

# CPTED, But Not As We Know It: Investigating the Impact of Conflicting Frameworks and Terminology in Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

*“...the working knowledge of crime prevention that exists is couched in a triangle of inconsistent and loosely defined terms and concepts which render it difficult for designers to access, to think about and to apply”* Professor Paul Ekblom of the Design Against Crime Research Centre, London.

# Objectives

- CPTED: A critique
- CPTED conflict in academic research
- ‘Territoriality’
- Preparation and Operation
- Framework Reconfiguration
  
- Crime prevention policy conflict
- CPTED use in practice
- Links (or lack of) to academic research
  
- Concluding points

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- More recently the concept has been redefined by Ekblom (2013) of the Design Against Crime Research Centre:

*“CPTED is reducing the possibility, probability and harm from criminal and related events, and enhancing the quality of life through community safety, by the process of planning and design of the environment... on a range of scales and places, to produce designs fit for purpose and contextually appropriate, whilst achieving a balance between the efficacy of avoiding crime problems before construction, and the adaptability of tackling them through subsequent management and maintenance” (2013:13)*

# Context

- Complex historical development
- Necessary part of the overarching process of urban design
- Demonstrable paucity of studies attempting the development of a holistic CPTED framework
- Many criticisms of CPTED but very little systematic analysis or justification
- Detailed frameworks behind the concept of CPTED
- The use of CPTED in the professional arena
- Statutory requirement in England and Wales



# CPTED: A critique

Aim: To identify a definitive list of CPTED criticisms, extracted from a wide scope of CPTED related literature and rank them in terms of the level of justification.

- Systematic analysis of all critical CPTED literature
  - Directed Content Analysis
  - Actor Network Theory
  - Graph Visualisation and Manipulation

# CPTED: A critique

## Directed Content Analysis

- Structured process
- Existing theory identifies key concepts and variables as preliminary coding categories
- Identification and categorisation of all CPTED criticism occurrences
- Predetermined codes

# Methodology

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Directed Content Analysis Literary Search

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## Directed Content Analysis Literary Search

- Initial literature scoping exercise
  - No studies carried out directed content analysis to evaluate the justification and ranking of CPTED criticisms
- Literary search included:
  - Electronic databases
  - Core bibliographic databases
  - Internet searches
  - Research registers
  - Journal websites
  - Author homepages and social networking profiles

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  - Journal websites
  - Author homepages and social networking profiles
- 423 hits retrieved

# Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

<u>Parameters</u>	<u>Inclusion Criteria</u>	<u>Exclusion Criteria</u>
Location	Worldwide	-
Language	Studies written in English	Studies not written in English
Time Frame	Studies published from 1970 (inclusive) onwards	Studies published before 1970
Study Type	Qualitative and Quantitative Critical theme	Non critical acceptances
Source	Textbooks Journal Articles Peer reviewed articles	Second Generation CPTED studies

# Search Results

- Representative subset of all CPTED literature
  - 188 documents in total published between 1972- present which aligned with the inclusion criteria
  - UK and International documents
  - A variety of:
    - Journal Articles
    - Conference papers
    - Magazine Articles
    - Government Reports



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10 Categories were formed

- Criticism
- Authors
- Methodology
- Discipline
- Data
- Scale
- Type
- Place of Study
- Place of Author
- Citations

# Criticism Frequencies

<u>Criticism</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Criticism Category</u>	<u>Count</u>
Poor Communication and Collaboration between stakeholders	36	Work Effort	49
Assumes one size fits all	10		
Top Down Approach	3		
Personal Capable Guardianship is dependent on wider conditions	21	Need for further research	37
Poor Evaluation and Measurement	8		
Ignorant of Social Aspects	8		
CPTED creates a Fortress Society	14	Negative Effects	33
Offensible Space	7		
Increasing public use increases crime	6		
CPTED is not sustainable	3		
Displacement	3		
Weak empirical evidence	7	Methodological Weaknesses	15
Narrow range of tested scales	6		
Conflicting principles	2		



# CPTED: A critique

## Graph Visualisation and Network Theory

- Visualise actor network
- Spatialise, filter and manipulate actor network
- Networks are made up of *nodes* with a set of *edges* which link them together based on intricate relationships.

