ebenezer Howard. He quotes Sir John Gorst: “[T]hey must back the tide, and stop the migration of the people into the towns, and get the people back to the land” (Howard, 1902, p. 42). In *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, Howard promoted sustainable, planned cities with just that purpose. Lewis Mumford, in an introductory essay added for the 1946 edition, compares the proposal’s park allocation as compared to “the present congested, park destitute county of London” (Howard, 1902, p. 34).

Throughout the 20th century, various back-to-the-land movements have sprung forth as a counterculture reaction to the perception of oppressively mechanized and industrialized society (Halfacree, 2006). Distrust of urban spaces seems a part of back-to-the-land movements. This romantic, pastoral notion appears even in popular culture today. In their 1986 song “Stripped”, English band Depeche Mode sings: “Come with me / Into the trees / We’ll lay on the grass / Let the hours pass / Take my hand / Go back to the land / Lets get away / Just for one day” (Gore, 1986). Where the Depeche Mode original is romantic, a cover by German industrial metal band Rammstein, released in 1998, is far more sinister in its overtones. The Rammstein version could be interpreted to play strongly off German *völkisch* tendencies.

Today, we see an updated strain of agrarian sentiment inhabiting the locavore local food movement. Locavores promote health benefits and reduction in transport causes as critical to their creed. Number twelve on a list of reasons to buy locally is listed as: “Stewardship. When you buy locally produced organic food you ... can make a difference in your life and the life of your community; and about how this basic act is connected to planetary issues.”(Locavore.com, n.d.).

In America, the country living ideal led as much to the advent of “Streetcar Suburbs” (Warner, 1978, p. 14) as to the creation of Central Park (Kunstler, 1993, p. 45). The desire for a synthesis was labeled “Town-Country” by Howard (1902, p 50) and eventually led to the widespread adoption of Corbousier’s Radiant City ‘tower in the park’ concept (Kunstler, 1993, p. 79). “It was the old romantic idea – going back to William Penn – of combining the urban with the rural, of living close to nature, of creating a city out of buildings in a park.” (Kunstler, 1993, p. 79). Of course, it wasn’t long before the flaws of that approach were exposed. The failures of the Radiant City concept are discussed further in Chapter 2.

Function of Public Spaces: Plazas & Squares

Now, we examine the special place plazas and squares occupy in our cities. When one imagines the places that make various cities unique, picturesque, a place to visit, one invariably considers the public square. Prague brings to mind Staré Město or Václavské náměstí. London brings to mind Trafalgar Square and Piccadilly Circus. Moscow has Red Square, Beijing its Tiananmen Square and Paris the Place de Concorde. New York has Times Square, Herald Square, Union Square and Washington Square. In Berlin, it is Alexanderplatz, Breitscheidplatz and Potsdamer Platz. Public plazas contribute greatly to a city’s identity and sense of place.

Plazas and squares provide a common meeting ground, a place of commerce and a place to congregate and meet fellow citizens. “Probably the two primary uses of public spaces have been as markets and as civic centers” (Kostof, 1992, p. 153). Free and open societies require vibrant public spaces. “Within the dense press of the built fabric, the greatest luxury of all is empty space” (Kostof, 1992, p. 172). Whyte asserted that

one reason we preserve open space is that, beginning in the late 1800s, was that “we were steadily moving closer together” (1968, p. 1).

As part of the NEURUS grant program associated with this research, a weeklong conference in the Netherlands city of Groningen was on the agenda. Upon arrival, the first places we visited were the two town squares. In Groningen, there exists a historic fish market, and a block or so away, the historic Great Market. Each has its own genesis, but both have evolved over time, to serve the residents of this small city as the heart of their community.

American planners from the time of the Regional Plan Association to the New Urbanists recognize the importance of public spaces. Clarence Perry placed public buildings and a school facing a central public space in his 1933 neighborhood unit proposal (p. 20). New Urbanist pioneers Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zybek define urban neighborhoods as having “a center and an edge” (1994, p. xvii). “The center is always a public space, which may be a square, a green or an important street intersection” (Duany & Plater-Zybek, 1994, p. xvii). Perry placed the school at the center. New Urbanists agree on that point, but also value the proximity of retail and other civic structures (Duany & Plater-Zybek, 1994, p. xix).

Few other cities are burdened as heavily as Berlin with the weight of its own history. Germans have worked hard to erase the negatives, yet remain conscious of their history. One cannot avoid memorials to Prussian militarism, or markers recounting the horrors of National Socialism. Witness the occasional pavement markers seen in various places that memorialize an individual that was shipped off to the camps, as part of the Final Solution (Figure 1-1). At Wittenberg Platz a permanent sign reminds all who

pass, of the places where human beings were systematically exterminated. See Figure 1-2. Less apparent now, but still present in places, are the despair of the Wall and the concurrent crushing oppression of communism.

Historically, we can trace the how and why of public squares and plazas, but why do they matter today? Author and architect Spiro Kostof stated there are two main reasons for the public square. First, it is a place to meet and mingle, to see and be seen, to encounter friends and perhaps cross paths with undesirables and the objectionable (Kostof, 1992, p. 123). “The charter of public places is freedom of action – and the right to stay inactive” (Kostof, 1992, p. 123).

Kostoff’s second justification centers on the recurring events of civic life. “The second aspect is a ritual one. Public places host structured or communal activities – festivals, riots, celebrations, public executions...” (Kostoff, 1992, p. 124). Witness current events in Egypt. A revolution occurred in Egypt during the writing of this thesis centered upon Tahrir Square in Cairo. Masses of protesters in the public square brought down the Mubarek government (El-Naggar, 2011). Kostof points to the 1992 Velvet Revolution that occurred at Prague’s Václavské Náměstí, and the failed Chinese revolution in Tiananmen Square (Kostof, 1992, p. 125). During the French Revolution, “the statue of the king [in what is now called Place de Concorde] was replaced by a statue to Liberty and the guillotine” (Kostof, 1992, p. 124).

While in Vienna in October 2010, we happened into a political rally for the right wing FPO party (Figures 1-3 and 1-4). Not surprisingly, the FPO rally spawned a counter protest featuring various radical left wing groups (Figures 1-5, 1-6 and 1-7). So, it was the communists and others against a nationalist party with a charismatic leader.

This rally was, of course, in Stephansplatz, at the main cathedral. A political rally in front of Stephan's Dom seems almost obligatory for its symbolism. Citizens worried about negatives associated with immigration policies clashed peacefully with counter protesters. The FPO rally was based in a perceived lack of assimilation, while the other side, of course, accused the party head of being 'Der Neue Führer'. The rhetoric and players on both sides were depressingly familiar.

Totalitarian regimes count on grand public spaces to reinforce their dominance through mass gatherings of the population. The National Socialists perfected the use of vast public spaces (Kostof, 1992, p. 142) with Leni Riefenstahl filming for Goebbels' propaganda campaign. Mussolini enlarged the Piazza Venezia in Rome for his adoring throngs (Kostof, 1992, p. 141). Red Square was the perennial backdrop for the vast displays of Soviet military might each May Day.

Also of note, but outside the scope of this study, are the great market halls found in many urban environments. These enclosed buildings create an indoor trading space focused on fresh foodstuffs. This researcher has encountered this type of building in Berlin, Budapest, Wroclaw, Groningen and Sao Paulo. Small vendors of meat, produce, baked goods and sweets stand cheek-by-jowl in market stalls packed to the rafters with perishable goods. The atmosphere is one of commerce, but also one with a palpable sense of community (Figures 1-8, 1-9 and 1-10).

One danger inherent in the failure of our public spaces is an inevitable push toward privatization. Nemeth & Schmidt note that, in the United States "publically accessible spaces are increasingly owned and managed by the private sector, ... subject to the prescriptions of the property owner..." (2007, p. 285). The fear, well

founded, is a permanent loss of the public realm. The rise of Business Improvement Districts, and the opportunity for greater control, may signal that the nature of the public realm, at least in the United States, has already changed forever. (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 285).

In Sao Paulo, no matter the income level of the neighborhood observed, we saw the ubiquity of gates, fences, electronic measures and concertina wire. Public spaces in that megacity are few, but gated communities, most with private security, are many. In the United States, we seem to be moving toward a similar pattern. In *Privatopia: Homeowner associations and the rise of residential private government*, the author argues that one consequence of homogenous, gated communities is racial and economic exclusion (McKenzie, 1994, p. 56). Privatopia is quite the opposite of the diversity and mixed-use development pattern championed by Jane Jacobs.

Security and order are issues for all open societies, yet a balance with freedom must be maintained. Issues that affect citizens and the administration of public spaces include local crime; fear of local crime, and in some rare cases, the spectre of home grown and international terrorism. The last is more of a concern since 9/11, but the actual risk for individuals is fairly low. What is more of a concern to local government, and drives budgets, is the fear of crime.

Demands for increased security and patrol by taxpayers could be more expensive than taxpayers are willing to fund. As example, the cost of Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) in the UK, during the period 1992 to 2002, was estimated at £250 million (Welsh & Farrington, 2009, p. 19). An estimate of \$25 million was invested in cameras in the New York subway (Welsh & Farrington, 2009, p. 20). CCTV might be more useful

to investigators of acts of terrorism than in dealing with local crime (Welsh & Farrington, 2009, p. 29-30).

Decayed areas, beset with the issues described by Broken Windows theory, attract a great deal of the attention and budget. Urban blight, and associated fear of crime, may be addressed with an aggressive maintenance code, and heavy code enforcement. Of course, aggressive code enforcement has the possibility of impacting poor residents in a disproportionate manner. Communities also target landlords that defer maintenance, although this may have the effect of increased rental rates. Some communities work with nonprofit organizations to assure that poor and elderly in substandard homestead property are protected.

From an economic development point of view, rampant crime can quash tourism and deter private investment. When visiting Rio de Janeiro in 2009, we were cautioned to avoid being out after dark if at all possible, and to use a taxi even for a short trip. The beaches are considered strictly off limits after the sun goes down. Jamaica should be a popular destination for sun-seeking Americans to explore, but its reputation for drug violence keeps most tourists corralled in all-inclusive limited access resorts. Drug cartel activity in Mexico would make one think twice about scheduling a vacation there. Very few people would consider vacationing in North Korea, Iraq or Iran.

The spectre of terrorism is now an issue for major cities across the world. In the U.S., we refer to the previously mentioned Times Square bomb attempt, the case of Najibullah Zazi, who planned to blow up the New York subway (Sulzburger & Rashbaum, 2011) and the attempt to set off a bomb in Portland, Oregon at the 2010 Christmas tree lighting ceremony (Kinckerbocker, 2010). America is now just beginning

to experience the kind of security issues common in Europe for decades. At question for society, planners, law enforcement and politicians in open societies, is how to provide the best security, while simultaneously protecting individual freedom. Would the kinesthetic experience of Staré Město in Prague be the same if one were required to pass through a metal detector first?

Returning to public spaces in the City of Berlin, we examine the unique case of Potsdamer Platz and Leipziger Platz, two historic adjoining spaces flattened by World War II and the ensuing division of the Wall. If public spaces are deemed critical, we once again examine why. These two spaces were entirely erased by the ravages of armed conflict and post war political conflict. And yet, when the wall fell in 1989, Berliners moved almost immediately to the question of how to restore or rebuild these historic places (Enke, 2000, p. 29).

Potsdamer Platz was never really a plaza or square. This famous space began as a crossroads outside a Prussian customs gate (Wilderotter, 2000, p. 9). And yet, Potsdamer Platz, completely rebuilt since reunification, has “lost nothing of its great attraction. It has no history, but it could easily link up with its own legend” (Visscher, 2000, p. 7). To us, it is a place of myth, a place with a famous name, but today it is a feels like a place unable to live up to its past.

Leipziger Platz, in contrast, was an actual octagonal city square, surrounded by a thriving retail sector, led by the Jewish owned Wertheim department store, known as “The loveliest department store in Berlin” (Wilderotter, 2002, p. 27). Needless to say, due to the Final Solution agenda pursued by the National Socialists, social destruction begin here long before the war even started. (Wilderotter, 2002, p. 30). Historical photos

show a bustling place with handsome architecture and a striking open space. The current space is disappointing, sterile, devoid of street furniture and human interaction. Designers give no reason for anyone to tarry.

The resurrection of Potsdamer Platz & Leipzig Platz stitches the two halves of Berlin back together, yet for what purpose? These legendary public spaces rose from the wasteland all of a piece. There is no texture, no variation of age, no patina of age or even a brick out of place. Potsdamer is busy with people passing through, Leipzig is deserted. Potsdamer is a critical transit crossroads, Leipzig a ghost of its former self.

Was it just nostalgia that brought this place back? “Did the architecture succeed or was an opportunity wasted? Is it daring, or conventional?” (Visscher, 2000, p. 7).

Perhaps the *fact* of the rebirth of these legendary spaces is more critical than their form. Berliners’ souls may simply need them to exist, no matter the criticism of the structures or the lack of human amenities. The addition of street furniture and trees can evolve over time. Berliners may have simply needed this place to symbolize that the past 50 years can be overcome.

In the following chapters, we shall explore in greater detail the ideas presented in this introduction. Chapter 2 is a survey and exploration of the literature of public spaces and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design. Chapter 3 covers the methodology of data collection, limitations and related factors. Chapter 4 presents our data as collected, and analyzes the survey instrument as proposed. Chapter 5 presents a discussion of factors related to data analysis and cultural mores as observed. Chapter 6 presents our conclusions and recommendations for further research.



Figure 1-1. Pavement markers commemorating two Jewish Germans that were sent to the concentration camps. Photo courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 1-2. Sign at Wittenberg Platz, across from KaDeWe, reminding one of the Orte des Schreckens, or 'Locations of Terror'. Photo courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 1-3. Pro-FPO Party supporter in Vienna. Photo courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 1-4. Pro-FPO Rally crowd waving the Austrian flag. Stephansplatz, Vienna. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 1-5. Communist and anti-FPO protesters. Vienna, Austria. Photo Courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 1-6. Anti-FPO literature table. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 1-7. Anti FPO magazines comparing the FPO to National Socialists. Photo courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 1-8. Groningen, The Netherlands. Old market hall facing the fish market square. This building is now a modern food market. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 1-9. Market hall interior. Wrocław, Poland. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 1-10. Scene from the interior of the market hall. Budapest, Hungary. Photo courtesy James Beeler.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

When considering public spaces, it is instructive that two of the most critical authors for planners to consult were not even planners. Jane Jacobs was a journalist, and William H. Whyte was a sociologist. Jacobs and Whyte were observers of how and why things work, and observation is one of the most critical qualities for anyone in the planning field. These two authors were amongst the keenest observers of their day. This thesis is based as much on observation as the instrument it sought to test in the field.

Jane Jacobs' contribution is more than just her ability to observe. Her contribution came in part from asking the right questions, and providing cogent answers. "Why do I love my city?" "Why does this work in this manner?" "What makes this city great?" Thankfully for those who follow her, she was able to classify, categorize, and communicate her ideas to us in her seminal tome: *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). That book was a result of her war with Robert Moses over the future of Washington Square Park and Greenwich Village (Fishman, 2000, p 121), and helped launch a reevaluation of what planning was, and what it should be (Fishman, 2000, p 109).

William H. Whyte, was known as 'The Man Who Loved Cities' (Glazer, 1999). In his landmark study "The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces" (1980), Whyte studied how individuals move through spaces, why certain spaces are used more than others, and how physical design affects that use. Whyte concluded that people prefer to congregate, and a busy space will attract even more people. We are a gregarious species, and seem to find comfort in the company of others. Whyte calls that "self

congestion” (1980, p 21). Whyte identified the four basics for public space success: Seating, food, retail and bathrooms (Whyte, 1980, pp 76-77). Secondary considerations include wind, trees, sun and shade (Whyte, 1980, p 40-49). All of these factors appear as variables in the survey instrument tested in this research.

From the inspiration for our inquiries, we move to the reality. During the latter half of the 20th century, decayed urban public spaces, dangerous or not, became emblematic of the decline of our cities. The issue of urban decay was addressed in a landmark article in *The Atlantic* entitled *Broken Windows* (Kelling & Wilson, 1982). The authors addressed various causes of neighborhood failure, and what can be done to reverse that slide (Kelling & Wilson, 1982).

Broken Windows Theory holds that disorder, i.e.: broken windows and other signs of neglect, can lead to a fear of crime, and eventually, increased rates of crime. Groups of loitering teens, litter, decaying buildings and graffiti may cause the law abiding population to withdraw from active participation in daily street activities, rendering that area vulnerable to an increase in actual criminal activity. Kelling and Wilson suggested that the appearance of a lack of guardianship encourages miscreants to commit crime without fear of consequences. That single broken window leads to more broken windows, and so the dominos fall.

One high profile example given for the application of Broken Windows Theory occurred in the New York subway system. In the 1970s and early 80s, taggers with spray cans took great delight in plastering their creations on subway cars. The artists themselves were motivated by their desire to achieve ‘fame.’ “A writer gains widespread fame by creating a large number of works – signatures - across a large

geographic area, which requires long hours and a lot of traveling” (Austin, 2001, p. 52). The reward was seeing the work travel through out the city, and therein lay the seed of the movement’s ultimate undoing.

Shortly after the publication of Broken Windows came the 1985 implementation of the Transit Authority’s Clean Car Program. “The idea was straightforward: *once a train was entered into the program and cleaned, it would never again be used while graffiti was on it*” (Kelling & Coles, 1991, p. 116). Transit Authority President David Gunn committed to freeing the subways from street art in all its forms once and for all. Gunn established a simple policy: Once a car had graffiti on it, it would be immediately pulled from service and the graffiti would be removed before it would be allowed to return to service (Austin, 2001, p. 219). CPTED adherents might simply remark that the clean cars program was the proper application of the maintenance strategy.

Much has been made of Broken Windows theory, and certainly it has its detractors (Harcourt, 2001; and Levitt & Dubner 2005). No matter the empirical evidence for or against, public sentiment finds comfort in the logic of proper maintenance and neighborhood policing. Perhaps the greatest contribution Broken Windows has in the debate is an understanding of the fear of disorder.

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, and other place based crime prevention strategies, is based in the theories of Environmental-Behavior (E-B). Essentially, we know that environments influence individual behavior, but we don’t understand exactly why. By studying how individuals and groups react to certain environments, we can theoretically modify the built environment to minimize negative behavior, and encourage positive behavior (Schneider & Kitchen, 2007, 15-16.).

Place based crime and terrorism prevention strategies include a variety of approaches. C. Ray Jeffery coined the term Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, and Oscar Newman gave us the idea of Defensible Space. R.V.G. Clark explored Situational Crime Prevention. Paul and Patricia Brantingham contributed Environmental Criminology. Others, including Schneider and Kitchen explored the application of CPTED strategies. Each contribution is discussed below.

While C. Ray Jeffrey coined the term Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, his initial contribution was heavily theoretical (1977), based in stimulus/response, and geared toward changes in criminology from a comprehensive physiological perspective (Schneider & Kitchen, 2007, p. 23). Jeffrey made it clear that he was not a fan of the punitive crime prevention model. “Punitive strategies, including those designed to exact revenge and retribution, were ineffective, in his view: they clearly failed to *prevent* crime” (Schneider & Kitchen, 2007, p. 23).

Jeffrey advocated that criminologists deal with the entire environment, not just the built environment. The revised 1977 edition, of Jeffrey’s 1971 text, includes a new preface that outlines the purpose of the revision. After a scathing assessment of the state of criminal justice in America, Jeffrey asked: “If the present model is so stupid, why do we resist all attempts to change it?” (1977, p. 11). He seemed quite upset at the methods and state of criminal justice in America. He may have coined the term CPTED, but it was now attached to the methods of Oscar Newman. The ‘environment’ Jeffrey wished to explore was that of the mind, but the ‘environment’ that became associated with his term encompassed mostly physical space.

Oscar Newman studied environments and how they affect criminal behavior in his landmark 1972 book *Defensible Space*. This study contributes to our understanding of the value of territoriality and natural surveillance. Newman argues: “Defensible space is a model for residential environments which inhibits crime by creating the physical expression of a social fabric that defends itself” (1972, p. 3). Newman posits that society defends itself by employing natural surveillance; territoriality and a sense of community make it easy to identify and deal with outsiders (1972, p. 3). Crime is a problem, but the fear of crime drives people to withdraw from society, leaving public spaces to those of ill will (Newman, 1972, p. 14-15). In most cases, fear of crime is disproportionately higher than the actuality of the risk of being an actual victim (Schneider & Kitchen, 2007, p. 4-5).

Newman’s study of the two adjacent public housing projects in New York City helps us understand the value of defensible space. Brownsville and Van Dyke were of similar size and income levels, and the same population density (Newman, 1972, p. 39). The difference between those projects was in scale and design. Van Dyke’s typology sprang from the towers in the park idea of the Radiant City (more on this below). Brownsville was lower rise, three to six stories, and buildings closer together, with smaller spaces between the structures (Newman, 1972, pp. 39-40). Crime rates for Van Dyke for 1969 included 1189 incidents, while at Brownsville it was 790.

Newman concluded that, in the lower rise structures, apartment grouping and layout allowed for a sense of territoriality and the opportunity for natural surveillance. When combined with a smaller number of units per access point, these factors contributed to a greater sense of safety and security in the resident population

(Newman, 1972, p 44-45). Large spaces create an anonymity that tears at the idea of community. Newman worried that in the largest complexes “we may be raising generations of young people who are totally lacking in any experience of collective space, and by extension, of community rights and the shared values of society (1972, p. 4).

Newman contended that there were four attributes that contributed to the safety or lack of safety of any housing project: the capacity of an area to create a perceived territorial influence, the capacity of a building to provide surveillance opportunities over the immediate area, the capacity of design to decrease the occupant’s perception of isolation and stigma, and the availability of adjacent commercial activities (Jackson, 1985, p. 228)

Newman discovered the large public spaces between towers became a no-man’s land with no controls. These spaces, intended for resident enjoyment, essentially became places taken over by whomever would claim them (Newman, 1972, p. 25). In the case of public housing, gangs became the de-facto ‘owners’ of these public spaces.

And who was ultimately responsible for the failed towers of Van Dyke Homes and the grand disaster of Pruitt-Igoe? The blame rests at the feet of Le Corbusier and his Radiant City in the Plan Voisin. Hall argued: “The evil that Corbusier did lives after him” (2002, p. 219). When he proposed the Plan Voisin in 1925, the residents of Paris were horrified. Corbusier proposed to erase the historic center of the City of Light and replace it with repetitive towers and superblocks (Hall, 2002, p. 222). Each tower would stand alone, each building a sculpture in a vast park.

The author experienced the ‘building as sculpture’ in its purest form in the Brazilian capital of Brasília, and saw first hand how people adapt to a design that rejects human scale for that of the automobile. The author elected to be a pedestrian in an environment built for cars, and found it to be a terribly discouraging experience. The

Monumental Axis was constructed to inspire, not to accommodate the individual. One sees so-called 'cow trails' criss-crossing the enormous central lawn, testament to the need for people to use a space not designed for them.

In Brasília, Costa and Niemeyer designed spaces and individual structures that are the extreme of building as sculpture. Most public spaces there are far more picturesque than practical. As expressions of soaring futurism, the structures succeed. As buildings that people use, they are grandiloquent. Each structure is filled with vast empty spaces. But, where an individual building might succeed, on its own terms, the spaces between do not. Little thought seems to have been given to how people would move and whether they might want to use the plazas and lawns. They do provide a lovely forecourt for photographers.

One example: No restaurants were included in plans for the ministerial sector. At lunchtime, a food service shantytown appears between the gleaming, boxy, ministry buildings. One result of that omission is the degradation, from overuse, of the park spaces between the buildings. Decades of deferred maintenance, apparent everywhere, add to an air of decay. Brasília is stunning from a distance, but more than a bit tawdry when viewed close at hand. We did not have time to explore, but are told that the residential areas, with their mixed-use super-quadrads, are built at a far more human scale than the Monumental Axis.

In the United States, those who saw slum clearance as a post war necessity latched onto Corbusier's vision of the building as sculpture. In St. Louis, a 57 acre plot (Byles, 2005, p. 202) was cleared and 33 high rise slabs ascended, destined to house 2870 families (Byles, 2005, p 199). In a cruel bit of foreshadowing, one of the lifts broke

on opening day in 1956 (Byles, 2005, p. 199). By 1972 the place was generally uninhabitable due to poor maintenance, poor design and crime (Hall, 2002, p. 258).

