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Exploring the Intersection of Designing for Crime and the Future of the Public Forum

Virginia Commonwealth University, L. Douglas Wilder School of Public and Government Affairs

Master of Urban and Regional Planning

Kathryn M. Benedict

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Director: Dr. Benjamin Teresa
Assistant Professor

Virginia Commonwealth University
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Abstract

Exploring the Intersection Between Designing for Crime and the Future of the Public Forum

By Kathryn M. Benedict, B.S. Urban and Regional Planning

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University 2019

Major Director: Benjamin Teresa, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Urban and Regional Planning

As more public spaces are under the influence of private stakeholders in cities, it is important to consider the role, both financial and social, that these stakeholders have on the design of the physical space and the users of the space. This analysis will utilize a qualitative methodological approach to understand the contested redevelopment of a public park in Richmond, Virginia as it transitioned from a city-owned space to a public-private partnership. By gaining a better understanding of the major spheres of influence involved in the redevelopment, namely the large public university and the corporations adjacent to the space, it is understood that the public spaces in question take on forms that are less public and more exclusionary in nature. Upon the conclusion of this analysis, I provide suggestions and recommendations for the future of the public forum and the role that private stakeholders might have in public spaces going forward.,

Introduction

  The role of the public forum is changing rapidly particularly with the evolution of new safety and design features and the influence of outside stakeholders. With this evolution in mind, it is important to understand how designing for crime intersects with the future of the public forum. In order to explore this shifting concept, I first studied several traditional and popular urban design theories aimed at deterring criminal activity. These theories include CPTED, or Crime Prevention through Environmental Design, Zero Tolerance Policing, and Broken Windows Theory. The goal of many of these theories is to manipulate the built environment through physical design to influence the behavior- particularly criminal behavior- of those occupying the space. The design interventions could physically deter criminal and antisocial behavior or could make individuals in the space feel safer.

  I then attempted to understand how these concepts and theories applied to urban design and the public realm. When applied to urban design, it is important to understand how these criminological theories and practices influence an individual's socio-spatial relationships, that is, the concept of how the built environment and society interact (Gottdiener, 2011). With this in mind, I examined a park in Richmond, Virginia which recently underwent an expansive and contentious redevelopment with included the transfer of ownership from city-owned, to a public-private partnership. This case study was ultimately aimed at understanding how new redevelopments are influenced by major financial stakeholders in cities, such as public universities and corporations. With so much of the city strata changing at a rapid pace, the design physical and subliminal design elements of new public spaces may be exclusionary towards certain race and class dynamics. Ultimately, the objective of this analysis is to understand how

CPTED and similar design practices combined with the influence of corporate stakeholders have an exclusionary bias on public spaces and the city as a whole.

Purpose of Research

David Carrol Cochran defines this civil space or "autonomous space" in his work *The Color of Freedom,* as space which individuals connect and share information. Carrol Cochran argues that this space has become hyper-regulated, increasingly surveilled, and intentionally designed in many American cities (Carroll Cochran, 1999, p. 48). The design practices which create these spaces are not random but are in fact deliberately and intentionally laid out in order to create a controlled and orderly environment. Understanding whether the intended outcomes of designing for crime are effective may be an outcome of this research, but the overarching goal of this research is to determine whether designing spaces specifically for crime prevention may result in a form of exclusion in public spaces.

As outlined above, the city of Richmond, Virginia will serve as the frame for this research, particularly one specific case study site set in Monroe Park. This research is further framed by exploring several philosophies of space and the urban realm, spatial and human interactions, and criminological theories relating to the environmental impacts of crime in an attempt to understand the usage of space. These philosophies and theoretical implications are then placed into a modern context with the help of several scholars who view the spatial scope through the lens of the racialization and regulation of spaces. Further contextualization allows me to analyze the problem of how spaces are regulated and the possible outcomes of hyper-exclusion and regulation in space. I then go on to review case studies in the criminological and urban design realm in order to further discern what happens when other cities and places implement hyper-regulations and restrictions of space.

Literature Review

Current literature describes the historical context through which public spaces are designed for crime and planned to deter criminal activity. The concept of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) is a theoretical framework developed in criminology during the 1950s and 1960s.

By drawing from real-world examples of CPTED practices, this literature review will explore the historical significance of CPTED in order to gain a better understanding of how CPTED is enforced in cities today. This review will also attempt to contextualize CPTED in its modern-day planning practices compared to its historical roots.

Another important piece in the current literature is the theoretical framing of urban spaces and design, which ultimately critique practices like CPTED. In order to best contextualize these critiques, works by French philosopher Henri Lefebvre and many American scholars who take a Lefebvrian approach to contextualize the city and public urban spaces are used. Other concepts such as the influence of a university on redevelopments in the city and othering, classism, and the financial interests of urban spaces are explored to understand how these pieces influence CPTED and design practices. The overall goal of this literature review is twofold: to understand CPTED in its modern practice and understand when (and who) CPTED works for, and to understand the place in which planning as a field evolved for the prevention of crime.

Historical Background of Crime Prevention of Environmental Design

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the current state of CPTED (Crime Prevention through Environmental Design) planning and the societal implications, which stem from CPTED, it is important to understand the roots from which CPTED was born. CPTED originated as a university textbook published in 1971 by Sociologist and Professor C. Ray

Jeffery. Jeffery specialized in criminology, stating that there was no particular specialization of criminology and that those who were criminologists at that time were sociologists or social scientists who specialize in criminology (Jeffery, 1971, p. 17).

Jeffery argued that the modern criminal justice system has two historical "periods": the classical and the positivist schools. The classical school focused on the prevention of crime before the crime occurred and the theory of deterrence, which Jeffery would argue to be ineffective (Jeffery, 1971, p. 279). The positivist school focused on the rehabilitation of the offender, which Jeffery argued, did nothing to further the criminal justice system.

Jeffery proposed that a new school be implemented focusing on the environment, calling this environmental criminology (Jeffery, 1971, p. 279). He argued that this school would focus on scientific procedures, behaviorism, and environmentalism, and would focus on the prevention of crime before it could be committed (Jeffery, 1971, p. 279). Jeffery stated "the major form of control would be [the] reinforcement of lawful behavior, and the removal of reinforcement for illegal behavior. The focus would be the environment in which crimes are committed, not the individual offender." (Jeffrey, 1971, p. 279).

Throughout *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design,* Jeffery was highly critical of three main practices: current criminological theories and the criminal justice system; current urban planning practices; and the social welfare system. *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* was published in 1971, a politically and socially tumultuous time. As Jeffery's text gave rise to a new field and theory that is practiced today, it is important to understand the basis of Jeffery's discontent. Jeffery argued that, at the time of publication, there was little to no scholarship on urban planning for safety. He cites Jane Jacobs as the only urban planning scholar to have touched the subject stating, "Jane Jacobs has given us some good ideas

from which we can start our analysis." (Jeffery, 1971, p. 216). He goes on to reference Jacob's ideas of the "eyes on the street" and the idea that streets which have ample cafes, mixed-use buildings, and shops open late at night have a tendency for lower crime because of the higher volume of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Jeffery goes on to note that Jacobs lived in Greenwich Village at the time she published *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (the text he was referencing throughout) and went on to comment, "Though drug use and homosexuality are widespread in the Village, the streets themselves are relatively safe…" (Jeffery, 1971, p. 216). Jeffrey's characterization of Jacobs- insinuating that her work has lesser value due to the neighborhood in which she lives, undermining her scholarship because of the affiliation with homosexuality in Greenwich Village, and further associating homosexuality with criminal and corrupt behavior- sheds lights on the social mentality, that homosexuality was equated with social deviance and criminality, when the text was published.

Historical Analysis of the Sociopolitical Climate

Jeffrey's text was an attempt at reshaping the criminal justice system as a whole, not just the piece of environmental design. Jeffery, like many others in the profession at the time, was aware of the rising crime rates of the 1960s and 1970s and blamed societal wrongdoings as well as the failing criminal justice system. Throughout the text, Jeffery made several references to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice which was a driving force for many of the reforms in the criminal justice system at the time (Douglas, 1967).

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice was a group of 19 people appointed by President Johnson in 1967. The overall mission of the commission was to study the current state of the criminal justice system, fight crime, and ultimately repair the system. In 1967, President Johnson said of the Commission:

No agency of government has ever in our history undertaken to probe so fully and deeply into the problems of crime in our nation. I do not underestimate the difficulty of the assignment. But the very difficulty which these problems present and the staggering cost of inaction make it imperative that this task be undertaken (Johnson, Lyndon B, 1965).

The Commission, which began in 1967, concluded its study in 1967 and has since been regarded as, "the most comprehensive evaluation of crime and crime control at the time." (Greene, Helen, Taylor, 2009). The Commission recommended several overarching reforms to the criminal justice system and focused primarily on crime in American cities (particularly inner cities) and reforming the treatment of youths in both the criminal justice system and in society.

Many of Jeffery's recommendations mirrored those of the Commission's- or at least displayed similarities, particularly on the topics mentioned above. Just as Jeffery spoke about investing more in urban renewal and public works projects, the Commission recommended investing more money into providing services for young people, including job creation and strengthening existing institutions that have proven themselves to have had major community impacts.

Regarding crime in the inner cities, the Commission takes more of an advisory approach, arguing that each city should have a designated crime taskforce to address crime in that particular city, aimed at informing citizens of the true crime rates. The Commission also mentions the suffering relationships between the minority communities within the inner cities and police (Douglas, 1967). Though there is no mention of securing a more diverse police force or the fact that there were little to no black or minority police officers at the time, the Commission does recommend for police officers in minority communities engage more with community groups (Douglas, 1967). This is the first tie to the Commission's overarching recommendations and policing theories of the 70s and 80s such as *Broken Windows* and *Zero Tolerance*.

Some of the recommendations made by the Commission may seem conflicting to those that arose from *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* and other criminological theories of the time like Broken Windows Theory, Get Tough, and Zero Tolerance Policing. The Commission does not target crime in inner cities and social welfare programs like *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* and does not advocate for urban renewal-based programs to deter crime in inner cities. The overarching recommendation that stems throughout the Commission's report is that of the increased funding for research on criminal activities. Perhaps these theories and practices stemmed from this recommendation from the Commission's report- the recommendation that "Criminal justice agencies such as State court and correctional systems and large police departments should develop their own research units…" (Douglas, 1967). The encouragement from the Commission for state and local jurisdictions to begin researching crime incidents and criminal activity at the state and local level does, in fact, correlate with Jeffery's text on *Crime Prevention through Environmental Design,* published four years after the Commission's final report was published. Jeffery's text and reports such as Broken Windows and Zero Tolerance are indeed research on crime but did not necessarily have the same narrative perpetuated by the Commission. The findings from Commission led to the greater push for more research amongst criminologists and sociologists.

The Emergence of Zero Tolerance Policing

Similar to the publishing of *Crime Prevention through Environmental Design*, many new policing theories emerged in the early 1970s. Perhaps one of the most quintessential examples of the Zero Tolerance policing of the 1970s came from New Jersey's *Safe and Clean Neighborhood Act* in 1973 (six years after the Commission published their report) which set the framework of George Kelling and James Wilson's 1982 article *Broken Windows (*Kelling and Wilson, 1982).

The intent of the Act was to study the effect of increased foot patrol in neighborhoods in Newark, New Jersey to ultimately "improve the quality of community life" (Kelling and Wilson, 1982). The Act stemmed from the Commission's recommendation in a two-pronged manner: to implement research at the state and local level and connect police officers with community members by increasing foot patrol.

Though the two theories were framed differently, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* and *Broken Window*s both took aim at how the physical environment impacts crime in inner cities. *Broken Windows Theory* argued that areas in the inner city that had higher levels of vandalism, graffiti, and other forms of "urban decay" were subsequently susceptible to higher crime rates because of the systemic lack of community investment (Kelling and Wilson, 1982). In their 1982 publication *Broken Windows: The Police and Neighborhood Safety,* George Kelling and James Wilson state, "That link is similar to the process whereby one broken window becomes many… The unchecked panhandler is, in effect, the first broken window. Muggers and robbers, whether opportunistic or professional, believe they reduce their chances of being caught or even identified if they operate on streets where potential victims are already intimidated by prevailing conditions." (Kelling and Wilson, 1982).

The narrative portrayed by the publication of *Broken Windows* in the 1980s following the Commission's report in the late 1960s and Crime Prevention through Environmental Design in the 1970s led to an overarching shift of how cities and people were policed. The emergence of Zero Tolerance policing in the 1960s became popularized by the publication of *Broken Windows* took a strategic approach to policing that involved arresting individuals for minor offenses. Many of the individuals targeted were charged with crimes of vagrancy and saw many social issues as criminological problems (i.e. homelessness). Individuals living in the inner cities were frequently

the target of zero tolerance policing policies, and one could hypothesize that the individuals who are most susceptible for zero tolerance policies are the same individuals that were being targeted for social welfare programs, workforce programs, and urban renewal.

