Community Safety by Design

Preventing Violence through Land Use

Developed by Prevention Institute for The California Endowment

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Introduction

Violence is preventable. A growing evidence base, grounded in research and community practice, describes the factors that affect the likelihood of violence. Neighborhood characteristics such as high alcohol outlet density\(^1\) and community deterioration,\(^2\) for example, make violence more likely, while factors such as community connectedness\(^3\) and meaningful opportunities for civic and social participation\(^4\) reduce its likelihood. Many of these factors are shaped by how land is used, by whom and for what purposes. Therefore, land use planning, decisions and policies have the potential to promote community safety. Designing and using spaces with violence prevention in mind has immense potential, but decisions about land use rarely take into account violence prevention and community safety.

Land use decisions—who gets to control land and for what purposes—have sparked conflict throughout history. Many sectors make decisions about land use that affect community safety. For example:

- The **education** sector decides where to site schools and whether community members are allowed access campus facilities and land during non-school hours.
- **Parks and recreation** determines where to develop parks, what facilities to install, how they will be maintained, and what programs to provide.
- **Housing** authorities decide where to build housing, how it will be designed and landscaped, and whether or not it will be mixed-income so wealthy people and lower-income families may live as neighbors.
- **Transit** authorities decide where to run bus or rail lines, the frequency of service to particular neighborhoods, and the locations, look and feel of transit stops.
- **Businesses** decide where to set up shop, and what goods and services to provide to the neighborhood. They determine access to goods and services, upkeep of the storefront or office and the landscaping.
- **Property owners** make decisions about the design, maintenance, landscaping and occupancy of buildings and the surrounding land, including whether to abandon a structure or make improvements so it complies with building codes.
- **Architects** can influence the extent and quality of social interactions through their design of buildings and spaces.
- **Public works** maintains public lands and determines whether, where and how often teams clean up graffiti, blight and illegal dumping.
- **Planning and zoning** departments make decisions that affect alcohol density, housing density, and the mix of business and residential uses, and they also issue permits to allow specified uses.

Each of these choices can shape one or more factors that influence the likelihood of violence. Collectively, they shape the look, feel and perceived safety of a place, the opportunities available to residents, the number of people interacting as part of a community, and the community’s sense of pride and worth. One set of decisions can result
in a vibrant, inviting and positive place where residents and visitors feel safe walking around and where young people are engaged in community life. Other decisions might result instead in a community that is physically run-down, feels unwelcoming or unsafe, and where residents mistrust or fear one another. Which path a particular community takes is driven in part by resources, but is also the result of land use decisions that are made every day within existing resource constraints. Land use decisions that take into account community safety and violence prevention could transform communities across California and the nation, and create untold opportunities for residents to thrive and feel connected to each other.

Safety is critical for community well-being, yet land use decisions are rarely made with community safety and violence prevention in mind. For the most part, decision-makers are not aware of the links between their land use decisions and preventing violence. Connecting land use decisions more explicitly to community safety represents an untapped opportunity to advance community safety goals and support violence prevention efforts. Decisions about land use occur on a regular basis, and particularly in underserved and under-resourced communities, these decisions could be made for a different end. In these places, land use decisions too often limit access and opportunity instead of expanding them, criminalizing uses that might otherwise improve community well-being.

This paper looks at the relationship between land use and violence prevention, including the extent to which violence prevention is considered in land use planning. It analyzes the implications of the current state of practice and makes recommendations to advance an underutilized yet highly promising avenue for creating safer communities.
Methodology

The findings and recommendations presented in this paper are based largely on a scan of planning research and interviews with 23 practitioners and researchers. The search terms for the literature scan included variations on “violence prevention” or “community safety” in combination with related factors in the built environment such as housing, zoning, transportation, community development, land use, and impact fees. Several academic literature databases for city and regional planners were used, in addition to Google Scholar.

Prevention Institute interviewed 23 people who represent community groups or have expertise in various aspects of planning, public health and justice. During the hour-long interviews, Prevention Institute staff asked each person about the relationship between land use and preventing violence, the distinctions between violence and crime, and the extent to which various sectors pursue land use strategies to achieve their safety goals. Practitioners and researchers shared land use, zoning and transportation strategies they believed had potential to prevent violence, and they answered questions about gentrification and the importance of community involvement in land use decisions.

This publication also features photos and reflections by young people in East Oakland, Calif., on pages 8 through 10. Quotes from media stories on land use supplement the findings and recommendations. Most of these stories were published in April and June 2015 in *The Atlantic’s CityLab*, the Places Wire and in mainstream outlets such as *The New York Times*. Quotes from these sources are attributed to the media outlet rather than the writer, to better distinguish them from insights of practitioners and researchers interviewed by Prevention Institute staff.
PhotoVoice Project by Youth UpRising

These images and words are from young people who participated in a PhotoVoice project on land use and community safety, facilitated by Youth UpRising. People are strongly influenced by their environments, and these images illustrate how the characteristics of a specific neighborhood can affect young people.

We should have an area where people can express the way they feel, and not going around and making our community look ugly. People should care about where they live and where they are from. I care about my community, and I want people to know it can be a good environment.

– Marianna Martinez
“Out of Business Sale
Desks & Tools & File Cabinet”

Someone has lost their job. It’s a lack of financial support, and people in your community don’t help out each other. Every block I walk on someone is going out of business. — Zyanne Martin

The people in the photo is the strength. The people are caught in action. Looking at this photo makes me feel confident and motivated because I see myself in the position that can take me a long way. — Malachi Joyner

The strength in this picture exist because you can see the talent from a high school student that created an image from their soul to show the public. — Malachi Joyner

There once was a mural that represented Oakland. The oak tree and the knight, the Castlemont [High School] mascot, these two images are known in the community. Looking at this photo is disturbing, and it reflects my community as being dirty or grimy. As if people of Oakland don’t know how to treat their community or respect it.” — Chad Buckner
I wish more places were as calm as this photo. … It's a weakness because the dirtiness of the creek makes the whole community look dirty. It makes me feel like we as a people are destroying the world.
– Chad Buckner

What comes to mind when I look at this photo is junk food, stomach aches and diabetes. I feel like why is this here? I get tired of seeing corner stores and not grocery stores.
– Zyanne Martin
Findings

Land Use Affects Community Safety and Perceptions of Safety

1. Land use decisions affect key factors associated with violence.

Multiple factors interact to make violence more or less likely, and land use decisions shape how these factors manifest. Research has identified specific aspects of the environment that affect violence and safety, called risk and resilience factors. Risk factors are conditions or characteristics of individuals, relationships, communities and society that increase the likelihood that violence will occur. Resilience factors decrease that likelihood and counteract risk factors. Land use decisions can affect the likelihood of violence by influencing the risk and resilience factors presented in Table 1.

