Influence of Defensible Space and Spatial Composition on Neighbourhood Satisfaction in Public Housing Estate in Lagos

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Public Housing generally is marked by a mix of challenges that often covers a wide range - from poor maintenance and overcrowding to safety concerns and a lack of community connection. These challenges are exacerbated in the context of rapidly growing cities leaving many of the residents feeling unsafe, dissatisfied and disconnected. This paper examines the interaction of defensible space elements of territoriality, surveillance and target hardening and the special composition of neighbourhoods in a public housing estate to influence neighbourhood satisfaction. The study utilizes the survey method using questionnaires to obtain data on relevant variables. The findings indicate that there is no significant difference in defensible space elements by house types ($P<0.05$) and that territoriality has the highest mean score (4.04). It also suggests that single family neighbourhood has greater percentage of defensible house types (62.6%). Overall the study found that in single family neighbourhood, target hardening is the most significant influence on satisfaction. For multiple family neighbourhoods, surveillance and target hardening are the most influencers satisfaction while all three: territoriality, surveillance and target hardening influence satisfaction in the entire study area suggesting their importance in improving this necessary goal of the urban public housing.

Keywords: defensible space, FESTAC, neighbourhood satisfaction, surveillance, target hardening, territoriality, public housing

Introduction

Public housing estates in Nigeria are often marked by a mix of challenges ranging from poor maintenance and overcrowding to safety concerns and a lack of community connection (Jegede *et al.*, 2018) As cities continue to grow rapidly, many of these housing environments struggle to meet the basic needs of their residents, leaving people feeling unsafe, dissatisfied, and disconnected. Defensible space and neighbourhood composition are critical factors influencing residents' satisfaction and perceptions of safety within public housing estates (Aro *et al.*, 2024). In the Nigerian context, where rapid urbanization and population growth have intensified pressure on public housing infrastructure, understanding how spatial design and social dynamics affect neighbourhood satisfaction is essential (Morton, 2020). Defensible space theory emphasizes the role of environmental design in enabling residents to exert control over their surroundings, thereby reducing crime and enhancing communal interaction. Similarly, the housing composition of neighbourhoods shaped by socio-economic, cultural, and demographic factors plays a significant role in fostering a sense of belonging and overall liveability (Ebaid & Semary, 2024). This study takes a closer look at how the combination of defensible space and neighbourhood composition, shapes people's satisfaction with life in a public housing estate in FESTAC Town, Lagos, Nigeria.

Literature Review

A careful study of literature in defensible space, housing composition and satisfaction are as follows:

Definition of defensible space

The concept of defensible **space** represents a foundational theory in environmental criminology, urban design, and housing studies. Initially introduced by Oscar Newman in 1972, defensible space refers to a design-based approach to residential environments that seeks to reduce crime and enhance residents' sense of safety and responsibility through the strategic use of space (Oscar, 1996). Newman defined defensible space as a residential environment whose physical characteristics, building layout and site plan function to allow residents to control the areas around their homes. This control, both symbolic and practical, enables residents to influence behaviour, prevent intrusion, and encourage surveillance and guardianship (Sherman 2021).

In many African cities, including those in Nigeria, the concept of defensible space is still emerging but becoming increasingly relevant. With rapid urban growth and overcrowded, poorly maintained public housing, concerns about safety, privacy, and resident well-being are rising. Most Nigerian housing projects lack the thoughtful design needed to promote natural surveillance, a sense of ownership, or social connection, factors that are critical to safe and liveable communities. For public housing, it offers a

practical path toward safer, more cohesive, and more resilient communities (Matamanda & Mphambukeli 2022).