The rise of theories like CPTED and environmental design emerged and coincided with major shifts in the criminal justice system and urban planning paradigms. Without the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, there may not have been the amount of state and local research on crime that ultimately led to theories like Jeffery's *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design,* zero tolerance policing, and Kelling and Wilson's *Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety.*

Modern History of CPTED

Jeffery's textbook publication of *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* grew beyond the classroom implications it once had in the 1970s. In the decades following its publication, the field of CPTED began to emerge. Academics and practitioners began to interpret Jeffry's text and devise various criminological and planning implementations from the 1970s through the 2000s. One specific text written almost concurrently with Jeffery's was architect Oscar Newman's book, *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design* (Newman, 1972). Though Jeffery's coined the term "CPTED", it was Newman's text that took caught on, as his approach was more geared towards reshaping the built environment and infrastructural changes that could be implemented. Between these two schools-- the CPTED school and the Defensible Space school-- police departments and planning offices began to implement changes to policies to enforce CPTED principles.

Early Implementations of CPTED

In the 1970s, architects Oscar Newman (author of *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design)* and George Rand conducted an empirical study of housing projects in New York City, and the impact that design had on the crime rate. Similar to some assertions made by Jeffry's in his earlier text (cited by Jane Jacobs), the two key findings from the study were the need for a continual sightline on the streets and the willingness of bystanders to intervene when a crime occurs (Newman, 1972). These two main components ultimately comprised the "defensible space" of an area and would contribute to less crime. This "willingness" is touched on by Kelling and Wilson and is arguably cultivated when community members feel a sense of security in their community and familiarity with the police officers who patrol the community (Kelling and Wilson, 1982).

Though the backbone of CPTED and Defensible Space did not have any major shifts from the 1970s into the 1980s, the publication of Kelling and Wilson's *Broken Windows* in 1982 placed a new perspective on CPTED practice and tied CPTED in with policing practices. As discussed earlier, one of the main themes discussed in *Broken Windows* was whether an overall lack on perceived investment in a community (i.e. graffiti, lack of literal maintenance, etc.) led to an uptick of crime (Kelling and Wilson, 1982). The 1980s also drove more academic focus surrounding CPTED and crime prevention. There were several scholarships in the 1980s regarding crime prevention, particularly in the inner city and the suburban environment. The 1980s also gave rise to the first discipline or training of CPTED, designed by criminologist Timothy Crowe (Crowe, 2000). The training courses designed by Timothy Crowe provided a solid foundation for CPTED to move forward into the 1990s and make its way into the practical implications of planning offices and police departments (Crowe, 2000).

The late 1990s and early 2000s are when CPTED began taking form as a practice and certification, and practitioners became certified in the field. As of the early 2000s, CPTED gained national and international acceptance as a new form of policing and had gained popularity amongst practitioners in planning and policing.

Modern Strategies for CPTED Planning

As CPTED became implemented in planning documents and community policing, strategies for a streamlined CPTED were formed. In combination with Jeffery's text, *Broken Windows*, and the Defensible Space theory, there are four main strategies when planning for CPTED: Natural Surveillance, Natural Access Control, Territorial Reinforcement, and Maintenance. This section will explore each strategy in order to better understand how CPTED is applied today. Most of the definitions in this section are from the State of Virginia CPTED Guidelines in order to provide a streamlined process and characterization of the strategies.

According to the State of Virginia CPTED Guidelines, Natural Surveillance is defined as, "the placement of physical features, activities, and people in a way that maximizes visibility." (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, CPTED, n.d.)). The goal of natural surveillance is to maintain a constant observation on intruders in spaces who may be more likely to commit criminal acts (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, CPTED, n.d.)). Some of the design features associated with natural surveillance include windows overlooking sidewalks, designing streets to encourage bicycle and pedestrian traffic, and utilizing curves streets that promote multiple viewpoints and difficult escape routes.

Natural Access Control is "the physical guidance of people coming and going from space by the judicial placement of entrances, exits, fencing, landscaping, and lighting." (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, CPTED, n.d.). Natural access control attempts to

deter crime by decreasing the opportunity for criminal activity by denying access to crime targets and creating a higher perceived risk for potential offenders. There is also a physical aspect of access control which utilizes locks, alarms, signs, and other means of keeping individuals out. Some examples of natural access control include utilizing single, clearly identifiable points of entry for businesses and eliminating design features that allow individuals to the roofs or upper stories of buildings (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, CPTED, n.d.).

Territorial Reinforcement, or territoriality, is, "the use of physical attributes that express ownership such as fences, signage, landscaping, lighting, pavement designs…" (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, CPTED, n.d.). Territoriality attempts to create a clearly delineated private space, making users of the space more interested and involved in the space. Territoriality reinforces a sense of "territorial control", discouraging potential offenders from feeling accepted in the space. Territoriality overlaps with many of Kelling and Wilson's theories from Broken Windows and Order Maintenance, arguing that the physical state of the built environment directly correlates to the crime that is committed there. Some examples of territoriality include displaying security system signage at access points of buildings, utilizing planters and fences to portray active frontages, and installing motion sensor lights to all entry points to the building.

Some planning agencies do not consider maintenance one of the four pillars of CPTED, however, for the purposes of this analysis, it is important to understand maintenance relating to CPTED, and understand how planning and police departments implement maintenance as a CPTED strategy. Maintenance of space not only enables the continued use of space for its designated purpose, but it also allows the possession of the space to be continually expressed. The State of Virginia CPTED Guidelines states, "Deterioration and blight indicate less concern

and less control by the intended users of a site and can be a sign of a greater tolerance for

disorder." (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, CPTED, n.d.). Again, pulling

many concepts from *Broken Windows*, the idea that the disinvestment of space resulted in higher

crime and general unrest is an idea perpetuated by CPTED today.

Modern Applications of CPTED

The basic understanding of how CPTED is applied in the modern day allows for the

drawing of real-world examples of CPTED in planning offices and police. This section will draw

from several CPTED plans from the Commonwealth of Virginia to better understand the

commonalities and differences of how CPTED is implemented versus how CPTED was

conceptualized in the 1960s.

Henrico County, a suburb of Richmond, Virginia, has an active CPTED plan out of its

police department with staff CPTED planners. The CPTED plan for the county states, "Henrico

County is dedicated to enhancing the quality of life for all our residents." (Henrico County

CPTED Brochure). The plan implements all of the CPTED tactics described above, including

access control, maintenance, and territorial reinforcement, and sets the precedence that all new

developments built in the county should be built with the same principles in mind. The brochure

states that in all upcoming developments, "many problems can be avoided if the principles of

CPTED are applied during the design and planning stages of a site." (Henrico County CPTED

Brochure). The brochure does not specify what "problems" are avoided through the

implementation of CPTED in the design and planning phases, nor does it specify how CPTED

correlated to specifically "enhancing the quality of life for *all* residents". The plan assumes that

CPTED is a one-size fit all approach that is inclusionary for all residents and addresses

"problems" faced by the community.

The City of Virginia Beach has a similar CPTED plan, though perhaps more detailed than that seen in Henrico County. Virginia Beach's plan includes three objectives outlined below:

1. To make members of the Development Community and City Staff aware of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design and implement creative solutions whenever possible.

2. To inform developers, design professionals and the public of the possible reduction of criminal opportunity when CPTED principles are used during the initial planning stages of development.

3. To describe design alternatives which could have an adverse effect on opportunities for criminal activity.

The plan goes on to describe the process of the plan, including talking with city staff and developers to make sure proper design elements are implemented according to CPTED standards (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, CPTED, n.d.). The "Effective participation" section does not include informing and educating the public about the nuances of CPTED planning, and how CPTED effects the design of public spaces.

The last plan evaluated in this section is from Prince William County, situated in Northern Virginia. Similar to the two previous plans discussed, the Prince William CPTED Guidelines focus on surveillance, access control, territorial reinforcement, and maintenance for new and existing developments in the county. The plan states, "Design professionals have always integrated into their work resistance to natural threats... In recent years, design professionals have begun to recognize crime as a man-made hazard that can be resisted through quality design." (CPTED Strategies, Prince William County, n.d.). The plan does not include a public engagement section or a comprehensive history of societal implications from CPTED.

The plan, like others, mentioned engaging developers and other immediate stakeholders but did not make mention of others who are affected by CPTED design.

Planning Critiques of Modern CPTED Strategies

Theory of Space

It is important to understand how people interact with the urban space and urban realm in order to subsequently understand how modern-day space is planned and designed, especially in a reactive way. In his book *The Urban Revolution,* Henri Lefebvre states, "Large cities legitimize inequality. Faced with a choice between an overbearing sense of order and the everlasting threat of chaos; power, and power, state power will always choose the order." (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 92). With this concept of legitimization of inequality, one must consider how large cities perpetuate inequality, even in the public realm. Lefebvre argues that inequality stems from an overarching desire and need from the state to need order in the face of chaos. The juxtaposition between the chaos and the order are reflective of many urban spaces seen in the modern day. The hyper-regulation of space that attempts to create order and deter chaos perpetuates a form of legitimate inequality.

Lefebvre lays out urban space as a series of social constructs formed over time. He lays out the concept of space as linear and evolving, as different theories of space evolve from empirical thought to social thought. In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre not only writes about spatial constructs and practices, but the history of the city, planning of the city, architecture, and different capitalist thought. On page 167 of *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre writes:

> An existing space may outlive its original purpose and the *raison d'etre* [the most important reason for something's existence] which determines its forms, functions, and structures; it may thus, in a sense become vacant, and susceptible of being diverted, reappropriated and put to a use quite different from its initial one. A recent and well-known case of this was the reappropriation of the Halles Centrales, Paris's former

wholesale produce market, in 1969-71. For a brief period, the urban centre, designed to facilitate the distribution of food, was transformed into a gathering place and a scene of permanent festival -- in short, into a centre of play rather than of work -- for the youth of Paris.

As the excerpt highlights above, Lefebvre consistently reinforces the concept that urban spaces experience vacancy and abandonment periods- ebbs and flows, patterns of usage, however, this period gives the physical space the time needed to "regenerate" to its original intended purposes to best serve society. This concept also reiterates his consistently Marxist views on society and space. The cyclical approach to space is highlighted several times throughout, emphasizing the point that space is not linear. Space, according to Lefebvre, is evolving, and the purpose of space is sometimes meant to contradict itself. Lefebvre argues that "differential space" is more abstract and less homogeneous. This space is less contradictory than traditional spaces that conform to conventional norms. He asserts that these spaces are not produced, but they are born out of the differences in society (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 52).

Here Lefebvre defines this "new space" or "differential space" as a new gathering point for unconventional (or unconventional for the time) meetings and people. The concept of differential space through the lens of Lefebvre came in conjunction with the right of the city, whereas those who sought these unconventional uses of space did so by actively asserting their right to the city. Lefebvre's views on the right to the city came in conjunction with the right to use urban and city land to protest and hold public forums (as touched on in the previous section); Lefebvre reinforced his ideology that the urban space, and space in general, was not simply a container for people to occupy, but a social construct and process that evolves over the course of time. As people change, and ideologies and social practices evolve, the space around them changes as well.

As *The Production of Space* was originally written in France in the 1970s, the social context was different than that of the United States and of the present day. Many of Lefebvre's writings were influenced by Marxist theory and were directly applied to protest and political unrest occurring at the time. When contextualizing Lefebvre to the present day, and to the United States specifically, it is important to understand the overarching issues which *The Production of Space* was published and the spatial issues to which it can be applied.

Though there are many situations pertaining to Lefebvre in the modern day and space, for the purpose of this exploration and lens, I reference Eugene J. McCann's *Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City*. He states specifically, "Lefebvre's theory outlined in his book *The Production of Space*...must be contextualized in the racialized geographies on U.S. cities if it is to deepen our understanding of urban socio-spatial processes." (McCann, 164). Just as Lefebvre was influenced by Marxist thought and radical political reform, McCann prefaces his article with a brief story of a young black man living in a predominately white city outside of Lexington, Kentucky. After an intense encounter with the police, and surrendering with his hands behind his head, the man was shot by a white police officer.

Though this article was written in 1999, these are still stories we hear on a near monthly news cycle twenty years later. McCann goes onto to contend that *The Production of Space* does set a groundwork in promoting a discussion of maintaining a safe urban realm, particularly in the United States. Though Lefebvre's works, particularly *The Production of Space*, does not specifically tackle race in public spaces, his malleable conceptual theories are able to be translated and applied to a variety of issues in the urban environment, and spatial theory in general.

McCann continues his interpretation and application of *The Production of Space* by

examining public space as a whole. Though public spaces may be far more or far less exclusionary for particular demographic or socioeconomic groups in the United States, in the section *Urban Spaces and Lefebvre*, McCann widens the lens from race to a holistic exclusion in public space. McCann draws the comparison to the militarization of larger cities in the United States such a New York City and Los Angeles, stating that this shift in the public realm is causing a semi-public realm that is bearing a lesser resemblance to, "the liberal conception of public space espoused by many architects and politicians." (McCann, 168). It is here than McCann also declares that this semi-public space is also becoming more exclusionary. This semi-public once again creates a type of socially stratified space with several layers dictated by the public, semi-public, and non-public realms emulated by both Lefebvre and Carroll-Cochran in the first section of this literature review- a recurring theme when space is analyzed. One could argue that there is no exclusively public space. Public space may be a utopian ideal that is perhaps attainable.