For example, alcohol is involved in two-thirds of all homicides, and having many bars and liquor stores in a small area is a risk factor for violence. High alcohol outlet density is more common in low-income areas and communities of color, and it can be addressed through land use decisions by cities and business owners. “Land use affects what type of economic development gets accomplished in different places,” said Marty Neideffer of the Alameda County Sheriff’s Office. For example, cities can rezone areas to encourage other types of businesses in a neighborhood. They may also make permits for alcohol sales conditional and pass laws for businesses to stop selling alcohol after, say, 11 p.m. Liquor store owners can decide to change the mix of goods they sell or transition to a different business model that may be more competitive, such as a grocery.

This is just one example of how land use decisions can make communities safer. Improved safety, in turn, often makes it easier for various sectors to fulfill their mandates. By thinking through how their land use decisions affect the risk and resilience factors for violence, various sectors can contribute to community safety in ways that also help achieve their goals.
Table 1. Risk and Resilience Factors for Violence Related to Land Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resilience Factors</th>
<th>Risk Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Employment and economic opportunities</td>
<td>• Societal inequities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example: Zoning regulations determine what types of businesses can open in which</td>
<td>Example: Land use decisions have historically separated groups by class and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locations, and where jobs are located relative to where people live.</td>
<td>race and created areas of concentrated disadvantage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Community support and connectedness</td>
<td>• Neighborhood poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example: Landscaping decisions around community centers can make public gathering</td>
<td>Example: Exclusionary zoning policies contribute to neighborhood poverty by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spaces feel more welcoming.</td>
<td>reducing affordable housing options.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Strong social networks</td>
<td>• Diminished economic opportunities; high unemployment rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example: Parks and recreation facilities designed to be family-friendly and to</td>
<td>Example: Investments in areas affected by violence can stimulate economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accommodate team or group sports can support social networks.</td>
<td>development and promote local entrepreneurship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Coordination of resources and services among community agencies</td>
<td>• High alcohol outlet density</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example: Land use decisions can facilitate space-sharing or co-locating staff by</td>
<td>Example: Changes in zoning would discourage liquor stores and bars from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>various agencies</td>
<td>opening in an area with high alcohol outlet density and encourage other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Collective efficacy; willingness to act for the common good</td>
<td>types of businesses in a neighborhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example: Public art that affirms a community’s cultural heritage and reinforces</td>
<td>• Poor neighborhood support and lack of cohesion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a shared, positive identity can promote collective action and resident mobilization</td>
<td>Example: Constructing parklets and public seating outside local businesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to address local problems.</td>
<td>encourages positive interactions among local people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Community design that promotes safety</td>
<td>• Community deterioration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example: Land use decisions around building maintenance and landscaping can affect</td>
<td>Example: Investments in public infrastructure would improve the condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feelings of safety.</td>
<td>of public facilities, sidewalks and parks, increasing usage and their appeal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Quality schools</td>
<td>• Residential segregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example: Zoning regulations determine where schools are relative to where families</td>
<td>Example: Land use decisions that support reliable, efficient and affordable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live, and the schools themselves determine whether residents may use fields and</td>
<td>public transportation create greater access to other neighborhoods and people,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>classrooms during after-school hours.</td>
<td>helping bridge class and racial divisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Opportunities for artistic and cultural expression and for meaningful</td>
<td>• Incarceration and re-entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation</td>
<td>Example: Land use decisions can diminish the likelihood of successful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example: Land use decisions affect whether these opportunities are accessible by</td>
<td>re-entry, by prohibiting people with criminal records from living in certain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all youth, since parks, public spaces and community centers can look and feel</td>
<td>places or spending time in proximity to parks and schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>markedly different depending on the maintenance schedule, lighting, design, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the quality and types of recreation programs offered after-school and on weekends.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Physical appearance and perceptions of physical space matter, and land use decisions affect violence and feelings of safety.

The physical appearance and design of spaces have tangible effects on how people feel about the places they spend time. One young person at Youth UpRising said, “They redid these three apartment buildings in West Oakland where my aunt lives. They repainted, fixed those buildings, and now that neighborhood is not as ratchet as it used to be.” When spaces are intentionally designed for people to connect in positive ways and engage in positive alternatives to violence, they can improve perceptions of community safety.

Some characteristics of the physical environment make people feel unsafe. In general, dark, desolate places that lack open sightlines are associated with greater levels of fear. Bars on school windows and the presence of metal detectors make students feel unsafe. In Los Angeles, violent crime was strongly associated with the presence of alleys and certain types of businesses, such as check-cashing outlets, near bus stops. Practitioners also said that graffiti, empty beer bottles and cigarette litter are signs of neglect that can make residents feel unsafe and less likely to use parks and other public spaces. Emerging research suggests that improving physical spaces can increase feelings of safety and reduce violence. For example:

- Blight, neglected properties and other signs of community deterioration make violence more likely. However, “When abandoned buildings in urban environments are remediated, there’s a clear relationship with reductions in violence,” said Charles Branas of the University of Pennsylvania.
- Proximity to nature and green spaces may reduce violence. Apartment buildings in Chicago with trees and grass outside had 44 percent fewer violent crimes than buildings without any landscaping, and greening vacant lots in Philadelphia was associated with a reduction in gun assaults.
- Places can also be designed to enhance resilience factors such as collective efficacy and community connectedness. As Deanna Van Buren of the design studio FOURM said, “If we want to prioritize community engagement, or if we want restorative systems instead of punitive ones, we need the spaces and settings to match. This calls for a totally different infrastructure, look and function than what we have now.”

*The word *ratchet* has now become a worthy rival to the word ‘ghetto.’ It is most typically used to describe outrageously uncivilized behaviors and music,* according to The Root.
3. Historical policies, practices and decisions around land use resulted in residential segregation by race and income, and created areas of concentrated disadvantage where conditions increase the likelihood of violence.

Land use decisions have historically done great harm to communities of color and low-income groups, and the consequences of those decisions persist to this day. Certain areas of concentrated disadvantage are burdened by an overwhelming number of risk factors without resilience factors to offset them. Communities of color and low-income groups are thus made more vulnerable to violence by design. Present-day land use decisions that take into account this history and context can begin to reverse these detrimental outcomes.