Associated theories of defensible space

The idea of defensible space helps us understand how a place designed can influence crime and safety (Oscar, 1996). This theory is introduced by Oscar Newman in 1972, the theory suggests that when people feel ownership over their surroundings, they are more likely to watch over the space which can help deter crime (Jegede *et al.,* 2018). Newman highlighted four key features: a sense of ownership (territoriality), the ability to see what's going on (natural surveillance), a clean and cared-for appearance (image), and support from the surrounding area (milieu) (Ibem *et al.,* 2014). This theory has shaped other safety-focused approaches, like Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), which adds ideas like managing access and encouraging positive activities in public spaces (Engel & Rogg, 2024). Broken Windows Theory supports this by showing how signs of neglect, like vandalism, can invite more serious crime, while Routine Activity Theory explains that crime happens when there is opportunity although, good design can help prevent it (Rikke *et al.,* 2023).

Elements of defensible space

The theory of defensible space, as introduced by Oscar Newman (1972), identifies specific physical and social elements within residential environments that influence the degree of control residents feel they can exert over their surroundings (Iqbal *et al.,* 2024). These elements work collectively to deter crime, foster a sense of ownership, and encourage active community participation (Akinola *et al.* 2024). The four primary elements of defensible space: territoriality, natural surveillance, image, and milieu have become central to discussions in environmental design and crime prevention literature.

Territoriality is fundamental to fostering a sense of pride and responsibility among residents, as it encourages them to actively protect and maintain their environment (Ryan &Weber, 2005). Clearly defined spaces, whether through physical boundaries like fences or symbolic markers such as signage, empower residents to claim ownership over their immediate surroundings, reducing the likelihood of neglect and anti-social behaviour.

Natural surveillance is achieved through thoughtful design elements such as the strategic placement of windows, lighting, and the orientation of buildings that enhances visibility, making it difficult for criminal activities to go unnoticed (Barrie *et al.,* nd). This sense of observation not only deters crime but also instils a feeling of security among residents. When individuals feel that they are being observed, either directly or indirectly, they are less likely to engage in or tolerate undesirable behaviour, thereby contributing to a safer environment and greater satisfaction (Ebaid & Semary, 2024).

Image, the third element of defensible space, pertains to the physical appearance and maintenance of the environment. A well-maintained neighbourhood, characterized by cleanliness, order, and architectural coherence, promotes a positive image that can significantly enhance residents' perception of their community's dignity and status (Ibem *et al.,* 2014). In contrast, areas that appear neglected or in disrepair may convey a sense of decay, which negatively impacts residents' satisfaction. The Broken Windows Theory reinforces this notion, asserting that visible signs of disorder can lead to increased crime and reduced satisfaction if not promptly addressed (Sherman, 2021).

The fourth component, *milieu,* refers to the broader context within which a neighbourhood exists, including its relation to surrounding areas, connectivity, and proximity to high-crime zones or socially unstable environments (Sendi *et al.* 2009; Kramer, 2017). The milieu affects how vulnerable or integrated a community feels. For example, public housing estates situated near areas of economic hardship, violence, or social unrest are likely to experience heightened levels of insecurity, which diminishes residents' overall satisfaction (Cohen *et al.,* 2024).

Target hardening has come to be recognized as one of the elements and pathways to achieve defensible space. It was birthed out of a concerted effort by scholars and practitioners to operationalize Defensible Space and was consequently developed through one of the theories that emanate from it. This theory is known as crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). Target hardening increases the effort that must be exerted by offenders to commit a crime. It is essentially a tool intended to deny or limit access to crime targets through the use of physical barriers such as fences, gates, locks electronic devices and security patrols (Ramadhoan & Ufran 2024).