McCann analyzes the urban space that exists in many cities--open-air markets, parks, or a more pedestrian-oriented mixed-use development--as an increasingly commodified space, that is, "always in the process of being shaped, reshaped, and challenged by the spatial practices of various groups and individuals whose identities and actions undermine the homogeneity of contemporary cities" (McCann, 186). The over-commodification and manipulation of the public realm is an important concept when understanding how public space has the potential to exclude, given that it may lead to an underlying sense of exclusivity between those who belong in the space and those who do not. When spaces subliminally cultivate an atmosphere that excludes those who cannot (or do not want to) pay for certain goods and services, people are deterred from entering the space, to begin with. Though the concept of commodified spaces is usually

perceived as inherently inclusionary and spaces of good, i.e. farmers markets, it is important to look at these spaces with a questioning eye to understand who is using the spaces, who the spaces are serving, and who the spaces are (or are not) designed for.

There are other factors that lead into the exclusion of a space; McCann continually references the death of Tony Sullivan, the fatal police shooting in which seemed to bring out the already fragmented pieces in a rural Kentucky town. McCann describes "imaginary geographies" of Lexington that have formed--or perhaps were there all along and quickly surfaced--in the years following the death of Tony Sullivan. He describes the efforts made by planners in the city attempting to "fix" the exclusion and diagnose the problem. One consultant hired for a revitalization project in Lexington stated, "Lexington is really like two separate cities. The dreaded North end, where all the evil happens, and the South end, where only occasional evil happens."

Lexington is not unique in the way that it has the "dreaded North end" and the South end; all geographies are spatially stratified in some regard. McCann states, "recent discussions of bodies and public space have stressed the gendered and exclusionary nature of city streets and the manner in which homeless people have been progressively banished from public open space." (McCann, 179). Public spaces are controlled and designed with intention- to make specific people comfortable or uncomfortable. The intention may vary from person to person based on experience. Though McCann uses the example of homeless people being progressively banned, whether explicitly or implicitly, from various spaces, as the discussion evolves, the same applies to different "bodies". Understanding how bodies are excluded, again, explicitly or implicitly, in semi-public and public space is an important step in understanding exclusion and inclusion in space. McCann states "In the homogenized, exclusionary public spaces of

contemporary U.S. cities, marginalized groups often feel that they must employ violent tactics in order to secure the spaces from which they can represent themselves." (McCann, 181). As the feeling of having a "right" to the city lingers, and marginalization and exclusion continue and perpetuate around the US, there will continue to be exclusionary space in urban settings.

Planning, Space, and the Evolution of Design

An extensive amount of scholarship has been conducted on the design of space and how space correlates with crime in a given space. In the Foreword of one of Henri Lefebvre's earlier works, he argued that "Space holds the promise of liberation." (Lefebvre, 2003, Forward). Though this seems like a straightforward sentiment when thinking of the public realm, the promise of liberation is a heavy commitment to carry for public spaces, especially weighing all of the different social strata held in public spaces. Lefebvre would go on to make clear distinctions within the "topological properties of urban space," that create a clear network of opposition- similar to the social stratification mentioned above (Lefebvre, 87). This network includes the "Private and public, high and low, open and closed, symmetric and asymmetric, [and] dominated and residual…" (Lefebvre, 87). As the level of society began to become contextualized by Lefebvre and other scholars in the 1950s and 1960s, people began to view and use space differently. There were several global political shifts occurring around the same time, especially affecting the public and urban forum. People began using the public to demonstrate and gather, to congregate and strengthen their networks. Lefebvre's aptly named 1970s work, The Urban Revolution was his first major critique of the urban city and society, reflecting the political and cultural shifts of the 50s, 60s, and 70s.

Lefebvre's concept of the topographies of space was echoed by several authors and philosophers, such as David Carroll Cochran in *The Color of Freedom.* Though Cochran does

not stratify society as Lefebvre, Cochran creates layers between The State, Civil Society, and Public Policy. (Carol Cochran, 1999, p.13). Cochran's concept of Civil Society is what the very idea of autonomy, especially autonomy in the public, hinges on. He states, "Civil society provides the social space in which culture and cultural groups operate, the ground in which they become empowered." (Carol Cochran, 1999, p.13) Without the Civil Society to cultivate an empowered and independent society, many people will not have a forum in which to gather and become a strong social society. Though this may be a seemingly futile space to some- a space that is not complexified by the modernisms of society- the impact of the "civil society" is seemingly unprecedented. This is the space where society can happen if it is given the opportunity. This is the space where trust is built, and neighborhood relationships are formed, the pure definition of the open and closed, the high and low, the public and private.

   Crime and Planning

   The rise of urban planning responding to the rise in crime is not a new trend. As crime rose in the 1960s, the urban planning trends began to shift concurrently. Planning movements began to revolve around displacing crime into specific areas, and strategically creating "separate zones" (Low, 2004, p.114). According to crime and arrest data, there was a spike in property and violent crime throughout the 1960s-1990s, however, crime has steadily declined since the late 1990s and 2000. The reactionary planning involved with criminal offending such as CPTED is still commonplace, however. Low argues that there is a twofold explanation for urban fear in the United States: media sensationalism and the perpetually uneasy relationship between the suburbs and the city (Low, 2004, p.114). She states that in the United States, we are inundated with a culture of fear and violence due to the amount of media reports on the subject. Low states that, "...violent crimes are much more likely to be reported than less violent ones, often with

important details, like motive, omitted from the news report." (Low, 114). The overstating and exaggeration of reporting is often needed to gain attention and views amongst media reporters, Low argues.

The second explanation, Low explains, is the dichotomous fear of the suburbs versus the city. This primarily stems from Lyn Lofland's belief that fear of crime and violence is based on the possibility that strangers could invade one's private space in the city (Low, 2004, p.114). This fear has subsequently led to the creation of gated communities within the city and outside of the city- in the suburbs. In Low's publication *Behind the Gates,* many interviewees mentioned "fear of crime" to Low as their main reason for moving to the suburbs or into a gated community (Low, 2004, p.115). The role of surveillance through architecture is also explored by Foucault in the series of examples of what he calls the structural organization of space serving a disciplinary means (Foucault, 1984). Foucault argues that architecture exists to "insure a certain allocation of people in space, a canalization of their circulation" (Foucault, 1984).

Othering, Classism, and The Role of the University

Othering in the research context is used to communicate instances of prejudice either through ignorant or deliberate means (McQuarrie, 2013, p. 2). Often, othering and dualistic thinking- a form of social splitting used to cope with anxiety and fear- are used as a psychological form of denial and resistance, furthering oneself from one self-image (often undesirable), and projecting onto another (Low, 2004, p. 139). Dualistic thinking is most often used to project social fears onto a more vulnerable group, thus resulting in the aforementioned othering (Low, 139). Othering and dualistic thinking often results in a binary "us versus them" mentality, further creating an undesirable objectification of a person or group (McQuarrie, 2013 p. 2)

Sociologists such as M.P. Baumgartner have observed individuals experiencing othering in their neighborhoods even when an individual who does not live in a neighborhood is simply walking around not engaging in antisocial behavior (Low, 2004, p.142). The fact that the individual is not from the area is enough to cultivate a sense of suspiciousness. The landscape designed by the individuals in these communities will most likely mirror these ideas and values, ones of whiteness and duality, us versus them.

To elaborate on Othering in the context of Richmond and Virginia Commonwealth University, understanding the demographic makeup of the university is pertinent to this study. VCU's student population increased by 45% from 2000-2018 (SCHEV Fall Headcount Enrollment Data). That kind of homogenous growth of students undoubtedly has an unusual impact on a city. Cities with large universities are undoubtedly influenced by the presence of the university when considering large redevelopment projects. One may hypothesize that with the increased pressure to expand and accommodate a growing student body, the university takes on a dualistic role as 'urban developer' and educator. Bose discusses this additional role of the university in the article, "*Universities and the Redevelopment Politics of the Neoliberal City*". Bose argues the theory of urban universities as urban redevelopers are not new, as many the analysis of the real estate practices of universities evolved into the analysis of the encroachment of urban universities into surrounding neighborhoods. Universities battling negative perceptions regarding encroachment on disadvantaged neighborhoods soon began redeveloping and "revitalizing" areas of the city and acquiring real estate in low-income areas (Bose, 2014). Bose goes on to argue that universities confined to urban or city setting often struggle with the identity of the university of the city setting. The struggle of identity combined with the confines of the imposed city border and internal conflict within the city (for example, crime) cause the

university to create *cordons sanitaires*: purified spaces free of criminality which are under the social control of universities (Bose, 2014). The inherent goal and nature of universities are to expand and grow its faculty, staff, and student population- essentially to expand its footprint to the national and global scale.

Furthermore, existing literature on university-led redevelopment explains that alliances and exclusions are made along axes of class and race. Bose furthers this hypothesis to include the technologies of power used to achieve this, explaining that class and race are manipulated to produce subjectivities (Bose, 2014). These subjectivities, as defined by Bose, are produced through strategies of power and are made up of socio-material relations of class, race, and gender (Bose, 2014). The subjectivities are often *decontextualized* from their existing social relationships and given a false projection of deviant behavior, negative experiences, anxieties, and racial fractures (Bose, 2014). This ultimately facilitates the policing and normalizing dispossession (Foucault, 1975). The decontextualization of subjectivities from their place within the community, in turn, legitimizes the action taken by universities to redevelop parts of the city and create these *cordons sanitaires.*

With the background of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design and overarching theories of space, it is important to understand that there is a new intersection between university planning and city planning. As universities and corporations within a city are given more power to plan and produce the outcome of a city, bringing awareness to the trajectory of those spaces is a central part of this research. Understanding who this central power effects and how they are affected will bring clarity to the design of public spaces in the future and will set a platform for those without a voice in these processes to share their story.

Planning Theory and The Right to the City

When considering the literature and existing research outlined above, it is now important to consider how Henri Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city translates into planning theory, and subsequently translates into planning practice. In his article *The Right to the City,* David Harvey argues that the right to the city is more than mere individual access to resources within a city, but rather the right to change ourselves by changing our city (Harvey, 2008). The right to the city is therefore not an individual right, but the collective right since the power to change the city and the public forum lies within the greater public. Harvey argues that this right is the most precious, yet the most neglected human right (Harvey, 2008). As individuals lose the power to connect and gather in the public forum, the power dynamics shift from the public and the collective to the private. As will be seen in the case of Monroe Park in Richmond, Virginia, there was a period where the larger public spoke out and gathered about the proposed renovations of the space-effectively reclaiming their perceived right to the space. Harvey argues that when individuals seeks to claim the right to the city, there is ultimately a desire of individuals to reclaim and reshape the power of urbanization in a radical and fundamental way (Harvey, 2008). When privatization of public spaces does occur, it ultimately leads to the redistribution crime in urban settings, adding pressure on already underserved areas of the city. When the people are collectively empowered to have a voice in their city, a broader urban revolution can begin.

Research Questions

With the background of the existing literature in the previous section, it is now important to understand the existing conditions within the case study site of Monroe Park in the City of Richmond. In order to accomplish this, the following research questions were constructed to understand how spaces are regulated, how spaces are owned, and individuals use space.

The questions which I will explore throughout this process are broken into two main categories with sub-questions that follow:

1. What effect does the ownership have on a particular space and the users of the space relating to:

   a. Who is occupying the space at a given time, and

   b. How individuals use the space?

2. What effect do the intentional or unintentional crime prevention design techniques have on the users of the space?

   a. If there are regulations in the space, how are they posted?

   b. What is the overall effect of the regulations and policing of the users in the space, and the surrounding communities?

In order to answer these questions, the following Methodology section has been organized to highlight how each question will be answered, and how each specific method will answer the specific question raised above.

Methods

This research study focused on one primary case study site, drawing from a qualitative methods approach to further analyze the site. The qualitative methods employed for the case study analysis included archival or content analysis, interviews, direct observations, and analytical methods such as keeping fields notes and memoing. Monroe Park, located in Richmond, Virginia, was the site of the case study as it has undergone several planning interventions in over the past 150 years, and has recently been a site of contention during the most recent renovation. All of the methods described above were used to attempt to answer the research questions outlined in the previous section. This section explains the qualitative

approaches including archival research, interviews, direct observations, field notes, and memoing.

Content Analysis

For this study, the content analysis will provide a greater understanding of how ownership affects the use of space, and how spaces are regulated throughout the city. I used existing documentation provided by surrounding neighborhood associations, The Monroe Park Foundation, the City of Richmond, and various scholarly articles to interpret other elements of my cases. The documentation provided context to the planning interventions in Monroe Park and helped me understand how the park was planned and redesigned with intention.

Archival Research

Similar to the content analysis described above, the archival research allowed me to dive into the history of the site and understand the planning interventions of Monroe Park from a historical point of view. The archival research adds the layer of historical narrative and understanding of the research in which allowed me to explore how the Monroe Park made it to its modern condition. The archival research involved primary sources held in archives, special collections libraries, and similar repositories. Much of this data will serve as background information for the neighborhoods and areas surrounding the park and will act as supplemental information for my qualitative methodologies. I found this information through special collections at both the Library of Virginia and Virginia Commonwealth University Library, through the Monroe Park Conservancy, and through various news outlets.

Key Informant Interviews

For the interview portion of my methods, I relied on a network of those closely related to the park, and subsequent snowball interviews. In this way, I was able to gain both an inside and

outside perspective to the park with those closely related to the renovations, and those who observed the renovations. I interviewed a variety of persons affiliated with Virginia Commonwealth University- faculty, staff, and current and former students- as well as those affiliated with the Monroe Park Conservancy.