The issues Newman identified in *Defensible Space* infected Pruitt-Igoe to the core (Jackson, 1985, p. 228). The large spaces between the buildings were a lawless no-man's land, the stairwells and galleries places of fear, and the structures value-engineered to early ruin (Byles, 2005, p. 199). "The defects of the concept quickly became apparent – for instance that the space between high-rises floating in a superblock became instant wastelands, shunned by the public – but this hardly stopped them from building them" (Kunstler, 1993, p. 79). Part of the housing project that most closely resembled Corbusier's Radiant City dream was dynamited in 1972, a mere 18 years after it opened. Architectural critic Charles Jenks wrote: "Modern Architecture died in St. Louis, Missouri, on July 15, 1972 at 3:32 p.m." (as cited by Byles, 2005, p. 196).

Some of the ideas Newman raised seem imbued into New Urbanism. Sense of place, surveillance, territoriality and access to commercial activity, are part and parcel of the New Urbanist ideal. This researcher had the opportunity to have a short private conversation with New Urbanism proponent Andres Duany at the Congress of New Urbanism in Atlanta, 2010. One of the questions posed was why New Urbanism is perceived as being applied only to upscale Greenfield development. Mr. Duany took severe exception to that characterization, and claimed out that many of the HOPE VI housing project designs are designed according to New Urbanist principles. Examples in Tampa, the author's hometown, would lead to confirmation of that assertion. Ponce de Leon and College Hill, two notorious barracks style projects, were bulldozed and

rebuilt with a restored street grid, some mixed use, and buildings built with the principle of natural surveillance in the design.

Of course, there are conflicts between New Urbanism and CPTED, most notably in mixed-use vs. segregated land use patterns, and transportation issues. New Urbanism counts on mixed use development to generate activity that would negate the negative effect of constant, and possibly foreign, traffic through a particular neighborhood. Another primary conflict exists in the subject of connectivity. New Urbanists champion the connected grid, while CPTED practitioners can prove that dead ends and street loops segregated from business uses are less likely to experience crime. Advocates of good urban design advocate finely meshed grid of small blocks (Carmona, Heath, Oc, & Tiesdell, 2003, p. 65).

Another place based crime prevention model is Situational Crime Prevention, developed by Ronald V. Clarke. The concept is based on opportunity models, and seeks to reduce crime by focusing on very specific crimes and circumstances (Schneider & Kitchen, 2002, p. 27). "Situational Crime prevention is a fundamentally 'tactical' approach in that it is place and time specific" (Schneider & Kitchen, 2002, p. 104). Because it seeks to explain single events in single locations, "it operates largely at a micro scale" and deals with risk, effort, reward and the effects of opportunity (Schneider & Kitchen, 2002, p. 104).

Environmental criminology theory posits four elements of a criminal event: "a law, an offender, a target and a place" (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981, p. 7). Building on the work of Newman and Jeffrey, environmental criminology assumes that some people are intent on criminal acts, and starts "with an analysis of the location of crimes"

(Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981, p. 19). The Brantinghams state: “Environmental criminologists set out to use the geographic imagination in concert with the sociological imagination to describe, understand and control criminal events” (1981, p. 21). By blending locational information with movement patterns, environmental criminology seeks to determine patterns of crime as related to the environments in which it occurs (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981, p. 22).

CPTED Principles

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design is recognized today for its place-based strategies, based in the theoretical and empirical research discussed thus far. CPTED is intended to shape the built environment to reduce crime. CPTED is not a silver bullet that solves all crime problems. However, when applied properly to new development or renovation projects, CPTED can help reduce the opportunity for crime. The strategies might seem obvious to some. CPTED practitioners approach crime prevention with five basic principles: Surveillance, territoriality, access control, activity generation, and maintenance.

Surveillance can encompass a variety of methods. Natural surveillance is often referred to as ‘eyes on the street’. In the example of Brownsville homes above, Newman discovered that the low-rise design, coupled with triangular play spaces were easily observed and monitored from kitchen windows above (Newman, 1972, p. 45). For some of the same reasons, New Urbanist developments champion structures close to the street, with front porches and plenty of windows that rely on the same foundation idea.

The principle of natural surveillance is expressed in landscape design with the dictum that vegetation should be clear and open between eighteen inches above the ground, and seven feet above. As we shall see in Chapter 4, the open vegetation

principle is counter to Berlin park design. Lighting should be appropriate to the use. Too bright lights can create a 'fishbowl' effect, while too little or no light creates opportunity for miscreants to do harm.

Formal surveillance can take the form of police on patrol, security cameras, and private security. Secondary surveillance, providing another layer of security, might come from doormen, maintenance personnel, landscapers, etc. The concept of 'eyes on the street' was strong with Jane Jacobs. She noted: "A well used city street is apt to be a safe street. A deserted city street is apt to be unsafe" (Jacobs, 1993, p. 44)

Territoriality describes expressed manifestations of ownership. This could include barriers such as signs, fences and hedges. A more subtle expression might be a change in pavement color and material or an elevation change signaled by a step or two. Territoriality can include actions and activity. The act of patrolling a neighborhood can help establish that a particular space is one's own 'territory'. As Newman found in the Van Dyke example above, someone will claim large uncontrolled spaces between residential towers.

The author has owned a townhouse unit the past 4+ years in a condominium complex with a failed association. In the absence of a controlling authority, each unit owner has merely claimed the ground that is nearest to him or her, maintaining the space that seems reasonable. As a result, fenced areas are now common, but irregular in size, as various plots have been 'claimed'. The more aggressive owners (including yours truly) have 'claimed' the largest plots, pushing the common space further away from the homestead. Some middle ground, spaces that that are furthest away from any

particular unit, have been abandoned by all. Signs proclaiming private property are now installed, but are generally ineffective.

Access control describes design and physical attributes that restrict movement and the ability to enter and exit. Fences are key components here, preferably of open design to allow natural surveillance. Gates, locks and appropriate landscaping may all be utilized for access control purposes.

An excellent example of improved access control implementation may be found in Gainesville's recent renovation of Haisley Lynch Park. This space, problematic for its location across from a soup kitchen, was essentially an unkempt, heavily treed lot claimed by what Whyte termed the 'undesirables'. As a neighbor of the space, and with an opportunity as a member of the appropriate City advisory board, our proposal was put forth to convert it to a dog park.

After the appropriate public meetings and City Commission financial approval, the space was closed and renovated. CPTED complaint fences were installed all around, and two-thirds of the space was converted to an off leash dog park. Some trees were removed, daylighting the darker spaces. The remaining space, designed for general public use, is now exposed to greater scrutiny by police and passersby. There are now only two ways in and out, and the park attracts an entirely new group of users. In combination, all the changes have made the space far less accommodating to those who wish to do business without scrutiny.

Target hardening is considered a part of access control. Each line of control, from fence, to lock, to alarm, to security upgraded doors and windows can be considered a 'ring' of defense. The ultimate residential expression of access control would be in

installing a 'safe room' in a home. Safe rooms might be fortified, have a protected communications capability, food reserves and electronic surveillance capability.

Activity generation is a principle of management of spaces. Again, using Gainesville as example, we look at the downtown plaza. On Wednesdays the weekly farmer's market sets up shop, and attracts hundreds of residents to purchase fresh produce and other comestibles. On certain Fridays, music events are produced that attract large crowds. The act of attracting desirable users to a space does not force anyone out, but the elements that represent disorder are less obvious, they blend in. As in the example of Lynch Park, no one is displaced, but the objectionable activities are obviated by more scrutiny. Activity generation is a strategy to attracting desired users.

Maintenance is critical as support to the above strategies. A space that is dirty and decayed signals a lack of care or controlling authority. Broken Windows theory described above discusses this principle at its core. Grime, litter, soiled or broken fixtures, faded paint and unkempt landscaping are signals to all that no one cares about a place. A well-tended lawn, fresh paint, working lights and maintenance staff send the opposite message.

Analyzing Nemeth & Schmidt

Nemeth & Schmidt, in creating variables for scoring, break down categories of CPTED principle based in the literature discussed thus far. Keep in mind that various CPTED theorists and practitioners define various principles in different ways. There is no exact definition of the elements of CPTED at this point in time.

Nemeth & Schmidt designate four categories as follows: Laws and rules, surveillance and policing, design and image, and, access and territoriality. They break down control strategies into hard and soft categories (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p 285).

“Hard control involves the use of surveillance cameras, private security guards and legal measures ... [while] soft control focuses on more symbolic techniques such as access restriction... design measures.... or the removal of public restrooms or food vendors...” (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 285). Further, they created 10 encouraging variables, and 10 controlling variables, each assigned to one of these categories. Individual encouraging and controlling variables are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

Laws and Rules “signal the appropriate use of a space and, consequently, what types of persons are allowed” (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 285). They focus on ownership as a primary concern. In the United States, some public spaces, such as development bonus plazas in New York and regional malls in suburbia, are privately owned. This can lead to a variety of rule making and enforcement systems. As we shall see, this is virtually unheard of in Berlin.

Surveillance and Policing is their second category. Within this realm are police personnel, security cameras, private security, and secondary security such as doormen and maintenance staff. Each of these personnel can contribute to a sense of safety for patrons. Nemeth & Schmidt worry that private employees are more concerned with protecting the interests of their employers than with public access (2007, p. 286). On this point, that should come as no surprise to anyone.

Design and Image describes more encouraging variables than controlling variables, according to the survey scheme. Restrooms available, diversity of seating, lighting, trees, food vendors and public art all fall in this category (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 288). These factors encourage greater use, in accordance with the notion that “the more people present in a space, the safer it will be” (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p.

286). In New York, sponsorship is exploited to pay for improvements and maintenance (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 286), but we shall see that this concept seems to be inapplicable in Berlin.

Access and Territoriality covers a number of the proposed variables, and deal with visibility and ease of entry. They note that restricted entry, elevation changes and specialized use areas may deter visitors (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 286). They also discuss whether potential visitors are made to feel welcome, and measures that can affect that sentiment (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 287).

What we seek discover in this research is whether this instrument, as proposed, may be applied in another cultural context. In the section describing their fieldwork, Nemeth & Schmidt acknowledge that “by limiting [their] fieldwork to midtown Manhattan, [they] may have made [their] results less generalizable” (207, p. 287). What may have been unrecognized is that by developing the instrument in a New York context, they may have created some variables that are inapplicable outside Manhattan.

Nemeth & Schmidt include data collected for two spaces they surveyed. They contrast Washington Square, a publically accessible space managed and owned by the public; with Sony Plaza, a publically accessible space privately owned and managed. Washington Square scored +13, Sony Plaza -5. Washington Square is, not surprisingly, adjudged to have greater public access, while Sony Plaza is considered to be far more controlled. Of course, in Berlin, we found no public spaces of that nature, as BIDs do not seem to be an option. It seems to be assumed that public spaces will be publically owned and operated.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study evolved as the research was underway. It began as a proposal to empirically compare crime data for individual public spaces to the data score for each public space surveyed, using the instrument designed by Nemeth and Schmidt. Due to a communication error at the outset, we understood crime data in Berlin to be geo-tagged to the actual location of said crime. Geo-tagging involves reporting each individual crime event at the exact location as found, to be later analyzed by a Graphical Information System (GIS). Berlin does not in fact geo-tag. The responding officer assigns locations for specific crime events, and it seems location is designated by 'best approximation'. Apparently we asked the question incorrectly, the fault lies on the author.

Berlin public space crime data is recorded at the police precinct level by address, based on an individual officer assigning their best observation of the address (P. Warman, personal meeting, September 30, 2010). Crime data provided by the Department is included for some of the larger spaces surveyed, for reference, but little can be drawn from it. Berlin crime data provided is available in Appendix E. Also in Appendix E are maps of many of the spaces discussed. We discuss suggestions for further research in Chapter 6.

So, with survey data collection already in process, we adjusted our approach to a case study. We collected data per the instruction of researchers Nemeth and Schmidt, and herein analyzed each variable, aggregate variable scores, and individual public space score. We further attempted to observe and record differences between American and German cultural and social mores.

Case studies are an accepted method of inquiry when researching social science questions. A case study is appropriate when one is “investigating a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2009, p. 18). A case study “allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events” (Yin, 2009, p. 4). The observational surveys presented here attempt to answer the question initially posed: Can researchers develop an instrument to determine accessibility and control in public spaces? Further, we explore how an instrument developed in an American context performs in a foreign environment.

This study is a single case analysis of public spaces in Berlin, testing the proposal of Nemeth and Schmidt. Yin defines an appropriate use for a single case study a “meeting all the conditions for testing the theory, [it] can confirm, challenge, or extend the theory (2009, p.47). The research described here confirms much of the proposal, but challenges some parts. See Chapter 6 for conclusions and recommendations.

The Survey Instrument

Dr. Richard Schneider of the University of Florida converted the instrument, as described by Nemeth & Schmidt, into a survey form. Dr. Schneider and Dr. Ted Kitchen, Emeritus Professor at Sheffield Hallam University, tested the survey form in summer 2010. European cities surveyed include: Manchester, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Tallin, Oslo and Gdania (Dr. Schneider is Committee Chair for this thesis). A copy of the actual survey instrument is included in Appendix A. Appendix C presents raw data for reference, as collected by Schneider & Kitchen in Summer 2010. Appendix D contains an access chart based on data collected in Appendix C.

The survey form used for this research is based on the criteria established by Nemeth and Schmidt. As noted in the Literature Review in Chapter 2, the survey follows their division of ten encouraging variables, or, those variables that encourage use. The second part covers ten controlling variables, surveying variables that control use. Collected data are then scored positive for encouraging variables, or negative for controlling variables, to reach a final score for each public space. A score of +20 would be the highest possible, providing the least control and the greatest access to the public. A score of -20 would indicate a space that is strongly controlled according to the variables as established. A score of 0 would indicate a space that is neutral (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 287). Data collected is analyzed in Chapter 4. Raw data for each location is included in Appendix B.

Acreage estimates for Berlin survey sites are approximate. Tools built into Google Earth™ were used to estimate distances and calculate the approximate acreage of each space surveyed. Acreage was included to show the range of spaces considered, to see if size affected score in any way.

Collection of data focused primarily on urban spaces, although we did attempt to include some suburban spaces. We collected data in twenty-eight spaces, most of which were scouted in advance, or visited on numerous occasions. Multiple visits are suggested by Nemeth & Schmidt (2007, pp 290-91).

Police Cooperation

Berlin Police Department personnel were instrumental in helping us understand certain aspects of German life. Those observations appear where appropriate in this document. In addition to providing crime data, they suggested some specific spaces to survey. As example, Parchimer Allee and Hellersdorf were included for examples of

more suburban locations for survey. Officer Petra Warman, Officer Stephan Harnau, Frank Stoldt and Anja Pötzsch were kind enough to provide insight and direction on the occasion of two separate multi-hour meetings at Berlin Police Headquarters, and in numerous emails. The first meeting occurred September 30, 2010, the second, October 29, 2010. Approval for data access and staff time, was sought and approved by Chief Herrn Glietsch, well prior to arrival in Berlin, September 2010.

Meetings with police staff were held at Der Polizeipräsident in Berlin. Police headquarters is located in the historic Flughafen Tempelhof building, one of the largest structures in the world. That structure is steeped with the history of National Socialism, the Soviet invasion, and subsequent use during the Berlin Airlift. A memorial in front of the building honors those who flew in that operation.

Data Collection

Data collection was conducted on various dates in September, October and November of 2010. It should be noted that fall in Berlin brings a change in the operation of some spaces, but seemingly has little effect on activity and use by nearby residents. While certainly reduced, even cold rainy days saw traffic in most spaces. Many spaces were visited numerous times during the data collection period. Data collection was generally limited to a single visit, even if multiple visits occurred. As example, Breitscheidplatz was observed numerous times, as was Alexanderplatz. Some minor adjustments to the survey data became necessary as repeated observation revealed new information.

All data collection was done in person by the author. All sites were walked completely or close to it. For small spaces, the perimeter was inspected first, followed by a physical survey of the interior space. With very large spaces, such as Tempelhofer

and Treptow parks, as much ground was covered as possible, given the expansive acreage. Time was spent sitting, observing patron use and movement. Scores were entered into a spreadsheet and analyzed for patterns.

Eighteen parks, eight plazas and two streets were surveyed. The largest site is the former airfield of Tempelhof, at approximately 560 acres, the smallest is the one acre Sophie Charlotte Platz. As noted in Chapter 1, two streets were included: Wilmersdorfer Strasse, a pedestrian only shopping street, was included; and Parchimer Allee, included at the suggestion of the Berlin Police Department liaison. Public spaces to be surveyed were chosen based on an aerial survey of Berlin using Google Maps™. An attempt was made to choose spaces in a variety of neighborhoods throughout Berlin, and to include spaces in the Cold War era defined East Berlin and West Berlin. Input from Berlin Police on spaces to survey was asked for, and given. Some spaces were chosen at random, and for convenience to the U Bahn and tram systems.

Data as presented in Chapter 4 is discussed and analyzed in the order in which it was collected. Spaces surveyed are listed as follows. Parks: Wartburg Platz, Viktoria-Luise Platz, Teutoberger Platz, Oranien Platz, St. Michael Kircheplatz, Görlitzer Park, Viktoria Park, Treptower Park, Volkspark am Weinberg, Kleiner Tiergarten, Savigny Platz, Leopold Platz, Theodor-Heuss Platz, Petersburger Platz, Anton Saefkow Park, Sophie-Charlotte Platz, Preussian Park and Tempelhofer Park. Plazas surveyed included Winterfelt Platz, Strausberger Platz, Breitscheidplatz, Potsdamer / Leipziger Platz, Alexanderplatz, Wittenberg Platz, Ernst-Reuter Platz and Hellersdorf Platz. Two streets were surveyed: Wilmersdorfer Strasse and Parchimer Allee.

Public spaces were categorized as park, plaza or street. Park designation was based on a preponderance of green space. Parks, as described here, are green spaces designed for passive and/or active recreation. Plazas are designated as such based on commerce and a preponderance of paved area. As example, Wittenberg Platz could be considered a park by some, but as it is a very formal square space primarily oriented toward commerce and transit uses, it is appropriately designated here as a plaza.

Limitations

Limitations include the language barrier, the season and the effects of socioeconomics. Google Translate™ was used for German language websites cited, and, while quite useful, it is acknowledged that that tool is not perfect. Many websites and signs in Berlin are in English. This researcher is not fluent in German. Due to the language barrier, this research was designed to be purely observational in nature. Comments from conversations with Germans fluent in English were included as appropriate.

We acknowledge that data might be somewhat affected by the time of year. Some park activities are clearly impacted by fall weather. As example, the waterfall at Viktoria Park is shut down at the end of September, as are food kiosks in Prussian Park. Allowances for season were included on a space-by-space basis. As example, the food kiosk, while closed, was surveyed as if it was operational. Berliners' outdoor activities seem immune to all but seriously inclement weather conditions.

As CPTED is generally the study of the built environment, no specific attempt was made to correlate with income levels within this study. A newer incarnation of CPTED, termed '2nd Generation CPTED' does address socioeconomics (Saville 1997; Schneider & Kitchen, 2007, p. 25). This research is based on the theory and design of

researchers Nemeth & Schmidt, and focuses primarily on the built environment. A conscious effort was made to survey spaces within a broad cross section of neighborhoods. Suburban neighborhoods, with their less dense development patterns have fewer formal park spaces or plazas to consider. Public spaces from 8 of the 13 bezirk were surveyed. A bezirk is an administrative district, or borough, in Berlin.

German cultural and societal mores were continually observed and recorded, with an eye toward contrasts with American society. It should be noted that this researcher has had the opportunity to experience and observe numerous major cities in Europe, and experience the two largest cities in Brazil. Extensive travel to major cities in the United States over the past twenty-five years, adds another layer of understanding. That perspective was crucial in observing and identifying mores that are divergent to those generally experienced in American society. Given that this instrument was developed from an American perspective, it is important to consider and include the implications of culture. Mores are discussed at length in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

We begin this section with a general discussion of design, followed by an analysis of each space surveyed, in chronological order of the individual survey. First, we consider park design as observed in Berlin. Then we discuss plaza design features. Streets seem self evident, and the two considered here are described thoroughly in their individual section. Following is a detailed description of each space surveyed, and photos as appropriate. Maps for some park spaces and neighborhoods appear in Appendix E.

Berlin Park Design

From observation, one concludes that most park spaces in Berlin include a few common elements. An open lawn of some sort is in evidence in all spaces surveyed. In small spaces, it may take up the center, while in linear park spaces it might be one end of the park. In larger spaces, the lawn might be a huge central feature. All park spaces surveyed, contained to some degree, opportunity for both active and passive recreation. Size and location determine how much space is devoted to each pursuit and what equipment might be present.

Hedges are popular along the edges of many of the park spaces, seemingly as a way to shield the green space from the effects of traffic. Much of the landscaping and dense vegetation in these urban spaces would be unthinkable in the United States, as the spectre of homeless invasion is always a concern. “Where appropriate in urban parks, ground cover and plantings should be pruned to less than 32 inches and tree canopies to be over 8 feet” (Atlas, 2008, p. 365). The CPTED principle of natural surveillance from passers-by and adjoining spaces seems to be of low or no concern in

the spaces surveyed. Drug activity in Görlitzer Park benefits from high vegetation, as is discussed later.

A kinderspielplatz, or children's play area, is a very common element, appearing in twelve of the eighteen park spaces. The park spaces that lack a kinderspielplatz include the former airfield, Templehof Park, and five small vest pocket park spaces that are heavily influenced by transit, or function as traffic circles. It seems a kinderspielplatz is installed everywhere it is practical. In contrast with the sometimes out of the way location of children's play areas in the United States (Atlas, 2008, p 359) a kinderspielplatz installation seems to take center stage in Berlin parks.

As an aside, we noticed single lot spaces in some neighborhoods that would contain a small kinderspielplatz. These would be called 'tot lots' in the United States. These small play spaces exist in the absence of a general park space attached. The location of these vest pocket play spaces seems a bit random. One could speculate that these are places a bomb took out a structure during the war, and the lot was repurposed in the ensuing decades.

Walkways generally follow one of two typologies: A formal outer track that traces the park space, surrounded by an outer hedge; or curving, wandering interior paths with limited sight lines. In some cases, as in Kleiner Tiergarten, paths are cut thorough heavy cultivated vegetation, leaving small clearings with benches to enjoy. Similarly, you find paths through 'natural' landscape settings, such as the southern end of Görlitzer Park or the eastern side of Viktoria Park. "A well defined pathway supports good access control, natural surveillance, and territoriality" (Atlas, 2008, p. 364). Many

pathways in Berlin parks lack the line of sight that would be desirable if one was implementing CPTED strategies.

Smaller spaces, such as Sophie-Charlotte Platz, Viktoria-Luise Platz and Savigny Platz seem to have the most formal design, relying heavily on a central lawn with ring path typology. Paths are sometimes concrete, but for the most part are made of crushed gravel, which can be quite challenging for users when it has been raining. Anton-Saefkow Park and Görlitzer Park in particular had locations where paths were little more than a muddy morass.

Bryant Park, New York City

A park's design can greatly influence who uses it and why. The case of Bryant Park in New York is a perfect example of how to implement strategies to improve use and safety. The problems that became critical by the 1970s had their root in the decisions of New York Parks Commissioner Robert Moses in the 1930s (Thompson, 1997, p. 19). Moses' choice of a design that intended to create a walled respite from the bustle of the city had the unintended consequence of creating a place perfectly designed for miscreants to do nefarious things (Macedo, 2007, p. 9; Thompson, 1997, pp 19-21).

William Whyte, by this point known as an expert on such public spaces, was chosen to study the problem and write a prescription for a cure (Thompson, 1997, pp. 22-23). His list was fairly simple, and focused on the sorts of strategies that are now common to CPTED practitioners. Whyte suggested: Remove the fences, open up pedestrian circulation, open the sides for visual access, add more openings, etc. (Thompson, 1997, p. 23).

Landscape architect Laurie Olin described Bryant Park's value (and by extension all city parks) thusly: "Thousands of people cooped up in rooms and corridors need places where they can change their depth of focus and be in nature while in the heart of the city" (as cited in Thompson, 1997, p. 7). Given that Bryant Park is the only green space in that section of Manhattan, it was imperative that it be reclaimed for the use of all citizens (Thompson, 1997, p. 7). Sadly for Bryant Park before its restoration, Whyte described it succinctly: "Bryant Park is dangerous" (1980, p 58).