Defensible space and neighbourhood satisfaction

There is a strong correlation between well-designed environments that incorporate defensible space principles and positive residential experiences (Rikke *et al.,* 2023). When residents feel that their environment is secure, respected, and conducive to human-scale interaction, their satisfaction with their neighbourhood tends to increase (Aro *et al.,* 2024). This, in turn, leads to greater community engagement, such as participation in communal activities, social interaction with neighbours, and a shared commitment to maintaining public spaces (Sherman, 2021). In the context of public housing estates in Nigeria, the relevance of defensible space principles is particularly critical. Many public housing developments in urban centres such as

Lagos, Abuja, and Port Harcourt suffer from overcrowding, inadequate maintenance, poor spatial planning, and limited access to essential services (Umar *et al*., 2019). These issues often lead to diminished opportunities for natural surveillance, blurred territorial boundaries, and a lack of communal spaces, all of which create environments conducive to crime and social disconnection. As a result, residents' satisfaction with their living conditions is significantly reduced (Abayomi & Olumide, 2013).

Neighbourhood satisfaction is not only a reflection of social and economic conditions but also a direct response to the spatial quality and design logic of the built environment (Akinola *et al.*, 2024). Defensible space offers a valuable lens for understanding and improving the residential experience, particularly in the context of urban housing policies aimed at creating inclusive, secure, and dignified living environments in Nigeria. Incorporating defensible space principles into public housing design provides a pathway to achieving more functional, sustainable, and satisfying communities (Ayara, 2021).

Neighbourhood/house types in public housing

The typology of neighbourhoods and house types in public housing schemes plays a significant role in shaping the daily lives, interactions, and overall perceptions of residents. In countries like Nigeria, where rapid urbanization has led to challenges such as overcrowding, housing shortages, and income inequality, public housing is often seen as a key solution (Ogundele *et al*., 2011). However, the success of such housing initiatives depends not only on the provision of shelter but also on the thoughtful planning of neighbourhoods and the types of homes that are built. These housing areas vary in their layout and design, ranging from detached and semi-detached houses to terraced homes and walk-up apartments (Ebaid & Semary, 2024). Each of these house types impacts the residents' privacy, social interactions, and sense of control over their living space. For instance, detached and semi-detached homes offer higher levels of privacy and clearer territorial boundaries, promoting a sense of ownership and responsibility. In contrast, apartment complexes, while offering efficient use of space in densely populated areas, often face challenges such as maintenance issues, reduced privacy, and security concerns. These differences in house design influence not only the physical living experience but also the social dynamics within the community (Adesoji, 2020; Ayara, 2021).

Neighbourhood satisfaction

Neighbourhood satisfaction is a complex, multi-dimensional concept that reflects the way residents perceive and evaluate the quality of life within their immediate environment (Ayara 2021. This satisfaction is influenced by a variety of factors such as physical, social, and psychological that collectively shape residents' experiences (Umar *et al*., 2019). Key elements include safety, cleanliness, availability of communal spaces, infrastructure maintenance, social interaction, and a sense of belonging. Importantly, the theory of defensible space, as proposed by Oscar Newman in 1972, provides a crucial spatial framework that significantly impacts neighbourhood satisfaction (Oscar, 1996).

Study Area

Festac Town is a major public housing estate located in Amuwo-Odofin Local Government Area of Lagos State, Nigeria, along the Lagos-Badagry Expressway (See Figure 1). Geographically, it lies between latitude 6.4667° N and longitude 3.3333° E, along the Lagos-Badagry Expressway, approximately 10 km west of Lagos Island and within close proximity to the Lagos Lagoon (Abayomi & Olumide, 2013). The estate spans over 2,000 hectares. Established in 1977 to host participants of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC), the estate was designed as a modern, well-planned residential community with diverse housing types and communal facilities (Rikke *et al.*, 2023). Over time, however, Festac Town has experienced significant changes due to urbanization, population growth, and infrastructural decline. These shifts have impacted spatial organization, security, and community life, making the estate a relevant case for studying the relationship between defensible space principles, neighbourhood composition, and resident satisfaction in Nigerian public housing (Abayomi & Olumide, 2013). See Plates 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Figure 1: Map of Festac Town showing the distinct neighbourhoods (Authors Field Work)

Plate 1: Photo showing a single Family Neighbourhood
Source: *Authors Field Work*

Plate 2: Photo showing another single Family Neighbourhood
Source: *Authors Field Work*