The circumstances today are the result of fundamentally unjust land use practices that effectively barred people of color from being able to live, work or spend time in certain neighborhoods. Redlining systematically denied loans, insurance and jobs to certain racial groups, for example. Exclusionary zoning meant affordable multi-family housing was not readily available within city limits, which limited opportunities for low-income households and reinforced racial and social segregation. \(^\text{15}\) When constructing the interstate highway system in the 1960s, planners used federal transportation funds to build expressways that cut through black and low-income neighborhoods, thus eliminating affordable housing and fracturing established communities. \(^\text{16}\)

These policies and many others created areas of concentrated disadvantage where residents did not benefit from the same public or private investments, infrastructure maintenance and other quality-of-life improvements as people living elsewhere. These are the same neighborhoods today without adequate resilience factors to buffer against all the conditions that make violence more likely—neighborhood poverty, a failing school system, diminished economic opportunities, high unemployment rates, high alcohol outlet density and community deterioration.

Too frequently, land use decisions do not adequately serve low-income groups and communities of color. “It’s ridiculous,” said Arturo Ybarra of the Watts/Century Latino Organization. “The community is 75 percent Latino, and no Latinos are part of the decision-making. We are not involved in the process.” Land use decisions by various sectors continue to contribute to lasting inequities where “certain communities are not thought of as places that need to be protected or

“Certain communities are not thought of as places that need to be protected or deserve safe design.”

——Lenore Anderson, Californians for Safety and Justice
deserve safe design,” said Lenore Anderson of Californians for Safety and Justice. “Part of the challenge is that government is more responsive to wealthy communities,” she said. Present-day land use decisions have the potential to undo some of these harmful effects. If land use decisions were made to strengthen resilience factors and dampen the risk factors for violence, marginalized communities across California and the nation could be safer.

4. Most decisions about land use are not made with attention to promoting community safety or preventing violence.

People who make decisions about land use tend to be unaware of the abundant links among land use, feelings of safety and factors associated with violence. Michael Schwartz of the San Francisco County Transportation Authority identified a key challenge of preventing violence “where responsibility is splintered across different people. No one has sole responsibility, so you don’t see it as ‘This is the piece I can and should do.’” Because the contributions of each sector are not obvious or part of its mandate, violence is seldom a priority issue for many sectors and decision-makers.

While land use is a powerful mechanism for preventing violence, the effects of land use decisions on safety are typically overlooked and not documented. For example, a reliable, affordable and well-designed public transportation system expands opportunities and creates easy access to jobs, school, meaningful activities, and needed goods and services—all which can reduce the likelihood of violence. Yet transportation planners seldom consider improved community safety as part of the rationale for their projects and recommendations.

Deliberate, purposeful decisions by various sectors could transform the communities most affected by violence. Land use decisions expressly made to boost community safety are more likely to have that desired effect. The intention behind people’s decisions matters; if community safety were consciously understood as an important benefit and pursued as a desired outcome, land use decisions could maximize outcomes across sectors and also reinforce efforts to prevent violence.
Crime and Violence are Conflated Despite the Distinctions between Them

5. Researchers and practitioners tend to focus on reducing crime rather than preventing violence.

The planning literature has established the links between crime and land use, zoning and transportation, but relatively little has been written about connections between violence or violence prevention and land use. Articles reviewed in the literature scan exclusively studied types of crime—property crime, vandalism and motor vehicle theft, for example—without a focus on specific forms of violence. In articles that do address violence, the researchers examine violent crime statistics such as robbery, assault, homicide and rape. The literature does not focus on violence and its associated factors or on community safety more broadly. Similarly, interviews with practitioners about violence and preventing violence quickly defaulted to crime. Practitioners who represent planning, justice or public health sectors or who work in communities seldom spoke of preventing violence or about factors that affect the likelihood of violence.

This pattern suggests that violence could be defined more clearly so researchers can properly evaluate the effect of land use strategies, and so practitioners appreciate the relationships between community safety and their mandates. Building understanding across sectors on the distinctions between violence and crime would help people articulate how preventing violence aligns with their interests and advances their goals.

Although crime and violence are related, there are also important distinctions between the two. Crime is a legal construct, defined as those forbidden actions deemed punishable by the state. The World Health Organization defines violence as the intentional use of physical force or power—threatened or actual—that is likely to result in injury, death, maldevelopment, deprivation or psychological harm to oneself, another person, or a group
or community. Violence manifests in various forms, such as gang violence, child maltreatment, intimate partner violence and suicide.

Some crimes, such as murder, rape and assault, are violent, but many others are not. Plenty of violent behaviors are not described in the law and thus do not qualify as crimes, even though they may seriously harm people, families, communities and society. Figure 1 presents some examples of crimes that do not involve violence, and some examples of violence that are not considered crimes.

Figure 1. Distinctions between Crime and Violence

Crime
--Property crimes, such as burglary, theft, embezzlement, arson, vandalism and receipt of stolen goods
--Fraud, identity theft, market manipulation and tax crimes
--Drug and alcohol-related crimes, such as possession of cocaine
--Bribery and illegal gambling

Violence
--Humiliating situations and hurtful language that make others feel worthless
--Threats and intimidation that cause fear
--Institutional arrangements and practices that create inequities and block certain groups of people from meeting basic needs
--State-sanctioned violence such as war
--Slaps or strikes to discipline children
6. Too often, decisions about land use classify some behaviors as crimes when they could expand access and opportunities instead.

PlACES ARE NOT TYPICALLY DESIGNED BY OR FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS, ESPECIALLY IN AREAS WITH HIGH RATES OF VIOLENCE. DECISIONS ABOUT LAND USE NEED TO SERVE THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE, WORK AND GO TO SCHOOL IN COMMUNITIES, OR THEY RISK CRIMINALIZING EVERYDAY ACTIONS BY PEOPLE WHO MAKE USE OF NEIGHBORHOOD SPACES.

Many land use decisions are made without community input. Julian Agyeman of Tufts University told CityLab, “If the [planning] profession is non-representative of the communities they are designing in, then you will get codes and guidelines that do not serve the best interests of that community.” As a result, the design of spaces does not match with the ways people actually use the spaces. This kind of out-of-sync design can make people feel unwelcome and needlessly criminalize community members.

For example, a public school in a neighborhood without a local park or other safe places to play may put up a fence, install security cameras and close campus during non-school hours. As a result, young people who hop the fence to play soccer on the weekend could be arrested for trespassing. The school’s decision sets the terms and conditions for use; these choices can either jeopardize their students’ life chances as in this case, or they can increase access to land and opportunities. Instead of locking the fences after school, the school could develop a joint use agreement for community members and local groups to use the facilities in the evening and on weekends. This would increase safe places to play, promote community health and wellness, and build positive ties among neighbors and local institutions.

Cities can benefit in many ways when sectors make land use decisions with the end users in mind. Ideally, the design of public places would affirm local culture and history and align with how the community wants to use that space. This should reduce arrests and citations for minor violations, increase civic engagement, promote a sense of ownership for public spaces and enhance community trust in local government. As Branas of the University of Pennsylvania observed, “changing land use might affect collective efficacy, how much people trust one another and how organized the neighborhood is”—all factors which protect against violence.