Interestingly, some park spaces in Berlin seem to share a similar design ethos as the 1934 Bryant Park design that created the dangerous environments present in the 1960s and 70s. In Görlitzer Park (described in detail below) drug activity in enclosed spaces was observed, while in other parks with similar enclosed spaces nothing similar was apparent. Adjacencies could help explain some of this activity. In a 1997 case study, it was noted: "In Midtown Manhattan, several restaurants, bars, and theatres closed and adult entertainment houses opened, particularly in the Times Square area. This led to an increased presence of prostitutes and homeless people; drug dealers followed suit" (Macedo, 2007, p 6). Görlitzer Park, where drug activity is strong, is the southwestern border of Quartiersmanagement Berlin's Wrangelkiez district, listed as an intervention neighborhood (Quartiersmanagement Berlin.de / Wrangelkeiz, n.d.). Wrangelkeiz is a working class neighborhood with about half German and half Turkish populations (Quartiersmanagement Berlin.de / Wrangelkeiz, n.d.).

Intervention and restoration of Bryant Park was accomplished through a special taxing district known as Bryant Park Restoration Corporation, a Business Improvement District (BID). BIDs are a typically American public-private funding solution, something

seemingly unheard of in Berlin. “Some estimates put over 1000 BIDs in existence...” in the United States (Berens, 1997, p. 48). The only vaguely similar entity that we could identify in Berlin was the aforementioned Quartiersmanagement Berlin program. In what appears to be typical European fashion, all of its funding comes from public sources, and the focus is primarily on what we in the United States would term social programs.

Berlin Plaza Design

The eight plazas surveyed in Berlin, as we have classified here, fall in one of two typologies. The first is a typical paved space, perhaps with a few trees. The first typology includes Alexanderplatz, Winterfelt Platz, Breitscheidplatz, Strausberger Platz and Hellersdorf Platz. The second typology classified here is a bit more park-like, but heavily influenced by roads and transit opportunities. These include Ernst-Reuter Platz, Wittenberg Platz, and the combined Potsdamer Platz/Leipziger Platz.

Ernst Reuter Platz is essentially a traffic circle. Wittenberg is a critical U Bahn station and pedestrian space bisected by a main artery. Potsdamer Platz - Leipziger Platz are busy, but cold, sterile new spaces. Full descriptions follow below.

Many popular plazas have access to the U Bahn or S Bahn systems. The U Bahn (pronounced – oo-bahn), is primarily urban and underground. During the post WWII period, it was operated by West Berlin. The S Bahn (pronounced ess-bahn) includes the ringbahn and most light rail lines to the suburbs, and is primarily above ground. The S Bahn was operated by the DDR. These systems have been integrated in the period since the 1990 reunification.

Public Spaces: Descriptions

As previously noted, variety of parks, plazas and two streets across the city of Berlin were selected for analysis. What follows is a detailed description of each space,

and comments on activities observed. Berlin land area breaks down as follows: Traffic areas and developed areas comprise 58.8% of the city. Open space, agriculture, forest and water comprise the remaining 41.2% (Berlin.de / Senate Department for Urban Development, n.d.). There are better than 2500 total park spaces in Berlin (I. Cloos, personal communication, February 14, 2011). We are unable to determine the number of plazas in Berlin. Due to the narrow range of scores, we resisted the temptation to attempt typologies beyond park, plaza and street. While there is variation in size and layout, there is a fairly uniform level of amenities across spaces surveyed.

Wartburg Platz: is a typical neighborhood park. It occupies about 3.7 acres in the middle and upper middle class neighborhood of Schöneberg, and has a school and theater adjacent. A restricted age kinderspielplatz occupies one corner, and a large children's play structure is located on the east end. There is a recycling center on the southwest corner.

Landscaping is typical, with a dense green border hedge separating the park space from adjacent streets, crushed gravel walks, benches, trash receptacles, and varied climates. Trees and a large, open central lawn occupy most of the space. It was in this space that the author first observed open consumption of alcohol. It must be noted that those enjoying the late fall sun made a point of depositing their bottles in the nearby glass recycling bins. It seemed that local schools make frequent use of the park space. Wartburg Platz is directly across from the author's Schöneberg apartment, and thus was observed daily for routine and habit. This park is located in the former West Berlin.

Viktoira-Luise Platz is a very formal oval space, located in what appears to be an upper and middle income neighborhood. The space is located on the southern edge of the mostly gay section of Schöneberg. The space is laid out like a park, with mostly open edges, save the western end where a large monumental arch structure anchors the space. On the east end is a subway stop on the U4 line. Benches and trash receptacles are plentiful, and a large fountain occupies the center of the space. Pylon signs illustrate the history of this formal space, and include pre-war photos of some of the elegant structures that once ringed the space. Some of the pre-war structures were destroyed, presumably by bombing. Buildings lost were replaced with far less attractive structures, although scale and massing did not change appreciably. Two adjacent road sections are now closed to automobile traffic, enhancing the park's connection to the residential buildings and restaurants that face it. Viktoria-Luise Platz is located in the former West Berlin, and covers approximately 1.5 acres. See Figure 4-1.

Winterfelt Platz is a long trapezoidal paved plaza in the northeast section of Schöneberg, occupying about 1.5 acres. The streets that lead to the plaza are lined with sidewalk cafes and restaurants, and the residential buildings that surround the space appear well tended. Prices in the cafes would seem to indicate a prosperous citizenry in this section. All sides of this plaza are completely open, save the south end. A church occupies the south end of the block, and a small restaurant kiosk building anchors the north edge. There is a weekly food market here that occupies the entire space.

Winterfelt Platz is located in the former West Berlin.

Teutoburger Platz is located in the Pankow neighborhood. This park space seems quite heavily used by families and small children. Much of the space is dedicated

to active recreation in the form of children's play structures, a sandy play area and a small clubhouse that was literally covered in graffiti. A small typical lawn covers a portion of the space, and a small forest of sorts covers another small section. A neighborhood bulletin board is located in the center, and covered in well organized notices for various events. The user population was mostly young and hip. Numerous hostels and cafes occupy spaces nearby. The surrounding area was once part of the former East Berlin, and appears to be undergoing rapid gentrification of the pre-war housing stock. Nearby buildings may be characterized as a mix of decaying working class apartments and upper income renovation projects. Teutoberger Platz covers approximately 2.5 acres. This well worn space could use maintenance and upgrades.

Strausberger Platz is a very formal large open space on the Stalinist monumental avenue of Karl-Marx Allee. Karl Marx Allee was once Stalin Allee, and was a common location of DDR military parades, and it is not hard to imagine the rows of tanks rolling down this pedestrian nightmare. The space is generally rectangular, but with an oval feel. The central feature is a huge traffic circle with a fountain that is essentially inaccessible to pedestrians. The four corners spaces feature oversized plazas with a ring of retail spaces. Historical markers and a bust of Karl Marx provide context in both German and English.

Two visually important buildings punctuate the western portal into the space as one travels from Alexanderplatz. The House of the Child and Berlin House are mirror images, and reinforce the monumental nature of the plaza. Strausberger Platz is cold, soulless, not built at a human scale, and generally uninviting. The individual is clearly subservient to the state in this environment. The Platz covers approximately 5 acres, of

which perhaps half is given over to cars and the huge traffic circle. The plaza is located in the Friedrichshain neighborhood, which was part of the Former East Berlin.

Oraninen Platz is a small formal park space in the Kreuzberg neighborhood near what was once the Berlin Wall. A street bisects the space, and the street itself is divided by marquis shaped median space. The median serves to break the traffic flow and provide a safe harbor for pedestrians. The park space on either side is well served with benches (over 60 in a fairly small space) a well-tended landscape, one permanent food kiosk, a bus shelter and several newly planted trees. There is a recycling center present in one corner. Multiple restaurants face the space. Graffiti on a few of the adjacent structures seems to be evidence of the proximity to the problematic (per Berlin Police comments) Kotbusser Tor transit node. The sign indicating public ownership was damaged. This space covers approximately 4 acres, and is located in the former West Berlin.

St. Michael Kircheplatz is a combination large formal water feature and green space surrounding the ruins of a large church in Kreuzberg. The water feature covers approximately 2 acres of the approximately 10 acre total. The pond is below grade and has a café with terrace that faces the north edge. A historical marker gives the history of the place as a remnant of a canal that was problematic in its maintenance. The other three sides of the water feature have small arbors with benches and paths. Some graffiti is in evidence. The church space is primarily open green space ringed with trees and a few benches. The stabilized ruins of the Roman Catholic Church stand in the middle of the formal square. Part of the church seems to have been restored and is in current

use, and has an adjoining kinderspielplatz. This plaza is located in the former East Berlin.

Breitscheidplatz is approximately 4 acres of open plaza in the center of the former West Berlin in the Charlottenberg neighborhood. Located along the major shopping street of Kurfürstendamm, the plaza is open on both long sides. The Europa Center shopping mall anchors the the eastern edge, and retail and office predominate on the western edge. During the Wall era, this was the most prominent space in West Berlin. The Zoo is directly north. The preserved ruins of the 1895 Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche (Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church) anchor the center of the space. Tourists and shoppers are legion. Colloquially these shattered remains are known as 'The Hollow Tooth' or 'The Broken Tooth'. Inside the ruins are exhibits related to the church, the Kaiser, The Hohenzollerns and war. A mosaic that illustrates the history of Germany survived the bombs.

A rather incongruous mid-century church adjoins and competes with the remains. The newer structure is nicknamed 'The Pillbox and the Lipstick Case'. The 'pillbox' is far more impressive inside than out. The exterior is unimpressive and bunker like. The interior glows with the 360 degree blue themed stained glass, and the floor surface, covered in multicolored circles, seems whimsically typical of the era. The base of the 'Lipstick Case' contains a fairly sad and incongruous little gift shop that bears no relationship to the space it occupies. Also in the plaza is a large fountain in front of Europa Center, whose nickname is 'Wasserklops' (or: The Water Meatball). Berliners are reputed to be fond of nicknames for structures.

Görlitzer Park is an approximately 46 acre space in the heart of Kreuzberg, adjacent to the Wrangelkeiz neighborhood. The space is long; apparently it is a redeveloped rail yard. The park contains a variety of uses, stretching from the U Bahn station to the Landwehrkanal. The upper half of the park is primarily open and shows the dedicated hand of landscapers, including broad open lawns.

The lower half is far more 'natural' in its design, heavily forested with elevation changes and trails. Near the center is a bowl shaped depression that features formal entrances to the cross street. Included are a sports center with a pool and a collection of pre-war rail structures that have been adapted for retail and food service. Also present are multiple kinderspielplatz, and a soccer pitch. Restaurants and retail abound near the upper edges and near the U Bahn station, while residential is predominant along the lower, more natural setting. Former West Berlin. "Görlitz's Park is the green lung of the neighborhood and was initiated by the residents on a former railway yard" (Google Translate™ from Quartiersmanagement Berlin.de / Wrangelkeiz, n.d.). Interesting that the 'lungs of the city' concept appears on that website. Joggers, women with strollers and dogs were numerous, even on a cold, rainy late fall day.

The author was repeatedly offered the opportunity to buy various drugs. After observing the drug sellers, it became apparent they did not approach women or older people, and focused their attention on single, younger males who entered the park. Numerous transactions were observed, all involving single male buyers and a single seller on bike. There is a small grotto of heavy vegetation near the center entry to the park (north side) that seems ready made for drug dealing. Due to the time of year, the vegetation was thin enough that their activity was apparent to any who might be

interested. Careful observation revealed that this was the center of the drug activity, with runners on bicycles fanning out to do deal in other locations.

Marijuana use was observed in multiple locations. Alcohol consumption was also observed, but that was common in most park spaces, as the culture is quite friendly to consumption of beer. Graffiti was rampant in this park, far worse than most. Görlitzer Park is located in the former West Berlin.

Potsdamer Platz – Leipziger Platz. These spaces are part of the historic heart of the City of Berlin, although little of the pre-war historic fabric remains. Bombed flat in World War II, then bisected by the Berlin Wall, these spaces lay in ruins for decades. Only after the collapse of the communist DDR and the destruction of the Wall, could Berliners begin to rebuild these historic spaces. Rebuilding efforts were master planned of a piece, and construction begun in the 1990s (von Rauch & Visscher, 2000). The revived spaces include substantial U Bahn and S Bahn stations, retail, the Sony Center and the Daimler headquarters complex.

The space is very new, rather austere and sterile even by comparison to other newer Berlin structures. It might be fairly said that the space may have a history, but that history is not in evidence. The octagon of Leipziger Platz is approximately 4 acres, while Potsdamer Platz has always been really more of an intersection than a plaza space. Potsdamer might be fairly compared to New York's Herald Square, which is also really more of an intersection than a square.

Trees and architectural flair appear to have been eschewed entirely in the octagonal Leipziger Platz space, leaving a featureless and uninviting space that people seem to be avoiding in droves. Heavy pedestrian traffic in the adjacent Potsdamer Platz

should be drawn to this green space, but the contrast in use patterns could not be more divergent. It should be noted that the survey excluded the intersecting Alte Potsdamer Strasse, as the focus here was the plaza spaces. Potsdamer was once on the West Berlin side of the wall, Leipziger Platz on the East.

Alexanderplatz could be compared to a combination of Grand Central Station and Times Square in New York. It is the beating heart of the city, and a place one thinks of first when considering where to start a tour. The needle-like Fernsehturm (or 1197 ft tall TV tower) provides a visual icon, while nearby Museum Island provides the historic context. The southwestern end of the plaza space is surrounded by historic Prussian era structures, while the northeastern end is ringed with Socialist modern piles. Most are unremarkable, save the elegant 1964 Haus der Lehrer, or in English, House of the Teacher (Berlin.de / Haus der Leher, n.d.). The most notable design feature is a building ringing, two-story tall mosaic frieze dedicated to the teaching profession.

Another structure of particular mid-century architectural distinction is the 1971 Haus der Reisens or, in English, House of Travelling. This mid century tower features an impressive social realist work in copper on the base plinth. (Berlin.de / Haus der Reisens, n.d.). Sadly this building is not a protected landmark and it is expected to be replaced with a new tower when the economy improves.

One can hardly take any Ubahn or Sbahn trip in the eastern half of Berlin without passing through Alexanderplatz. Retail abounds here. Formerly the heart of East Berlin, the space sits astride the symbolic and cultural intersection of East and West, Prussia and modern Germany. The *Stadtschloss*, or, former Prussian City Palace, once stood adjacent. After WWII, that damaged structure was dynamited by the Deutsche

Demokratik Republik authorities, and replaced with the modernist People's Palace. That building was, in turn, torn down due to asbestos contamination. It will now be replaced with a replica of the original *Stadtschloss*. It is edifying, yet occasionally surprising when one realizes how many landmark structures in Berlin are post-war reconstructions.

Alexanderplatz is the location of the famous World Clock and the Fountain of International Friendship. Defining the plaza space could be considered problematic, as the original plaza covers approximately the northeast third of the current space. Today, the original plaza space is joined by the TV tower plaza and a park along the River Spree as part of a greater Alexanderplatz. We estimate the current configuration, established in the communist years, at approximately 56 acres.

Viktoria Park is a large Kreuzberg green space of approximately 40 acres that centers on a tall hill with a gothic cast iron Prussian memorial at its apex. The eastern edge is primarily natural in its vegetation and trails structure and includes a variety of elevation changes, some rather dramatic. The western space is more formally landscaped and includes a soccer pitch, kinderspielplatz, a more gentle rise, open green lawns and a beer garden. A large man-made waterfall cascades down from the hill toward Grossberenstrasse. Families, joggers, pensioners and dogs are plentiful. Along the north side are numerous restaurants and high-end retail shops. The southwest corner of the park, just below a well equipped kinderspielplatz, features a soccer pitch and its adjoining beer garden. These features, like the waterfall, seem to shut down at the end of September. Viktoria Park is located in the former West Berlin.

Treptower Park is a very large park space that covers an estimated 220 acres in the Treptow neighborhood. The most notable landmarks here are the Isle of Youth,

Archenhold Observatory and the massive Soviet war memorial. Taking advantage of the location along the Spree River, there is a marina near the U Bahn station, with food vendors occupying permanent kiosks along that frontage. Joggers, families, sports enthusiasts and dogs are common. The Planterwald, and the abandoned Spree Amusement Park below Bulgarische Strasse were not included in the survey.

The Soviet memorial is a solemn space. An informational sign at the entry notes that it is the final resting place of 7,000 Soviet soldiers. A giant statue of a Soviet soldier holding a child, standing upon a crushed swastika, dominates the vista. The statue is known colloquially amongst many Berliners as the 'Tomb of the Unknown Rapist', a pointed reference to events that followed the Soviet occupation of Berlin at the end of World War II.

As a piece of sculpture, the memorial is impressive, with *bas relief* and text that glorifies the Soviet army and its feats of valor. Steles on each side tell the same story in both Russian and German. At the apex of a giant staircase, within the base of the massive Stalinist statue, is a gilt mosaic further glorifying the Soviets and the Worker. In an overt bid for historic symbolism, the marble covering the entry markers was recycled from the ruins of Hitler's Reich Chancellery. Treptower Park is located in the former East Berlin.

Note that Treptower Park is the only space that we surveyed that we have crime data that mirrors the space, as the entire park is a single precinct. Total offenses for 2009 were 238. 53 of those offenses were neighborhood crimes, or stranger on stranger events. See Appendix E.

Volkspark am Weinberg occupies about 15 acres in Mitte, serving a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood of graceful pre-war apartment structures. The park itself features a good sized kinderspielplatz, a small pond, and various open green spaces. Overlooking the pond, with a nice bit of elevation, is a Swiss themes restaurant with a well proportioned restaurant. Our visit was on a very cold day, but one can imagine that terrace is a very busy place when the weather is more favorable.

Edges are generally open to the surrounding sidewalks, although elevation changes do affect that access. Some residential buildings that face the park open directly into the space. The park occupies a sloping portion of land, and elevation changes are dealt with sympathetically. The park was busy with families and children in the play area. Numerous pieces of sculpture public art inhabit the park. Graffiti covers one blank brick wall that faces the park space. That blank wall may have once faced a backyard or alley. The park may be a space opened up by bombing during the war. Volkspark am Weinberg is located in the former East Berlin.

Kleiner Tiergarten is a linear park space of about 18 acres in the Tiergarten neighborhood. Most of the edges feature tall hedges designed to shield the inner park spaces from the adjacent streets. This is the only place where a group of apparently homeless individuals were observed in the 11 weeks this researcher spent in Berlin. There are kinderspielplatz located at each end of the nearly 3500 foot long space. The park is a bit unusual in its configuration, but the landscape style, paths, benches and children's play areas were typical. Two churches occupy part of the center of the space, and an U Bahn station is adjacent. Hidden grottos in the center are created by very

dense vegetation. Near the middle of the park is a small permanent food kiosk. Kleiner Tiergarten is located in the former West Berlin.

Wittenberg Platz is a very busy plaza space, of about 5 acres, located by the legendary KaDeWe department store. At the center is an historic U Bahn station where three train lines converge. The space is very formal, and features two very large fountains, a variety of food vendor kiosks, benches and numerous sidewalk cafes. The heavy automotive and pedestrian traffic seemingly never stops. Well-placed and spaced trees add to the plaza's appeal. Paved areas feature a number of types and colors of surface materials.

The currywurst stand near KaDeWe is eternally busy with shoppers partaking of a quick stand up meal of this classic street food. Currywurst is a street food reportedly invented in Berlin. Currywurst is a sliced sausage or similar, topped with a tomato sauce and curry powder. It is frequently served with pommes frites (French fries). Scientologists were observed here promoting their beliefs. For Americans, this would be no surprise, but given the German general dislike of Scientology, it is worth noting (Schön, 2001. p. 1). Wittenberg Platz is located in the former West Berlin.

Savigny Platz occupies about 3 acres at the intersection of four streets in the Charlottenberg neighborhood. An Sbahn station borders the southern border and a large boulevard bisects the space, including a bus stop. Numerous restaurants face the plaza. A permanent food kiosk operates there. Trees are large and mature, ringing the space, providing respite for visitors from the sun. A lawn occupies the center of the space. This plaza is located in the former West Berlin.

Leopold Platz covers about 10 acres in the Wedding neighborhood of Mitte Bezirk. Two churches are present in this space, and a weekly market appears in front of the southern structure. The park is linear, rectangular and has a mix of open lawn and shade trees, but lacks much landscaping beyond that. All sides are open to sidewalks and a large kinderspielplatz takes up about twenty five percent of the total space, located in the northern section. Typical children's play equipment was in evidence, plus a building that appears to house a recreation center. The building was marred by graffiti. Leopold Platz is located in the former West Berlin.

Ernst-Reuter Platz is essentially a very large traffic circle made accessible as a park by an underground passage from the U-bahn. It is located in Charlottenberg. There is a large plaza space, two reflecting pools and seven trees that make the space a bit more inviting, but it is not easy to access. One might speculate that adjacent office workers might make lunchtime use of the space when the weather is nice, but the space was entirely deserted in late November. A few forlorn benches attempt to humanize the space, but it seems designed more to allow architectural photos of the surrounding buildings more than for actual use. Decorative flags flapping loudly in the strong northern wind punctuated the desolate feeling. The open space covers approximately 2.5 acres in the former West Berlin.

Theodor-Heuss Platz covers about 3 acres in the Westend sector of the Charlottenberg – Wilmersdorf bezirk. Its location seems to have led to its current function as the center of a traffic circle, but its size and build out keep it active and viable as a park space. Amenities include public art, public toilets and plaza and lawn spaces. About two dozen mature trees help preserve the park ambiance. The

surrounding mixed used buildings provide good pedestrian traffic and use was moderate at the time of visit, even in colder weather. A number of restaurants face the space, although they are separated by as many as six traffic lanes. Pedestrian access is limited to two major signaled crosswalks. The park is located in the former West Berlin.

Petersburger Platz is about 2.5 acres of open space in the former East Berlin neighborhood of Friedreichshain. A street car line and stop run adjacent. The space is long and narrow, but accommodates a recycling center, open plaza, tennis court, kinderspielplatz, a central formal space with fountain and a small open lawn space with benches and trees. The space is well used and well proportioned. Walks are a mix of concrete, pavers and gravel. A church faces the small central formal space and it does double duty as a forecourt to that structure. Petersburger Platz is located in the former East Berlin.

Anton-Saefkow Park seems to be a greenspace created out of left over rail right of way. This approximately 18 acre space is shaped like the state of New Hampshire in the United States. The major transit corridor of the Sbahn Ring runs adjacent. A bust of the park namesake is located near the center along the adjacent Anton Saefkow Strasse. Saefkow was a communist executed by the National Socialists in 1944 for his resistance activities, and was subsequently lauded by the DDR (Worldlingo, n.d.). His bust gets little respect today (Figure 4-2).

Saefkow Park is a neighborhood space that includes a large soccer pitch, a kinderspielplatz, and various trails, open lawns and elevation changes. Tall hedges, with very specific openings, guard the bulk of this park's borders (Figure 4-3). The tall thin

section of the upper park space is separated from the rail by heavy vegetation, but open to the adjacent street for most of that length. The park is located in the former East Berlin.

Wilmerdorfer Strasse is a 4 block long linear pedestrian shopping space in Charlottenberg. Shopping arcades, department stores and other retail line the lively, congested former through street. An Sbahn station is located on the southern end, U Bahn stations anchor both ends of the area. Street furniture varies, and includes a variety of bench types, lighting types and trash receptacles. Trees and sidewalk cafes add to the lively atmosphere. Distance from U Bahn to U Bahn is about 1/3 of a mile, and the paved space covers approximately 3 acres. Pedestrian activity is high almost any time the shops are open. Wilmerdorfer Strasse is located in the former West Berlin.

Sophie Charlotte Platz in Charlottenberg is the smallest space surveyed at about 1 acre. Heavy vegetation surrounds this space, shielding it from the street along most edges. Two bus stops guarantee pedestrian traffic, and benches surround an open center lawn. The southern edge is open to the adjacent main street. The park is located in the former West Berlin.

Hellersdorf, as surveyed, is a fairly new shopping space north of the Hellersdorf U Bahn Station. The area features four open spaces, with two entirely unfinished. The area is seemingly built to New Urbanist design standard (Figure 4-4). The central two acre Alice-Salomon Marktplatz is a large open plaza virtually devoid of any features, and, by extension, devoid of visitors (Figure 4-5). A total of 3 benches and 6 planters inhabit the entire space. The nearby 1/3 acre Fritz Lang Platz is much more intimate,

has trees and benches, and, therefore people. William Whyte famously observed that: “People tend to sit most where there are places to sit” (Whyte, 1988, p. 110).

The neighborhood map shows a plan for four plazas, but our survey was limited to the two finished existing spaces. Two large indoor retail arcades provide much of the shopping opportunity, sapping the adjacent streets of most pedestrian activity. Toilets are available in the arcades. The arcades were not included in the public spaces survey, save to include the toilets, scored 1 for their limited accessibility. The private shopping arcade space was also the only place where notice of security cameras was seen (Figure 4-6). Hellersdorf is located in the former East Berlin.