Plate 3: Photo showing Multiple Multiple Family Neighbourhood
Source: *Authors Field Work*

Plate 4: Photo showing another Family Neighbourhood
Source: *Authors Field Work*

Research Methodology

This study used a quantitative approach to assess the influence of defensible space and neighbourhood composition on residents' satisfaction in a public housing estate in Nigeria. The research focused on (FESTAC Town, Lagos) Public Housing Estate, using stratified random sampling to select 1400 adult residents. Data were gathered through a structured questionnaire covering socio-demographics, perceptions of defensible space, and satisfaction. SPSS was used for data analysis, employing descriptive and inferential statistics to explore relationships between the variables. Ethical approval and informed consent were obtained.

For the purpose of this study the area was divided into nine (9) neighbourhoods based on the House types. Neighbourhoods A,C,F and I are Single Family Neighbourhoods which comprises of five (5)/(4) Four Bedroom Duplexes and Terraces. While those of B,D,E,G & H are made up of Multiple Family units which comprises 32nos (Bedroom Units/Blocks in four floor 16Nos 2Bedroom units on four floors and 8Nos 3Bedroom unit on four floors as well.

The study utilized the survey method. Stratified systematic sampling was used to administer questionnaire by trained raters. Ten percent of the sampling population which comprised 10,300 households was targeted. Out of 1400 questionnaires administered, 1132 were retrieved. The study collected data on defensible space elements – territoriality, surveillance and target hardening as independent variables. The questions on independent variable were scale using a Likert scale of 1-5 form strongly disagree – 1, to strongly agree -5. This is because it offered simplicity and reduces data confusion (Garrat *et al.*, 2011).

For neighbourhood satisfaction as the dependent variable, the question is "How satisfied are you generally with your neighbourhood? And rated on a Likert scale of 1-10. 1= extremely low; and 10 = extremely high. This provides greater precision allowing for more nuanced opinions (Garrat *et al.*, 2011). The main objectives of the study are as follows: to show the significance of defensible space by house types and by neighbourhood; to examine defensibility by neighbourhood and house type; to examine neighbourhood satisfaction among residents and by neighbourhood; to examine neighbourhood satisfaction by house types; to examine the impact of defensible space elements on neighbourhood satisfaction.

Results and Discussion

The findings of the study are outlined and discussed below

Significance of defensible space by house and neighbourhood types

Defensible space by housing types

The result according to Table 1 shows a non-significant difference in the manner at which the study participants displayed their *level of territoriality* between the single and the multiple housing units (P > 0.05), although the single family unit (MIS=3.81) was slightly rated higher than the multiple family unit. Also, a statistically non-significant difference was observed between the ratings of surveillance in the single housing unit and that of the multiple housing unit (P>0.05). Even though the single family (MIS=3.21) unit was rated higher than the multiple family unit (MIS=3.13), a statistically non-significant difference was observed between them. Lastly, the study found a statistically non-significant difference between the residents rating of the defensible space of the single housing units and that of the multiple housing units of Festac town (pvalue< 0.05). Target Hardening between the single and multiple finding must show that there is a statistically non-significant difference between the two.

Table 1: Defensible Space by the Housing type

	Single Family Unit	Multiple Family Unit	Diff	Pvalue
Territoriality	3.87	3.81	-0.05	0.3525
Surveillance	3.71	3.75	0.03	0.5580
Target Hardening	3.21	3.13	-0.08	0.1206
Defensible Space	3.54	3.50	-0.04	0.3565