# Network Theory

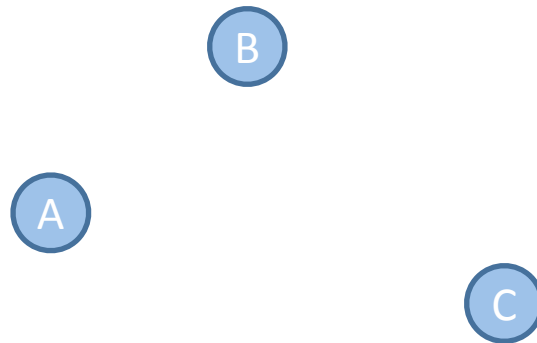
Analysis based on:

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# Network Theory

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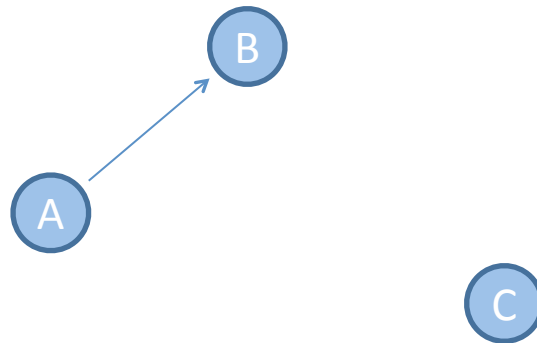
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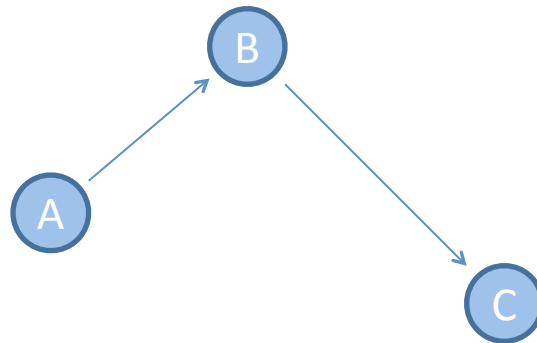
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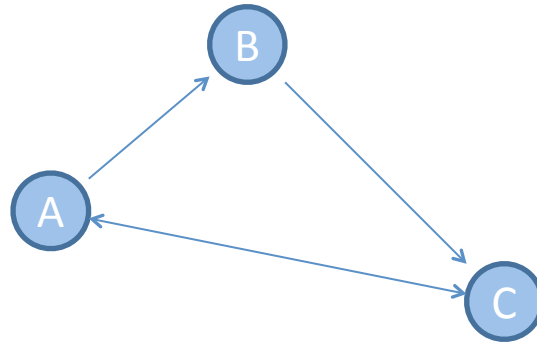
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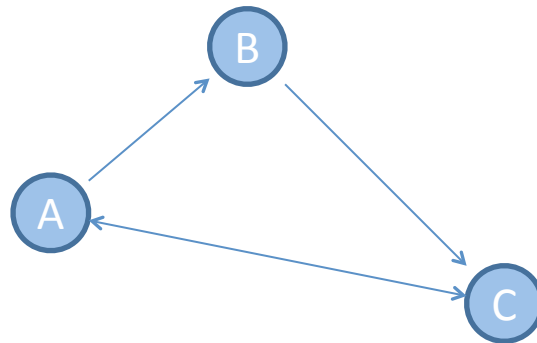
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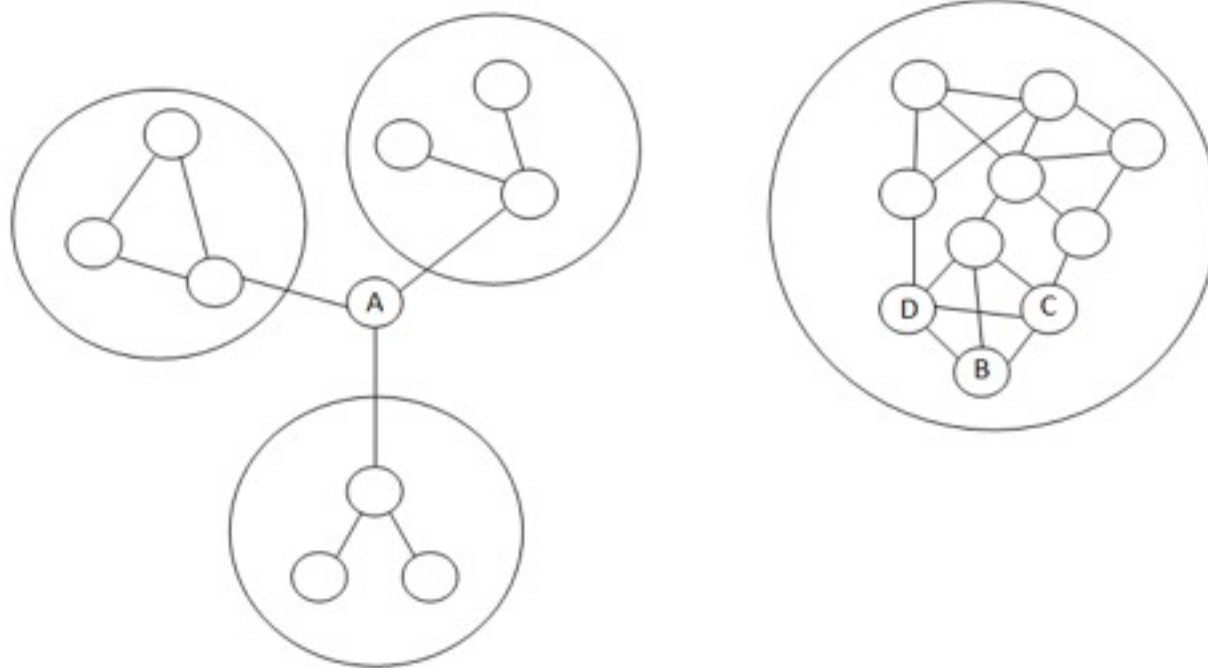
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- Weak ties may receive better knowledge transfer than strong ties