Parchimer Allee is the second street in the survey, and was included as a suburban space. It is located near the Weimar era UNESCO World Heritage Horseshoe Settlement, and features weekly street markets. An U Bahn station is located near the center of the linear space. Most of the center is occupied by automobile parking. The space has bus stops, but is otherwise fairly devoid of street furniture. Many building fronts on the southern face are oriented perpendicular to this main connector road, further detracting from any sense of place. The center may once have been green space, but in its present configuration it is little more than a linear parking lot. The street is approximately one half-mile long, and, including sidewalks and street, covers about 8 acres. Parchimer Allee is located in the former West Berlin.

Pruessian Park covers approximately 13 acres in the Wilmersdorf neighborhood near the Fehrbelliner U Bahn stop. Interestingly, signs posted in the park regulate behavior in a variety of languages, including German, English and Turkish. This is the only space in Berlin where this was observed. The park has the usual central lawn, a

more natural area with winding paths, two permanent food kiosks and an adjacent park view restaurant. This was one of the few parks with freely accessible restrooms. A very impressive 1936 statue of the personification of Borussia (the Latin spelling of Prussia) overlooks the lawn, and a life size bronze deer is perpetually alert nearby. The kinderspielplatz was fenced, allowing restricted entry for smaller children. An adult exercise 'playfit® Spielplatz' overlooks the central lawn. Preussian Park is located in the former West Berlin.

Templehofer Park is a former airfield, developed by the National Socialists, now being turned into Berlin's newest large park space. Ongoing discussions on what to do with the space are documented at the official City website (Berlin.de / Templehof, n.d.). For now, Berliners seem quite happy to have such an unusual open space to enjoy. Visitors were observed riding bikes, sail boarding, rollerblading, flying kites, and other activities that benefit from long paved surfaces. An information kiosk with roof top overlook, restrooms and a few signs seem to be all it took to transform an airport to a well-used park space. Note that our acreage estimate of 560 acres covers just that space devoted to park space. This park is located in the former West Berlin. This is the one space that we surveyed that closes at night. Interestingly, we noticed a single direction rotating exit gate installed; seemingly in case anyone gets locked in by mistake (Figure 4-7).

Data Analysis

Data collection revealed a relative lack of variation in score in the spaces surveyed. Most of the public spaces considered, 25 of 28, scored between 9 and 15 points. Again, the scale is -20 to +20, with +20 the most accessible, and -20 the most controlled. Based on the scoring criteria established by Nemeth & Schmidt, these

scores indicate a good deal of unrestricted access to the public spaces surveyed. As we examine the survey data, we will see that on the control side, scoring was fairly minimal. Many of the controlling variables are simply inapplicable to public spaces in Berlin (Figure 4-8).

There were three outliers below the 9 to 15 range. The three outliers at the bottom of the scoring range are the glorified traffic circle at Ernst-Reuter Platz, the former airfield of Templehof Park, and Wartburg Platz, a neighborhood park. The first two might be expected to score low given their configuration. Wartburg Platz scored unexpectedly below the primary range. We attribute this score to a lack of lighting, an encouraging variable found in most other spaces; and the presence of teachers with classes from nearby schools, a controlling variable not seen in most other spaces, who represent secondary security.

Two of the top three, in the primary score range, represent the most popular and heavily used plazas. Breitscheidplatz and Wittenburg Platz are amongst the best equipped and most visitor friendly spaces. Both spaces rank high on any 'must see' list for Berlin visitors. The 'broken tooth' of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church ruins at Breitscheidplatz, and KaDeWe Department store at Wittenberg Platz are swarmed with people even in inclement weather. Just below the top tier of access scores is Alexanderplatz. The TV Tower plaza and retail plaza at Alexanderplatz are constantly teeming with pedestrians.

It should be noted here that two major visitor spaces were excluded from this research. Pariser Platz at the Brandenburg Gate was excluded because the location of the United States and British Embassies skew the security picture greatly. Armed

military guards patrols near both. Wilhelmstrasse, in front of the British Embassy, is permanently closed to traffic. We will note that security cameras are present at both locations, the only public space where these were in evidence.

The Tiergarten was excluded due to its size and similarity in function to New York's Central Park. At approximately a mile square (or, about 640 acres) it was judged to potentially skew the survey results. The adjacent embassies, government buildings and zoo were also judged to be unique enough to contribute to the exclusion of the Tiergarten. Most spaces surveyed were estimated between 1 and 18 acres, with 3 in the 40-60 acre range, and two at about 500 acres (Figure 4-9).

The unexpected lack of range in the accessibility score, again 9 to 15, and analysis of public spaces described above, leads us to two basic conclusions. First, public spaces in Berlin seem to be designed to include essentially the same features. There is some minor variation for size and location. Access is almost universally positive.

Second, many of the controlling criteria established by Nemeth and Schmidt simply do not seem to apply to this society. A full discussion of observed cultural factors follows in Chapter 5. We will examine each of the ten variables encouraging access and use, followed by an examination of the ten controlling variables. As discussed in the methodology, there are twenty total variables. A score of +20 would be deemed perfect accessibility, -20 would be considered perfect control, and 0 would be perfectly neutral.

The aggregate score for each variable will be analyzed and discussed as well. When we say 'aggregate score' we refer to a grand total for a particular individual variable across all parks, plazas and streets surveyed. Therefore, A single encouraging

variable might have a maximum aggregate score of +56 (two points for each individual variable in each public space surveyed). A single controlling variable might have a maximum score of -56. The +2 to -2 ratings scheme is per the instrument design of Nemeth & Schmidt. They actually suggest using positive numbers, and subtracting the controlling from encouraging variables. We chose to use negative numbers for controlling variables, as it more accurately and visually represents the actual effect.

Encouraging Variables

Sign announcing ‘public space’: Encouraging, Variable 1. Signs announcing public space were evident in 18 out of 18 parks, 2 out of 8 plazas, and on neither of the streets surveyed. Every park was noted as public, and credit for ownership and maintenance assigned to the specific bezirk. The two plazas were Wittenberg Platz and Strausberger Platz. Wittenberg Platz could be considered a park space, but was classified here as a plaza. Strausberger Platz featured a series of historical markers that noted the role of that Stalinist parade boulevard, and those were counted as notification of ‘public space. Of 56 maximum possible, this variable scored an aggregate of 38. These same signs counted in the Controlling Variables section, as they all contained various prohibitions of differing types. Many had been vandalized (Figure 4-10).

Public ownership and policing: Encouraging, Variable 2. All 28 spaces surveyed were owned and managed by the public. As noted previously, where the proposing researchers categorized 3 types of publically accessible spaces in New York City, we found only public or private spaces in Berlin. We only surveyed those spaces that were open to the public, all of which were also managed by the public. The aggregate score here was 56 of a possible 56.

Restroom available: Encouraging, Variable 3. Access to restrooms in both Berlin and New York can be problematic. Restrooms in Europe are dealt with entirely differently than in the United States. Restrooms will be discussed at length in Chapter 5. The aggregate score for this variable was 22 of 56. Restrooms were available in 16 of 28 spaces surveyed, but freely accessible toilets are rare, most require payment to attendants, some have coin operated access portals.

Diversity of seating types: Encouraging, Variable 4. Benches are prevalent, and we noted that, unlike in the United States, barriers to sleeping on benches available were conspicuously absent. Some locations featured multiple bench types or benches and concrete spaces designed for seating. One park, Teutoberger, had large wooden logs for seating around the kinderspielplatz. A few had movable chairs, as are now used in Bryant Park in New York (Macedo, 2007, p 10). Only Potsdamer Platz/Leipziger Platz and Templehofer Park lacked seating of any kind. We are reminded again of Whyte's admonition: People sit where there are places to do so. Aggregate score for this variable was 35 of 56 possible.

Microclimates: Encouraging, Variable 5. All but three public spaces scored on this variable. Most spaces, including the streets, included some features that met this criterion. Trees and greenery seem mandatory. Only the lonely traffic circle park at Ernst-Reuter Platz, the former airfield of Templehofer Park and the sterile new spaces of Potsdamer Platz/Leipziger Platz were bereft of climate variation. We excluded the U Bahn entry porticos as they primarily serve those entering and exiting the underground rail network. Aggregate score was 42 of 56 possible for this variable.

Lighting for nighttime use: Encouraging, Variable 6. Given that most spaces are accessible 24/7, most had at least one kind of lighting for use after dark. Since it closes at dark, and is a former airport, Templehofer Park is light free. Two of the neighborhood spaces, Wartburg Platz and Teutoberger Platz also lacked lighting. Aggregate score for this variable was 31 of 56.

Small scale food vendors: Encouraging, Variable 7. Again, it should be noted that, due to the time of year surveys for this research were completed, the season may have suppressed some scoring here. Food vendors in the busiest spaces were in evidence no matter the weather. Examples include the three of the top four scoring spaces, Alexanderplatz, Breitscheidplatz and Wittenberg Platz. Other spaces had kiosks that were closed for the season, but were counted as if they were open. Also counted as having vendors were spaces that host weekly or twice weekly markets. 20 of 28 spaces had small-scale vendors. The aggregate score for this variable was 33 of 56.

Art, cultural or visual enhancement: Encouraging, Variable 8. Parks and plazas all over Europe are rife with statues, busts, fountains and other public art installations. Berlin is no different. Prussian statues, war memorials, memorial busts, bronze deer, fountains, waterfalls and even an interactive Deutsche Film Walk at Potsdamer Platz all conspire to enhance the vista. It comes as no surprise, that the only three spaces lacking some form of visual enhancement are Ernst-Reuter Platz, Templehofer Park and Parchimer Allee. Aggregate score for this variable was 35 out of 56 total possible.

Entrance accessibility: Encouraging, Variable 9. As all but one space surveyed is accessible twenty-four hours a day, there was no barrier to entry observed. Templehofer Park is the lone exception with gates. Signs that limit hours of use are

common in the United States, but appear to be very uncommon of here. According to Officer Warman, individuals may be removed from parks if they create a nuisance or are suspected of loitering for illegal activities (P. Warman, personal communication, February 28, 2010). Only one park posted rules limiting use at night, and that limits just a single activity. The Preussian Park Ordnung sign specifies that “Forbidden Are: Using the lying down area of the lawn after 10 p.m.” Aggregate score for this variable is 55 of 56.

Orientation accessibility: Encouraging, Variable 10. Here is another factor that offers some difference with the United States. CPTED principles as applied in the US would disallow the vegetation systems and placement that seems common in Berlin. As noted above, thick hedges and sight line barrier between the street and park spaces are somewhat common. Hidden grottos and secret gardens inhabit some spaces. And yet, aggregate scoring is 41 of 56 possible for this variable. Partially open spaces and plazas obviate this researcher’s perception of opaqueness. Only 4 spaces scored a 0. Wartburg Platz, Teutoberger Platz, Viktoria Park and Anton Saefkow Park all had elevation and vegetation barriers facing adjoining thoroughfares.

Analysis of Encouraging Variables

For the most part, the encouraging variable set, as designed by Nemeth & Schmidt, seems to test well in Berlin. Each is variable was discussed above with individual observations as appropriate. Aggregate scores seem to indicate that the first half of the proposed instrument may be applied to Berlin in its current form, and may be applicable elsewhere in Germany. We note that regional and state differences in Germany reach back to the beginnings of the Holy Roman Empire, and thus it is

probable that some variation would be observed. Aggregate scores are discussed and compared after the analysis of Controlling Variables.

Controlling variables:

Visible sets of rules posted: Controlling, Variable 11. As discussed above, the same signs that proclaim public ownership, also, to various degrees, set prohibitions on certain activities. *Hundeverbot* (No dogs) is common, but that is also commonly ignored. Other common prohibitions are: No grilling, no littering. In kinderspielplatz, no smoking and no alcohol also appear on entry signs. Aggregate score for this space was -30 of a possible -56.

Subjective or judgment rules posted: Controlling, Variable 12. Posting of rules of conduct seems to not be customary in Berlin. This sort of rule posting was evident in only two locations: Templehofer Park (Figure 4-11 and 4-12) and Preussian Park. Interestingly, in Preussian Park the rules were listed in German, English and Turkish, while in Templehofer Park they were in German and English. We did find a set of basic rules and legal statements online (Berlin.de / Nature + Green, n.d.). Aggregate score -3 of a possible -56.

In a Business Improvement District (BID): Controlling, Variable 13. As far as we can determine, there are no organizations similar to BIDs in Berlin. The closest entity that we could identify was the previously discussed Quartiersmanagement Berlin (QMB). This program will, according to its website, spend 151 million Euros on social programs this fiscal year on 34 special districts of concern (Quartiersmanagement Berlin.de, n.d.). The Berlin Police coordinate with QMB, but it is a joint Federal-State program. Note that the City of Berlin is a state, as well as a city, in the German Federal system. Aggregate score for this space was 0 of a possible -56.

Security Cameras: Controlling, Variable 14. CCTV may be ubiquitous in the UK, and camera systems highly common in the US, but they seem to be quite rare in Berlin. We found them in evidence at various Embassies and in certain retail locations. We saw no other evidence of cameras in other public spaces. Security cameras are discussed further in the cultural mores discussion in Chapter 5. Aggregate score for this space was 0 out of a possible -56.

Security Personnel: Controlling, Variable 15. This controlling variable counts primarily security that is dedicated to the public spaces surveyed. Police were observed only in the most popular spaces. Alexanderplatz, Breitscheidplatz and Wittenberg Platz saw uniformed police with some regularity. Private security was not in evidence in any of the spaces surveyed. The survey instrument scoring instructions dictate that only those security that are dedicated to a space be counted for this variable. Aggregate score for this space was -4 of a possible -56.

Secondary security personnel: Controlling, Variable 16. This criteria covers “maintenance staff, doorpersons, reception, café or restaurant employees and bathroom attendants.” (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007, p. 291). In many of Berlin’s public spaces this sort of natural surveillance is in evidence. Secondary personnel were observed in 10 of the 28 spaces surveyed. Aggregate score for this space was -16 out of a potential -56.

Design to imply proper use: Controlling, Variable 17. This variable covers the sorts of physical details we employ in the United States that can affect individual use of public spaces. Crossbars on benches, pips or cuts to prevent skateboarding and other design points are employed to control use. If one omits stairs and other decorative or

necessary design features, one quickly realizes that this sort of controlling detail is simply not common in Berlin. Aggregate score for this space was 0 of a possible -56.

Presence of sponsors or other ads: Controlling, Variable 18. Again, sponsors are a strategy popular and common in the United States, seemingly inapplicable to Berlin. Advertising exists, and signs of adjoining businesses are prominent in certain places, but none were observed as attached to the infrastructure, nor were any indicated as sponsors. Aggregate score 0 of a possible -56.

Areas of restricted or conditional use: Controlling, Variable 19. This variable includes dog runs, kinderspielplatz, restaurant terraces, etc. Some kinderspielplatz are restricted, some are not. A few on-property restaurant terrace spaces exist in some locations. Seating for restaurant customers was also observed. Dogs tend to simply run off leash. Dogs are discussed further in Chapter 5 in cultural mores. Aggregate score for this space was -8 out of -56.

Constrained hours of operation: Controlling, Variable 20. Only one space surveyed had restrictions on time of use. Templehof Park closes at dusk. No signs that indicate hours of operation were observed in any other location. Aggregate score for this space was -2 of a possible -56.

Analysis of Controlling Variables

The controlling variable portion of the proposed survey instrument presents a number of issues in its applicability. We have four variables, of the ten presented that might at first seem inapplicable to Berlin. First we have the issue of BIDs. Simply put, we could find no similar public-private partnership entity in Berlin. Second, security cameras are quite uncommon. Sponsorship, another public private partnership, seems unheard of. Design details to control use are similarly not in evidence. In our analysis,

and with comparison to Schneider & Kitchen's data in Appendix C, we will see that this first impression was incorrect.

Four other variables scored low, as controlling variables. We simply conclude that they are possible but not preferred, and are therefore appropriate in this international context, and illuminate a lack of restrictions on citizen use. Constrained hours of operation seem unnecessary, as police have authority to remove people for suspicious activity. Posted secondary rules of behavior seem uncommon, and perhaps well enough understood that they are not deemed necessary. Private security was either plainclothes or simply not in evidence. The lack of secondary personnel may just be a casualty of the fall season. Conclusions and recommendations are discussed in Chapter 6.

Comparison of Aggregate Scores

For contrast, we begin by comparing the aggregate total of all encouraging variables with the aggregate total of all controlling variables. The encouraging variables scored an aggregate 389 of a possible 560 total. The aggregate score for controlling variables scored -63 of a possible -560 total. As mentioned, four controlling variables scored zero. BIDs, security cameras, design details and sponsor ads are simply not in evidence in any of the surveyed spaces (Figure 4-13).

Another four variables scored between -2 and -10 total. Secondary rules covering comportment, visible security officers and restricted hours of operation are not common either. Only restricted spaces like kinderspielplatz and restaurant terraces, and a basic sign with basic rules appear on the control side of the balance sheets. Clearly, some of the variables don't translate well, while others simply don't score due to the culture.

Some variables might need to be reconsidered. This will be further discussed in Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations.



Figure 4-1. Formal park space at Viktoria-Luise Platz. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 4-2. Vandalized bust of Anton Saefkow. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 4-3. Anton Saefkow Park facing the main street adjacent. Heavy vegetation on park edges are typical. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 4-4. Map of Hellersdorf U-Bahn station development. We surveyed Fritz-Lang Platz and Alice Salomon Platz. Kokoschkaplatz was still under construction. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 4-5. Alice Salomon Platz at Hellersdorf. Not an inviting place. Photo courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 4-6. Entry to a shopping arcade at Hellersdorf. The only place we saw notice of security cameras in evidence. House Rules also posted. Photo courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 4-7. Exit gate installed in the fence at Templehof Park. Photo courtesy of James Beeler

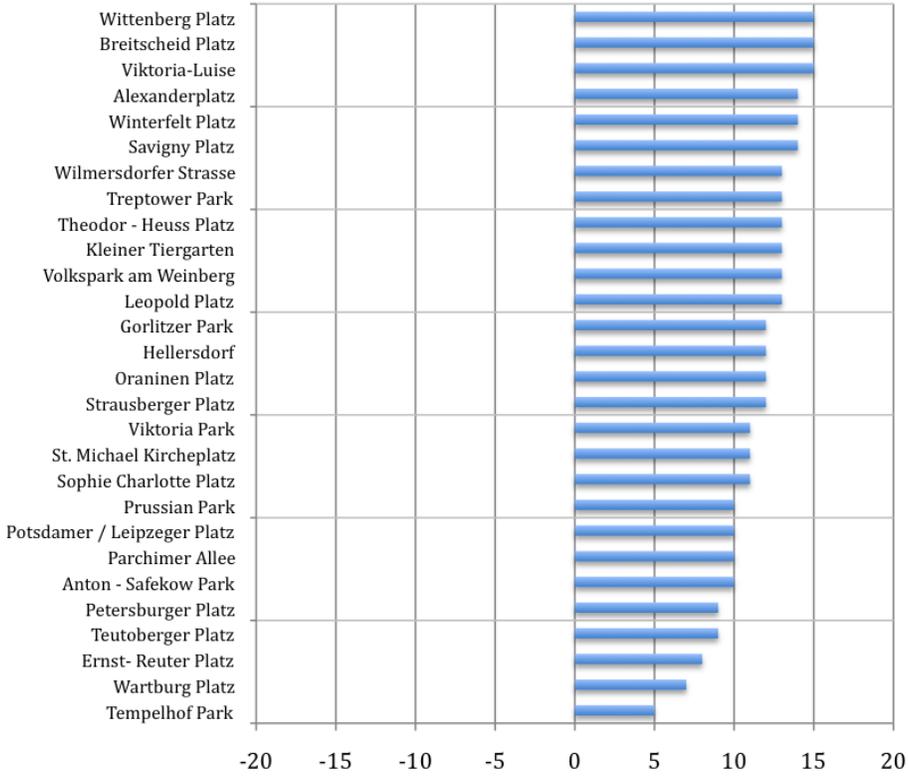


Figure 4-8. Access score for all surveyed public spaces in Berlin. Range of -20 to +20. Graphic courtesy of James Beeler.

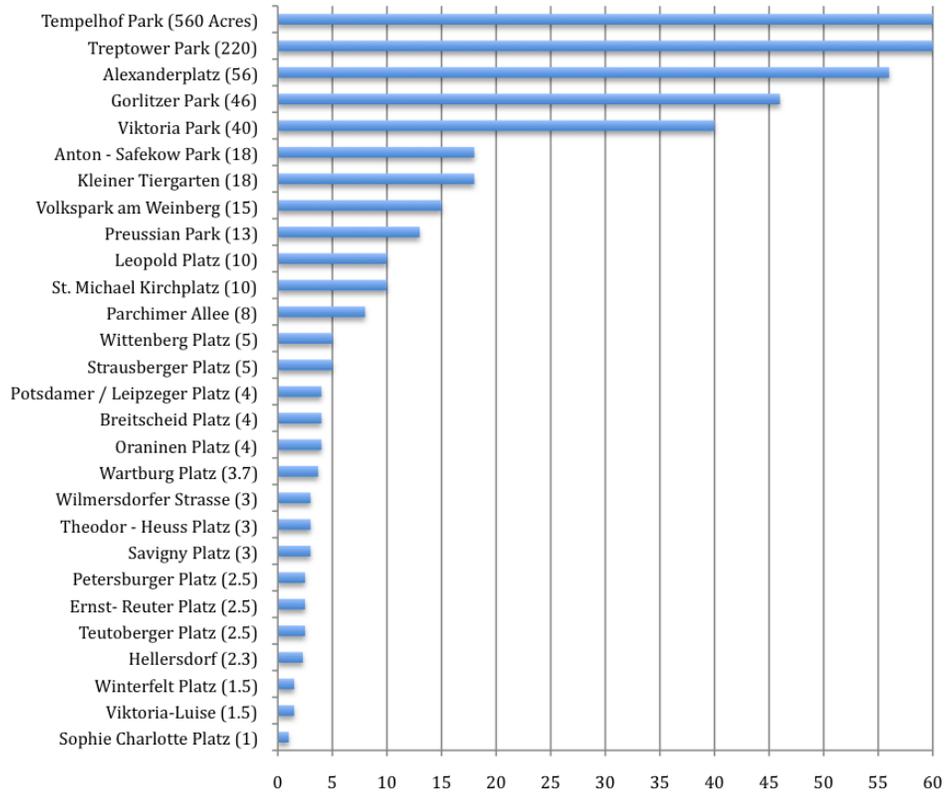


Figure 4-9. Acreage visual comparison chart, adjusted for outliers. Graphic courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 4-10. Typical public space and rules sign, vandalized. Photo courtesy James Beeler.