Non-significant difference in defensible space elements by house types

Defensible space by the different neighbourhoods

Table 2 displays the analysis of the defensible space in Festac town of Lagos state. Territoriality had the highest score in term of defensible space (MIS=3.84). This is keenly followed by the surveillance system with a mean score of 3.73, while target hardening as a component of defensible space had the least score (MIS=3.17). The study also found, that territoriality was rated the highest in neighbourhood A (MIS=4.04), while neighbourhood C (MIS=3.54) had the least rating in this regard. Surveillance system in neighbourhood I was rated best with a mean rating of 3.89, while neighbourhood E (MIS=3.59) had the least rating in this category. The study also found that target hardening, was rated as being the best in neighbourhood I (MIS3.37) compared to neighbourhood D with the least target hardening rating (MIS=2.98). Lastly, when it comes to the rating of the overall defensible space of Fesatc town, Neighbour I comes first with a mean index score (MSI) of 3.7. Whereas neighbourhood C comes last with a mean score of 3.3.

Table 2: Defensible Space by the Neighbourhood Type

	A mean	B mean	C mean	D mean	E mean	F mean	G mean	H mean	I mean	Total mean
Territoriality	**4.04**	3.94	3.54	3.63	3.66	3.89	3.85	3.83	3.99	3.84
Surveillance	3.8	3.85	3.43	3.7	3.59	3.75	3.73	3.79	**3.89**	3.73
Target Hardening	3.32	3.27	3.05	2.98	3.2	3.15	3.05	3.13	**3.37**	3.17
DEF_SPACE	3.66	3.63	3.3	3.37	3.44	3.54	3.47	3.51	3.7	3.52

Defensibility of the study area by the neighbourhood types

An examination of the defensibility of the study area's constituent neighbourhoods, revealed that the majority of Festac Town's neighbourhoods were very defensible, with 60% and 39.8% being very defensible and averagely defensible respectively, while just 0.2% were indefensible. Regarding the various neighbourhoods, neighbourhood I had the largest percentage of defensible territory (70.0%), neighbourhood C had the highest percentage of averagely defensible unit (47.4%), and neighbourhood D had the lowest percentage of defensible territory (about 2%). The defensible space and the neighbourhoods' types were shown to be statistically significantly related (χ^2 =40.343, df = 16, p= 0.001) table 3. This finding demonstrated that defensibility varied by neighbourhood in Figure 2 and Table 3.

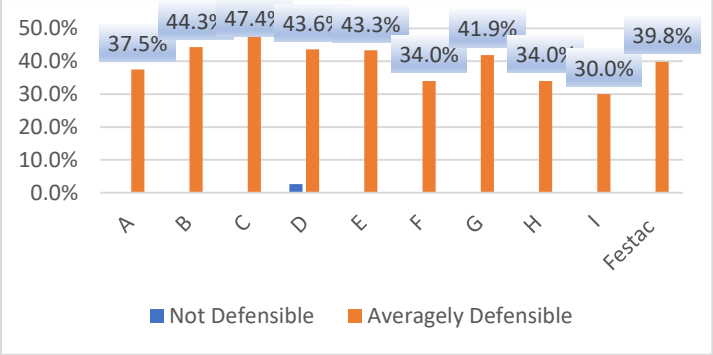

Figure 2: Defensibility by the Neighbourhood Types

Defensibility of the study area by the housing types
Last but not least, showing the defensibility of the study area with regard to family house types revealed that the single family neighbourhood had a little greater percentage of very defensible housing units (62.6%) than the multiple housing types (58.0%). Additionally, the percentage of single- and multi-family homes without defensible space was extremely low in both cases-0.3% and 0.0%, respectively. Finally, Table 3 also demonstrates that the percentages of averagely defensible dwelling units in single-family and multiple-family units were comparatively low, at 37.4% and 41.7%, respectively. There was no statistically significant difference in the defensible space characteristics of both the single and the multiple family units ($\chi 2$ =3.836, df = 2, p= 0.147).