Through semi-structured interviews, I asked questions and collected data that details how the recent renovation of Monroe Park affects users of the park, and who is currently benefiting from the renovations of the park. Each interview lasted about one hour, and data was collected through note taking and recording. I then coded the interviews to look for emerging themes to establish an emerging framework for my findings.

Table 1. Interviewees

First Name	Last Name	Affiliation
Alice	Massey	Monroe Park Conservancy
Greg	Felton	VCU Community Policing
Nicole	Dailey	VCU Community Policing

Table 2. Interview Question Samples

Research Question	Related Interview Question
What effect does ownership have on a particular space and the users of the space concerning who is occupying the space and how individuals are utilizing the space?	1. How has the change in ownership (from publically owned to a land-lease) changed how people use the space? 2. Has there been a shift in the demographics in the park from pre-renovation to post-renovation? 3. How do individuals typically act or behave in the park?
What effect do the intentional or unintentional crime prevention designs and	1. Now that the renovations of the park are complete, what changes in behavior have you observed? 2. How have the regulations of the space impacted how individuals use the space?

regulations do spaces have on the users of space?	3. Are there any specific intentional or unintentional crime prevention techniques that have been particularly successful? Unsuccessful?

Direct Observations

The direct observations portion of my data collection allowed me to gain a first-person understanding of how occupants of Monroe Park used the space. The observations took place from December through February though I did spend time informally observing the space in the Fall months. Most observations were approximately two or three hours, however, some observations were longer and some were significantly shorter.

While I was observing in the park, I was actively taking notes and memos to understand more about how individuals were using the space and who was in the space on a given day. Because the park is in a university setting, it was common to see individuals with notebooks, computers, and taking pictures, therefore I did not feel as if I was invading in the space while actively observing.

Table 3. Observation Schedule

Date	Time	Time Spent
September 27, 2018	11:00 AM	4 Hours
December 11, 2018	2:00 PM	2 Hours
January 7, 2019	2:30 PM	1 Hour
January 14, 2019	10:00 AM	3 Hours, 20 Minutes
January 17, 2019	3:00 PM	1 Hour
January 27, 2019	12:15 PM	2 Hours
February 5, 2019	12:00 PM	3 Hours
February 6, 2019	10:00 AM	3 Hours

February 7, 2019	10:30 AM	1 Hour, 30 Minutes
February 8, 2019	12:00 PM	2 Hours
February 10, 2019	10:30 AM	1 Hour
February 13, 2019	3:00 PM	1 Hour, 15 Minutes
February 18, 2019	9:00 AM	2 Hours
February 21, 2019	7:00 PM	1 Hour
February 25, 2018	5:00 PM	2 Hours

Throughout numerous ethnographic observations in Monroe Park, I spent approximately twenty hours in the space observing how individuals used and interacted with the park. The goal of these ethnographic was to understand how individuals interacted with the park, and answer the following parts of my research questions:

Table 4. Ethnographic Activities

Research Question	Related Ethnographic Activity
What effect does the ownership of the space have on a particular space and the users of the space pertaining to who is occupying the space and how individuals are utilizing the space?	• Participant Observations • Field Notes
What effect do the intentional or unintentional crime prevention designs and regulations do spaces have on the users of space?	• Participant Observations • Ethnographic Conversations • Field Notes

Over the course of the several months spent researching in Monroe Park, I collected notes on several variables including who was utilizing the park, what activities individuals were participating in, and generally how people were using the space. All of this information helped

me to understand how people used the park, how Monroe Park was redesigned, and the intentionality behind the design of the space.

Guided Tour

As a combination of both the interview process and the ethnographic process, I received a guided tour of Monroe Park from the President of the Monroe Park Foundation, Alice Massie. Guided Tours as a research method allow the researcher to combine visual and auditory experiences through the lens of an expert. In this specific study, the guided tour on Monroe Park was not necessarily planned but led to fascinating divulsions about the park.

Analytical Methods

The field notes or qualitative notes which I collect during the ethnographic sessions will serve as evidence of the observations collected during the data collection process. Field notes allow for observation and subsequent reflection in an unobtrusive manner (Canfield, 2011). I utilized the two key types of field notes during my observations: descriptive and reflective information. Descriptive information is factual data that is being recorded, including time and date, the state of the physical setting, and the description of subjects. Reflective information creates a depiction of the observer's reflections of the time spent in the space (Canfield, 2011).

Memoing in the context of qualitative research serves to, "assist the researcher in making conceptual leaps from raw data to those abstractions that explain research phenomena in the context in which it is examined" (Birks et.al 2008). In the context of this study, I used my memos gathered during my ethnographic sessions similarly to fieldnotes. The memoing assisted me in reflecting on my observations and helping my answer my research questions. The memos I took in the field during the ethnographic studies are informal fragments and sentences which I later built upon to reflect on my experiences.

Study Limitations

        The amount of data and literature available on the topics explored in this thesis are abundantly available for research and study, however, there were limitations throughout the course of study. The primary study limitation was the winter weather impeding users of the outdoor park, limiting in-person observations. It is difficult to say with certainty that usership would increase during warmer months, however, one would infer that the usership of Monroe Park would increase during warmer months. As the data collection portion of this study was conducted during the months of December through February, factors such as weather and the University's Winter Break potentially decreased usership.

        The availability of practitioners for interviews was another limitation experiences in my study. I initially hoped to interview practitioners in CPTED, particularly CPTED planners from surrounding jurisdictions, however, due to conflicting schedules interviews with several practitioners were not able to happen in the allotted time frame.

        The final limitation throughout this study was the potential of personal bias pertaining to crime prevention planning. My personal familiarity with Monroe Park stems back approximately ten years, to when I was an undergraduate at Virginia Commonwealth University. Having seen the social ramifications of the Monroe Park redevelopment on surrounding neighborhoods and the homeless population, I went into this case study knowing my background with the park prior to the redevelopment could cause some bias. It was my intention to interview those long affiliated with the Monroe Park Conservancy and the redevelopment process to better understand a perspective I was otherwise unfamiliar with.

Findings

Subliminal Reinforcement and the Façade of Safety

A key theme that emerged out of this research is the physical and subliminal design of Monroe Park, and how this perpetuates a facade of safety in the built environment. Through the methods described in the previous section, I discovered a thread of the perpetuation of a subliminal reinforcement and behavioral manipulation throughout the redesign of the park. Over the course of the several months spent researching in Monroe Park, I collected notes on several variables including who was utilizing the park, what activities individuals were participating in, and generally how people were using the space. All of this information helped me to understand how people used the park, how Monroe Park was redesigned, and the intentionality behind the design of the space.

The intentionality behind the redesign of the space includes how Monroe Park is programmed, that is, where individuals are allowed to do certain activities by the way the park is designed (described further in the previous section). There are several different lawns within the park, some of which have tables and chairs, some have bike lanes and pedestrian paths running through them, and others are simply open spaces where park goers recreate and enjoy the lawn. The lawns, as well as the location of the Checkers Building, are detailed in the rendering below.
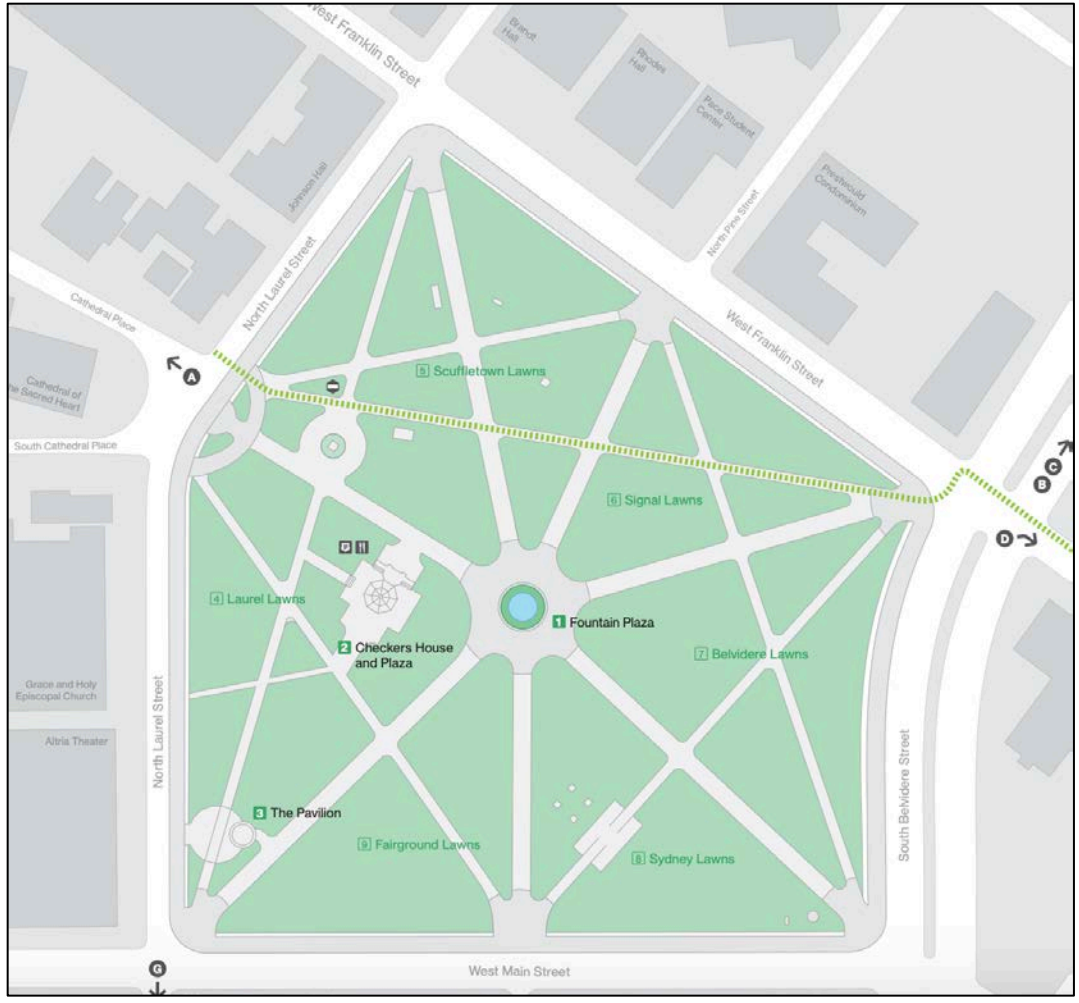
(Rendering Courtesy of the Monroe Park Conservancy, 2019)

The intention behind the park design emphasizes CPTED and the legitimate users' concept- if an individual is not using the park as it is programmed or intended, it is easier to distinguish than those who are using the space with perceived legitimacy. When considering who enforces the legitimacy of the space, there is a sense of subliminal reinforcement throughout the space because of the programming and the demographics. As stated earlier, the park very clearly defines which types of activities are permitted in which spaces, and which activities are not permitted. The programming makes users rethink or re-evaluate their actions before proceeding, and also makes those who are going against the design of the park more apparent. Those using the space, primarily VCU Students and others affiliated with the University, also create a

subliminal reinforcement of who the park is designed for. Throughout my observations in the park, the vast majority of users in the park were students, approximately 18-25 years old. It was noticeable when someone older came through the park, but even then, most people had school or work bags or were going to the park with a purpose (ie. for a meeting or to get to another building on campus). Because the park was designed with the influence of VCU, individuals who are unaffiliated with the University may feel uncomfortable or out of place while in the space.

The other level of enforcement is a more traditional approach, including CCTV and police officers patrolling the area. On the Checkers Building alone, there are six CCTV cameras, one on each corner of the building. There is also a banner hanging from the building stating "VCU Police". There are also cameras pointing down to the park from the top of dormitory buildings (around 15 stories tall) which surround the park. These specific cameras have a live-feed which can be accessed by anyone with internet access. The camera specific to Monroe Park, shown in the photo below, points down at the western corner of the park, and the viewer can see individuals walking through the park.
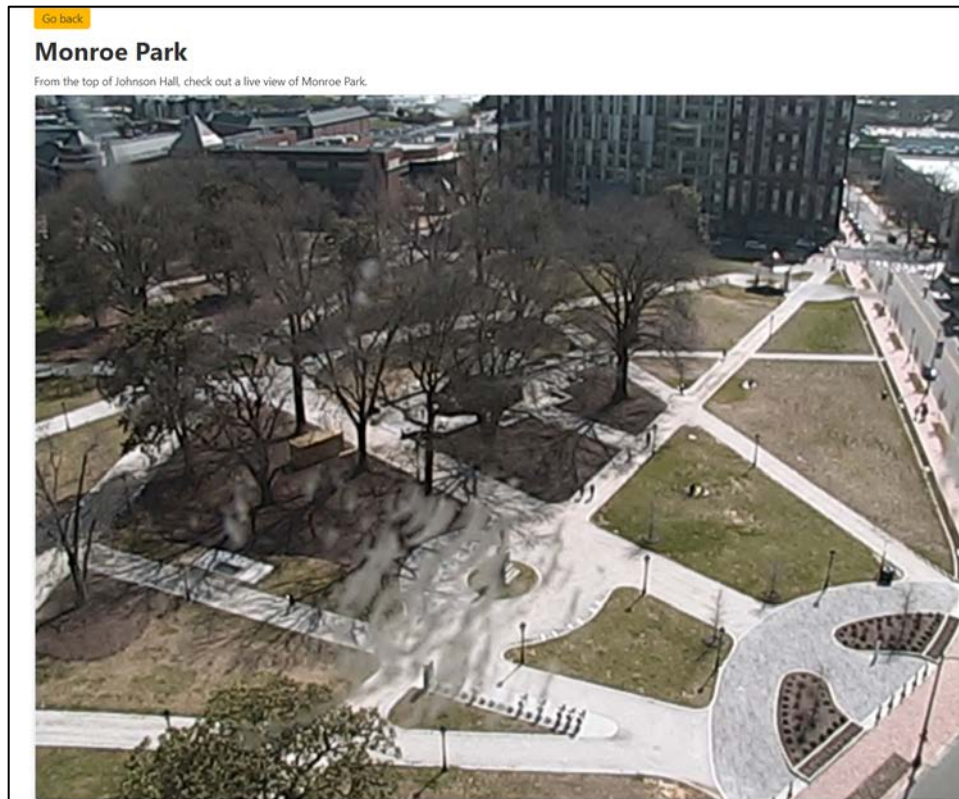
(Image courtesy of Ramcam.edu, 2019)

The park is patrolled by VCU Police, and if one did not know better, it would feel as if there was another police station in Monroe Park. While meeting with Alice Massey of the Monroe Park Foundation, I was able to go inside the Checkers Building and found out that it was a security "perch" in a sense, however, it was not being consistently monitored by police officers. In the building, there were roughly four or five computer monitors with camera footage and an additional camera inside the building. There are also VCU police officers that patrol the area both on foot and bike. In my time observing, I saw roughly three police officers per hour. The officers rarely, if ever, interacted with anyone, they simply patrolled the area and observed. The police were a passive force, seemingly reacting when needed- though I did not witness an event when the police were required.