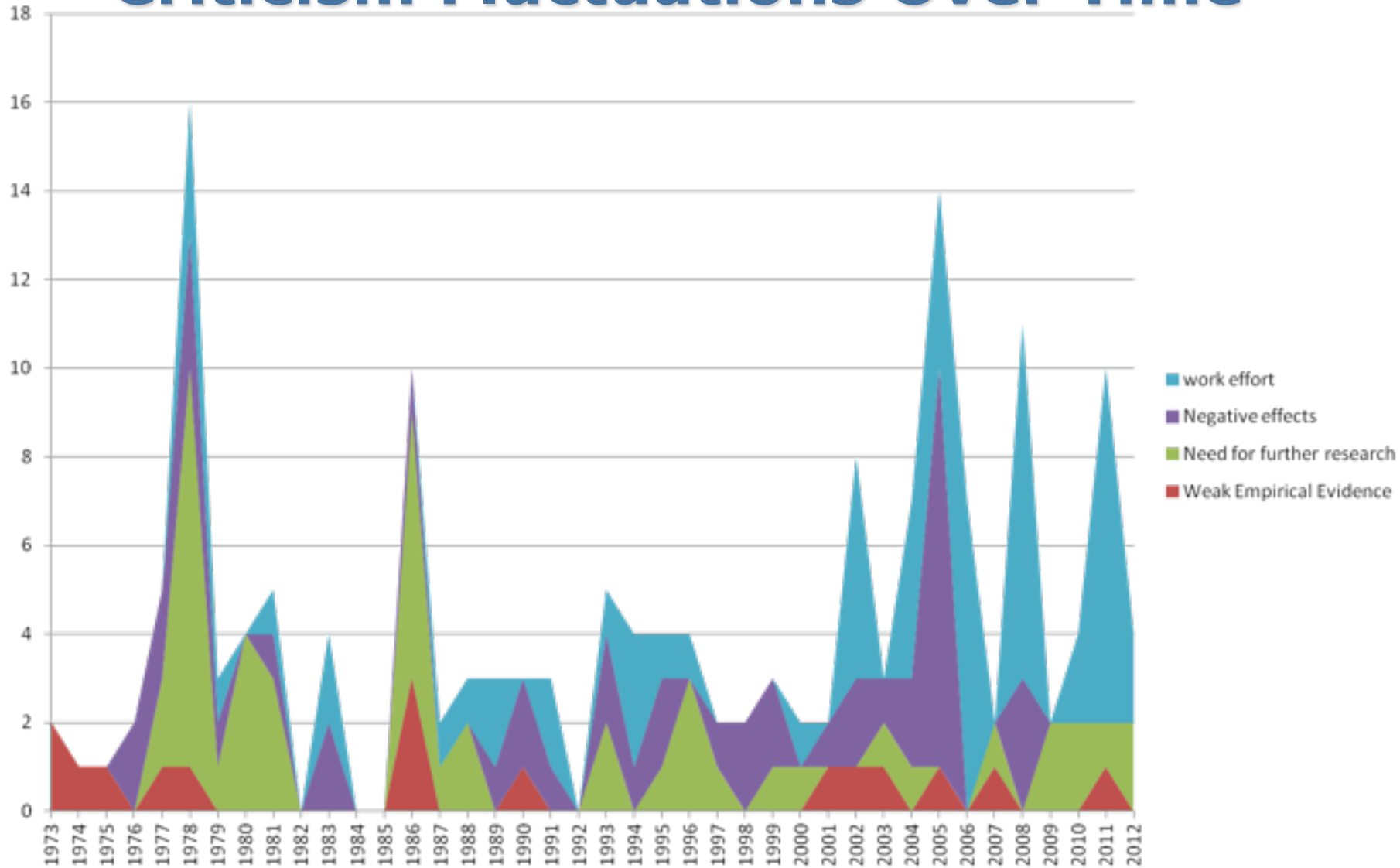
# Network Theory

- Structural Holes Theory of Social Capital (Burt 1992)