“If the [planning] profession is non-representative of the communities they are designing in, then you will get codes and guidelines that do not serve the best interests of that community.”

—Julian Agyeman, Tufts University, to CityLab
7. It is necessary for practitioners and researchers to distinguish between crime and violence and to ensure their focus also includes violence prevention.

Security and law enforcement strategies such as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED, more on this on page 21, “Findings Specific to the Planning Field”) have highlighted the important link between crime and the physical spaces people create for human activities, often called the built environment. This development paved the way for an exploration of how the built environment has a role in violence prevention.

It’s important to distinguish between crime and violence because the way the problem is defined affects people’s thinking about potential solutions. When crime is the problem, the default solutions tend to be enforcement, suppression and detention, rather than prevention. “When you ask how to make a place safer, people say more police; they’re not thinking about how the environment in the neighborhood might be enhanced,” Branas said. This approach also implies that the justice sector—policing, courts and detention, re-entry and supervision—is the primary stakeholder. “The police department is used to action—having a problem, fixing it and moving on. Violence reduction requires new avenues of participation with other partners,” said Sherry Plaster Carter, a planner and CPTED specialist.

When the problem is redefined as violence, the solutions expand to include other sectors and strategies that address the underlying contributors to violence. This approach can have enormous impact by preventing the problem before it occurs, yet prevention strategies are often overlooked or misunderstood. Shaping risk and resilience factors through land use decisions (see Table 1) can prevent violence in the first place, and it also allows police officers and the courts to focus limited resources on the most urgent, dangerous and persistent problems.

“The idea is to create land use that reduces opportunities for negative things to occur, increases opportunities for positive things to occur—social capital, busy streets with businesses and vitality, employment and economic development,” said Marc Zimmerman of the University of Michigan. “All these positive things replace the negative things that can happen in neighborhoods.” This prevention-focused approach cues land use decisions that engage and empower communities, and foster social connectedness and belonging. Figure 2 compares the types of strategies implicit in a crime prevention approach and a
violence prevention approach, including those that address both crime and violence. “Fighting crime is different than building safe communities,” said Anderson of Californians for Safety and Justice. “There isn’t one government actor with the mandate to prevent violence. Building safe communities is everyone’s responsibility, and it’s measured differently than reducing crime.”

Figure 2. A Comparison of Crime Prevention and Violence Prevention Approaches

Distinguishing between crime and violence makes possible a thorough exploration of how land use decisions can make communities safer. However, the difference between focusing on crime prevention versus violence prevention is not self-evident. Practitioners and researchers require help reframing this issue, and the potential for creating safe communities through land use will need to be explained to decision-makers. As Carter said, “Everything that deals with violence and crime is seen as a law enforcement issue, so this is a tough sell.” Still, it’s essential that other sectors understand violence as their issue too and see themselves as part of the solution. Only then will they start to consider community safety when making land use decisions.
Findings Specific to the Planning Field

Two related concepts dominate the planning field as it relates to crime prevention—the Broken Windows Theory and Eyes on the Street. Most of the planning literature on community safety draws upon one or both of these concepts:

- The Broken Windows Theory\(^{20}\) “says that it’s important that local people and organizations pay attention to places, maintain and take care of places,” Robert Ogilvie of SPUR Oakland said. It suggests that minor signs of neighborhood deterioration can increase crime. Broken windows, litter, graffiti and abandoned cars, for example, signal that no one cares about what happens to a space. This invites further destruction and criminal behavior, which accelerates the neighborhood’s decline.

- Eyes on the Street suggests that increasing the number of people using public spaces makes an area is safer because more people can look out for suspicious behavior and enforce social norms that discourage crime.\(^{21}\) With many people on the street as possible witnesses, it’s more difficult to commit crimes with impunity.

Many planning strategies address Broken Windows and Eyes on the Street at once. Community ambassadors employed by business improvement districts are responsible for walking the neighborhood and also keeping spaces clean and attractive, for example. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, or CPTED, is a popular strategy in the planning field. The CPTED principle of territorial reinforcement aligns with Broken Windows, and the principle of natural surveillance aligns with Eyes on the Street. Applying CPTED principles can increase visibility by improving lighting or pruning hedges, for example, or by designing streets to encourage walking and biking.

Most land use and transportation planners and architects do not fully understand their roles in preventing violence. Even though planners are concerned about community safety, as a group they do not tend to see preventing violence as their responsibility, nor do they see a role for themselves in this work aside from CPTED. The planning field largely understands violence as the result of conditions outside its purview, such as poverty and poor education systems, so violence is not seen by planners as an issue they are able to address. “Planners want to maximize use, for people to be able to get home safely or get to the grocery store, but the generic planning department doesn’t talk about preventing violence. They don’t know where it fits in,” said Beth Altshuler of Raimi + Associates, an urban planning and public health firm.

(continued on page 22)
Findings Specific to the Planning Field

Land use as a means to prevent violence is understudied and underdeveloped in the planning world. Injecting violence prevention considerations into land use and planning has enormous potential. Even though not all practitioners connect land use decisions with the potential to prevent violence, this is clearly an emerging topic. Conversations about the role of planners in community safety are growing more common, just as planners a decade ago began talking about their contributions to community health. According to David Garcia of real estate developer Ten Space, “Planning is not just where the roads go and where the houses go; it affects everything. These decisions you make cut across different fields. A lot of planners get that now.”
A Greater Focus on Safety in Land Use Decisions has Immense Promise

8. A focus on community safety instead of crime prevention could help address issues that often accompany neighborhood improvements, such as gentrification and the displacement of violence from one place to other areas.

Gentrification
The dictionary definition of “gentrification” is to improve a place so it conforms to middle-class taste. Many people, however, associate this term with the improvement of historically low-income neighborhoods of color and the subsequent displacement of long-time residents who can no longer afford to live there. “Low-income people and people of moderate means deserve nice places just like anyone else, but we haven’t built enough housing. The people who bear the consequences of that are in lower-income neighborhoods,” Ogilvie of SPUR Oakland said.

When a place affected by violence becomes safer, increased rents and housing costs may follow, forcing low-income residents to leave. This is especially true in dense urban areas where land is at a premium due to limited housing supply and constraints on new construction. Long-time residents aren’t always able to afford to stay even though they appreciate neighborhood improvements, such as better grocery stores, new retail, building renovations and more. “Most residents are very pleased with place-making and relieved to have these improvements to their neighborhoods,” Branas said.