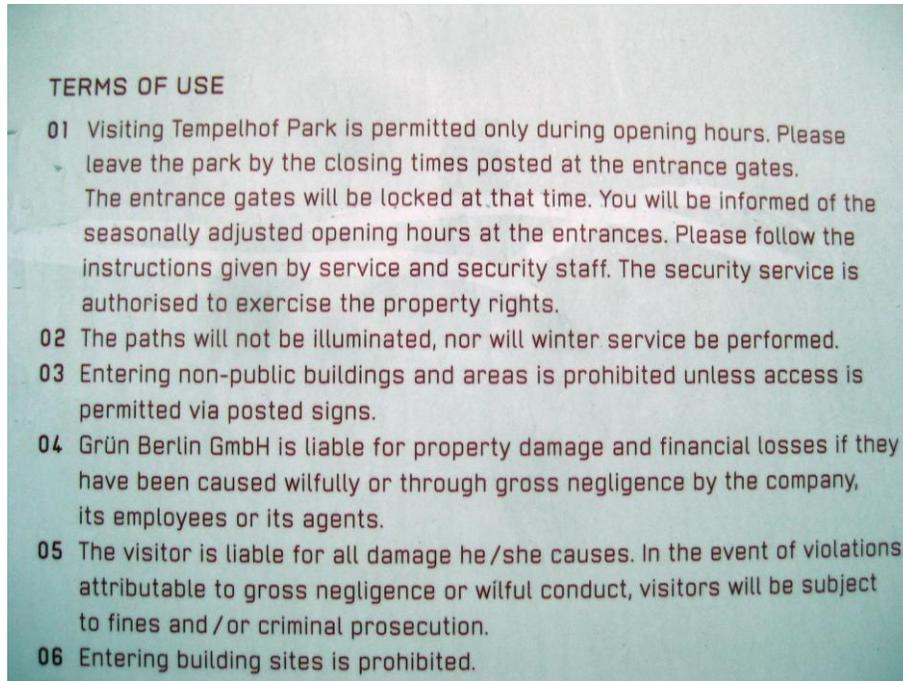


Figure 4-11. Tempelhof Park secondary rules listed in English. Photo courtesy James Beeler

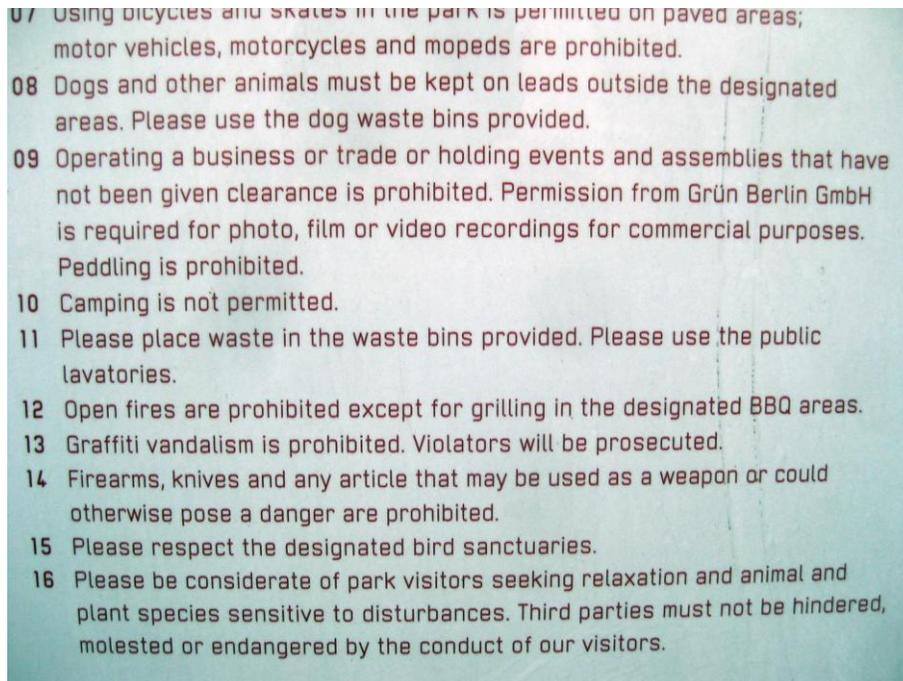


Figure 4-12. Tempelhof Park secondary rules listed in English. Photo courtesy James Beeler

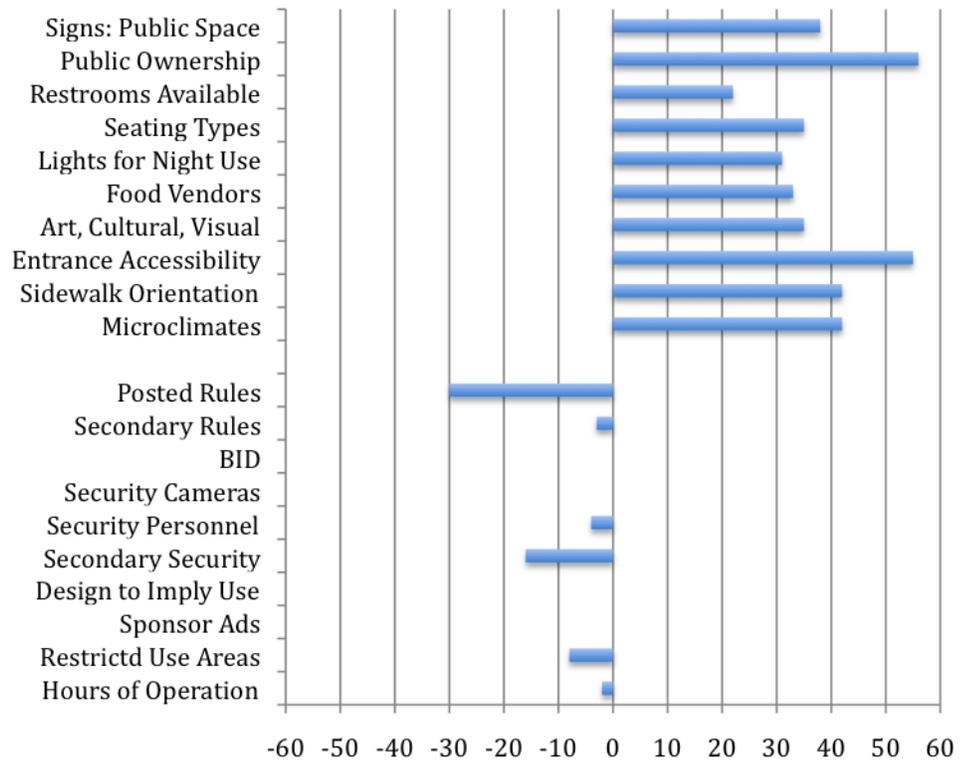


Figure 4-13. Aggregate score by individual variable. Encouraging variables in top half, controlling variables in bottom half. Graphic courtesy of James Beeler.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Researchers working in the apex city of American capitalism conceived and designed the survey instrument we explore here. We agree that their reasoning and theoretical basis are sound. Given that a particular space might have theoretically scored anywhere on a 40 point scale, to have 25 of 28 score within in a 6 point range seems unlikely. At the outset, we might have expected a bit more variation. After analyzing each of the scoring factors in Chapter 4, we posit that cultural differences might explain the small range for scores. Park design, equipment and custom seem to contribute to the fairly small range as well.

Nemeth and Schmidt acknowledge the impact of the events of 9/11 in the opening paragraph of their article (2007, p 283). Add in property owners' concerns over what Whyte calls 'undesirables' (1980, p. 60) and much more restrictive laws on alcohol and drug use, and we have an instrument that accurately reflects American sensibilities, but perhaps not European sensibilities. We therefore discuss cultural differences as observed, and consider what those differences might contribute. Some minor adjustments to make the instrument more universal might be considered. That will be addressed in Chapter 6.

A critical distinction between American and European attitudes toward solving societal issues slowly became apparent as this research progressed. Americans seem most interested in property and physical control, while Europeans focus first on social issues. Again, we compare BIDs and QMB: BIDs place great emphasis on maintenance, infrastructure improvements, access control, and surveillance. The QMB

program uses State and Federal funding to focus on social solutions and assimilation of foreign elements (Quartiersmanagement Berlin.de, n.d.).

When presenting this place based research concept to the NEURUS conference group, the European members of the conference repeatedly questioned this researcher about social and socioeconomic issues. They had an issue accepting the idea that place based analysis could be conducted independently of socioeconomic factors. When it was explained that social and socioeconomic issues would be listed as a limitation, they seemed aghast. While the practice of Urban Planning in the United States certainly includes social issues as part of any larger analysis, societal engineering is anathema to many in American society. In Europe it seems Spatial Planning (their closest equivalent) assumes societal engineering as a starting point.

Just before the author arrived in Berlin, a firestorm began there related to immigration issues. A book published by banker Thilo Sarrazin ignited a debate over the nature of immigration and integration in Germany (Slackman, 2010). Sarrazin was decried by some as 'racist', but other observers, including a commentary in the prominent German weekly Der Spiegel, welcomed the discussion the book began (Matussek, 2010).

Sarrazin's book, "Germany Does Away With Itself" seems to have exposed a national dialogue. Chancellor Angela Merkel eventually addressed the issue in a statement October 16, 2010. Merkel is now famously quoted as saying "This [multicultural] approach has failed, utterly failed" (Weaver, 2010). Many Germans perceive the Turkish community in Berlin as insular. Turks are thought to resist acculturation and assimilation into German society.

The Quartiersmanagement Berlin program is entitled: "*Stadtteile mit besonderem Entwicklungsbedarf – die soziale Stadt*". (Quartiersmanagement Berlin.de, n.d.). Google Translate™ translates this as "Districts With Special Development Needs - the Social City". These designated 'areas of special concern' seem to include most of the neighborhoods with a high percentage of immigrant and guest worker populations. See Figure 5-1 for a map showing the 'areas of special concern. We are unsure of the effects of immigrant communities on this research.

Overall, crime statistics in Germany are fairly low as compared to the United States. As example, homicide is recorded at 1.15 per one hundred thousand of population in Germany and 5.56 per one hundred thousand in the United States (Barclay & Tavares, 2003). It is generally recognized that crime reporting varies from location to location, as well as being affected by the human factor. No two officers would report a single event in exactly the same way. We also recognize that different societies define different events to be criminal in nature.

By further example, in discussion with representatives of the Berlin Police Department this researcher noted that police officers in Berlin are generally very low key as compared to American police. Officer Petra Warman, a Berlin native and our police liaison for this research project, agreed with our observation. Officer Warman observed that, in visiting the United States, she was astonished by the aggressiveness of our police. She suggested, as partial explanation of the divergent approach, her nation's rejection of Germany's history of militarism (P. Warman, personal meeting, October 29).

From observation, and through discussion with Officer Warman, it seems the average Berlin Police officer today could be compared to the old American beat cop

model. The slogan 'to serve and protect' seems applicable here, with 'serve' being the primary focus. In a mostly homogeneous society, where adherence to most written and unwritten rules appears to be highly valued, that model seems to work well.

One area where cultural mores are markedly different is the attitude toward the sale and use of alcohol. Within a few days of arriving in Berlin, this researcher observed individuals drinking beer and alcohol in parks, on the street and in the U Bahn and Sbahn. It seems to be of greater concern that empty bottles are placed in the proper recycling container than the fact that alcohol is being consumed in public. An incident was observed where a young man set down a beer bottle in an U Bahn station, an older woman scolded him and he bashfully placed it in a nearby recycling bin. Small kiosks in many U Bahn and Sbahn stations routinely stock beer, wine and alcohol for sale with seemingly no restrictions on time of sale. Beer may be bought and consumed by sixteen year olds. Contrast that with the twenty-one year old drinking age in the United States.

Smoking seems to be allowed in some indoor places and not in others. Some bars have enclosed rooms within their space that allow smoking, while others prohibit it entirely. In other bars, smoking was the norm throughout. No Smoking signs on U Bahn and Sbahn platforms are routinely ignored. When the signs are pointed out, which this researcher did on a number of occasions to see the reactions, the response varied from a shrug to outright hostility. This in contrast to what otherwise seems to be a strong cultural respect for rules and signs elsewhere.

In contrast, we offer this anecdote: This researcher was once yelled by a man on a bicycle for crossing a small street against a red crosswalk sign. He was patiently waiting at the same red light, even though no traffic was in evidence for at least two blocks in

every direction. After looking both ways, I crossed the single lane, and he began gesticulating and yelling in German. He was incensed. I got a word or two, enough to realize he was mad about the red light, and responded in English that I did not speak German. He threw up his hands, practically spat the word “American” and, when the light changed, pedaled off in a huff. Berlin pedestrians and motorists seem to take signals and crosswalk signs extremely seriously, far more so than Americans would.

Interestingly, in eleven weeks in Berlin, very little direct panhandling was encountered, save for Roma, or ‘gypsies’, and buskers playing on trains and in stations. Buskers are street musicians who play for free, usually with an open instrument case or hat before them for donations from passers-by. Many people appreciate the presence of buskers (Figure 5-2). Buskers were mostly encountered near heavy visitor locations or on visitor heavy U Bahn trains.

A few inevitably aggressive Roma, or ‘Gypsy’ women were encountered in heavy tourist locations such as Alexanderplatz and Pariser Platz (Figure 5-3). It seems they always have the same note and a child or two to back up their story of woe. They generally approach and ask “Speak English?” and wave a soiled paper at their target. They looked rather annoyed and perplexed when the answer came, in perfect English: “No I don’t”.

There was one elderly beggar woman, in what looked like a rolling hospital bed, who seemed permanently ensconced at the Nollendorf Platz U Bahn station. A few stationary, sitting beggars seemed to have permanent seating spots in particular U Bahn stations. Passers by might drop a coin or two in the hat or box in front of them, but verbal exchanges seem uncommon.

As noted above, only one group of apparently homeless individuals was observed in any public space. When surveying Kleiner Tiergarten, a bedraggled group of eight or so individuals with backpacks and bedrolls was seen drinking and smoking. It was observed that nearby pedestrians walked out of their way to avoid them, and cast very disapproving looks in their direction. Without direct contact to confirm the suspicion, it cannot be certain that these people were homeless. There are reportedly ten thousand homeless in Berlin (Reimann, 2006), but, given the cold weather, it was suggested that they may have all retreated to shelters (P. Warman, personal communication, February 28, 2011).

Open drug sales and use were observed in Görlitzer Park (See complete description of that space in Chapter 4). In discussions with Berlin Police officials, it was noted that yearly crime statistics for a specific location could be skewed by a single individual event. As example, yearly May Day 'celebrations' experienced in certain heavily left leaning neighborhoods, skew crime statistics for that space for the year. By extension, it was noted that if precinct police operate drug sting operations in Görlitzer Park more often, then crime statistics for that neighborhood go up proportionally (P. Warman, personal meeting, October 29). We conclude that it seems, that as long as marijuana users and dealers don't negatively impact the general public using the park, their activity is somewhat tolerated.

Public restrooms present a cultural lesson for any American travelling in Europe. Americans are accustomed to large, numerous and free toilet facilities in most public locations. Europeans think nothing of highly restricted bathrooms, usually requiring

payment. It is not uncommon to have to pay, even in large department stores and cultural locations.

Even though an individual might have paid ten Euros to access an historic monument, the attendant will require a coin or two before one might relieve oneself. Nordstrom's or Neiman's would be appalled at the suggestion that they require payment to use the toilets in their store, but it will be .50 Euros at the prestigious KaDeWe. Bathroom attendants are ubiquitous, and seem to be paid through 'tips', which do not ever seem to be optional. In some train stations coin operated gates restrict entry. A change machine was always helpfully located at these locations.

CPTED practitioners consider restrooms a special potential problem area. Given the privacy accorded users, when located in public spaces, they can be misused for a variety of acts, including drug sales and use, prostitution and sexual activity. Design, location, monitoring and traffic can ameliorate the negatives. CPTED practitioners recommend maze style entrances, as the sound of doors opening and closing can alert those of ill will that someone is approaching (Schneider, 2003, p.34). Monitors with a tip tray at the ready can certainly help prevent malfeasant acts.

In Gainesville, there are public restrooms at the Downtown Plaza that have been a problem spot for years. Incidents of drug sales, assaults and sex activity in those toilets waxes and wanes with police patrol. A phone conversation with Lt. Tim Hayes of the Gainesville Police Department, in February 2011, confirms police frustration with their inability to control those spaces. Non-CPTED complaint design of the bus shelter, inappropriate vegetation and bathroom design contribute to the problem.

We note that public *pissoirs* are seen in a few public spaces. One such was located in a whimsical station in busy Breitscheidplatz (Figure 5-4). Of course, given Americans with Disability Act (ADA) requirements, and equal access standards by gender, these simple comfort stations would never be allowed in the United States. Toilet location is frequently in the basement, another custom that would be problematic in the United States due to ADA requirements. Paid toilets are available in some public spaces (Figure 5-5).

According to Officer Warman, given Germany's National Socialist and Communist history of state intrusion into personal liberty, there is strong resistance to the presence of security cameras (P. Warman, personal meeting, October 29). An immediate, illuminating example of this attitude surfaced in the news while we were in Berlin. Public outcry led the German government to negotiate with Google™ over Street View™. Offering an opt out opportunity delayed street view from going live in Germany until after a negotiated period (Evans, 2010). Apparently this stems from Article 33 of the Berlin Constitution, which guarantees each individual control over their personal data. (Berlin.de / datenschutz, n.d.). Further, there is an elected datenschutzbeauftragter, or, Data Commissioner (Berlin.de / berliner-beauftragter, n.d.) with authority over both public and private data, and the responsibility to protect both.

American dog lovers would find Berlin, and many other European cities, quite agreeable. It is not uncommon to see dogs sitting in sidewalk cafes while their owners enjoy a meal or liquid respite. Nor is it uncommon to see those same pets tied up, waiting patiently, outside a market while their owner procures the day's provisions. Many dogs are trained by their owners to follow them without a leash at all. Of course,

most American cities have leash laws that prohibit that sort of thing, and if a dog were tied up and 'parked' outside an IKEA, as we witnessed in Berlin, no doubt an immediate call would go out to Animal Services for a cruelty citation (Figure 5-6). *Hundeverbot* appears on signs for many green spaces, yet is one of those rules that, like no smoking signs, seems to be roundly ignored (Figure 5-7).

It can certainly be argued that most western countries, including Germany and the United States, have much in common. The cultural diversions identified and discussed here, illustrate that even with a great deal of cultural similarity, one can discern cultural divergence that matters in an attempt to create a universal ratings scheme. In the next chapter, we discuss issues identified and possible adjustments to the instrument.

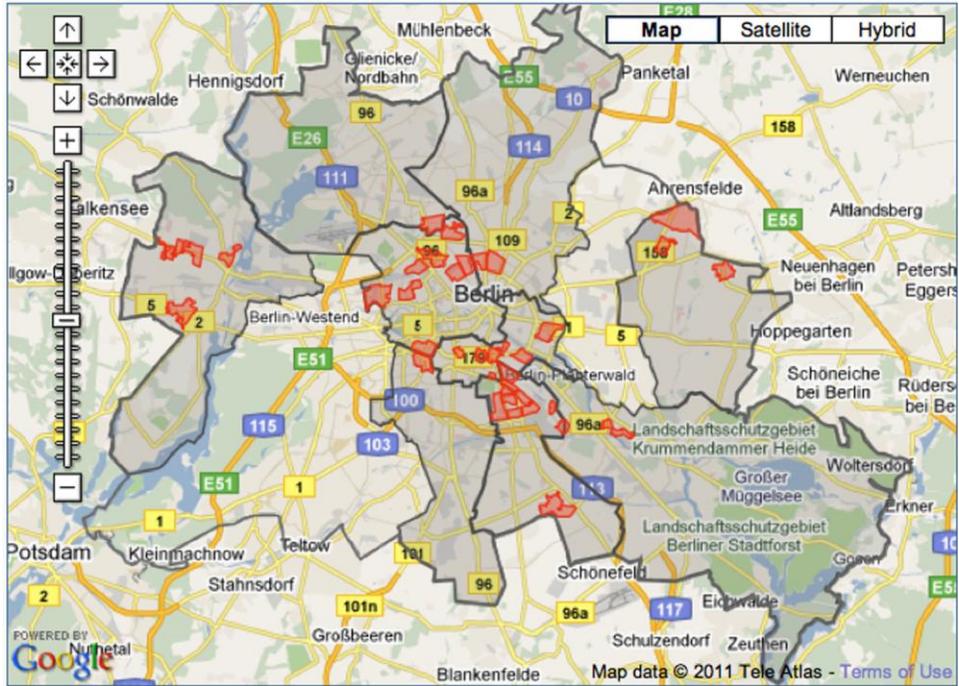


Figure 5-1. Quartiersmanagement Districts in Red. Source: <http://www.quartiersmanagement-berlin.de/Karte-der-Quartiere.3168.0.html>



Figure 5-2. Buskers on an U-Bahn train. Photo courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 5-3. Roma or 'Gypsies' near Alexanderplatz. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 5-4. Pissior at Breitscheidplatz. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 5-5. Pay toilet kiosk at Leopold Platz. Photo courtesy James Beeler.



Figure 5-6. Dog parking at the IKEA store. Photo courtesy of James Beeler.



Figure 5-7. Hundeverbod. A sign routinely ignored. Photo courtesy James Beeler.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After testing the instrument and analyzing the data collected, we conclude that it is generally successful in scoring public accessibility to public spaces in Berlin. However, if we wish to establish an instrument applicable to a variety of societies and cultures, there are some issues that should be considered for modification by the proposing researchers. Many of these issues were mentioned above, and will be discussed in turn. Given that this appears to be the first published field test of the instrument in a foreign setting, we have no other research to compare with. It is hoped that others follow in additional locations to provide the original researchers with additional information to help refine the instrument.

In the encouraging variables section, we conclude that variable design accurately scored the spaces as surveyed. The encouraging variables, as designated, reflect a society that is open, with almost universal access to public spaces twenty-four hours a day. Individual public spaces seem to possess many of the same features, no matter the size of the space in question. We conclude that the encouraging variables section generally works as designed.

The only encouraging variable that we conclude projects a New York/American design bias comes from the subject of public ownership in variable 2. The fact that we could locate no spaces owned by the public and managed privately, or privately owned and managed, might simply indicate that Berliners value public space for what it is: Public space. The proposing researchers could leave the variable as designed, but include a notice that this specific factor is included now, with an expectation that the public-private partnership strategy might spread to other societies and cultures.

The controlling variables section is a bit more problematic. On the subject of rules and secondary rules, the instrument as designed carries over to Berlin. We conclude that secondary rules are 'understood', and therefore unnecessary on signs. The 13th controlling variable, dealing with BIDs, seems wholly inapplicable to Berlin. However, Schneider and Kitchen data (Appendix D) collected in other European cities seem to indicate that BIDs, or something similar, may exist elsewhere.

We propose three alternatives that the proposing researchers consider for dealing with this issue. First, leave the variable as is, with a notice that the BID strategy is expected to spread to other cultures. Second modification to the definition of this variable to include social programs such as Quartiersmanagement Berlin, the Federal and state funded neighborhood intervention program described above. This adjustment would bring the instrument a bit into the realm of 2nd Generation CPTED, as described. Third, add an additional variable to the survey instrument that would recognize QMB like programs. Our preference, given the place-based design focus of the instrument, would be the first option.

On the subject of security cameras, in Variable 14, the lack of score does not indicate a need for adjustment, but instead merely illustrates cultural bias against such electronic surveillance. Again, data collected by Schneider and Kitchen indicates that other European societies install and utilize cameras. The next two variables, dealing with security personnel, may score low in this survey as a reflection of Berlin itself, but seem to be appropriate as designed.

One quibble on counting police patrols: The survey instrument indicates that police who are not dedicated to a particular space not be counted as a controlling factor. While

we understand that the proposing researchers are concerned with space specific factors, routine police patrol seems to be a factor that should be considered. Otherwise, one is ignoring the reality of how other cultures approach security as a whole.

The next two controlling variables, dealing with design for appropriate use and sponsors, also scored zero in our survey sample. We recognize that our study was of a single city, and comparison data was illuminating here. Again, the Schneider and Kitchen data indicates these do score in other European locations. The last two, areas of restricted use and hours of operation, seem designed to cross cultural boundaries without issue.

Without the data of Schneider and Kitchen, one might conclude, based on data collected in Berlin, that certain controlling variables are problematic or inapplicable in a European context. We discussed at length, in Chapter 5, cultural mores that may be unique to Berliners, but could be applicable to Germany as a whole. Our exploration of these social mores helps us understand why some variables scored so low, and in such a uniform manner. Further study in other German cities could determine if these mores affect scoring in the same manner.

Some questions arise: Do all Germans take issue with security cameras, or is that feeling confined to Berlin? Do parks across the country have the same equipment and standards, or is Berlin alone in its park design? Is there anything resembling a BID in other cities, perhaps in the former West Germany? Did the historical and political factors that shaped Berlin create an environment unlike any other in Europe, or is Berlin representative of wider German society? Further study is desirable to answer these questions.

This case study explores social factors and cultural mores as related to survey design. We mentioned in Chapter 3, the Methodology section, that our original proposal sought to compare survey scores to crime rates within individual spaces. In Appendix E, we include crime rate data graciously researched and provided by Officer Stephan Harnau of the Berlin Police.

Because Berlin crime data is kept at precinct level, and not available in a geo-tagged GIS format, we were unable to pursue that original line of research. The data is useful for context, and thus is attached should it provide background for future researchers. We propose that further research be conducted in locations where geo-tagged crime data is available. Appendix E is extremely helpful for the maps that Officer Harnau provided. One gets a strong sense of many of the spaces surveyed from these exhibits.

Another consideration could be social factors. As noted previously, European planners seem to approach research and problem solving from the social aspect first. Many Americans, outside of academic circles, dismiss social engineering as redolent of a political agenda. Certainly, some might choose to approach this research with an eye toward analyzing social factors.

Research addressing adjacencies also seems an approach ripe for additional consideration. We noted above that areas of special concern adjoin and overlap various public spaces that we surveyed in Berlin. Another researcher might embark on a study of effects of those adjacencies here, or in other locations.

It is also possible that the encouraging and controlling variables, might omit consideration of factors uncommon to the United States. Perhaps another culture has

an encouraging factor that is simply unforeseen from an American perspective. It is also possible that there are controlling factors that do not occur to Americans either. It would be helpful for future researchers from other cultures to apply this instrument to their own society, potentially shedding light on these factors.