The physical design of the space is also of note, as much of the redevelopment of Monroe

Park focused on redesigning parts of the space. The intentionality behind the redesign of the

space includes how Monroe Park is programmed, that is, where individuals are allowed to do

certain activities by the way the park is designed (described further in the previous section).

There are several different lawns within the park, some of which have tables and chairs, some

have bike lanes and pedestrian paths running through them, and others are simply open spaces

where park goers recreate and enjoy the lawn. I touched on elements of the park such as

programming in the park earlier in this section, and will expand on the programming in the next

section, however, there are several hard changes in the infrastructure- such as the reduction of

trees and limbing up of existing trees, increased lighting, creation of a new grading effect near

the Checkers Building, the addition of the bike share system, wayfinding signs, CCTV (closed-

circuit television) cameras, and the integration of a bike path. The park also eliminated the public

restroom from the first floor of the Checkers Building. The most significant visual change in my

observations was the addition of lighting throughout the park. In my observation on January 7th,

I counted approximately 70 lamps lining the paths and perimeter of Monroe Park. All of the

lamps are the same vintage style municipal streetlights, about fifteen feet tall and spaced about

ten feet apart from one another. I found the increase in lighting to be rather obvious, perhaps it

was due to the lack of foliage on the trees in the winter months, but whatever the reason, the

increase in lighting made me question what the intent of the lighting was. The first map below

from the Monroe Park Masterplan shows the lighting in the park prior to the redevelopment

while the map directly below it shows the proposed lighting changes in Monroe Park. The plan

does not provide a concrete number as to how many lights it proposed to add, or if the light was

simply going to be improved upon. The plan does highlight the design factors for which lighting

is fundamental: *perceived* safety, economy, and drama (Monroe Park Masterplan, 2008). The

safety tenant, most specific to this research, states, "this principle summarizes the improvement

in park walkway lighting levels, both measured and perceived, with an emphasis on vertical

brightness; the enhancement of visual acuity via the use of better color rendering sources and

enhancing the sense of visual transparency through and throughout the park." (Monroe Park

Masterplan, 2008).
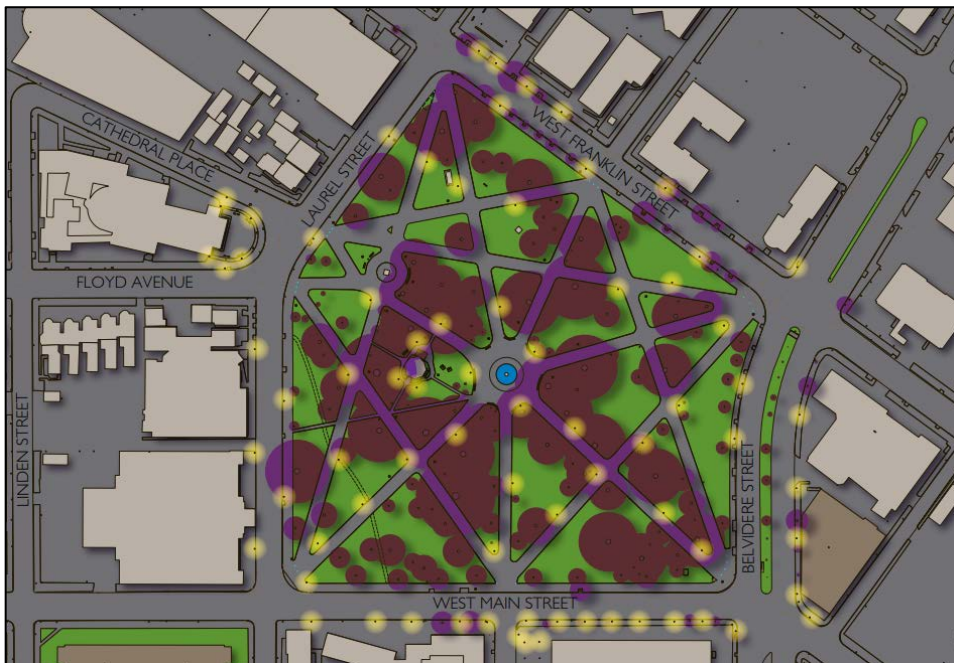
(Map Courtesy of the Monroe Park Masterplan, 2008)

(Map Courtesy of the Monroe Park Masterplan, 2008)

Another obvious change is the addition of tables and chairs near the Checkers Building. The

tables and chairs are not bolted to the ground, granting the public the perception of freedom to

move the tables and chairs around the park as they wish.

(Personal Photo, Monroe Park, 2018)

 This mentality of movable furniture resembles that which was set forth by architects Hanna and

Olin when designing Bryant Park in New York City in the 1970s, however, it should also be

noted that the chairs in Monroe Park weigh about 15-20 pounds each. The sheer weight of the

movable furniture in the park is inherently unmovable and represents a facade of

ownership. While observing on the warmer days in February, individuals in the park used the

tables and chairs freely, and at one point during my February 5th observations, all of the tables

and chairs were occupied.

        During the several months spent observing in Monroe Park, I collected notes on several

variables including who was utilizing the park, what activities individuals were participating in,

and generally how people were using the space. All of this information helped me to understand

how people used the park, how Monroe Park was redesigned, and the intentionality behind the design of the space. Throughout this research, I found that most of the individuals in the park used the space for recreation, studying, or to relax in between classes. There were groups of individuals playing soccer and frisbee, and other groups laying on blankets getting sun. As I noted earlier, a vast majority of users in the park appeared to be students, and between the ages of 18 and 24. Those who were not clearly students (carrying a backpack, studying, in a group of friends, recreating, wearing VCU insignia, etc.) appeared to be otherwise affiliated with the university or dressed in a professional manner.

Throughout my guided tour with Alice Massie of the Monroe Park Conservancy, she addressed some of the more contested aspects of the renovations, including removing multiple trees from the park, eliminating the public restroom from the Checkers Building (though, at one point during our meeting, a patron of the park knocked on the door as asked the use the restroom, and Alice unlocked the door for them), and perhaps the most contested aspect of the park renovation- the displacement of the homeless population in the park during the renovation. Alice stated that she programmed the park to better manage all aspects of the park, including food distribution, large events such as the annual Monument Avenue 10k, which ends in the park, and events that require tenting. As the Conservancy website states, most events still require permitting, and some events charge a fee, depending on the size and scale. Regarding the food distribution groups, in particular, Alice said groups would only be able to set up on the western corner of the park during the following hours on Saturday and Sunday only: 8:00 AM-10:00 AM, 11:00 AM-1:00 PM, 2:00 PM-4:00 PM. Only two groups are permitted per time slot, and each group needs to preregister.

The administrative role of VCU cannot go unnoticed when considering the physical and conceptual safety design elements in Monroe Park. As noted in other sections, the VCU Police Department patrols and manages the space, along with the Monroe Park Conservancy. The VCU Campus Police also has a designated Crime Prevention Unit which reviews campus building plans and provides feedback regarding community policing and CPTED strategies. I interviewed Lieutenant Nicole Dailey, Crime Prevention and Security Liaison with the VCU Police Department on her personal background with CPTED and VCU's history with crime prevention planning. Lt. Dailey explained that she was first introduced to CPTED through Broken Windows Theory and similar criminal justice theories, and stated, "Shortly after entering law enforcement I noticed that many communities were falling victim to crime incidents because of their appearance… From there I was able to make suggestions that aided community members with taking ownership for the look of their environment…" (VCU Campus Police Interview, 2019). Lt. Dailey cited specific examples such as trash removal, increased signage, planting raised flower beds, and other methods to "naturally enhance the security of the site" and "prevent vagrancy and imply ownership" (VCU Campus Police Interview, 2019). Regarding VCU's involvement with CPTED and community policing, Lt. Dailey stated that VCU has always had a stake in the surrounding communities and that since her time as a community policing officer in the 90s, she "used CPTED ideas to help slow the 'broken windows theory' that was impacting the community". Lt. Dailey also added over the course of her career she, "witnessed CPTED change communities and areas drastically for the better (VCU Campus Police Interview, 2019). Before CPTED, some areas were underutilized because they were being criminally abused; magnets for trespassing, drinking, loitering, or worse. After CPTED those areas are frequented for healthy socialization and its intended purpose." (VCU Campus Police Interview, 2019).

When asked about the engagement and influence the Community Policing Unit has on proposed plans influencing the university, Lt. Dailey explained that "the crime prevention team members sit in on the plans for any new constructions projects or are asked to provide input in renovations. During those instances, we provide CPTED guidance." (VCU Campus Police Interview, 2019). She went onto say that the unit is always aware of issues that may be occurring, but the unit actively tries to educate customers on the pros and cons of CPTED, and generally speaking, most developers are familiar with CPTED practices and guidelines.

Regarding designated community engagement and CPTED, Lt. Dailey explained that the level at which the community is engaged is dependent on the project. She provided two examples:

> As for community engagement and education, it really depends on the project. For example, if it's a new project, the education does not happen as much because people will learn to utilize the space as designed. In renovation work, there is a lot of retooling and education that has to be done because the space functions differently.

Lt. Dailey also said that the VCU Police Department sometimes relays CPTED and crime prevention techniques to the public during community meetings, or through specific building managers when they are assisting with concerns about their buildings (VCU Campus Police Interview, 2019).

I asked Lt. Dailey about the financial interest in specific projects garnering specific CPTED requirements. She explained that finances are always a consideration in every project, however, the amount of investment varies from project to project. Lt. Dailey stated:

> Areas that are high foot traffic may require more money to be focused on directing foot traffic away from certain areas. On the other hands, some design may encourage heavy foot traffic as part of its 'safety in numbers' approach, which may yield tons of money being invested in lighting.

Lt. Dailey also spoke about the follow-up period for the projects the unit advised on. She stated that the unit can typically easily identify when there are issued with CPTED implementations

and when the projects are going smoothly because they are a 24-hour agency, however, they typically implement a one-year follow-up period to institute recommendations (VCU Campus Police Interview, 2019).

Generally speaking, Lt. Dailey regarded CPTED as a policing tactic which is accessible and approachable for many projects. When asked if there were any ways which CPTED could be improved upon, she stated that "[CPTED] needs to be sought first when improvements and original planning is being done. CPTED is a historical safety tenant that really has been proven that it does not need improvement, it just needs to be used consistently." When asked if there was a better alternative to CPTED, Lt. Dailey stated, "At this time, no. It can be easily tailored to the circumstances that it truly is something that everything can benefit from." (VCU Campus Police Interview, 2019)

Through the content analysis, interviews, and guided tour of Monroe Park, I gained a better insight into the design intentions for the redevelopment of the park, and how this intentionality impacts the users of the space. Going forward, is it important to understand how the stakeholders in a given development process are connecting with the community to ensure that the redevelopment does not become inherently exclusionary.

Classism, Othering, and the Role of the University

A key theme that emerged out of my research was the role that Virginia Commonwealth University has in relation to Monroe Park, in conjunction with the key stakeholders that make up the Monroe Park Conservancy's Board. VCU has a major stake in Monroe Park, as it is located at the center of the Monroe Park Campus- it serves almost like a student quad for the university. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Park had a very different reputation and had the perception of crime.

The park is formally managed by VCU Facilities Maintenance. VCU does the majority of the maintenance and policing even though the land is city-owned, and the lease is through a third party 501c3 nonprofit (Monroe Park Conservancy, 2018). The proximity to the university was obviously an influential piece and priority when redesigning the park, as the park was designed for the students attending the university, the growing number of students, and the growing footprint of the university.