The paradox of gentrification looms large for practitioners because they care deeply about improving community safety but don’t want to push long-term residents out. A violence prevention approach may help since a core method of preventing violence is engaging community members as partners in solving local problems, and these solutions may include making land use decisions. The displacement of long-time residents “is not an issue if meaningful community engagement happens up front and residents are part of the final key decisions and solutions,” said Claudia Corchado of United Way Merced. As Branas said, improving neighborhoods “is a good thing as long as we’re thoughtful about how we do that and integrate local people into the process with local connections, history and strong sense of that place. Cities can take steps to make sure policies support long-standing residents so their families can stay for generations.”

“Gentrification is not an issue if meaningful community engagement happens up front and residents are part of the final key decisions and solutions.”

—Claudia Corchado, United Way Merced
Displacement of Violence
Many practitioners said that improving one area does not necessarily make things worse in a neighboring area. No matter the specific circumstances, cities can minimize negative spillover effects through a focus on community safety. When the shared vision is community safety, sectors can make land use decisions that address the underlying risk and resilience factors for violence (see Table 1). By resolving the underlying contributors to the problem, this approach can reduce violence rather than displace it to other places.

Costa Constantinides
9. There is growing interest in the intersection of place and safety, and integrating a violence prevention lens into land use decisions represents a tremendous and largely overlooked opportunity to improve community safety.

This paper provides an overview of the links between land use and community safety, and it establishes that land use affects the risk and resilience factors for violence. Taking into account how land use decisions affect community safety has myriad benefits. It can increase perceptions of safety, promote equity and engage communities in decision-making.

“Geography drives everything,” said Lisa Belsky, a consultant on community development and law enforcement. “Spending a dollar to improve the environment is a dollar invested in public safety. There is plenty of evidence of this and a growing number of believers.”

People are starting to appreciate how land use decisions can discourage violence or make it more likely, and more attention is being paid to this relationship. “There is a big appetite for this stuff,” said Altshuler of Raimi + Associates. The 2015 national conference of the American Planning Association featured a session called “Criminal Justice and the Planner’s Role,” and its California chapter’s 2015 conference in Oakland includes a similar panel. The African American Student Union at Harvard University’s Graduate Student of Design hosted an urban design conference with a social justice focus in April 2015, to discuss race and justice as they intersect with fields such as architecture, design and urban planning. This idea is sparking interest across many other sectors as well, such as in law enforcement, education and public health.

As Marc Zimmerman of the University of Michigan said, “This is an untapped area, but people are talking about how these things are all related.” Though the intersection between land use and community safety is still an emerging topic, there is keen interest in this subfield and in multi-sector dialogue as a mechanism to develop it further. “This field is ripe for exploration. Figuring out how to leverage each other’s work is important,” said Schwartz of the San Francisco County Transportation Authority.
Recommendations

The intersection between land use and preventing violence is an important emerging area for practice and policy. It has immense potential for transforming communities into thriving places; practitioners are hungry for guidance and opportunities to think more deeply about these connections. This is an opportune time to articulate the relationship between land use and community safety, capitalize on the growing momentum across sectors, advance a policy agenda, and build capacity among practitioners to make land use decisions that help prevent violence. Recommendations to accomplish these outcomes are organized using the Spectrum of Prevention.

The Spectrum of Prevention is a signature Prevention Institute tool for developing comprehensive community health strategies. When applied to prevent violence, the mutually-reinforcing strategies at all six levels engage multiple sectors in community safety, yield an even greater effect than if pursued separately, and have the potential to shift norms around land use and community safety.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spectrum of Prevention Level</th>
<th>Recommendations for Preventing Violence through Land Use</th>
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| **Influencing Policy and Legislation**  
Developing strategies to change laws and policies to influence outcomes | 1. Establish mandates to include end users in planning and land use decisions and to account for community context. |
| **Changing Organizational Practices**  
Adopting regulations and shaping norms to improve health and safety | 2. Institute government practices that promote greater engagement with communities affected by land use decisions. |
| **Fostering Coalitions and Networks**  
Convening groups and individuals for broader goals and greater impact | 3. Promote collaboration among local government agencies so multiple sectors can make coordinated land use decisions that advance community safety.  
4. Develop tools and deliver technical assistance to local governments, multi-sector partnerships and coalitions, to make land use decisions that promote community safety. |
| **Educating Providers**  
Informing providers who will transmit skills and knowledge to others | 5. Train violence prevention practitioners, advocates and coalitions to elevate the connections between land use and community safety.  
6. Train practitioners across sectors to apply a violence prevention approach to land use decisions and to consider the equity implications of those choices. |
| **Promoting Community Education**  
Reaching groups of people with information and resources to promote health and safety | 7. Create and disseminate fact sheets and other publications on the links between land use and community safety.  
8. Use mass communications to influence public discussion and build widespread understanding of this intersection. |
| **Strengthening Individual Knowledge and Skills**  
Enhancing an individual’s capability to prevent injury or illness and promote safety | 9. Build community capacity in neighborhoods affected by violence to mobilize around community safety and advocate for land use strategies. |
Influencing Policy and Legislation & Changing Organizational Practices

Land uses are codified in policies, practices and procedures. Speaking on how improving community conditions can prevent violence, Neideffer of the Alameda County Sheriff’s Office said, “If high-level people were required to know this stuff and then began to inform policies, that might be a place to start.” When strengthened by policies and practices, violence prevention strategies become more effective and sustainable.

1. Establish mandates to include end users in planning and land use decisions and to account for community context.

Even though community engagement mandates exist in some cities and counties, common methods present challenges for resident participation. There are other costs when land use decisions do not reflect the history and context of a community. For example, “When community is not at the decision-making table or in budget meetings, there is an equity issue and you perpetuate power hierarchies,” said Juan Gomez of MILPA.

When the community is engaged as an equal partner in the planning process, it increases the likelihood that public spaces will be designed for end users. This can increase access to land and maximize its intended use in ways that contribute to community safety. Establishing mandates to include a diverse array of end users in the planning, design and implementation of land use decisions can create neighborhoods that increase opportunities for community members, instead of punishing them for particular uses.

2. Institute government practices that promote greater engagement with communities affected by land use decisions.

Local governments can exercise greater leadership to partner with communities and make land use decisions that promote community safety. As The Greenlining Institute wrote, “Deciding whether a small business or family gets to stay in their community shouldn’t come down to closed-door conversations. Rather, it should be a public and participatory process where residents’ voices are included in the decision-making.” Organizational practices that would increase community engagement include:

- Describe meaningful community engagement as an essential responsibility in job descriptions and allocate the needed staff time and resources to perform this function properly. “Community engagement doesn’t happen at your desk,” said Sara Brissenden-Smith of Habitat for Humanity Greater San Francisco. Prioritize the hiring of local people who know the community and its history, and adopt hiring practices that expand opportunities such as “Ban the Box.” (“Ban the Box” policies remove questions about criminal history from job application forms, so qualified candidates with a criminal record are more likely to be considered for employment.)
• Increase staff capacity to engage residents as equals and with humility, for robust public engagement in land use planning, policy-making and implementation. Support public employees so they’re able to build trust over time, ensure a fair process in which people feel heard, and minimize counterproductive power dynamics between groups of residents and between community and government representatives.