And so, given the data reported here, we ask again the original question: Can researchers, using the concepts and principles of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), develop a rating scheme to help determine the level of public access and safety in a particular publically accessible space? The answer to the first part appears to be 'yes'. With the exception of the BID variable, which can be argued as needing adjustment, data collected here does seem to support this instrument as a viable method of measuring public access to public spaces. The second part of the question, addressing public safety, will require additional research, and it remains the suggestion to do so in a geo-tagged environment.

We therefore conclude that the instrument suggested here by Nemeth & Schmidt could, if widely utilized, provide valuable information to a variety of researchers. A large sample size, combined with statistical analysis could reveal patterns of access across cultures. Within a specific culture, such as the United States, that analysis could provide insight into cultural differences between specific states and specific regions. This research provides an insight into one very specific, and very unique European Capital. No other place in Europe can equal the experiences of Berlin.

APPENDIX A SURVEY FORM

PUBLICALLY ACCESSABLE SPACE SECURITY INDEX

- 1) Space _____
- 2) Location _____
- 3) Date _____
- 4) Time(Duration to-from) _____ to _____
- 5) Reviewer _____
- 6) General survey approach/comments _____

7	Features Encouraging Use	Approach	Scoring Criteria	Scoring Criteria	Scoring Criteria	Scoring Criteria (suggested)	Score
8	Sign(s) indicating "public space"	Law and rules	None=0	1 small sign=1	1 large sign or 2 or more signs=2		
9	Public Ownership or management	Surveillance and policing	Privately owned or managed=0	Publically owned and privately managed=1	Publically owned and publically managed=2		
10	Restroom available	Design and image	None=0	Available for customers only or Difficult to access =1	Readily available to all=2		
11	Diversity of seating types	Design and image	No seating=0	Only one type of stationary seating=1	Two or more types or many moveable seats=2		
12	Lighting (encourage nighttime use)	Design and image	None=0	One type or style=1	Several lighting types=2		
13	Small scale food vendors	Design and image	None=0	One kiosk or stand=1	Two or more kiosks stands=2		
14	Art, cultural or visual enhancements	Design and image	None=0	1 or 2 minor elements (statues/fountains)=1	1 major interactive element or Frequent free performances =2		
15	Entrance Accessibility	Access and territoriality	Gated or keyed access only=0	1 constricted entry or several entries through doors or gates only=1	more than 1 entry/entrance without gates/restriction=2		
16	Orientation accessibility	Access and territoriality	Space not visible and oriented away from sidewalk=0	Space visible but oriented away from sidewalk=1	Space visible and oriented toward sidewalk=2		
17	Microclimates	Design & Image	No sun or shade, fully exposed to sun & wind=0	Some sun & shade, overhangs, shielding from wind & rain = 1	Several distinct microclimates, extensive overhangs, trees = 2		

	Features Controlling Use	Approach	Scoring Criteria	Scoring Criteria	Scoring Criteria	Scoring Criteria (suggested)	Score
18	Visible rules posted*	Laws and rules	None=0	1 sign or posting=1	2 or more signs=2		
19	Subjective or judgment rules posted**	Laws and rules	None=0	1 rule visible=1	2 or more rules visible=2		
20	In a Business Improvement District (BID) or special district (SD)	Surveillance and policing	Not in BID or special district=0	In a BID or SD with maintenance duties only=1	In a BID or SD with maintenance and policing duties=2		
21	Security Cameras	Surveillance and policing	None=0	1 stationary camera=1	2 or more stationary cameras or panning and moving cameras=2		
22	Security personnel	Surveillance and policing	None=0	1 private security guard and up to 2 police=1	2 or more private security guards or more than 2 police=2		
23	Secondary security personnel	Surveillance and policing	None=0	1 person present=1	2 or more persons present=2		
24	Design to imply appropriate use	Design and Image	None=0	Only 1 or 2 major examples=1	Several examples throughout the space=2		
25	Presence of sponsor or ads	Design and Image	None=0	1 medium sign or several smaller ones=1	One or more large signs=2		
26	Areas of restricted or conditional use	Access and territoriality	None=0	1 or more area restricted to certain members of the public=1	Large areas for consumers only or several smaller restricted areas=2		
27	Constrained hours of operation	Access and territoriality	Open 24/7=0	Some part of space is open past normal business hours or on weekends=1	Open only during normal business hours or portions closed permanently=2		

**e.g. rules that are objective and easily enforced such as prohibitions against drinking alcohol, smoking, passing out flyers, walking on the grass, etc

*e.g. some interpretation required such as no disorderly behavior, no disturbing others, no loitering, proper attire required, etc.

APPENDIX B
RAW DATA

Variable		Wartburg Platz	Viktoria-Luise	Winterfelt Platz	Teutoberger Platz	Strausberger Platz
Space Name		Wartburg Platz	Viktoria-Luise	Winterfelt Platz	Teutoberger Platz	Strausberger Platz
Number		1	2	3	4	5
Location		Schöneberg	Schöneberg	Schöneberg	Pankow	Friedrichshain
Date		9/24/10	9/24/10	9/24/10	9/24/10	9/25/10
Time		10:00 AM	12:30 AM	2:00 PM	3:30PM	11:00 AM
Type		Park	Park	Plaza	Park	Plaza
Acres	PROX	3.7	1.5	1.5	2.5	5
Kinder?		Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Encouraging Variables						
8	Signs	2	1	0	2	2
9	Owner	2	2	2	2	2
10	Toilet	0	0	1	0	0
11	Seats	1	2	2	2	1
12	Lights	0	1	2	0	1
13	Food	0	2	2	0	0
14	Art	2	2	1	2	1
15	Entry	2	2	2	2	2
16	Orient	0	2	2	0	2
17	Climate	2	2	1	2	1
Controlling Variables						
18	Rules	-2	-1	0	-2	0
19	Rules 2	0	0	0	0	0
20	BID	0	0	0	0	0
21	Cameras	0	0	0	0	0
22	Cops	0	0	0	0	0
23	Cops 2	-1	0	-1	0	0
24	Design	0	0	0	0	0
25	Ads	0	0	0	0	0
26	Restrict	-1	0	0	-1	0
27	Hours	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL SCORE		7	15	14	9	12

Oraninen Platz	St. Michael Kircheplatz	Breitscheid Platz	Gorlitzer Park	Potsdamer / Leipziger Platz	Alexanderplatz
6	7	8	9	10	11
Kreuzberg	Kreuzberg	Charlottenberg	Kreuzberg	Mitte	Mitte
9/26/10	9/26/10	10/24/10	11/4/10	11/5/10	11/6/10
1:00 PM	2:30 PM	2:00 PM	2:30 PM	11:30 AM	12:00 PM
Park	Park	Plaza	Park	Plaza	Plaza
4	10	4	46	4	56
No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
Encouraging Variables					
1	2	0	2	0	0
2	2	2	2	2	2
0	1	2	1	1	2
1	2	2	2	0	2
1	1	2	1	1	2
2	1	2	2	2	2
1	1	2	2	2	2
2	2	2	2	2	2
2	1	2	1	2	2
2	2	2	2	0	1
Controlling Variables					
-2	-2	0	-2	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	-1	0	0	-1
0	-1	-2	0	-2	-2
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	-1	0	-1	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
12	11	15	14	10	14

Viktoria Park	Treptower Park	Volkspark am Weinberg	Kleiner Tiergarten	Wittenberg Platz	Savigny Platz
12	13	14	15	16	17
Charlottenberg 11/9/10 2:00 PM	Treptow 11/10/10 3:00 PM	Mitte 11/11/10 3:15 PM	Tiergarten 11/11/10 2:30 PM	Charlottenberg 11/12/10 10:00 AM	Charlottenberg 11/12/10 11:30 AM
Park 40 Yes	Park 220 Yes	Park 15 Yes	Park 18 Yes	Plaza 5 No	Park 3 No
Encouraging Variables					
2	2	2	2	1	2
2	2	2	2	2	2
0	1	1	2	1	1
1	1	2	1	2	1
1	1	1	1	2	2
2	2	1	1	2	1
2	2	1	1	2	1
2	2	2	2	2	2
0	2	1	1	2	2
2	2	2	2	2	1
Controlling Variables					
-2	-2	-1	-2	0	-1
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	-1	0	0	-1	0
0	-1	0	0	-2	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
-1	0	-1	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
11	13	13	13	15	14

Leopold Platz	Ernst- Reuter Platz	Theodor - Heuss Platz	Petersburger Platz	Anton - Safekow Park	Wilmersdorfer Strasse
18	19	20	21	22	23
Wedding 11/12/10 1:00 PM	Charlottenberg 11/12/10 2:30 PM	Westend 11/12/10 3:15 PM	Prenzlauer Berg 11/13/20 10:30 AM	Prenzlauer Berg 11/13/10 11:30 AM	Charlottenberg 11/13/10 2:00 PM
Park 10 Yes	Plaza 2.5 No	Park 3 No	Park 2.5 Yes	Park 18 Yes	Street 3 No
Encouraging Variables					
2	0	2	2	2	2
2	2	2	2	2	2
1	0	2	0	0	0
1	1	1	1	2	1
1	1	1	1	1	2
1	0	0	0	0	2
1	0	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2
2	2	2	1	0	2
2	0	1	2	2	1
Controlling Variables					
-2	0	-1	-2	-2	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	-2
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	-1	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
13	8	13	9	10	13

Sophie Charlotte Platz	Hellersdorf	Parchimer Allee	Prussian Park	Tempelhof Park	Aggregate Variable Score
24 Charlottenbe rg	25 Hellersdorf	26 Britz-Fritz Reuter Town	27 Wilmerdorf	28 Templehofer Park	
11/13/10 12:00 PM	11/18/10 1:30 PM	11/19/10 12:00 PM	11/19/10 3:30 PM	11/20/10 1:00 PM	
Park 1 No	Plaza 2.3 No	Street 8 No	Park 13 Yes	Park 560 No	
Encouraging Variables					
1	0	0	2	2	38
2	2	2	2	2	56
0	1	0	2	2	22
1	1	0	1	0	35
1	1	1	1	0	31
0	1	2	2	1	33
1	1	0	1	0	35
2	2	2	2	1	55
2	2	2	1	2	42
2	1	1	2	0	42
Controlling Variables					
-1	0	0	-2	-1	-30
0	0	0	-2	-1	-3
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	-4
0	0	0	-1	-1	-16
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	-1	0	-8
0	0	0	0	-2	-2
11	12	10	10	5	
Encouraging Factors Total		389	Controlling Factors Total		-63

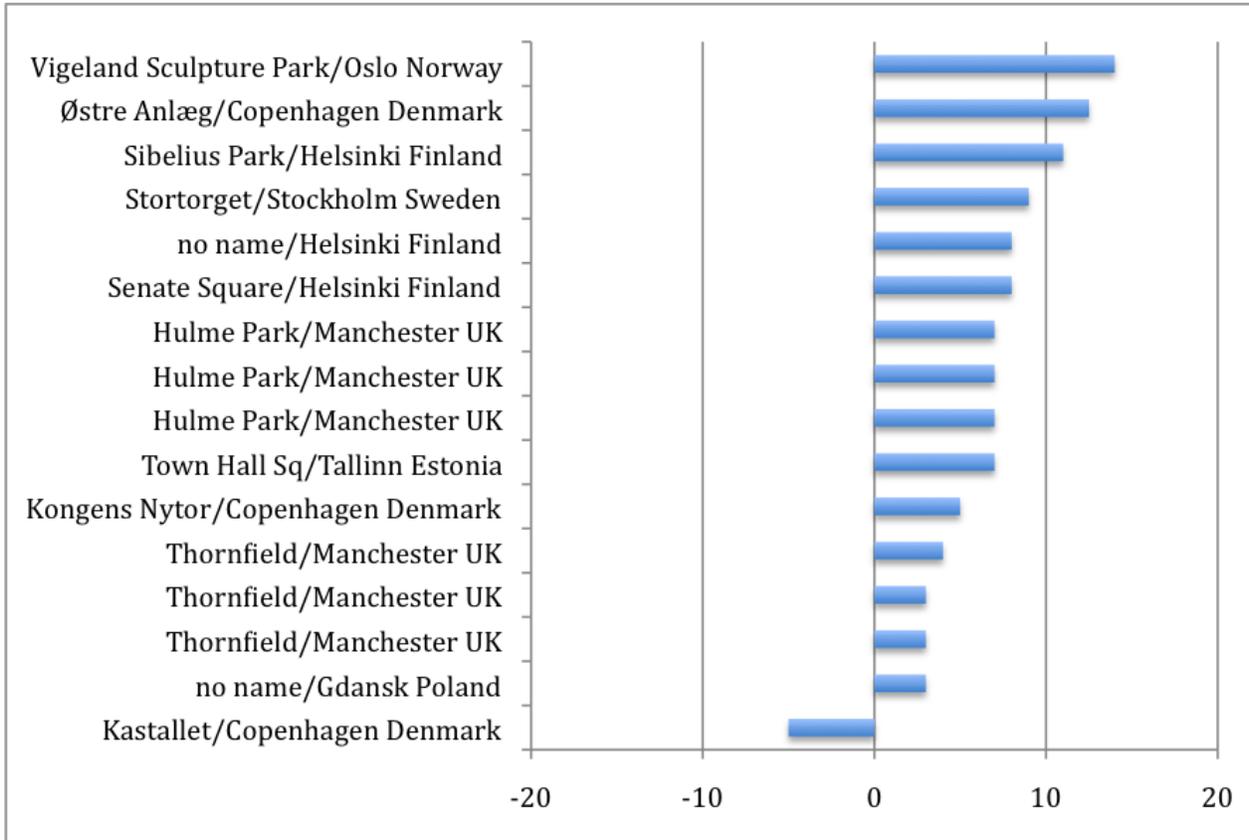
APPENDIX C
DATA COLLECTED BY SCHNEIDER AND KITCHEN
SUMMER 2010

Country		Denmark	Denmark	Denmark	Estonia	Finland
Space Name		Østre Anlæg	Kongens Nytor	Kastallet	Town Hall Square	Senate Square
Reviewer Number		D+Z 1	D+Z 2	D+Z 3	D 4	D+Z 5
Location		Copenhagen	Copenhagen	Copenhagen	Tallinn	Helsinki
Date		7/2/10	7/3/10	7/3/10	6/27/10	6/24/10
Time		13:00-14:30	16:15-17:00	12:45-14:00	9:30-10	11:00 AM
Type		Park	Park	Park	Park	Park
Acres	PROX					
Kinder?	Variable					
Encouraging Variables						
8	Signs	2	0	2	0	0
9	Owner	2	2	2	2	2
10	Toilet	2	0	0	0	2
11	Seats	1	1	1	2	1
12	Lights	1	1	0	0	0
13	Food	0	1	0	0	0
14	Art	2	2	1	2	2
15	Entry	1.5	2	1	2	2
16	Orient	2	2	2	0	2
17	Climate	2	1	2	2	0
Controlling Variables						
18	Rules	-2	0	-2	-2	0
19	Rules 2	-1	0	-2	0	0
20	BID	-1	0	-2	0	-2
21	Cameras	0	0	-2	0	0
22	Cops	0	-1	-2	0	0
23	Cops 2	0	0	0	0	0
24	Design	2	-2	-2	0	-1
25	Ads	0	-2	0	0	0
26	Restrict	-1	-2	-2	-1	0
27	Hours	0	0	-2	0	?
TOTAL SCORE		12.5	5	-5	7	8

Finland	Finland	Norway	Poland	Sweden	UK
no name	Sibelius Park	Vigeland Sculpture Park	no name	Stortorget	Thornfield
D	D	D+Z	D+Z	D	D
6	7	8	9	10	11-1
Helsinki	Helsinki	Oslo	Gdansk	Stockholm	Manchester
6/24/10	6/24/10	6/30/10	6/29/10	6/23/10	6/13/10
15:10-15:30	15:15-15:30	11:30-12:30	14:00-14:30	1:23 PM	11:30-13:30
Park	Park	Park	Park	Park	Park
Encouraging Variables					
0	0	2	1	0	2
2	2	2	2	2	2
0	2	2	0	1	1
1	1	1	1	1	1
1	1	2	0	2	0
0	1	2	0	2	0
1	2	2	0	2	1
2	2	1	2	2	2
1	2	2	2	2	2
2	2	2	1	2	1
Controlling Variables					
0	-2	?	-2	?	-2
0	0	?	-1	?	-1
0	0	-2	0	-1	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0
-1	-2	-2	-2	-1	-2
0	0	0	0	-1	0
-1	0	0	-1	-2	-2
0	0	?	0	-2	-2
8	11	14	3	9	3

UK Thornfield	UK Thornfield	UK Hulme Park	UK Hulme Park	UK Hulme Park	Aggregate Variable Score
Z 11-2	T 11-3	D 12-1	Z 12-2	T 12-3	
Manchester 6/19/10 11:30-13:30	Manchester 6/19/10 11:30-13:30	Manchester 6/19/10 14:55-15:40	Manchester 6/19/10 14:55-15:40	Manchester 6/19/10 14:55-15:40	
Park	Park	Park	Park	Park	
Encouraging Variables					
2	2	2	2	2	19
2	2	2	2	2	32
1	1	0	0	0	12
1	1	2	2	2	20
0	0	1	2	1	12
0	0	0	0	0	6
1	1	2	2	2	25
2	2	2	2	2	29.5
1	2	2	2	2	28
1	1	2	1	1	23
Controlling Variables					
-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-22
0	-2	-1	-2	-2	-12
0	0	-1	-1	-1	-11
0	0	0	0	0	-2
0	0	0	0	0	-3
0	0	0	0	0	0
-2	-2	-2	-2	-2	-23
0	0	0	0	0	-3
-1	-1	-2	-1	0	-17
-2	-2	0	0	0	-10
4	3	7	7	7	
Encouraging Variables Tot 206.5			Controlling Variables Total		-103

APPENDIX D
 ACCESS CHART BASED ON SCHNEIDER & KITCHEN DATA
 COLLECTED SUMMER 2010



Public access score for Schneider & Kitchen data. Graphic courtesy James Beeler.

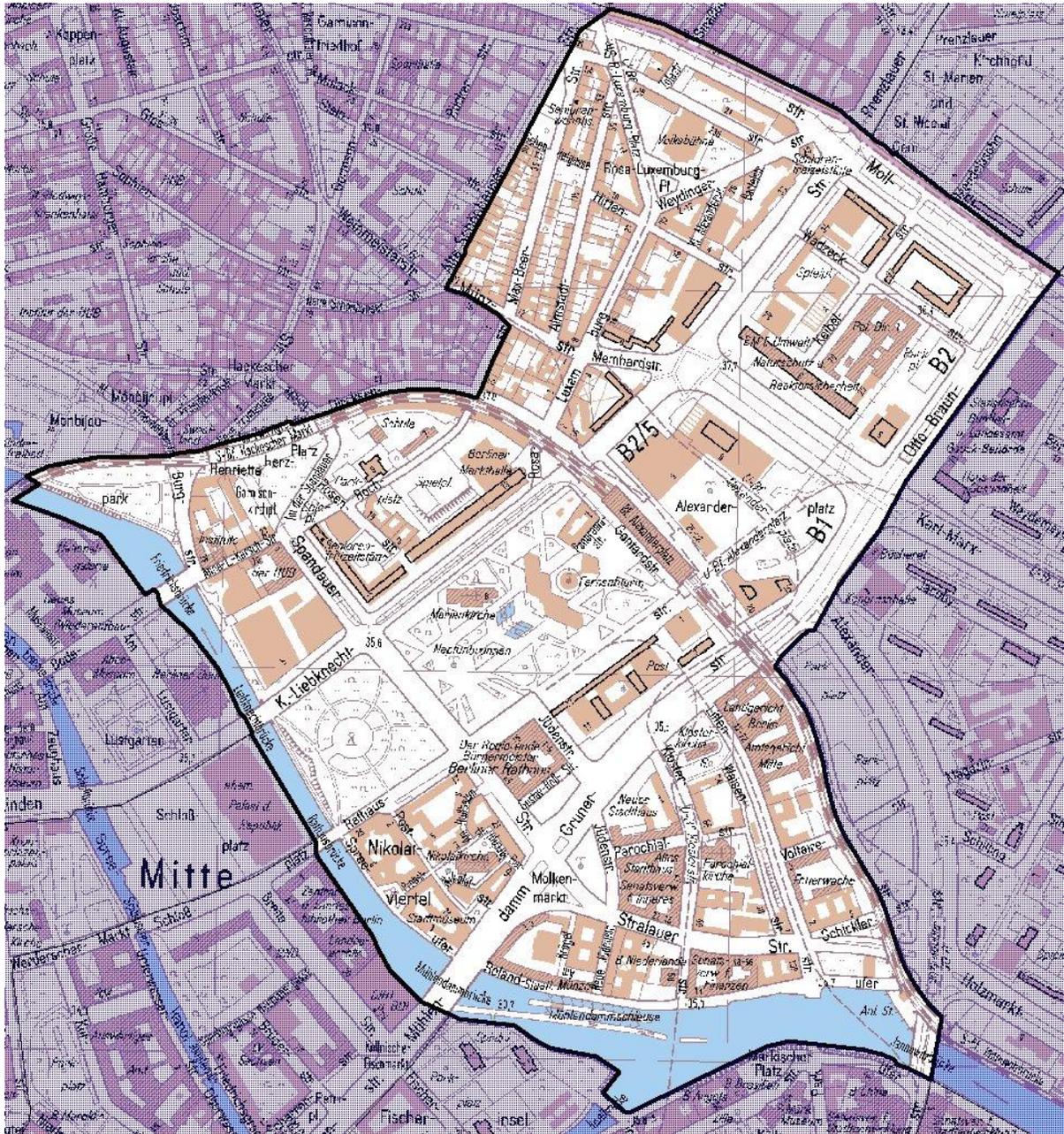
APPENDIX E
CRIME DATA COURTESY OF BERLIN POLICE DEPARTMENT

Planungsraum Alexanderplatzviertel

Postleitzahl 10178

Bezirk Mitte

Direktion 3



Straftaten insgesamt:
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten:

6 731 (2009)
893 (2009)

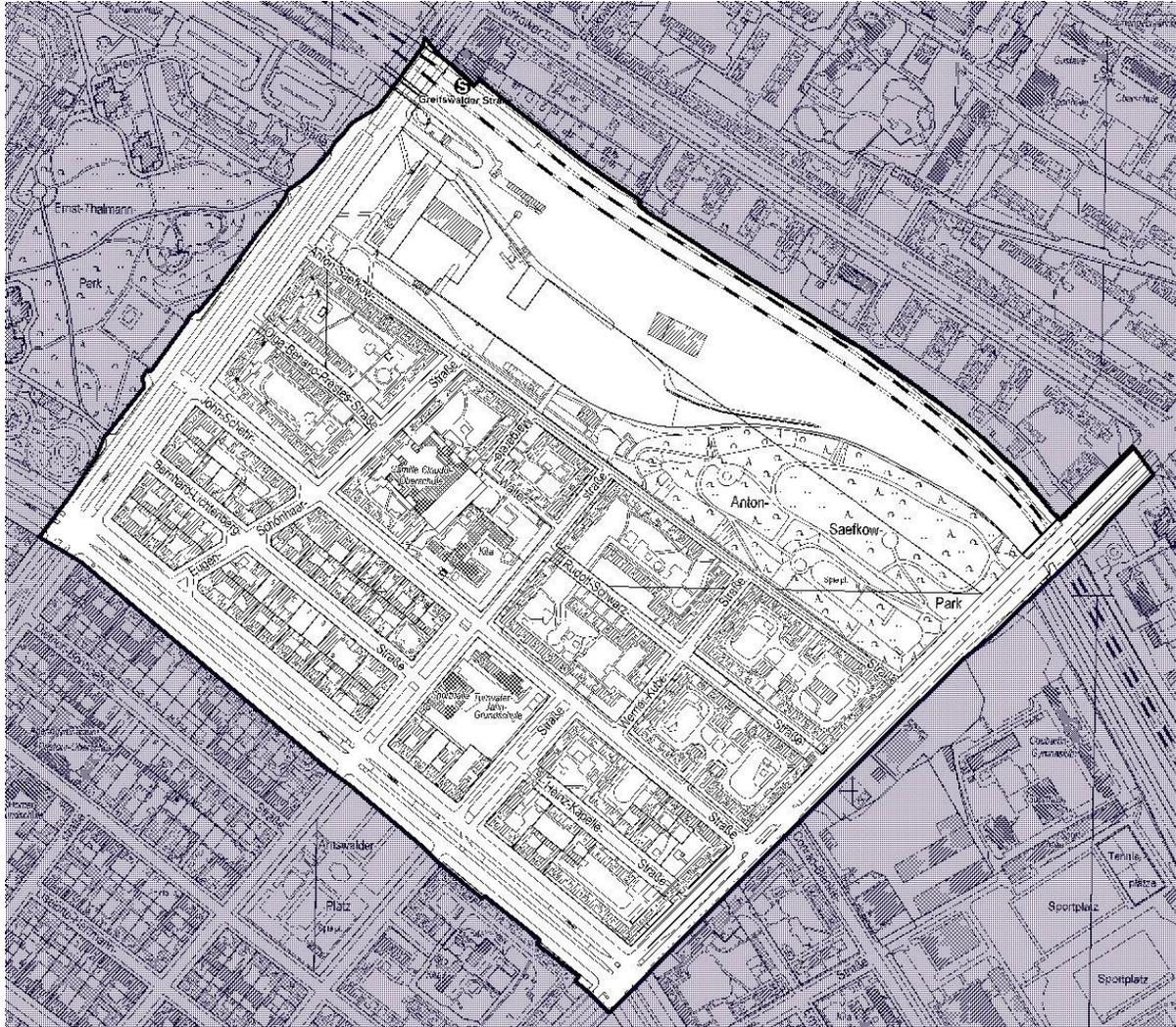
Translation: Total Offenses
Translation: Neighborhood Crimes