The Influence of the University

The VCU ONE Masterplan was approved by the University Board of Visitors at the end of March 2019. The Masterplan incorporates several elements of placemaking and revitalization for corridors of the city that are directly and indirectly affiliated with the University. One of the first mentions of revitalization is at the beginning of the planning document in the "Goals" section. The specific goal is to "Revitalize historic Franklin Street", setting a specific vision to modernize and revitalize the VCU buildings along Franklin Street and adding renovations to the rear of the buildings to include new additions (ONE VCU Masterplan, 2019). This specific revitalization focuses on buildings already owned, operated, and maintained by VCU. These buildings have been in the VCU footprint for years and the specific impact of revitalization would seemingly be confined to the University itself. The Masterplan also mentions the need for new open and green spaces throughout the campus. The document states that 24% of the overall campus open space is in poor or below average condition, and the ultimate goal of the plan is to create two new greenspaces that will serve as an anchor on each campus (VCU ONE Masterplan, 2019). The plan also mentions new streetscape improvements throughout the campus, ultimately acting as another opportunity to "clarify the campus front doors" (VCU ONE Masterplan, 2019). The goals and strategies for creating more green space throughout the campus are as followed:

1. Ensure the physical campus results in a sense of pride from the VCU and Richmond Community

2. Develop and clarify the "front doors" of campus with a consistent character that communicates wayfinding and the VCU identity

3. Identify iconic places on each campus that should be celebrated and preserved

4. Create a cohesive network of landscapes throughout the university that are inviting for patients, students, visitors, faculty, staff, alumni, and neighbors

5. Optimize green space on both campuses and connect to citywide parks and resources

6. Activate campus street corridors and open spaces

7. Design welcoming places that accommodate a broad range of experiences and users; patients, students, visitors, employees, faculty, staff, alumni, and neighbors

These tenants for the green space and open space throughout the campus and city resonate with the concept of *cordons sanitaires,* or purified spaces free of criminality which are under the social control of universities (Bose, 2014). Particularly homing in on tenants Two, Four, and Seven; these tenants have the focus of creating campus-specific spaces with the intent of "purifying" them for the purposes of the university. For example, the Masterplan describes the goal of developing the "front doors" for the campus as the process of identifying eight new vehicular access points that will be perceived as "front doors" to the university (VCU ONE Masterplan, 2019). The plan outlines the design and construction goals for the front doors to have a streamlined aesthetic to provide a clear sense of arrival to the university; the front doors will also aid in wayfinding for pedestrians and cyclists (VCU ONE Masterplan, 2019). The plan does state that the intention of the front doors is not to separate or barricade VCU from the rest

of Richmond, but rather to create a consistent level of delineation for the VCU campus perimeter.

Overall, the new VCU Masterplan displays many of the characteristics highlighted by Bose and others on the role that urban universities have on the redevelopment of city spaces. The role of the university will be discussed in more detail in later sections of this thesis, however, it is important to note the existing literature and the correlation between VCU, public spaces, and the financial interests of corporations in Richmond.

The Role of The Monroe Park Conservancy

What was intended on being a formal interview with Alice Massey, the President of the Monroe Park Conservancy, evolved into a multiple hour-long guided tour of the park where she explained her thoughts on the historical significance of the park, and the evolution of the redevelopment of the park. We met on the second floor of the Checkers Building, which she described as her office, on January 8th, 2019 at 1:00, just before the winter break ended for Virginia Commonwealth University. The inside of the building had nearly floor-to-ceiling windows, and about four or five computers, with a desk stretching across the entire wall. There were papers stacked high on each corner of the desk, and a circular camera stuck down from the center of the ceiling. Alice prefaced our meeting by telling me that we would be recorded on camera for the entire time. The Checkers Building is in the heart, of the park, situated in the southwest corner; most of the daily activity in the park happens near the building, and the windows in the building provide a view of the entire park, similar to a lookout tower. Alice began our conversation by describing her family's history in Richmond, stating that she grew up in an affluent neighborhood in Richmond's west end, attending private school at the Collegiate School- one of the oldest and most prestigious private schools in the city, and only came into the

city to go to church on Sunday. She began getting involved with historic renovations when her grandmother and mother became actively involved with Historic Richmond- a local nonprofit in Richmond whose mission is to preserve historic buildings throughout the city (Historic Richmond Website). She explained how she would spend her weekends in older houses renovating them to their former glory. This was her first exposure to saving and restoring historic and older properties throughout the cities. When Alice returned to Richmond after receiving her MFA, she became involved in various neighborhood associations. She recalled the story of purchasing her first home on Hanover Avenue in the Fan Neighborhood in Richmond and dealing with constant shaking of the foundation of the home every time a city bus would roll by. She stated that at the time, there was little community engagement to solve problems within the neighborhood, so she took a petition around to each of her neighbor's homes to get the streets repaired. Alice stated that this not only began her career as an active community member becoming involved in public works projects which she saw as otherwise neglected by the city, but it also earned her a reputation amongst neighbors and council as someone who could get things done. When approached by a councilperson to join the Monroe Park Advisory Council (now the Monroe Park Conservancy) to address the disrepair the park had fallen into, she said yes. She described the Council as somewhat unremarkable in the beginning; made up of a group of citizens from neighborhoods surrounding the park who were all moderately concerned about the future of the park. She stated that they met in the basement of the Mosque Theater, later the Landmark Theater, now the Altria Theater, which neighbors the park to the west. Alice stated that the Council was formed due to the reputation the park had earned throughout surrounding neighborhoods in the City of Richmond, and to address the "decay" the park had fallen into. The Council was initially composed of several community members from the adjacent neighborhoods

and Councilman Charles Samuels. Alice described the endless frustration of the Council, witnessing the constant turnover of city staff, and the general apathy about the park. She stated that after some time, one city staff member came to their meetings and proposed the idea of creating a new master plan for the park. It was at this time that the Advisory Council and the park reached a turning point. Though Alice described the process as difficult, to say the least, the Council was able to work with the city and contractors to draft a new master plan for the park. Alice attributed much of the success of the master planning process to the creation of the Richmond Performing Arts Alliance (RPAA) under Governor Wilder in 2001. The RPAA, still in effect today, is a public-private partnership organization within the City of Richmond which encompasses corporations such as Dominion and Altria, and public entities like the City of Richmond and the National Endowment for the Arts. Since its founding in 2001, the RPAA has since gained ownership and control of several performing arts venues throughout the city including the former Landmark Theater (now known as the Altria Theater, located just across Monroe Park) and the Dominion Energy Center. The RPAA is affiliated with the City of Richmond Parks and Recreation Department, stating on its website, "RPAA is proud to be affiliated with numerous performing arts organizations who call our venues home, each who bring amazing performances and engaging programs to audiences of all ages." (RPAA Website). Alice stated in our meeting that, among other factors, the creation of this public-private partnership stimulated the allocation of funding for the redevelopment of public works projects like Monroe Park. She also adamantly stated that such projects essentially would not exist without the assistance of private money and that she believed all redevelopment projects should be solely funded by private money, overseen by private contractors and project managers, and the city should simply enforce codes. She also said that, if the City of Richmond hadn't been

involved in the planning process of Monroe Park, it would have been done in less than half the time.

The role of both Virginia Commonwealth University and the stakeholders affiliated with Monroe Park demonstrate an uncharacteristic and undemonstrative of the greater community in which Monroe Park is set. The Conservancy and the Board of Directors are made up of wealthy individuals affiliated with the corporations surrounding the university. The majority of these individuals are white, which again is unrepresentative of the greater community. According to the American FactFinder, Census Tract 403 had a total 2017 population of 3,807 individuals, 1,946 of whom self-identified as White, 855 self-identified as Black or African American, 536 self-identified as Asian, and 440 self-identified as either two or more races or some other race. With just over 50% of the census tract self-identifying as white, yet well over half of the redevelopment was planned and orchestrated by white identifying individuals, it is difficult to say whether the needs and interests of the community were planned for, or whether half of the population's interests were accounted for during the process.

The Impact of the Insurgency

Monroe Park is a quintessential landmark in the grid of Richmond, Virginia. The history of the site was pivotal in forming the neighborhoods surrounding VCU in which many of us are familiar with today. With that being said, the Park has undergone several planning interventions since the 1800s and has long been a contentious site in the fabric of the city. The content analysis and interviews in this research led me to understand the interventions and history of the site, and how this history led to a period of insurgency in the park's story.

The land, once owned by William Byrd I, would become the footprint of the modern-day neighborhoods of Oregon Hill, Carver, and The Fan- three of the largest neighborhoods in

the western part of the city. The Byrd Family eventually had to sell the land through a real estate lottery, which is how the land, and now neighborhoods began to take the shape we see them as today (Monroe Park Master Plan, 2008). The one remaining historical facet in Monroe Park is a ravine that formed the eastern edge of present-day Monroe Park. The remains of the ravine can still be found in Hollywood Cemetery (Monroe Park Master Plan, 2008). When the Byrd Family owned the land, and into the time after it was purchased, the landscape was quite rural. In fact, the land was described as quite swampy which is a drastically different picture than what we see today (Monroe Park Master Plan, 2008).

From this point, there were several pivotal planning interventions that made Monroe Park what it is today, including one that occurred as recently as 2018. Arguably, the first intervention was when William Byrd sold his land in the real estate lottery (Monroe Park Master Plan, 2008). That is the first time the boundaries began to take shape of the modern-day Monroe Park. In the 1800s, the notion of the Public Square and public parks began taking shape across America and Europe due to the rapid growth of the city and the rapid decline of open spaces (Monroe Park Master Plan, 2008). Hollywood Cemetery was Richmond's first endeavor in the open space movement, particularly with the Garden Cemeteries. Hollywood Cemetery was created in 1847 on the influence of Mount Auburn Cemetery in Boston. With the creation of Hollywood Cemetery, and subsequently several other public gathering places in the city, Richmond was eager to embrace the parks movement.

Monroe Park formed in its modern-day shape pentagonal with the conception of Western Square in the years around 1851 (Monroe Park Master Plan, 2008). The square opened up the opportunity for Richmond to host events such as agricultural fairs, serve as barracks during the Civil War, and eventually a public park. Through the space known as "Monroe Park" has served

the same public use for the better part of a century, the renovation and redevelopment of the park

that occurred in the 2010s were perhaps the most significant. It is the first time in modern history

that a transfer of financial power occurred to an outside stakeholder from the City of Richmond

to Nonprofit and other external sources of funding.

The Rise of the Insurgency Movement

As the park is at the center of and is the namesake of the Monroe Park Campus of Virginia

Commonwealth University, several stakeholders began plans to revitalize the park in the early-

2000's. Numerous neighborhood associations saw the park as dangerous, citing an uptick in

perceived crime and homelessness in the park. The contested space was studied heavily from the

1980s-present, and eventually, councilpersons from the city formed a Monroe Park Advisory

Commission- later becoming the Monroe Park Conservancy. In 2011, the City of Richmond

leased the land to the Monroe Park Conversancy. The Conversancy is a 501c3 nonprofit and is

currently in a 30-year lease with the City of Richmond which began in March 2014. Other

stakeholders involved in the park regulation include VCU Facilities Maintenance (overseeing all

maintenance of the park), VCU Police- overseeing the policing and security of the park, and an

extensive Board of Directors and Officers (Monroe Park Conservancy, 2018).

One of the first facets of the modern-day history of Monroe Park began when the talk of

redevelopment began in the late 1990s and early 2000s. When talks of privatization occurred,

several radical political and social groups began protesting the proposed Monroe Park

redevelopment around 2010. The groups began protesting initially because Richmond Police

began forcibly removing homeless individuals from the park. Perhaps the largest insurgent

movement surrounding the park was the Monroe Park Occupation, where a group from the

Occupy movement physically occupied the park in the early months of 2011. The Occupation

was a multi-issue oriented occupation, however, the website for the Monroe Park Occupation states, " the Occupation will only meet to discuss demands once the City gets the cops to stop busting up all homeless camps..." (Monroe Park Occupation, 2011). The Occupation of Monroe Park lasted just under a month and ended with several Occupiers being charged with various misdemeanors such a trespassing and different innocuous behaviors (Monroe Park Occupation, 2011).

The impact of the Occupy movement on Monroe Park led to a larger community and city-wide conversation about redeveloping public spaces in the City of Richmond, and how corporate or private money was being used to fund public works projects. The Occupy movement in Richmond was a direct response to the larger Anonymous and Occupy movement which began in larger cities around the world. The question of whether the month-long Occupation of Monroe Park had an impact on the site is a critical question to the history of the park. The Occupy movement gained recognition in the local media, and the Occupiers attempted to work with the local council to work out a list of "requirements" for the new park renovations, but the group of Occupiers was seen as insurgencies in the realm of planning (Monroe Park Occupation, 2011). Though the Occupation may not have had a permanent physical result on the park, and the redevelopment of the park still occurred, it is important to remember how these different moments of insurgencies shape the future of design and planning, especially in the realm of public space. This period of insurgency led to a wider community conversation about the future of the park.