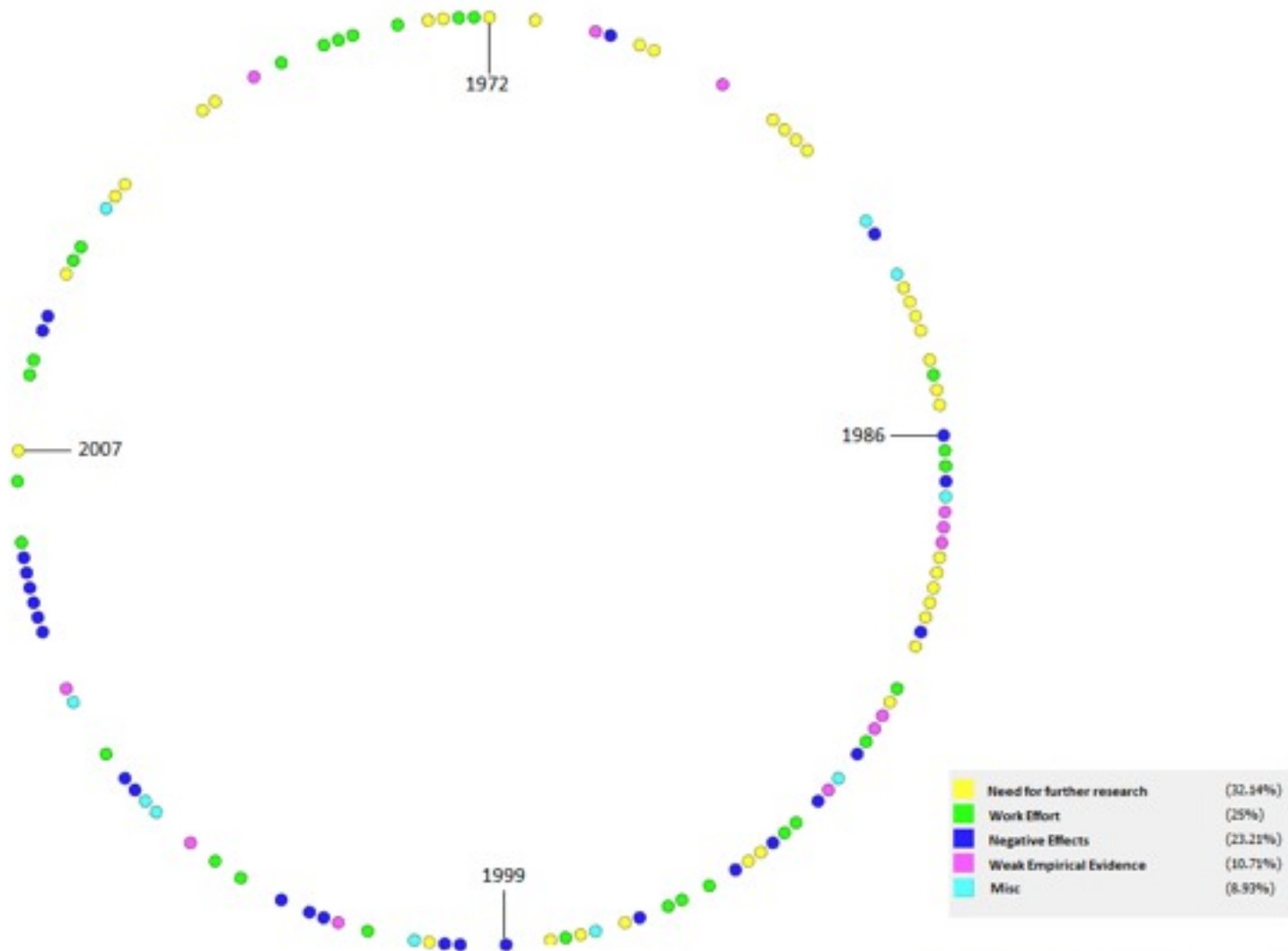




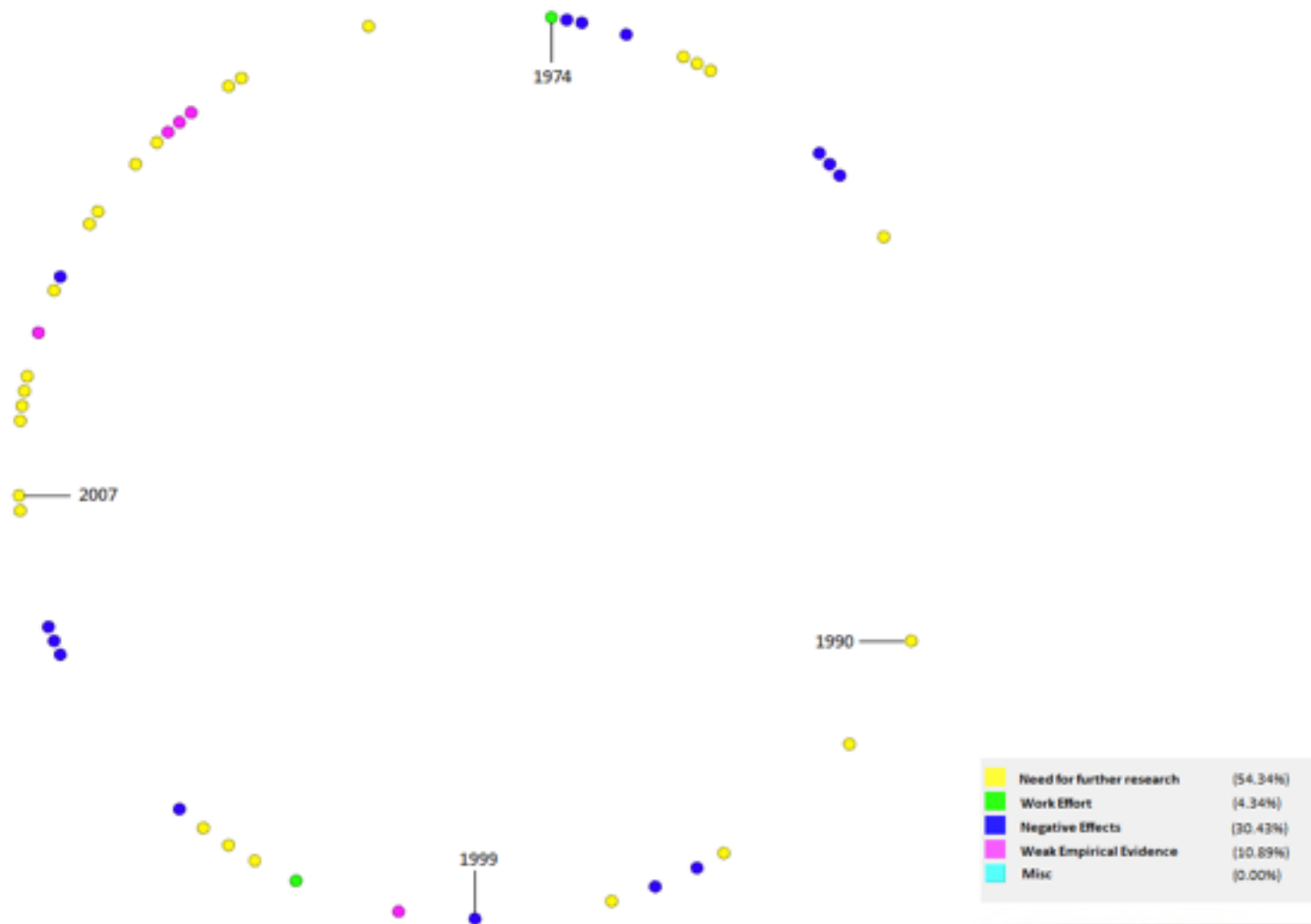