• Empower communities to hold government accountable. Establish community oversight boards, for example. Subsidize community involvement and make it easy for residents to participate in the decision-making process by providing food, childcare, language interpretation, stipends and transportation vouchers, and by renting space at established neighborhood hubs.

• Examine the appointment process of local officials, and create processes and incentives so commissions and boards truly represent the diversity of the city, whether based on ethnicity, race, gender, immigration status, sexual orientation, or other pertinent criteria.

• Partner as equals with community leaders and grassroots groups. The community already trusts certain people and organizations; provide those groups and individuals with the opportunities and funding to train residents and gather community input, and with access to government agencies to weigh in on decisions.

• Create structures that support follow-through and government accountability. Reconfigure systems and processes so it’s easier for government to respond quickly to community input and make community-driven decisions. Alter design review guidelines to expand what community members can testify to at public meetings, for example, and establish mechanisms to capture input that may fall outside of the designated topic. Streamline zoning processes to recreate places according to the community’s vision for the neighborhood, and fast-track the approvals process for youth centers or certain businesses in areas with high unemployment.

• Coordinate community engagement with other government agencies. Instead of multiple agencies separately asking a community for input on multiple projects, be considerate of people’s time. Design community engagement so it accomplishes multiple aims across local government.

• Give residents in places affected by violence the resources to initiate positive changes in their communities. Accelerate land use innovations and demonstration projects in low-income communities, and invest public dollars in land use policies and projects in high-need communities first, for example.
Fostering Coalitions and Networks

“Systems leaders in education, public health, housing and criminal justice are often working in isolation,” said Van Buren of the design studio FOURM. “These sectors are interconnected but we need government processes and systems to provide space for collaboration and embed collaborative thinking as a cultural practice.” Tools, technical assistance and changes to organizational practices will help practitioners adopt a violence prevention approach, engage new partners in land use decisions, and lay the foundation for joint strategies that promote community safety.

3. Promote collaboration among local government agencies so multiple sectors can make coordinated land use decisions that advance community safety.

Land use decisions shape all of the risk and resilience factors associated with community safety, so effective solutions require the involvement of many sectors working well together. “The reality is that none of us can get it done alone,” said Brissenden-Smith of Habitat for Humanity Greater San Francisco. On top of that, “Collaboration pays off and makes it easier to do your job. The transformative power of working together is extraordinary,” said Belsky, a consultant on community development and law enforcement.

The mandate to work with other sectors and create public spaces at the direction of the community could be a game-changer. By shaping the process by which things get done, policies and practices can help break down silos among sectors, promote greater coordination, and hold groups accountable for achieving community safety outcomes. Organizational practices to promote collaboration on land use decisions could include:

- Adopt a Safety in All Policies approach at the local level, similar to the Health in All Policies approach which brought together the expertise of 22 state agencies and departments to work together in support of a healthier, more sustainable California. With community safety as the common goal, a Safety in All Policies Task Force would connect people across sectors, coordinate their efforts and promote win-win strategies that benefit all stakeholders. In particular, the task force could consider the community safety implications of any proposals related to land use.
- Create spaces for multi-sector dialogue on community safety so mid-level employees in government can talk with their counterparts in other agencies and coordinate land use decisions.
- Establish flexible mechanisms for sectors to blend or braid funding and to embark on multi-sector health and environmental impact assessments. Smooth the way for sectors that want to coordinate land use decisions and pursue joint strategies for community safety. Share tools on multi-sector collaboration to prevent violence, and incorporate them into professional development training.
4. Develop tools and deliver technical assistance to local governments, multi-sector partnerships and coalitions, to make land use decisions that promote community safety.

Practitioners recognize that no single group, organization, department or agency has the responsibility or ability to prevent violence on its own. Cities benefit from guidance on bringing together various sectors to prevent violence, especially given bureaucratic constraints. This is illustrated by the experience of the city network affiliated with UNITY, Urban Networks to Increase Thriving Youth. The UNITY City Network is a learning community of approximately 25 large U.S. cities; participants report increased collaboration among the mayor’s office, police department, schools and health department since joining it. Tools and technical assistance to promote multi-sector collaboration and create community conditions that promote safety will build capacity across sectors to make coordinated land use decisions that prevent violence.
Educating Providers

Practitioners, service providers, program and agency directors, and elected officials need skills to make land use decisions that prevent violence. These skills can be developed through multiple avenues, such as consultation and technical assistance, training, conferences, mentoring and coaching, internships and self-paced learning opportunities. Kim Gilhuly of Human Impact Partners said these trainings should “make people believe, ‘Yes, my profession is about creating safe, healthy communities, and violence prevention and public safety are part of that.’” These activities should emphasize the skills and leadership needed to select, design and implement land use strategies with community safety in mind.

5. Train violence prevention practitioners, advocates and coalitions to elevate the connections between land use and community safety.

Land use strategies are not yet widely understood as part of the current toolkit for preventing violence, even among experts. Providing training on these connections would bolster place-based strategies that are grounded in local heritage, culture and landscapes. Land use strategies could easily be incorporated into the existing mix of programs, practices and policies that boost community resilience. Violence prevention practitioners already serve as ambassadors and advocates for community safety; with additional training, they could also insert the theme of community conditions into violence prevention messages to various audiences.

6. Train practitioners across sectors to apply a violence prevention approach to land use decisions and to consider the equity implications of those choices.

The training would emphasize the particular risk and resilience factors for violence that various sectors can influence in the course of their work, since “violence has got to be seen as a solvable problem. People need the language and words to describe the problem and their role,” according to Richard Jackson of the UCLA Fielding School of Public Health.

Because land use decisions have historically disadvantaged low-income groups and communities of color, it’s especially important that future land use decisions consider equity and explicitly seek to reverse the harm of previous decades. Training on equity will give practitioners the skills to reverse these effects. “When planning the built environment, it’s not common to integrate equity into processes. Place-making is a challenge for underserved communities that are often the same ones struggling with community safety,” said Keith Benjamin of the Safe Routes to School National Partnership. Low-income areas and communities of color are often most affected by violence, and “Where there’s violence, there are usually a lot of other problems—lack of infrastructure for pedestrian safety, lack of jobs, no clean water, lack of public transportation, corner markets pushing unhealthy food, and only one park covered in graffiti and no clean restroom,” as Corchado of United Way.
Community Safety by Design: Preventing Violence through Land Use | 33

Merced said. To rebuild trust with communities, attention to equity and an understanding of historical context are paramount.