The threat of the insurgency movement left a lasting impression even as the Monroe Park Masterplan was drafted. The park was carefully programmed to direct behaviors to specific sites and lawns in the park. The city codes and regulations were also amended and are now posted on

the Monroe Park Conservancy's website. Prior to the renovations, Monroe Park still had the

quintessential pentagonal shape with lawns on the outside and pedestrian paths running through

the center. Now each section of the park has a name and a coinciding purpose. Some of the lawns

have to be reserved for events and some can be used freely (Guided Tour of Monrow Park,

2018). There are eight lawns on the Monroe Park Conservancy's website, each with a different

name, description, and purpose:

> Monroe Park is programmed by Lawn and Venue.
> Reservations are needed for organized activities when a lawn or venue will be used for a specific purpose.
> A fee is charged based on the size and scale of the activity.
>
> **Scuffletown Lawns**
> Table Tennis. RVA Bike Share. Available for reservation by request or for private rent with a permit. No tents.
>
> **Fairground Lawns**
> Always open to public. No organized activity that restricts use of the Lawn without a Permit. No tents.
>
> **Belvidere Lawns**
> Always open to public. No organized activity that restricts use of the Lawn without a Permit. Public demonstration can occur on this Lawn with a permit. No tents.
>
> **Sydney Lawns**
> Games courts, Available for reservation by request or for private rent with a permit. Small tents with a permit.
>
> **Signal Lawns**
> Always open to public. No organized activity that restricts use of the Lawn without a Permit.
>
> **Laurel Lawns**
> Available for rent with permit, tents allowed with permit. Checkers House and Plaza – Food vendor, Police, and movable tables & chairs. Available for rent with a permit.
>
> **Fountain Plaza**
> Movable tables & chairs. Always open to public. No organized activity that restricts use of the Plaza without a Permit.
>
> **The Pavilion**

Twenty foot diameter covered pavilion. Available for reservation by request or for private rent with a permit.

For Information or Reserve Space please contact us.
For Charitable Food Distribution please contact us or you can register in person at 1209 Admiral St. Richmond, VA

It should be noted that the programming of parks is an intentional reinforcement of CPTED through reinforcing how individuals use the space, territoriality, and the legitimate users' concept. Along with the additional programming on the park, the following rules and regulations are also posted on the Monroe Park Conservancy website:

-Monroe Park is open from sunrise to sunset
   City Code Secs. 8-280 and 8-267
  -No motorized vehicles
   City Code Sec. 8-268
  -Unattended items are subject to removal without notice
  -Please put recyclables and trash in the proper receptacles
   City Code Sec. 19-82
  -No drugs or alcohol
   City Code Sec. 19-3
  -No obstruction of public access, or flow of public travel through the park
   City Code Sec. 19-110
   -Monroe Park adheres to the VA Department of Health guidelines for food distribution
   State Code Sec. 35.1-14.2
  -No camping
   City Code Sec. 8-273
  -No fires
   City Code Sec. 13-199
  -No fireworks
   City Code Sec. 13-197
  -No disruptive conduct
   City Code Sec. 8-264
  -No glass containers outside of designated areas
   City Code Sec. 8-270

The programming of the park requires permits for specific events or large groups and requests the "respect of the Park and the People who use this green space." (Monroe Park Conservancy, 2018).

During my guided tour of Monroe park, I asked Alice Massie why she thought the park was

so contentious and controversial throughout the years, she contemplated the location of the park

and the influence of several different neighborhoods surrounding the area with different interests.

She cited specifically the neighborhood of Oregon Hill, and the self-proclaimed group The

Wingnut Anarchist Collective, or as Alice called them, the "wingnuts" (Guided Tour of Monroe

Park, 2018). The Wingnut Anarchist Collective were largely responsible for cultivating the

insurgency movement surrounding the park in the years leading up to the closing and subsequent

renovation of the park and led many of the food distribution groups in the park such as Food Not

Bombs. A post from the Wingnut Anarchist Collective's Facebook Page dated April 14, 2014

reads:

> Monroe Park might get privatized tonight at City Council at 6. Please come to speak out
> and stop this process! Charles Samuels doesnt want to let people speak on the issue so we
> are encouraging folks to bring signs or banners, be loud if you dont mind getting kicked
> out, or sign up before noon by calling 646 7955 to talk during the general public
> comments time. But you cant tell them you are speakong on monroe park so just make
> something up.

The Wingnut Anarchist Collective group continually made (and continues to make) posts both

on Facebook and other social media platforms that dispute Alice's mission and goals for the

park. They also hold frequent meetings in several communities protesting several perceived

injustices including classism and racism throughout the city. It is vocal uprisings and

insurgencies like this that made Alice reference and portray the "wingnuts" in such a negative

light. The reinforcement of the guided tour was to showcase the shift of power in Monroe Park-

the space is no longer a public park, no matter how it is classified or labeled. The space is a

privately owned, privately run, privately designed shell for the interests of few, disregarding

many.

This thread of understanding the overarching impact of the insurgency is important in understanding the purpose of the redesign of the park and understanding the intentionality behind many of the physical and subliminal design elements. The community conversations in 2010 and 2011 prior to the park being closed for renovations were largely unheard, and those with power led the path to redevelopment. As future redevelopments take place in the City of Richmond, reflecting back on this moment of insurgency and understanding why the Occupation took place will help continue conversations about the development of future spaces.

Discussion and Analysis

The methodological research into the Monroe Park explored in the key informant interviews, observations, and overall content analysis interviews revealed that there are three threads of findings: Subliminal Reinforcement and the Façade of Safety, Classism, Othering, and the Role of the University, and lastly the Impact of the Insurgency. Ultimately, this research revealed that there is a fracture between the original intent of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design CPTED and the modern implementation of CPTED design. The findings also demonstrate the power that the financial change in ownership has on a public space. In Monroe Park in particular, there is a shift in how the public uses the space prior to the change in ownership and the university-influenced redevelopment. The analysis below discusses the fractures into some of the more specific takeaways from the case study observations described above.

Subliminal Reinforcement and the Facade of Safety

In researching how the intentional and unintentional crime prevention design and regulations, and the effect they have on users of the space I noticed that in Monroe Park, CPTED has become more about manipulating personal behaviors and less about environmental

manipulation as Jeffry intended. Jeffry posited in his text that a new school of criminology was needed- an Environmental Criminology School. Though there is certainly physical manipulation to the environment in the redesign of Monroe Park, like the limbing up and removal of trees, creation of new bike lanes and pathways, and the new topographic grading near the Checker's Building, there is also a significant amount of manipulation that extends beyond the environmental, such as the over-programming of the park lawns and creating a false sense of ownership by adding shockingly heavy movable furniture. It is through this subliminal manipulation of park users that the Conservancy and those managing the park are able to achieve hyper-regulation of the space, resulting in the exclusion of marginalized groups.

One of the focuses of the Monroe Park renovation was the addition of movable furniture; Alice Massie discussed how she took pride in the ability for individuals to move the furniture in the park gave patrons an increased sense of ownership over the space. While this concept may be obviously valid, upon attempting to move and manipulate the furniture, the chairs weigh approximately 20 pounds. Alice took me through the design process of choosing the right material for the chairs and has three prototypes of the chairs in the Checker's Building office, all weighing more than the one before. The intent was to portray a facade of trust in the community, but an individual could not take a piece of furniture if they wanted to.

The Monroe Park redevelopment also included the power of outside stakeholders, all with different interests. The main influence was from the university and the users of the students. Though Virginia Commonwealth University does not directly own the park, they provide the maintenance and security of the park, and several high-ranking university officials sit on the Conservancy's Board. The goals of the university differ from the goals of Altria and sequentially differ from those of the general public. All of the individual goals, particularly the goals of the

stakeholders with the most power and influence, determine the outcome of the space. Throughout my observations in Monroe Park, rarely did I see an individual using the space who was not clearly affiliated with the university- the park is now managed like a de facto university quad. The redesign as a whole begs the question of when a space becomes over-programmed and hyper-regulated, does the space become less public and more exclusionary.

Lt. Dailey's assessment of CPTED and the direct correlation to Broken Window's theory takes a purely visual and reactive approach to community policing and design. The facade of safety perpetuated by Broken Windows being projected onto spaces such as Monroe Park and other spaces within the VCU campus reinforces the fact that CPTED through this lens does not necessarily mitigate or prevent crime, but rather displaces crime to other places outside the jurisdiction. The redevelopment of the park is undoubtedly visually appealing and implements classic CPTED principles, however, the incorporation of Broken Window's theory into specific design elements, and the fact that the crime is being mitigated by an illusion of upkeep and new planters speaks volumes to the priorities of the university and those behind the design process.

Classism, Othering, and the Role of the University

During the research, I made the important observation of the need for many stakeholders, such as Alice Massie feeling the constant need to *save* Monroe Park. The desire to save it from decay, from homelessness, from disrepair, from the wrong people being in the space. In the article, *Challenging the White Savior Industrial Complex*, Thomas Fisher argues that the design and architectural community has a tendency to think they know what is best for institutionally marginalized communities based off of academic and professional experience, leading to a lack of community-based design and participation. Many design practices may state they had well-attended charrettes or community sessions, but the demographics and focus of the outreach is

most likely not the group to be most affected by the redevelopment. Lt. Dailey briefly addressed community education and participation in our interview, but basically described the community process as a "retooling" of the public on how to use a space if a major renovation occurred, as opposed to community-based design sessions.

Referring back to the Guided Tour Section, a Facebook post from the Wingnut Anarchist Collective is referenced, where public comments for a City Council meeting regarding the park were being discouraged or even prohibited. Though this is, of course, one recollection of the events, it is not a representation of a community-based design, and there was undoubtedly much opposition to the closing and subsequent renovations of the park.

In the case of Monroe Park, the Monroe Park Conservancy pushed for the ultimate privatization of a park that had the potential to increase revenue for the private stakeholders involved- Altria, Dominion, and VCU to name the three largest. The current Conservancy Officers and Board of Directors are predominantly white, and many are high-level executives with major corporations in Richmond, which is unrepresentative of the census tract (tract 403) in which the park is located. As stated prior, the American FactFinder, Census Tract 403 had a total 2017 population of 3,807 individuals, 1,946 of whom self-identified as White, 855 self-identified as Black or African American, 536 self-identified as Asian, and 440 self-identified as either two or more races or some other race. With just over 50% of the census tract self-identifying as white, yet well over half of the redevelopment was planned and orchestrated by white identifying individuals, it is difficult to say whether the needs and interests of the community were planned for, or whether half of the population's interests were accounted for during the process.

A common thread throughout this research is the proximity of the park to Virginia Commonwealth University. Referring back to the existing literature, the role of a university

particularly in an urban or city setting plays an essential role in overseeing the redevelopment of public spaces. Scholars referenced prior argue that the inherent nature of the university is to act as a pseudo corporation, expanding its footprint as it expands its population. Over the last 20 years, the student body of VCU has nearly doubled in size; concurrently, VCU owns over 200 buildings in the City of Richmond with plans to acquire approximately 1.9 million additional square feet (VCU Facilities Management, VCU Master Site Plan, 2013). When the power dynamics of the university shifts from an institution of education to a real estate developer, the question becomes how this power transfer affects the community. The university is ultimately going to do what is in their best interest- just as any major corporation with financial power. The interests of the university are ultimately different than the interests of the city as a whole, as the university is affecting a relatively homogenous group of individuals.

The approval of VCU's Masterplan also touched on several elements relating to the analysis of the redesign of urban spaces in a university setting. Much of the Masterplan focused on the acquisition of new property or the revitalization of existing areas in the city. The plan touched on specific redevelopment projects currently being pursued by the city, such as the Navy Hill redevelopment, and how the university not only supported the effort but saw the redevelopment as an opportunity to seek out new community partners. The layered history of the Navy Hill neighborhood combined with the corporate stakeholders behind the redevelopment perpetuates the idea that the university has shifted power, perhaps from a community resource of education to a corporatized real estate developer. Another revitalization project that VCU addresses in its VCU ONE Masterplan is the proposed Navy Hill redevelopment plan. This redevelopment plan stemmed out of an RFP (request for proposals) from the City of Richmond that was returned by a private corporation headed by the CEOs of Dominion and Altria. This

return was the only answer to the RFP and includes mixed-use development and some low-income housing which was a requirement in the RFP. Also of note, the location of the redevelopment, historic the Navy Hill neighborhood, was a historically black working-class neighborhood that was largely demolished in the urban renewal era for Interstate 64. In the VCU ONE Masterplan, the address to the redevelopment states, "VCU and VCU Health System support the project and are exploring potential partnerships that are consistent with… the Masterplan." (VCU ONE Masterplan, 2019). Referring back to Bose and other scholars on the role of universities in urban redevelopment, the fact that VCU is partnering with corporate stakeholders on the redevelopment plans of Navy Hill and has made it a tenant of the Masterplan to "support the project and explore potential partnerships" speaks to the level at which VCU acts as a corporate and financial figure in the City of Richmond. .

The concept of *cordons sanitaires* described by Bose as purified spaces free of criminality, which are under the social control of universities is also an idea rooted in the VCU Masterplan document. There are several situations in which the plan refers to creating new spaces that anchor the university. The primary space would serve as the campus "iconic green", and there would be several other green spaces, open spaces, and greenways that complement the anchor. The map below was captured from the VCU ONE Masterplan; it highlights the proposed study sites for the green spaces and open spaces throughout the Monroe Park Campus. The spaces reinforce the concept of *cordons sanitaires* per Bose's explanation, defining specific areas throughout the campus and within the city, that are under the social control of the university, that need improvement to further the goals of the university and the public perceptions of the university.

It could be argued that Monroe park fits into the category of a *cordons sanitaires* as well. The Monroe Park Masterplan was published in 2008, furthering the redevelopment of the park. The park is also pictured in the map below, though there is no mention of the park in the VCU Masterplan.