Table 3: Defensibility by the House types

	Defensibility of the study area			x^2	df	P-value
	not defensible	**averagely defensible**	**very defensible**			
SFU	0(0)	184(37.40)	308(62.6)	3.836	2	0.147
MFU	2(0.30)	267(41.7)	371(58.0)			

Neighbourhood satisfaction score by percentage
Figure 3 shows that about half of the study participants (52.39%) had a very high neighbourhood satisfaction, 22.44 % had a high level of satisfaction within Festac neighbourhoods, 20.76% and 4.42% respectively of the study participants had a low and very low level of satisfaction with their neighbourhoods.

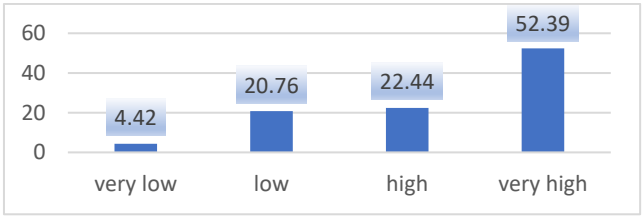

Figure 3: Neighbourhood Satisfaction in Festac Town

Neighbourhood satisfaction by the housing type
Table 4 presents the neighbourhood satisfaction by the types of housing unit in Fetsac town. The study found the neighbourhood satisfaction to be relatively high in Festac town as whole 52.39% and 22.44% claimed they had a very high and high neighbourhood satisfaction respectively. A non-significant difference was observed in the neighbourhood satisfaction level of the resident of the single-family unit and that of those of the multiple family unit (x=5.2607, df=3, p<0.05) (table 6). While 54.88% and 22.97% respectively of the residents of single family unit reported a very high and high neighbourhood satisfaction, 50.47% and 22.03% of the residents of the multiple family unit reported a very high and high neighbourhood satisfaction. An insignificant number of the residents of both the SFU and the MFU respectively, 3.25% and 5.31% reported a very low neighbourhood satisfaction (Table 5).

Table 4: Neighbourhood Satisfaction by the Housing Types

	Neighbourhood Satisfaction				x^2	df	P
	very low	low	high	very high			
SFU	16(3.25)	93(18.9)	113(22.97)	270(54.88)	5.2607	3	0.154
MFU	34(5.31)	142(22.19)	141(22.03)	323(50.47)			
Total	50(4.42)	235(20.76)	254(22.44)	593(52.39)			

Neighbourhood satisfaction by neighbourhood type

Neighbourhood B had the lowest level of high satisfaction at 65.27% (20.36% and 44.91% for high and very high satisfaction, respectively), while Neighbourhood F had the highest level of satisfaction at 83.34 (26.67% and 56.67%, respectively). There was a statistically insignificant relationship between the type of neighbourhood and the degree of satisfaction (34.3036= 2, df = 24, p = 0.079) (Table 5). This suggests that the respondents' degree of neighbourhood satisfaction was not much influenced by the type of the neighbourhoods in which they lived. According to this research, a multiple family unit had the highest level of satisfaction.

Table 5: Neighbourhood Satisfaction by Neighbourhood Types

	Neighbourhood Satisfaction				x^2	df	P
	very low	low	High	very high			
A	3(2.21)	31(22.79)	21(15.44)	81(59.56)	34.3036	24	0.079
B	14(8.38)	44(26.35)	34(20.36)	75(44.91)			
C	4(3.45)	27(23.28)	27(23.28)	58(50)			
D	4(5.13)	14(17.95)	16(20.51)	44(56.41)			
E	4(4.12)	26(26.8)	15(15.46)	52(53.61)			
F	4(2.67)	21(14)	40(26.67)	85(56.67)			
G	9(4.55)	39(19.7)	54(27.27)	96(48.48)			
H	3(3)	19(19)	22(22)	56(56)			
I	5(5.56)	14(15.56)	25(27.78)	46(51.11)			
Total	50(4.42)	235(20.76)	254(22.44)	593(52.39)			

Multiple linear regression model of the defensible space on neighbourhood satisfaction in Festac Town

Table 6 presents the influence of the defensible space on neighbourhood satisfaction in Festac town Lagos. The factors included in the model were territoriality, Surveillance and Target Hardening

Model 1 presents the influence of the defensible space on neighbourhood satisfaction in the single-family unit of Festac Town, Model 2 presents the influence of defensible space on neighbourhood satisfaction in the in the multiple family unit of Festac, while the third model presents the influence of the defensible space on neighbourhood satisfaction in Festac Town in general.