Recommendations Specific to the Planning Field

**Explore ways that physical spaces can promote positive relationships and a sense of collective efficacy.** In planning, there is a recent emphasis on creating spaces that encourage social interactions or a distinct sense of place, as a safety strategy. Safe, inviting places where residents, business owners and employees carry out routine errands result in increased contact and trust, for example.26 “The ability for young people to grow up and feel connected is so important, and community design helps with that,” said Anderson of Californians for Safety and Justice. For example:

- Create public spaces where people gather, such as community gardens, urban farms, and those that support events, performances and public dialogue.
- Public art should also match community values and reflect residents’ cultures. In Chula Vista, Calif., for example, young people worked with local artists to paint frequently-tagged utility boxes as a way to reclaim the neighborhood from gangs.27 The pre-Columbian designs have since become symbols of community pride for Latino residents and others.
- Explore how to translate positive relationships into collective action on behalf of the community. “Low-income residents in a lot of poor areas…they feel like the problems are too large for them to address. This is returning that sense of power to the residents, increasing the community’s capacity to do something about their situation,” Cahill of the Urban Institute told CityLab.28

**Leverage peer networks and new movements in planning, design and architecture to increase understanding of the links between the built environment and community safety.** More and more planners recognize how their field has historically made decisions that separated people by race and class and created unequal living conditions. For example, the journal of American Institute of Architects covered the rise of petitions to consider the ethics of what and where architects build.29 CityLab identified city planners and designers as a group asserting themselves in discussions of racial justice and police reform.

Use established networks to create spaces and opportunities for planners to explore their role in preventing violence. Possible partners include the American Planning Association, Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility (ADPSR), National Organization of Minority Architects, the Public Interest Design sector supported by the American Institute of Architects, and associations for graduate students of color within planning, design and architecture schools.

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Recommendations Specific to the Planning Field

Integrate violence prevention into existing land use planning, transportation and zoning strategies. A violence prevention approach can be applied to existing planning practices and activities, such as general plans, health impact assessments and environmental impact reviews. Some concrete ways planners can promote community safety are described in more detail in the appendix. Planners already use these strategies, which could be deliberately applied to address community safety, and planners who explicitly focus on promoting safety are more likely to succeed. The strategies include:

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<tr>
<th>Zoning and Land Use</th>
<th>Designing the Built Environment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Zone for a variety of uses</td>
<td>• Increase green spaces</td>
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<td>• Zone to address density, such as alcohol outlet density or related to housing</td>
<td>• Design streets to increase the number of people in public spaces</td>
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<td>• Promote inclusionary zoning</td>
<td>• Convert underutilized spaces</td>
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<td>• Add overlay zones to prevent violence</td>
<td>• Remedy blight and improve lighting</td>
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<td>• Prevent foreclosures and create affordable housing</td>
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<td>• Leverage impact fees, community benefits and value-capture financing</td>
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Promoting Community Education

Schwartz of the San Francisco County Transportation Authority was among many who spoke of the need to education people about the links between land use decisions and violence prevention. “It would be helpful to make the case, to say, ‘This is the clear connection. Here’s how it could happen,’” he said. “Often, violence prevention is a distal outcome and people struggle to define the ways that planning leads to violence prevention.” To realize the potential at the intersection of land use and community safety, it’s important to distinguish between crime and violence. Strategic communication and effective reframing of this issue can support a widespread change in thinking and public discourse.

7. Create and disseminate fact sheets and other publications on the links between land use and community safety.

Preventing violence is about addressing underlying factors that increase or decrease the likelihood of violence, and land use can powerfully affect these factors. Fact sheets and other publications can clarify this relationship, provide supporting research evidence and community stories, and make the case for land use decisions that enhance community safety.
Practitioners emphasized the need for high-profile success stories that capture public interest, as well as for evidence demonstrating how safety supports economic development and tourism, for example.

8. Use mass communications to influence public discussion and build widespread understanding of this intersection.

Harness the power of the media to highlight land use decisions that promote community safety. Sample activities include: Writing blog posts, sharing articles with a community-safety frame, placing letters to the editor and opinion articles, and developing media pitches and talking points for elected officials and high-level decision-makers across sectors.

**Strengthening Individual Knowledge and Skills**

Empowered and informed residents are better able to advocate for community improvements and ensure that land use decisions align with their interests. Practitioners based in communities affected by violence consistently identified a need for additional training and information-sharing with residents. “Building collective efficacy, engaging community to look at land use, and bringing [community organizations] and key stakeholders together for a common goal will improve public safety,” said Angelica Solis of Youth Policy Institute. Building residents’ capacity and skills enables a community to more effectively address current and future problems, and helps sustain positive outcomes.

9. Build community capacity in neighborhoods affected by violence to mobilize around community safety and advocate for land use strategies.

“[Residents] are not well-instructed over the consequences of changes in land use and sometimes they’re pressed to sell their land or relocate,” Ybarra of Watts/Century Latino Organization said. Training on issue advocacy and leadership, the political process, how funding proposals are reviewed and scored, and on how to interface with government agencies, for example, will allow residents to influence land use decisions in ways that promote community safety.
Conclusion

Land use decisions have transformative effects on community safety; they can either perpetuate historical inequalities or expand opportunities and foster connection and hope. Engaging many sectors in preventing violence paves the way for safe, thriving communities. This approach brings multiple sectors together with residents to make smart land use decisions that honor community voices and priorities, factor in context and history, and promote local ownership of a place.

There is growing interest in the intersection of place and safety. If people made land use decisions with community safety as an explicit desired outcome, it could transform and revitalize public spaces. It could also launch robust multi-sector partnerships that achieve ambitious goals in partnership with the community. Violence is preventable, and together, we can fully realize the potential of this emerging field and achieve community safety by design.
Appendix

Sample Strategies for the Planning Field

Since community context and settings can affect violence and fear of violence, the planning sector can make important contributions to ensure that places promote community safety. The planning sector already utilizes many strategies and tools that have potential for preventing violence, especially those related to zoning, land use and the design of the built environment. This appendix describes strategies that could be applied to influence the risk and resilience factors affecting the likelihood of violence.