(Map Courtesy of the VCU ONE Masterplan, 2019)

The redesign of the park, which includes not only the design elements but also the increased physical surveillance with CCTV, the patrolling of the park by VCU Police, the increased programming of the park lawns, and other CPTED elements could create a pseudo-*cordons sanitaires* as the redevelopment of the park was heavily influenced by the presence of VCU. According to the Monroe Park Masterplan, "The recent increase in enrollment at the adjacent Virginia Commonwealth University's (VCU) Monroe Park Campus and resurgence in popularity of many of the surrounding residential neighborhoods and retail corridors have led to an

increasing need for public open space within the City of Richmond." (Monroe Park Masterplan, 2008). The influence of the university on the redevelopment of the park is undeniable.

The VCU ONE Masterplan also talks about creating eight gateways to the university (four of which are seen in the map above, represented by the blue circles with while cars). The plan reiterates the fact that these gateways are a placemaking tool and not a device of encroachment; however, it should be noted that the practice of placemaking for the university compromises the identity of the city, particularly on the fringes near these gateways. As property acquisition and redevelopment continue to happen beyond the reaches of the core parts of the campus, the identity of the city becomes more compromised. The responsibility of the university as a developer becomes greater, while the role of the university as an institution of education becomes more secondary.

Impact of the Insurgency

The Monroe Park Occupation led to a greater disruption and conversation about the wider implications of what a privately-owned park might look and feel like for the city, and what the impact further encroachment of the university might have on disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. Furthermore, the initial conversations surrounding the park redevelopment proposed that the park be completely privatized. It is plausible to assume that the insurgency movements raised enough awareness about the potential implications of privatization that complete privatization did not occur. Reverting back to the initial research question regarding the effect of ownership of the users of space, this insurgency movement helped shed light on the potential implications of a completely privately owned public space. When the public realm is compromised, individuals lose the concept of Civil Society in which David Carroll Cochran posited. This Civil Society or, "social space in which culture and cultural groups operate, the ground in which they become

empowered" is lost when outside stakeholders place a financial value on social and cultural empowerment, however, there is typically less risk and more control when Civil Society does not exist (Carroll Cochran, 13).

Review and Conclusion

Throughout this research, much insight was gained on the real and perceived problems of Monroe Park, and how these problems fostered the new ownership and management opportunity for the park. With the fragmented planning of the park dating back almost to Monroe Park's foundation, there was a lost identity of the space, leading to the opportunity for the outside stakeholders, such as the Monroe Park Conservancy, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the other Richmond-based corporations to intervene. Though the public perception of the in the years leading up to the redevelopment of Monroe Park may have been generally negative, there was also a tone of apathy and complacency towards the park that allowed those with financial interest to take control of the redevelopment and lead the design of the park. Since Monroe Park was s under the ownership of the City of Richmond for several years leading up to this most recent redevelopment, the mentality of apathy towards the space grew until the outside stakeholder intervened and led the charge for the design.

Many individuals superficially perceive the redevelopment and redesign of the park as a beneficial to the surrounding community, and the overall argument of the research is not to deny the benefits of design and CPTED interventions. The review of literature and methods show that when communities and spaces that haven been redesigned with the influence of outside financial stakeholders and other influences such as a university, exclusion can easily occur in the once public space. CPTED is an easily manipulatable design tool that can be used in these circumstances to blindly place security as the measure of importance when in actuality it may be

creating a more appealing space for a certain demographic. If traditional CPTED practices such

as the six CCTV cameras in Monroe Park, the increased lighting, limbed trees; and other, more

obscure design elements in Monroe Park, such as the aforementioned programming, bike paths,

and movable furniture makes the space more comfortable and appealing to a college-aged,

middle class demographic, then the redesign of Monroe Park is successfully excluding the

demographic that was in the park prior to the redesign.

The Potential for Future Research

The research in this thesis provided several outcomes that may require additional

analysis. Due to the limitations discussed earlier, there is an opportunity to expand on this

research and continue to broaden the lens of crime prevention planning. The need for future

research includes gathering additional information from practitioners who implement and use

CPTED in their work. The knowledge of how CPTED is currently being used and implemented

would supplement the existing findings in this thesis by gathering additional background on

modern-day CPTED practices.

Another piece of useful information for future research is continued research on how

individuals interact with and use manipulated and modified spaces. Setha Low and other

planning scholars have researched the effect urban design has on usership of a space, however,

the potential to correlate this research with different criminological theories and behaviors is

important to both fields. The fields of both urban planning and criminology are ever-evolving,

especially in terms of the theoretical implications of human behavior in the built environment;

the analysis and correlation of crime prevention in public spaces and how this could jeopardize

the public nature of a space provides opportunity for future research and applicability in a variety

of geographic settings. The possibility of furthering this research through a dual-lens in both

criminology and urban planning would add an exciting value to both fields, as they are both intrinsically connected yet are in the infancy of theoretical connectivity. Furthermore, the potential to continue the research of the complexities of the university, the role of the university as a real estate developer and the concept of the *cordons sanitaires* provides the opportunity to deepen the research. There is undoubtedly scholarship on the role of the university in urban redevelopment projects, however, it seems from this research there is an opportunity to explore the trajectory of the topic, particularly on the outcome of the role the university has.

The Future of CPTED and Crime Prevention Planning

The outcome of this thesis shed light on the effects of the redesign of public space on a socially stratified community. Though the results of this research could be translated to a variety of settings, the physical setting of Monroe Park was unique in that the park is a public-private partnership, funded with both city and corporate money, in the middle of one of the state's largest universities. The conclusion of this research is not to say that CPTED is negative or should not be implemented, the conclusion is to say that more redesigns of public spaces include the funding and influence of corporate money and sponsorship, making the control of the space more prone to exclusion and bias. There is also the additional layer in this particular case study of the role of the university, and the impact that university-led redevelopment has on a city and public spaces. With so many strata of development and stakeholder roles at play, it is important that there is some level of consistency when making design-focused and crime-mitigating decisions.

The CPTED practices that are implemented focus more on subliminal control and environmental manipulation rather than some of the other hardening practices. In Monroe Park, the hard structure of the Checkers Building reinforced the security measures in place, however,

the ever-present subliminal methods such as landscaping, movable furniture, limbing the trees, and lighting, all dictated how individuals were supposed to use the space. As CPTED becomes confused with and synonymous with environmental manipulation, it is important to factor in who is funding these redevelopment projects and who they are being funded for. As more public spaces are being planned and designed by private firms with corporate sponsors, the general public has less of a say about what design elements are included or excluded in the final product. This was made apparent when the Wingnut Anarchist Collective made it known that they were reportedly being dissuaded from making public comment about Monroe Park during the public meetings.

From this research, it is apparent that public spaces are increasingly funded with the assistance of corporate sponsorships from the use of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) and similar processes. It is clear that these practices are becoming more commonplace and will not be disappearing from the stage of public works soon. If this is the case, however, more research needs to be done on the effects of corporatism on cities and occupants of public spaces, and policies need to be put in effect to ensure that public spaces do not include exclusionary practices in the design elements.

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Appendices
Appendix A.

Interview Protocol- Lt. Nicole Dailey, VCU Crime Prevention and Security Liaison
Conducted between February 20th and February 27th, 2019

Topic Background:
Thank you for taking the time to meet with me. My name is Kathryn Benedict. I am a second-year master's student in the Urban and Regional Planning program at Virginia Commonwealth University. As partial fulfillment for my degree candidacy, I am completing a thesis on design practices surrounding criminal activities, and how these practices may become exclusionary.

One of the main practices I am exploring is the theory of CPTED or Crime Prevention through Environmental Design. CPTED has a long history, stemming back to the 60s when crime policy reform was a major political topic. I am primarily focusing my research in the City of Richmond, particularly on public spaces such as Monroe Park, and looking at spaces that have a layered ownership structure (i.e. Monroe Park is owned by the City of Richmond, but is currently being leased by the Monroe Park Foundation, and has heavy influence from VCU and other major stakeholders).

Interview Questions:

Background questions and experience with CPTED:
1. Can you explain your experience working with CPTED or similar crime preventions practices?

    As a certified Crime Prevention Specialist, I had to attend CPTED training as one of the core requirements. It is now my go to resource for conducting site assessment. At each location I am look for ways to naturally enhance the security of the site. That may be planting raised flower beds to prevent vagrancy and imply ownership or enhancing lighting to brighten footpaths.

2. What was your personal background that led you into the field of CPTED planning/policing?

    Shortly after entering law enforcement I noticed that many communities were falling victim to frequent crime incidents because of their appearance. So, I applied to become a community policing officer. From there I was able to make suggestions that aided community members with taking ownership for the look of their environment (trash removal, signage, etc...). I had no idea at the time that I was using CPTED until one day I was offered to attend a training for it. Then I realized I was already doing it. Personally, I was driven to help people use what they already had to be safer.

3. What direct experiences have you had with CPTED, and what outcomes or impacts (if any) have you seen CPTED having on the community?

VCU Police Department has always been involved with the surrounding communities. In the late 90's as a community policing officer I used CPTED ideas to help slow the "broken window theory" that was impacting the community. Slowly but surely people began to take better care of their individual properties. Eventually it caught on and by others doing the same; it minimized areas that could attract crime. Over my career I have witnessed CPTED change communities and areas drastically for the better. Before CPTED, some areas were underutilized because they were being criminally abused; magnets for trespassing, drinking, loitering or worse. After CPTED, those same areas are frequented for healthy socialization and its intended purpose.

4.   Do you, or your department conduct community education training on what CPTED is? For example, if a divided bench or increased lighting in being implemented into a community's design, are those conversations that you have with community members as part of the planning process as to *why* those elements are being implemented or are community engagement and education not a big part of CPTED planning?

At the University, crime prevention team members sit in on the plans for any new constructions projects or are asked to provide input in renovations. During those instances, we provide CPTED guidance. Lucky for us CPTED has surpassed law enforcement and most design teams are already incorporating it in their plans. As always should we know of issues that are occurring, we educate our customers on the pros and cons of using CPTED? As for community engagement and education it really depends on the project. For example if it's a new project the education does not happen as much because people will learn to utilize the space as designed. In renovation work, there is a lot of retooling and education that has to be done because the space functions differently.

Implementation Questions:
5.   Can you think of any projects or plans where your department has been directly involved in implementing a CPTED plan?

Departments within the University will contact the Crime Prevention unit of the VCU Police Department and request security assessments. Each assessment's recommendations are given from the viewpoint of CPTED with educational verbiage to support them.

6.   What other departments do you work with when implementing or drafting a CPTED plan (i.e. developers, designers, planners), and at what stage of the plan does the collaboration occur?

As previously mention most architects and design planners are already incorporating CPTED. At VCU we work with Planning and Design and Card Services or any new builds. During those meetings we provide input on access control, cameras and anything else that may aesthetically strengthen security/

7.   Have you found that clients or plans require different "amounts" of CPTED based on their financial interest in a space or the demographics in an area?

Finances are always a consideration when designing a space because funds are not unlimited. The great thing with CPTED is that it can be tailored to the space and the environment. Areas that are high foot traffic may require more effort and money to be focused on directing foot traffic away from certain areas. On the other hands some design may encourage heavy foot traffic as part of its "safety in numbers" approach, which may yield tons of money being invested in lighting. I have yet to encounter designers who spend excessive amounts of money unnecessarily for the sake of CPTED. The need usually drives and justifies the expenditure.

8.　　Similarly to the question in the previous section, how has the community been engaged regarding CPTED?

With VCU Police Department this typically occur with building managers when assisting with concerns in their areas. Or it happens during design input or when presenting at community meetings where area concerns are expressed.

9.　　When implementing a CPTED plan or project (or incorporating CPTED elements into a plan), what does the follow up look like to measure the "success rate" of crime prevention for that plan? If there a benchmark of every X, X, and X months the metrics are studied, or is there any follow up at all?

For us, because we are a 24-hour agency, we can easily identify when the CPTED recommendations have been implemented because they are generally visible while on patrol. However, we try to make follow-up contact typically within a year of providing recommendations.

Strengths Questions
10.　　What are some concrete examples of how you have seen CPTED and similar design practices have a positive impact on the community, without sacrificing the wellbeing of the community, and without othering frequently targeted community members?

I have seen simple repairs of broken windows at homes stop more window from being broken in that same block. Doing so provided a perception of care an oversight. I have seen replacing benches in a park with ones that have dividers prevent vagrancy and loitering which deters people from coming to the park. I have seen changing exterior lights to LED, generate more foot traffic because the paths are brighter and visibility is better. One of the most visible and easiest ones has been the use of overly large concrete planters to provide barrier protection and beautification. Both of which draw more people to the area.

Weaknesses
11.　　Are there ways in which you think CPTED practices could be improved upon?

I think they need be sought first when improvements and original planning is being done. CPTED is a historical safety tenant that really has proven that it does not need improvement, it just needs to be used consistently.

12.   Do you think there is a better alternative to CPTED?

At this point in time, no. It can be so easily tailored to the circumstances that it truly is something that anyone can benefit from.

Additional Information:

VCU Police Department is the first Certified Crime Prevention Campus in Virginia. A large part of that certification involves our work with CPTED. We have 90+ officers and an entire unit devoted to utilizing CPTED in their approach to work.