According to Table 6, the linear grouping of the predictor variables in Model 1 significantly predicted neighbourhood satisfaction, R^2 =0.026, F (3.488) =4.27, $p < .05$. This was an indication that the model accounted for about 3% of the variance in neighbourhood satisfaction. Only target Hardening was found to have significantly influenced neighbourhood satisfaction in the single family unit

Also, in the second model, the study found the linear grouping of the predictor variables to have significantly predicted neighbourhood satisfaction, R^2 =0.051, F (3.636) =11.40, $p < .05$. This was an indication that the model accounted for about 5% of the variance in neighbourhood satisfaction. Both Surveillance and Target hardening were found to have significantly influenced neighbourhood satisfaction in the multiple family unit.

Lastly, the third model also found the linear grouping of the predictor variables to have significantly predicted neighbourhood satisfaction, R^2 =0.038, F (3, 1128) =14.69, $p < .05$. This was an indication that the model accounted for about 4% of the variance in neighbourhood satisfaction. All three variables territoriality, Surveillance and Target hardening were as significant predictors of neighbourhood satisfaction. The result largely supports some earlier literature indicating positive contribution of this element to satisfaction (Adesoji, 2020; Ayara, 2021).

Table 6: Regression table of the Influence of Defensible Space on Neighbourhood satisfaction in Festac Town

	Model 1 (SFU)		Model 2 (MFU)		Model 3 (Festac Town)	
Defensible Space	**Coeff**	**Stderror**	**Coeff**	**Stderro**	**Coeff**	**Stderror**
Territoriality	0.131	0.077	0.089	0.052	0.104	**0.043*** **
Surveillance	0.113	0.078	0.22	**0.059*** **	0.174	**0.047*** **
Target_Hardening	-0.213	**0.071*** **	-0.262	**0.054*** **	-0.239	**0.043*** **
	F(3, 488)= p<0.05,	4.27, R^2=0.026	F(3,636)= p<0.05,	11.40, R^2=0.051	F(3, 636)= p<0.05,	14.69 R^2=0.038

***Significant at p<0.001, **Significant at p<0.01, *Significant at p<0.05, C.I-Confidence Interval

Conclusion

It is generally believed that an important goal of residents of neighbourhoods, not least those belonging to public housing is satisfaction. This study clearly outlines the dynamics at play between defensible space concepts and neighbourhood spatial composition on the one hand and the impact of these on neighbourhood satisfaction on the other. It is all the more remarkable given the fact that a sizeable number of the elements were put in place by the initiative of the residents. The findings indicate that elements of defensible space do not differ by house types (housing composition). It also suggests that territoriality is the strongest of all the element and that defensibility varies by neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the study suggests that single family neighbourhood fared better on defensibility. The study also found that neighbourhood satisfaction levels are high but that single family neighbourhood also did better than multiple family. Similarity, of the elements of defensible space, target hardening significantly influenced satisfaction in single family neighbourhoods while surveillance and target hardening influenced in multiple family neighbourhoods while all three; territoriality, surveillance and target hardening influenced satisfaction when the entire study area is considered. The theoretical implications of the is that even though the influence of defensible space elements on satisfaction is established, the small percentage of variance that accounted for it (3-5%) indicated that other factors outside of the considered element are likely to contribute to satisfaction. The practice implications are that integrating the principles of defensible space into public housing will likely lead to improved residential experiences among other benefits. To this end an active promotion of these elements by deliberate policy of managers of such neighbourhood is likely to be largely beneficial by the way it increases the level of satisfaction experienced by the residents.

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