Zoning and Land Use

Zoning codes designate how land can be used. Types of uses and zoning codes vary by city, and different types of zoning are correlated with higher or lower violence rates.31

Zone for a variety of uses:
Public spaces that are designed for multiple, complementary uses—both residential and commercial, for example—draw people at all times, including during off-peak hours and at night.32 This can increase the number of people informally monitoring an area. Researchers suggest that blocks zoned for residential and commercial uses, called “mixed-use zoning,” could increase pedestrian traffic and contacts among residents, improving informal social control around acceptable behavior in public spaces. Studies found that assault rates were unusually high around government buildings and train stops33 and that industrial land uses can buffer areas of concentrated disadvantage against violent crime.34

Zone to address density:
The density of residential and commercial developments matters—both very high and very low density can promote violence. High-density housing units are associated with serious violent crime, for example.35 A study in Columbus, Ohio, found that homicide and aggravated assaults were higher where residential and commercial density were very low and only dropped once a certain density threshold was met.36

Zoning has also been successfully applied to the problem of high alcohol outlet density, a factor increase the likelihood of multiple forms of violence. When the city of Baltimore revised its zoning code for the first time in 30 years, for example, the Health Impact Assessment recommended doing it in a way that would reduce the concentration of liquor stores and bars in high-poverty neighborhoods.37 The city spaced new alcohol outlets further apart using dispersal standards, and made liquor permits conditional.

Promote inclusionary zoning:
Inclusionary zoning regulations can increase housing choice and affordable housing options. Often such regulations require new housing developments or housing conversions to include
a minimum percentage of housing for low- and moderate-income households. Research suggests that practices and policies that promote mixed-income neighborhoods benefit all residents.\textsuperscript{38}

Add overlay zones to prevent violence:
Changing a city’s zoning codes to alter existing land uses can be a lengthy process, and it may be easier to suggest an overlay zone be laid atop multiple existing zones. Overlay zones are a set of zoning requirements superimposed on a base zone, and are generally used when a particular area requires special protection or has a specific problem, such as steep slopes, flooding or earthquake faults, or perhaps violence. Development within an overlay zone must comply with overlay zone requirements, as well as the specifications of the base zones.

\textbf{Designing the Built Environment}
The physical condition of buildings and neighborhood infrastructure can affect the likelihood of violence. In line with the Broken Windows theory, efforts to improve the built environment’s appearance can help prevent violence and also promote social connections.

\textbf{Increase green spaces:}
Trees, shrubs and grass can improve mental health, and areas where buildings have more vegetation also enjoy lower violent crime rates.\textsuperscript{39,40} Park-related land use is significantly associated with less aggravated assault and homicide.\textsuperscript{41} Furthermore, green spaces in urban areas boost residents’ perceptions of safety. The more trees, grass and maintained landscaping around a high-rise housing development in Chicago, the safer the residents said they felt.\textsuperscript{42} People living in “greener” public housing reported lower levels of fear, fewer incivilities, and less aggressive and violent behavior.\textsuperscript{43} Greening vacant lots in Philadelphia improved perceptions of safety among residents and decreased aggravated assault and disorderly conduct, compared to control sites.\textsuperscript{44}

People feel safer in green surroundings, so landscaping efforts can be part of a broader violence prevention strategy. Blocked views make residents feel less safe, however, so it’s important maintain sightlines and promote a sense of openness by using taller trees and low shrubs, for example.\textsuperscript{45}

\textbf{Design streets to increase the number of people in public spaces:}
Street design that makes it safe for people to walk and bike gets people out of their cars and makes interactions with neighbors more likely.

\textbf{Convert underutilized spaces:}
Community deterioration makes violence more likely,\textsuperscript{46} and spaces like vacant lots attract illegal dumping, littering and vandalism.\textsuperscript{47} This is also true for brownfields, former industrial or commercial sites that need to be cleaned of pollutants or hazards before they can be used
again. Repurposing these and other neglected spaces can improve perceptions of safety and create economic and job opportunities.

Cleaning up brownfield sites and converting them into new housing, parks or transit centers has been shown to increase property values by up to 32 percent. Turning vacant lots into community gardens creates usable space that also promotes connections among neighbors. The American Planning Association released a guide in 2010 on community-based brownfields redevelopment, and research suggests that efforts to develop brownfields should consider ways to counter unintended consequences, such as gentrification and displacement of residents.

Remedy blight and improve lighting:
Promptly removing trash and graffiti can make neighborhoods feel like safe, cared-for places. In Houston, the city’s public health department funded micro-grants for young people to lead neighborhood clean-up projects and other community-based campaigns to create a positive sense of place. The public works department supported trash removal, and the police department trained property owners on improving lighting and other CPTED strategies.

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are another mechanism to remedy blight and improve lighting, by collecting funds from local businesses and property owners to improve the streetscape and make it more appealing to shoppers. BIDs support improvements such as street lights, sidewalks, trees, street sweeping, bus shelters and safety ambassadors. By promoting the conditions for safe commerce and pedestrian activity, BID organizations discourage violent crime and may aid in local economic development initiatives.

Prevent foreclosures and create affordable housing:
Weak social policies and laws, including those related to housing and employment, are a risk factor for violence, and property foreclosures can affect violent crime. On New York City blocks with three or more foreclosed properties, every additional foreclosed property to be auctioned increased violent crime by 2.6 percent. As such, providing subsidies, bank extensions and more pro-active measures to decrease foreclosure rates may help prevent violence.

Leverage impact fees, community benefits and value-capture financing:
The private sector plays an influential role in commercial and residential development, and directly affects the physical landscape of the neighborhood. Because the primary motivation of most private real estate developers is profit, the “social good” component of development is not always considered or factored into their choices. Land use issues play out on a long time frame, often decades. Developers’ expectations of a quick return on investment can mean that community processes are not prioritized, particularly those that are not seen by developers to have a measurable benefit. Impact fees, community benefits and value-capture financing are three ways to engage the private sector in promoting safety as part of their projects.
• **Impact fees** are paid by developers to offset the unmitigated effects of their projects. These fees are spent by the city, county or specific public agencies on public improvements. Cities expecting an influx of new residents as a result of development projects will want to expand community services to match population growth; impact fees can help pay for community centers, transit stops, parks, trails, and improved school and library facilities, for example.

• **Community benefits** are funds required of the developer or groups who benefit from government development subsidies, as a condition of development. The government has helped an industry or business keep the price of a commodity or service low or competitive, and in return, the developer agrees to provide various amenities to local communities. Benefits are usually described in community benefits agreements and can be built into the project, its operations, or be completely separate. Examples of community benefits are: the inclusion of a park or childcare center in the project, the use of design elements and sustainable construction materials to minimize environmental impacts, minimum wage requirements, traffic management rules, money for a public art fund, and support for existing job-training centers.

• **Value-capture financing** happens when the public sector increases the value of unused land through various interventions, so the private sector can then create new uses of that space. Interventions such as changing the zoning code to allow for increased density or remediating contaminated brownfields, for example, prepare unused land for development and make it more attractive to investors. When private developers profit from the project, the public sector can then “capture” the enhanced value of the land through local taxation, fees and other mechanisms. The funds that result can then be reinvested back into local projects and programs, such enhanced community services and street improvements. This financing strategy is more commonly used in high-demand real estate markets.
References