Planungsraum Anton-Saefkow-Platz

Postleitzahl 10369

Bezirk Lichtenberg

Direktion 6



Straftaten insgesamt: **758** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

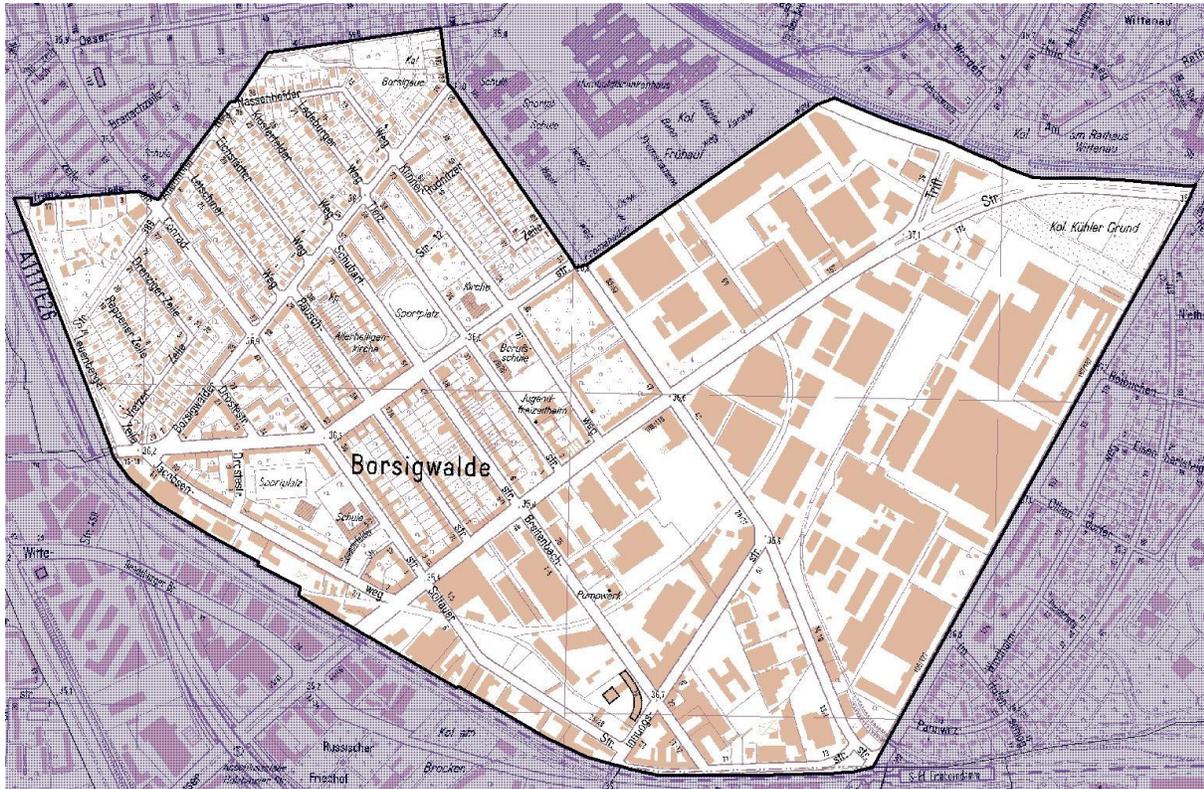
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **180** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Borsigwalde

Postleitzahl 13509

Bezirk Reinickendorf

Direktion 1



Straftaten insgesamt: **574** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

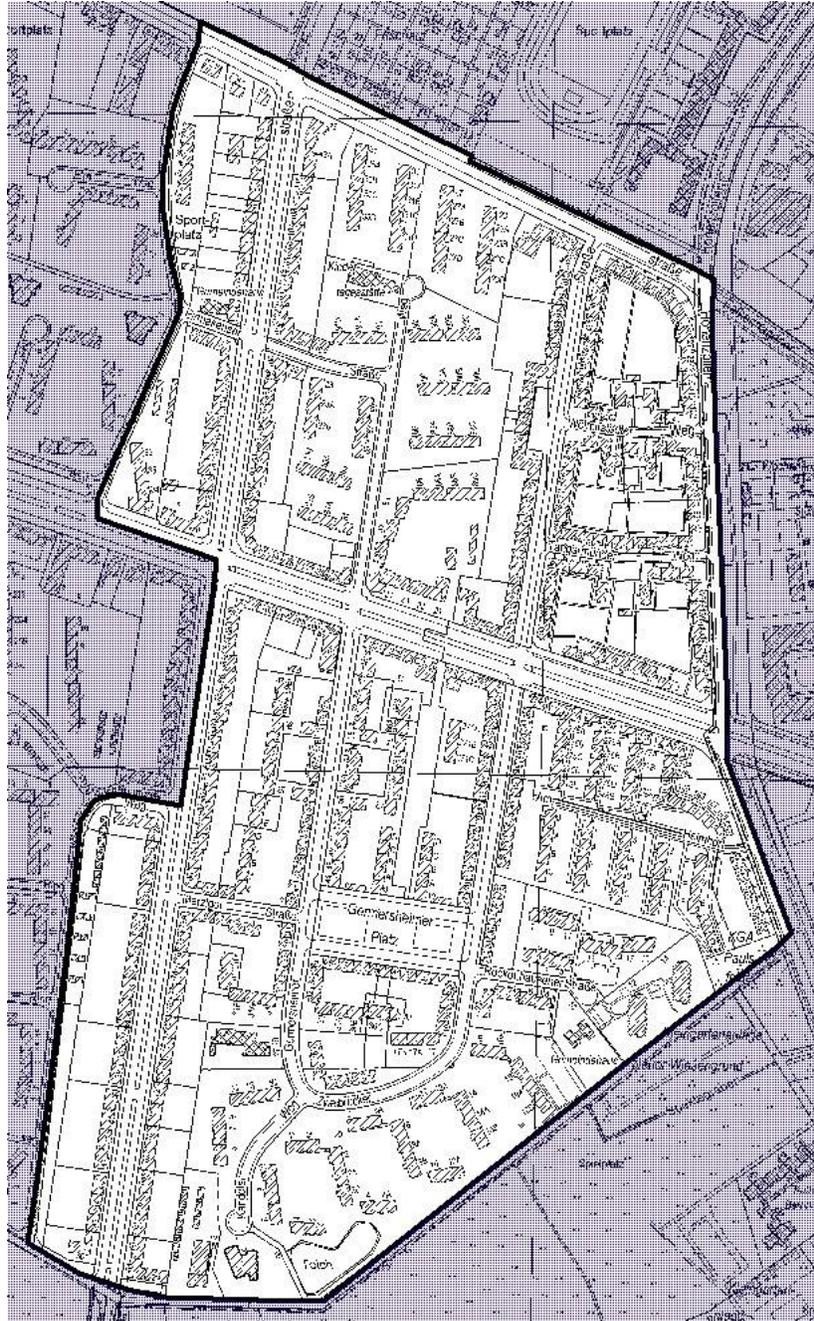
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **134** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Germersheimer Platz

Postleitzahl 13583

Bezirk Spandau

Direktion 2



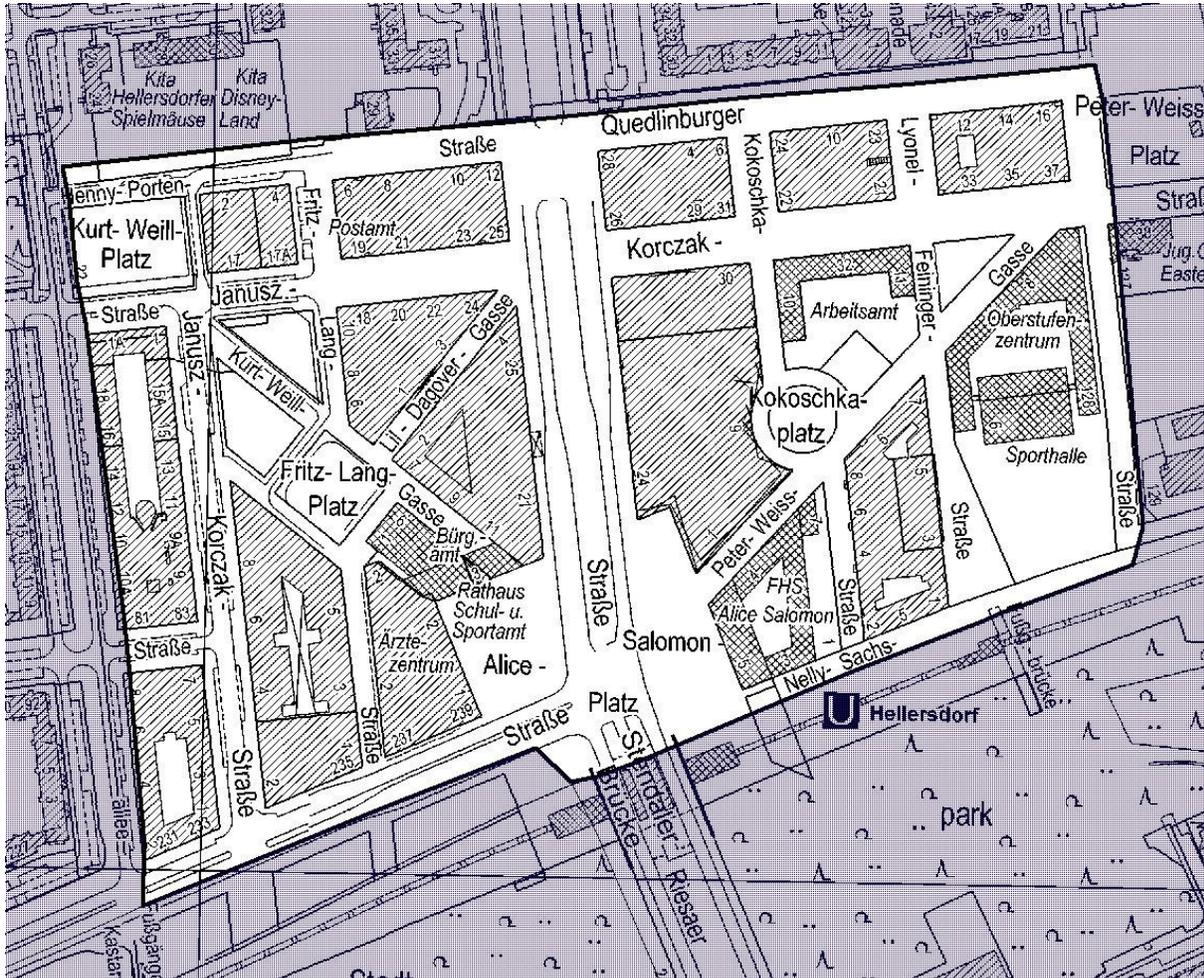
Straftaten insgesamt: **575** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **186** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Helle Mitte
Bezirk Marzahn-Hellersdorf

Postleitzahl 12627

Direktion 6



Straftaten insgesamt: **825** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

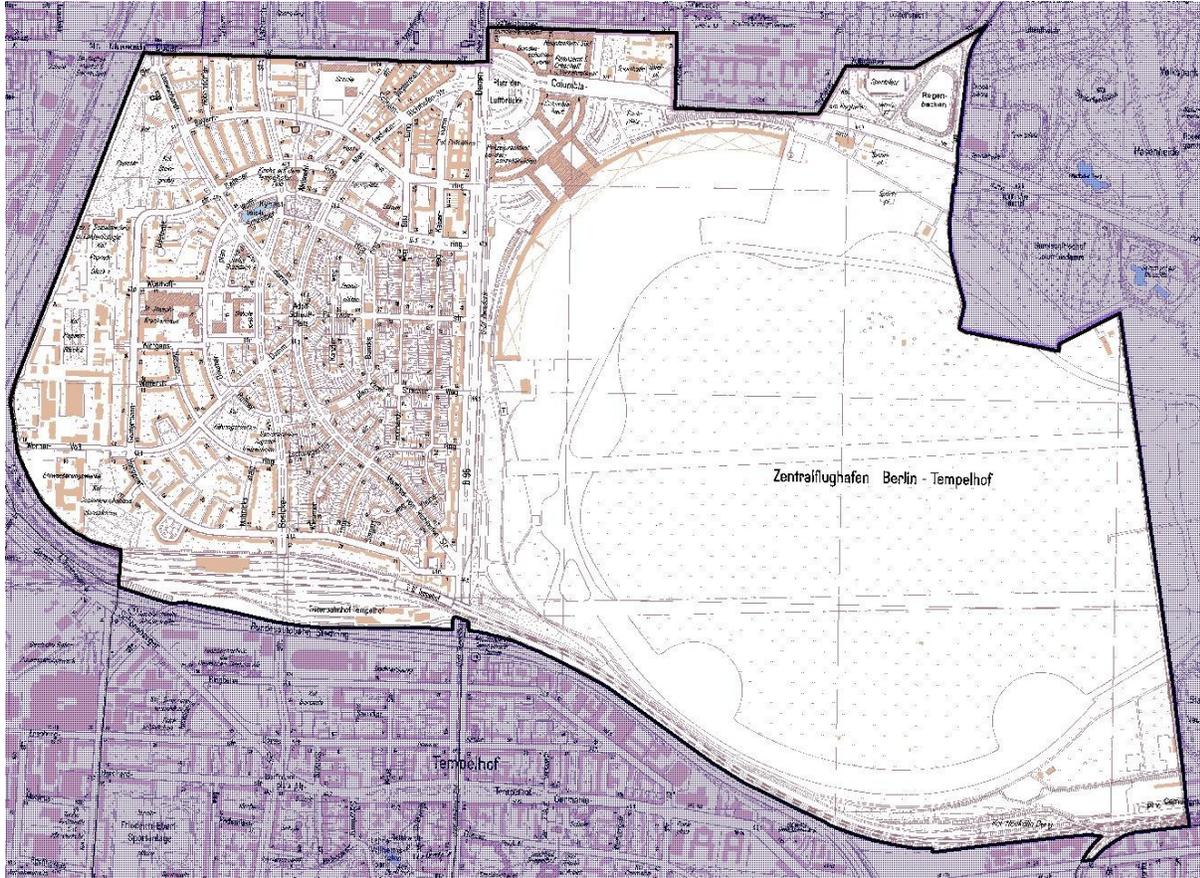
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **123** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Neu-Tempelhof

Postleitzahl 12101

Bezirk Tempelhof-Schöneberg

Direktion 4



Straftaten insgesamt: **1 752** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **393** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Parchimer Allee

Postleitzahl 12359

Bezirk Neukölln

Direktion 5



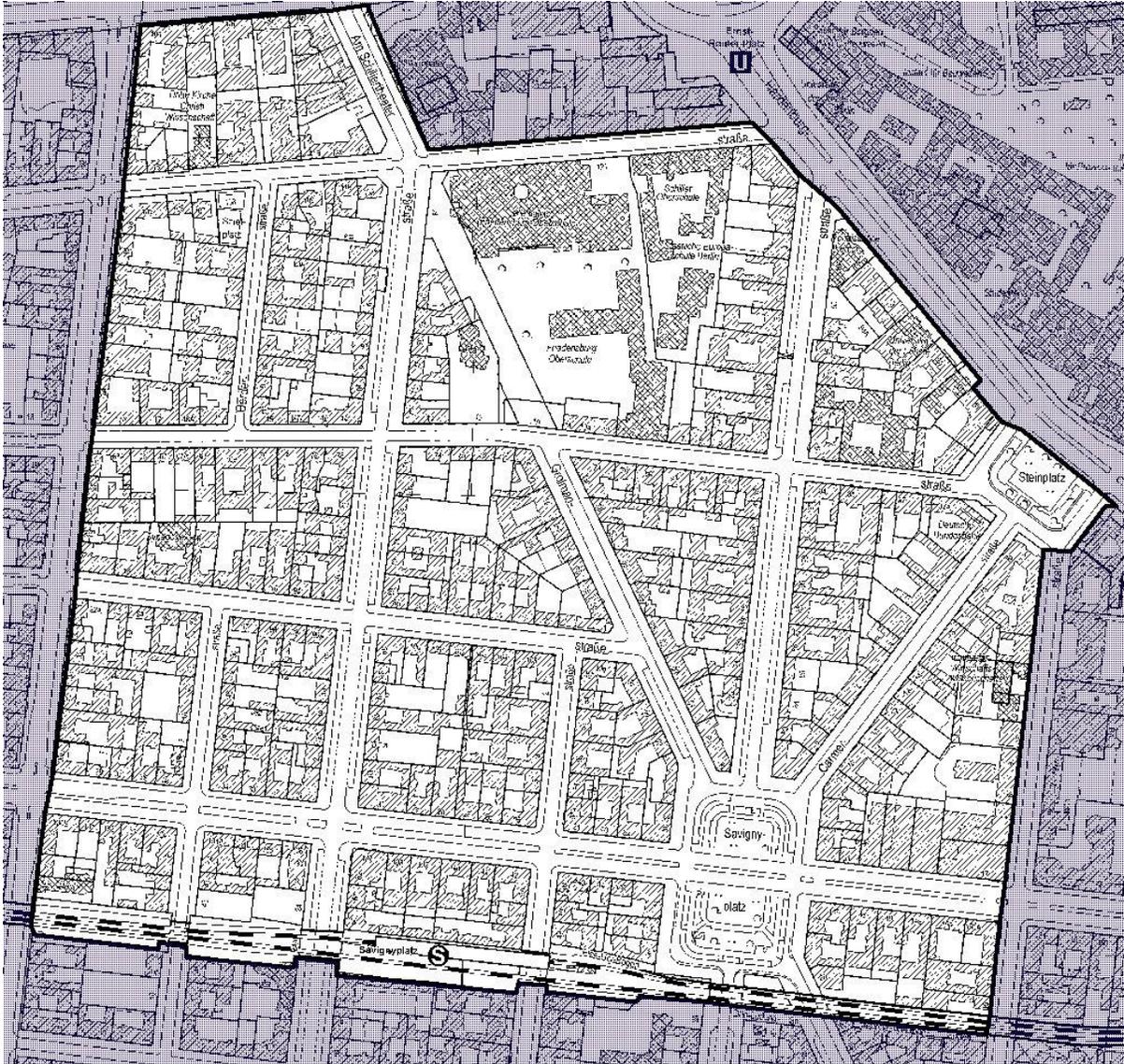
Straftaten insgesamt: **1 196 (2009)** Translation: Total Offenses

Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **386 (2009)** Translation: Neighborhood Crimes

Planungsraum Savignyplatz
Bezirk Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf

Postleitzahl 10623

Direktion 2



Straftaten insgesamt: **1 183** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

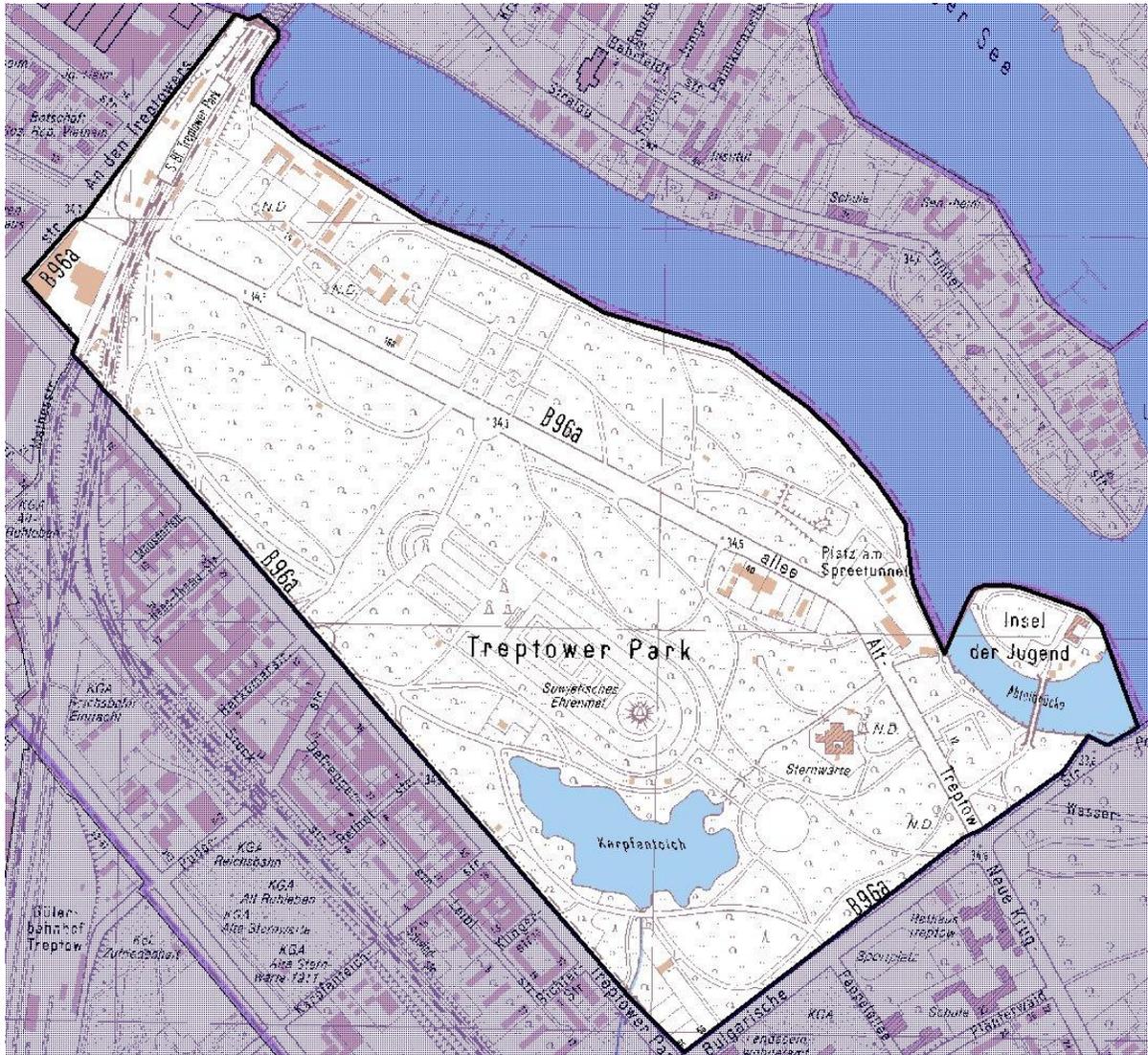
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **336** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Am Treptower Park (Nord)

Postleitzahl 12435

Bezirk Treptow-Köpenick

Direktion 6



Straftaten insgesamt:

238 (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

Kiezbezogenen Straftaten:

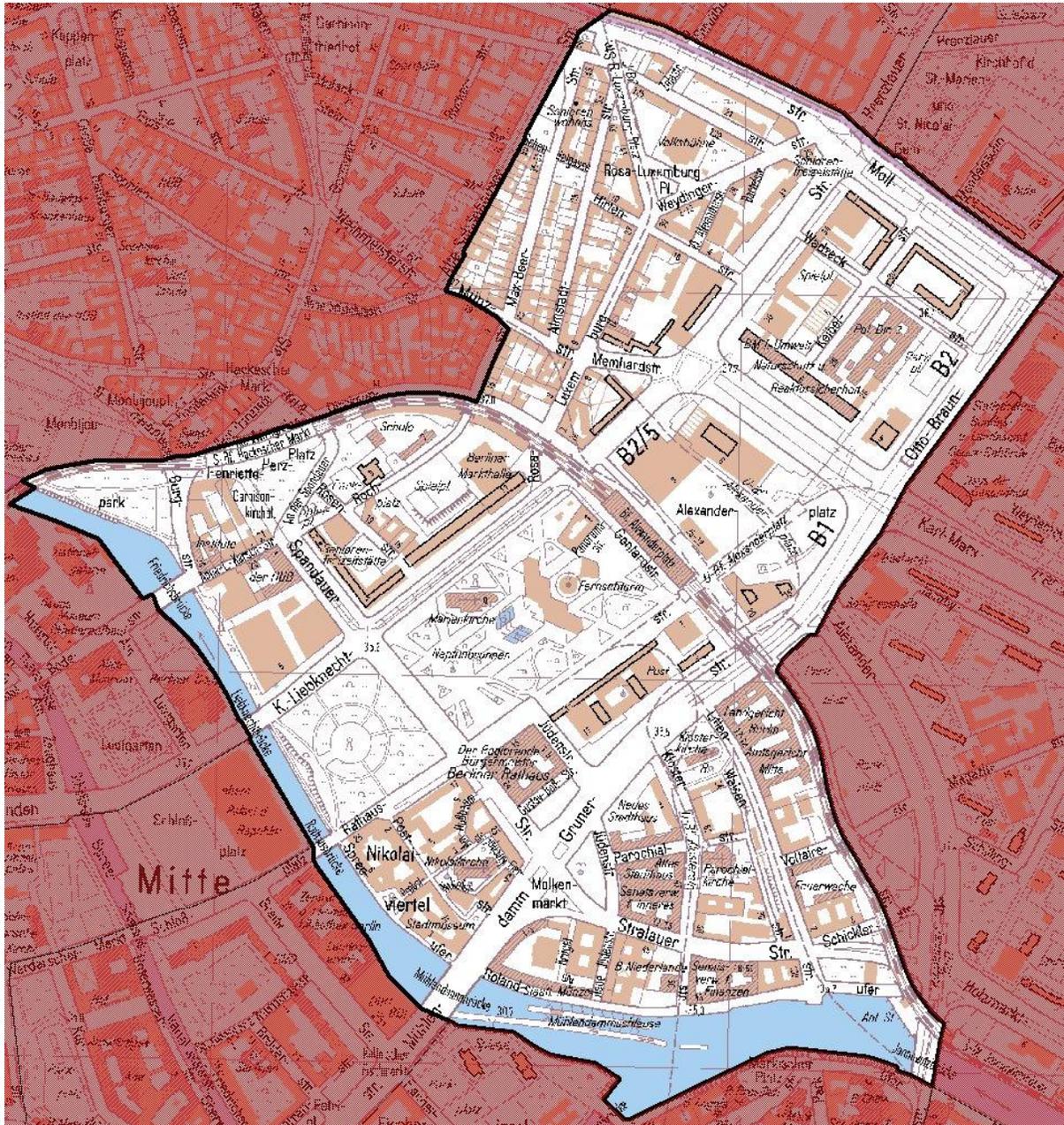
53 (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Alexanderplatzviertel

Postleitzahl 10178

Bezirk Mitte

Direktion 3



Straftaten insgesamt: **6 731** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

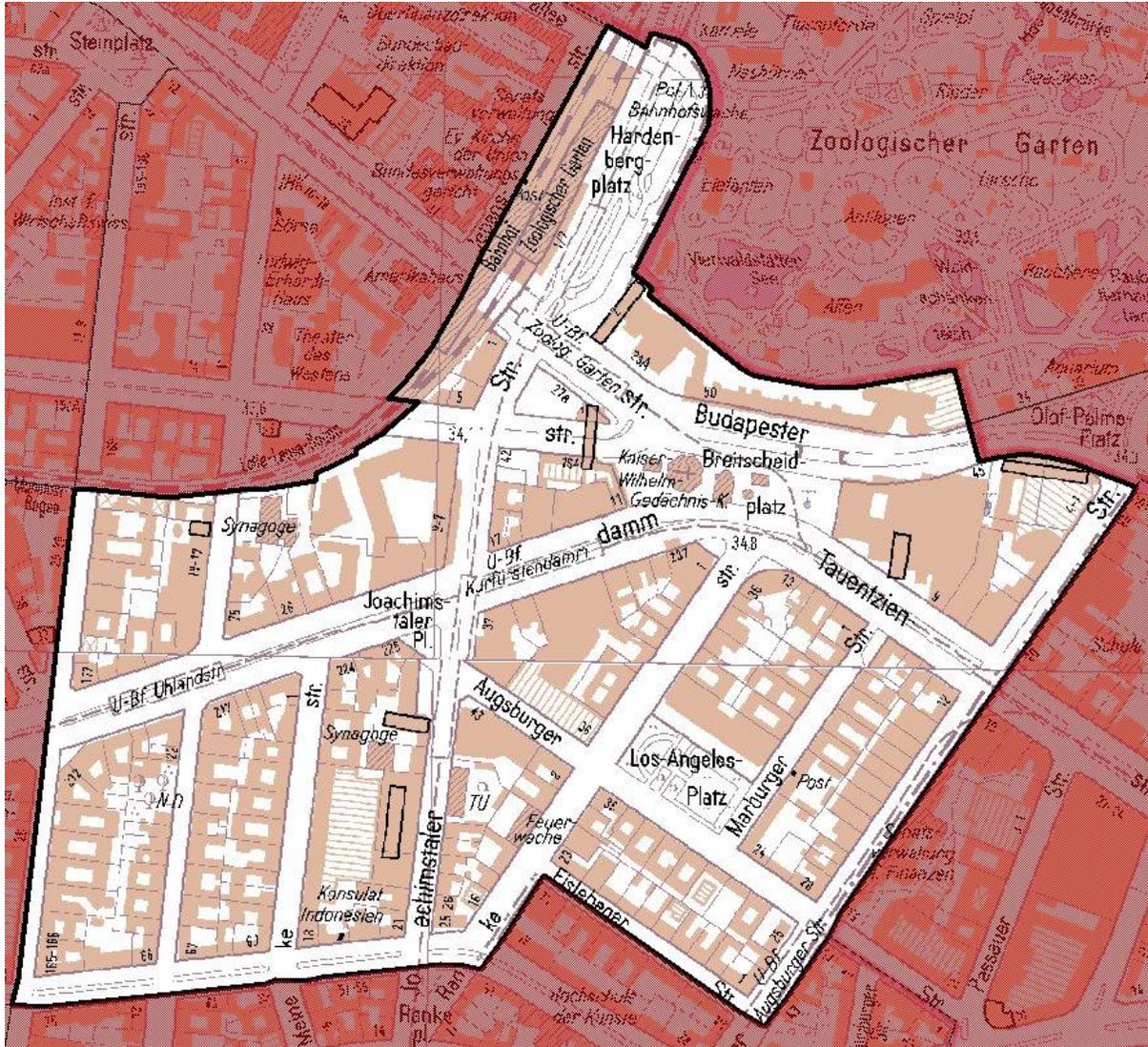
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **893** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Breitscheidplatz

Postleitzahl 10787

Bezirk Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf

Direktion 2



Straftaten insgesamt: **7 185** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

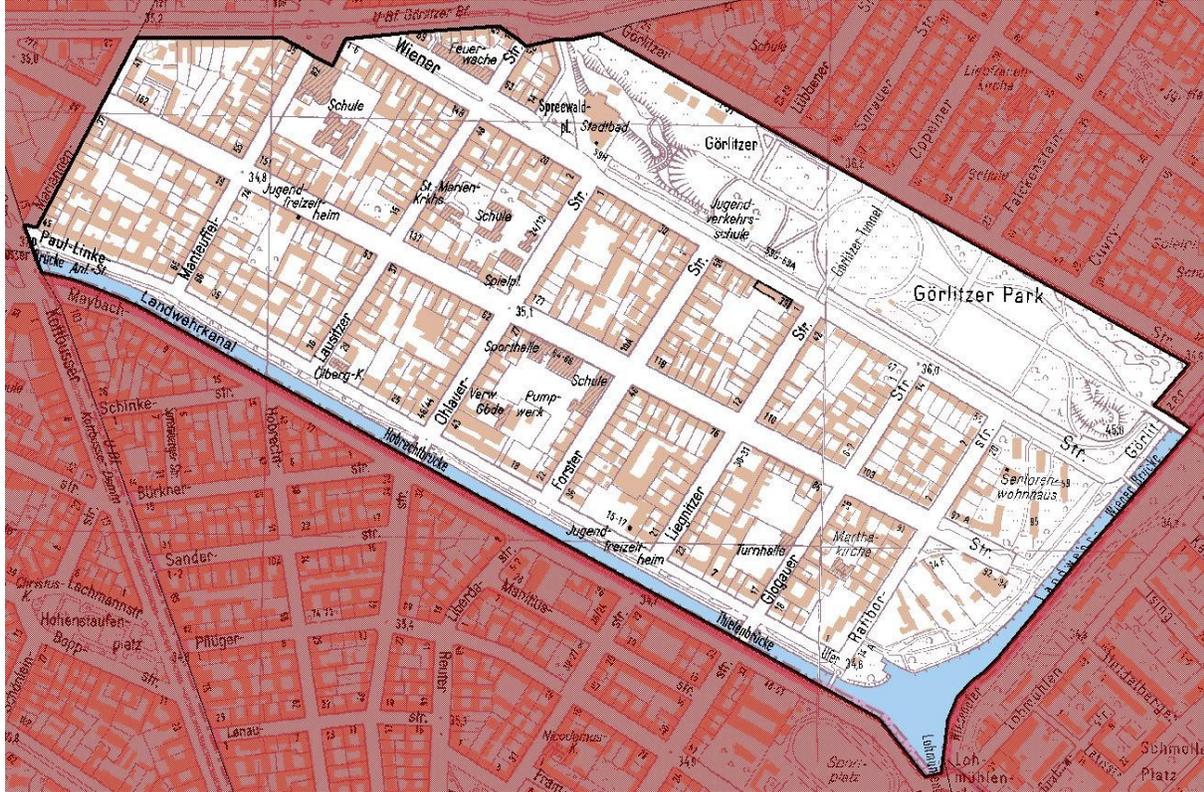
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **1 189** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Reichenberger Straße (Görlitzer Park)

Postleitzahl 10999

Bezirk Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg

Direktion 5



Straftaten insgesamt: **2 010** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

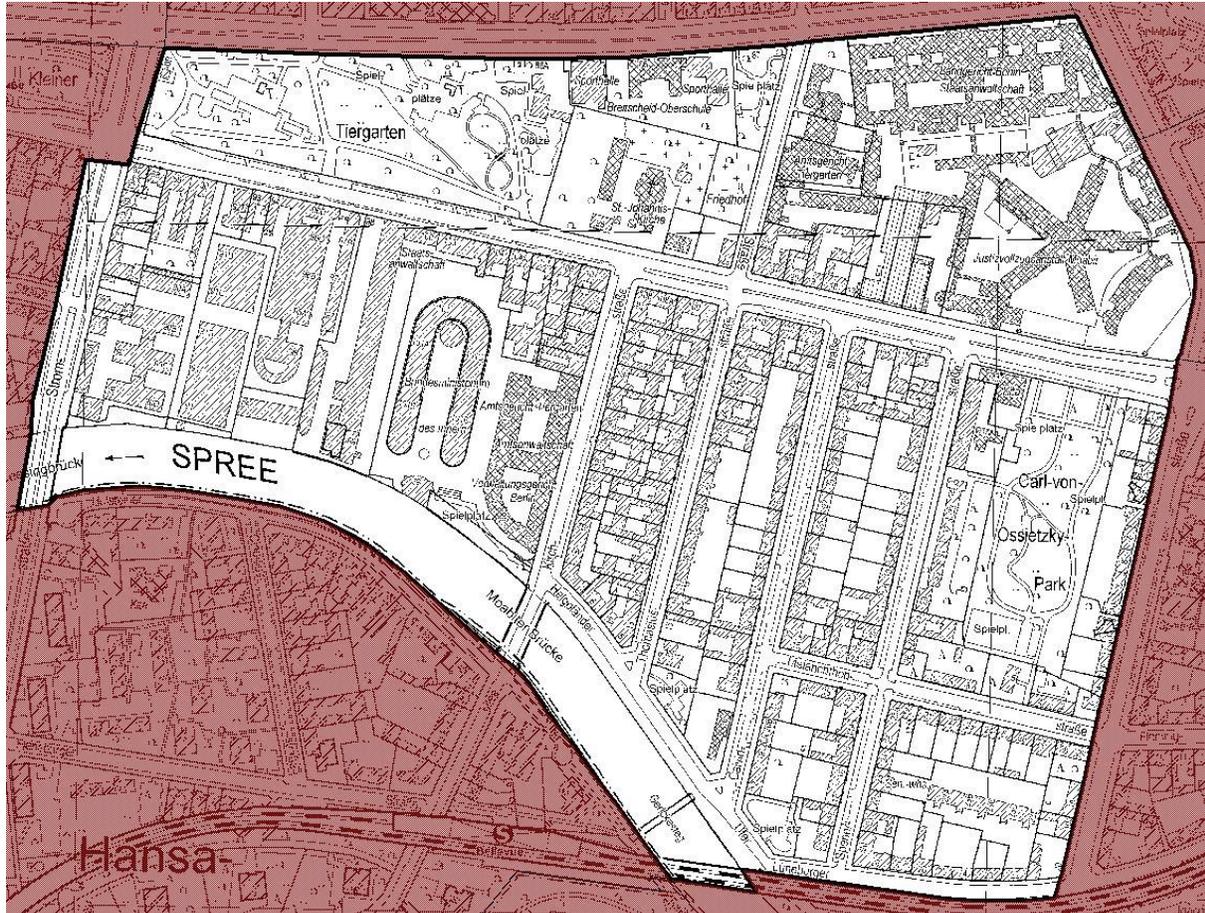
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **525** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*

Planungsraum Thomasiusstraße (Kleiner Tiergarten)

Postleitzahl 10557

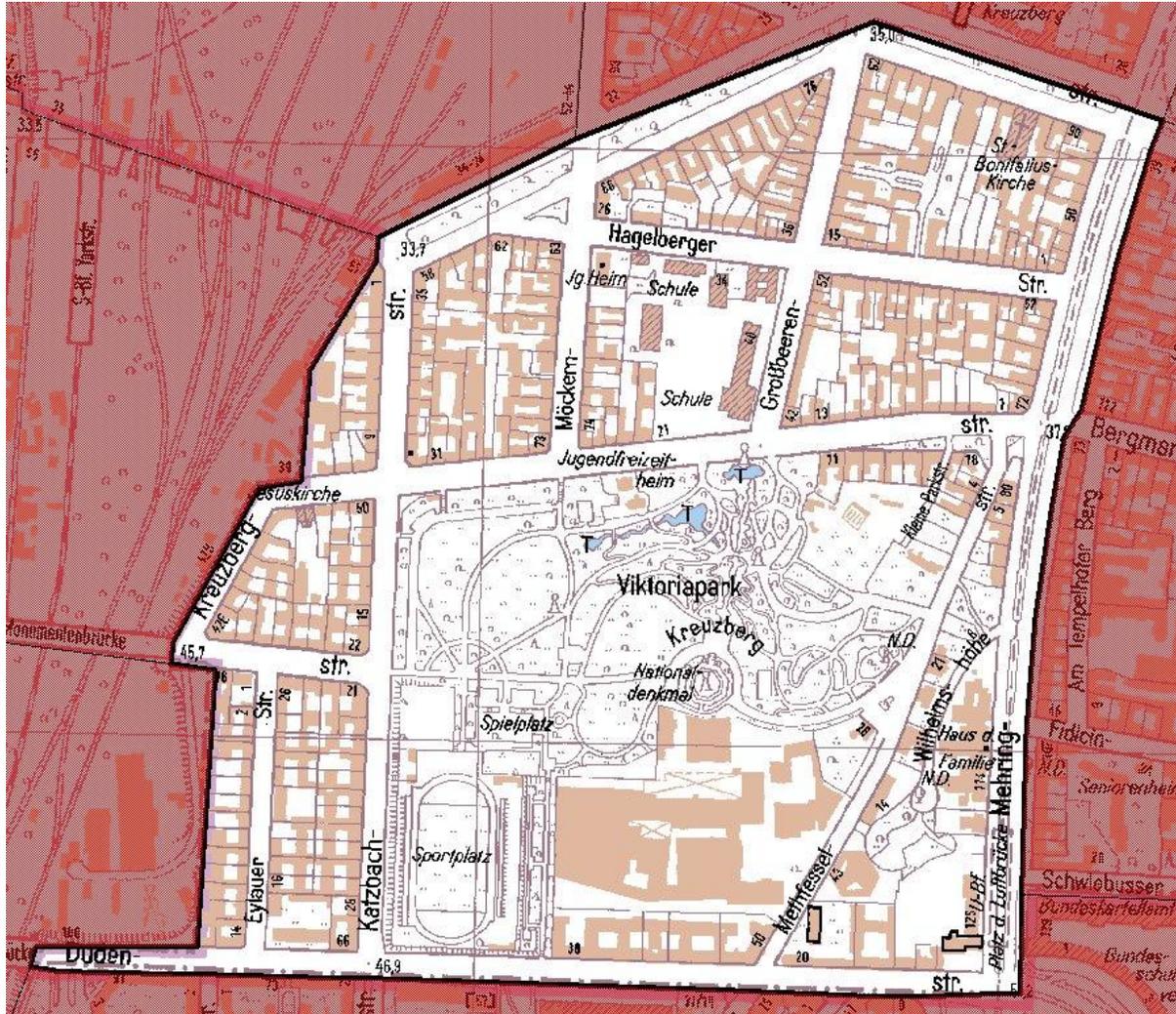
Bezirk Mitte

Direktion 3



Straftaten insgesamt: **1 148** (2009) *Translation: Total Offenses*

Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **219** (2009) *Translation: Neighborhood Crimes*



Straftaten insgesamt: **1 135** (2009) Translation: Total Offenses

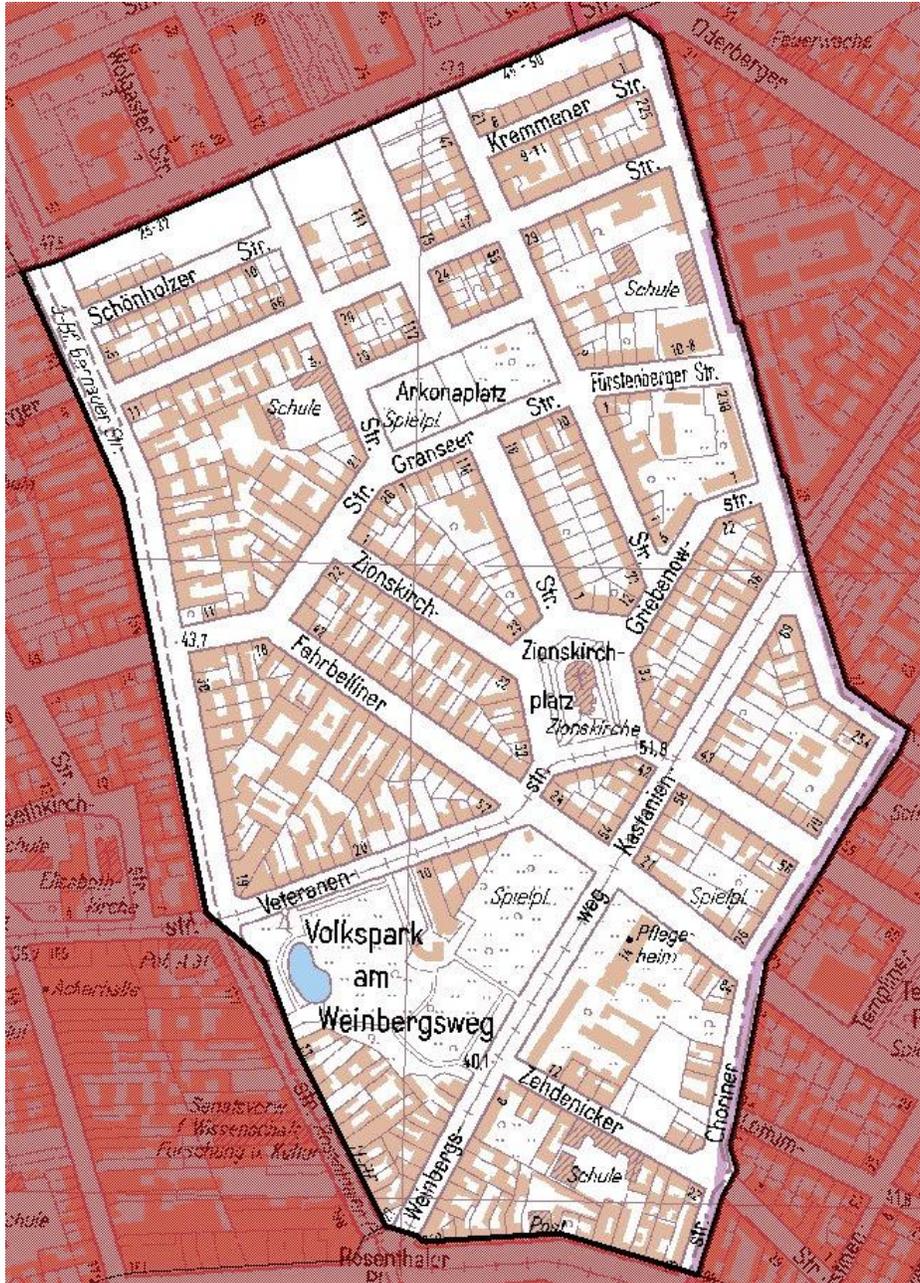
Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **279** (2009) Translation: Neighborhood Crimes

Planungsraum Arkonaplatz (Volkspark am Weinberg)

Postleitzahl 10119

Bezirk Mitte

Direktion 3



Straftaten insgesamt: **1 675 (2009)** Translation: Total Offenses

Kiezbezogenen Straftaten: **335 (2009)** Translation: Neighborhood Crimes

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

James Nevin Beeler, Jr. (Jim) was born in Tampa, Florida, becoming the 4th generation of his family to occupy a graceful home in Palma Ceia. Jim was awarded the rank of Eagle Scout. He attended both public and private schools before graduating from historic H.B. Plant High School. Upon entering the University of South Florida, Jim elected to pursue a degree in Business Administration. He later decided upon a degree in history, with extensive elective study of English Literature. He was inducted into Phi Alpha Theta, the history honor society.

In the following two decades, Jim served clients in the promotional products industry, and carved a niche in museum store product development. He served on numerous public boards as a lay member, including the Tampa Variance Review Board, Planning Commission Citizen's Advisory Committee and MPO CAC. Jim served as an elected official from 1993-1995 as a supervisor on the Hillsborough County Soil & Water Conservation District. He spent eighteen years as a volunteer on-air programmer at WMNF 88.5 FM Community Radio. He also served as President of Tampa Homeowner's, an Association of Neighborhoods (THAN).

In 1998, Tampa City Council appointed him Planning Commissioner, representing the City. The Hillsborough County City-County Planning Commission is an independent Local Planning Agency established by the Florida State Legislature. He also served as ex-officio representative on the MPO. In 2006, he resigned and moved to Gainesville to pursue a Master in Urban and Regional Planning. True to form, he served two years on the Gainesville Downtown Redevelopment Advisory Board, suggesting the redevelopment of Lynch Park as a downtown dog run and revitalized urban space.

Jim elected to complete his studio coursework in Brazil. He was also awarded the opportunity as a NEURUS Grant Fellow to collect this thesis data while affiliated with Humboldt University in Berlin, Germany. As a student, he was elected FAPA representative, ultimately shepherding 20 University of Florida Students to the 2010 National APA Conference in New Orleans, Louisiana.

As a student, Jim pursued independent study programs under the direction of Dr. Joseli Macedo. He worked with residents to design a revitalization vision plan for the City of Branford, FL. He later embarked on a much more ambitious 25-year revitalization vision and work plan for the City of Live Oak, FL. The Live Oak project was particularly gratifying since his family moved to Tampa from Live Oak in 1896. He still has family in Suwannee County. He was awarded the Florida Planning and Zoning Scholarship in 2010. His areas of concentration include urban design, local government, community redevelopment and CPTED. Jim actually enjoys attending public meetings.

Jim collects art, with better than 200 pieces in his collection, mostly from living Florida artists. He collects based on color, texture and narrative. Upon graduation, he expects to return to Tampa and pursue a career in planning.