# Criticism Fluctuations Over Time



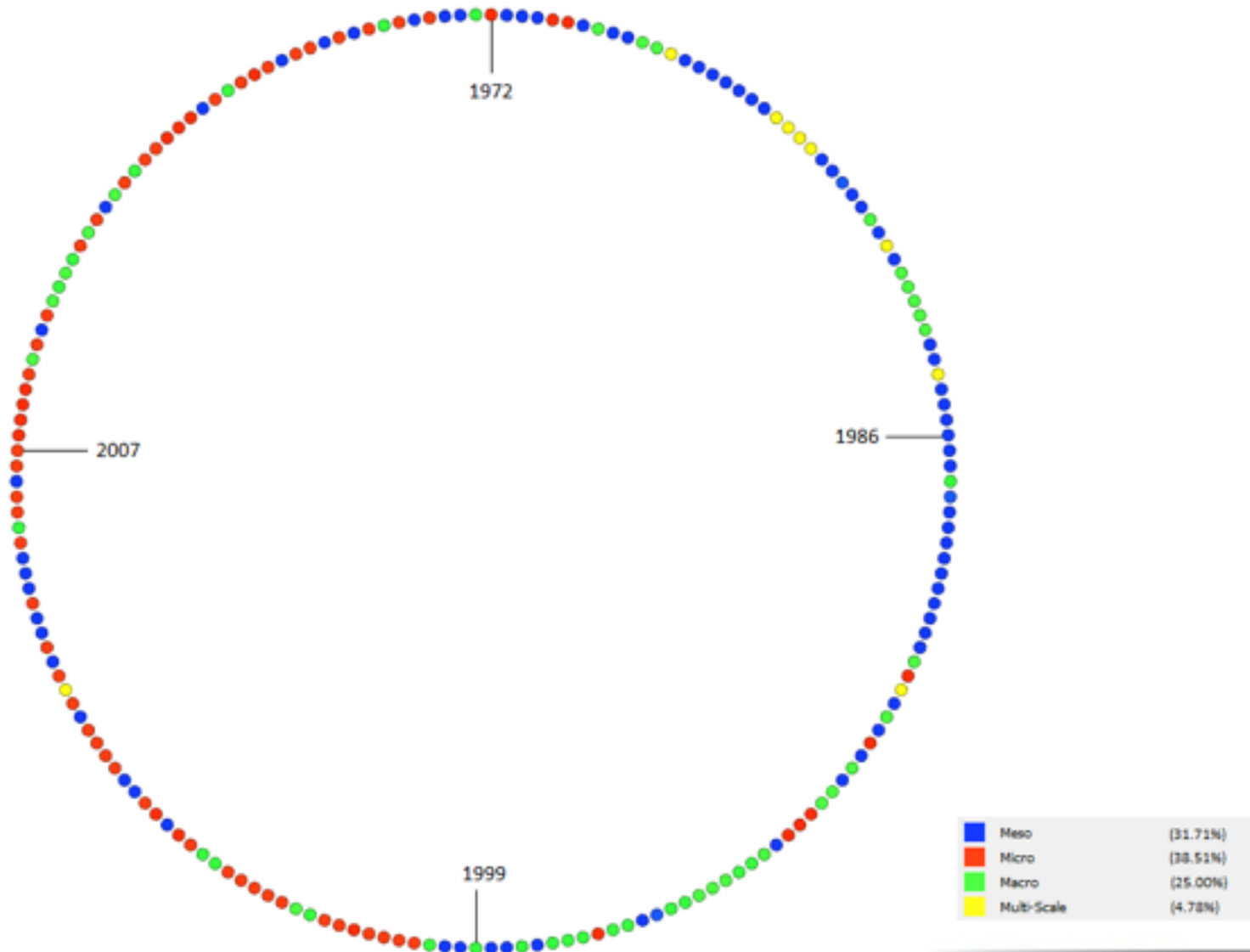
# Temporal Shift in Social Science Disciplinary Perspective



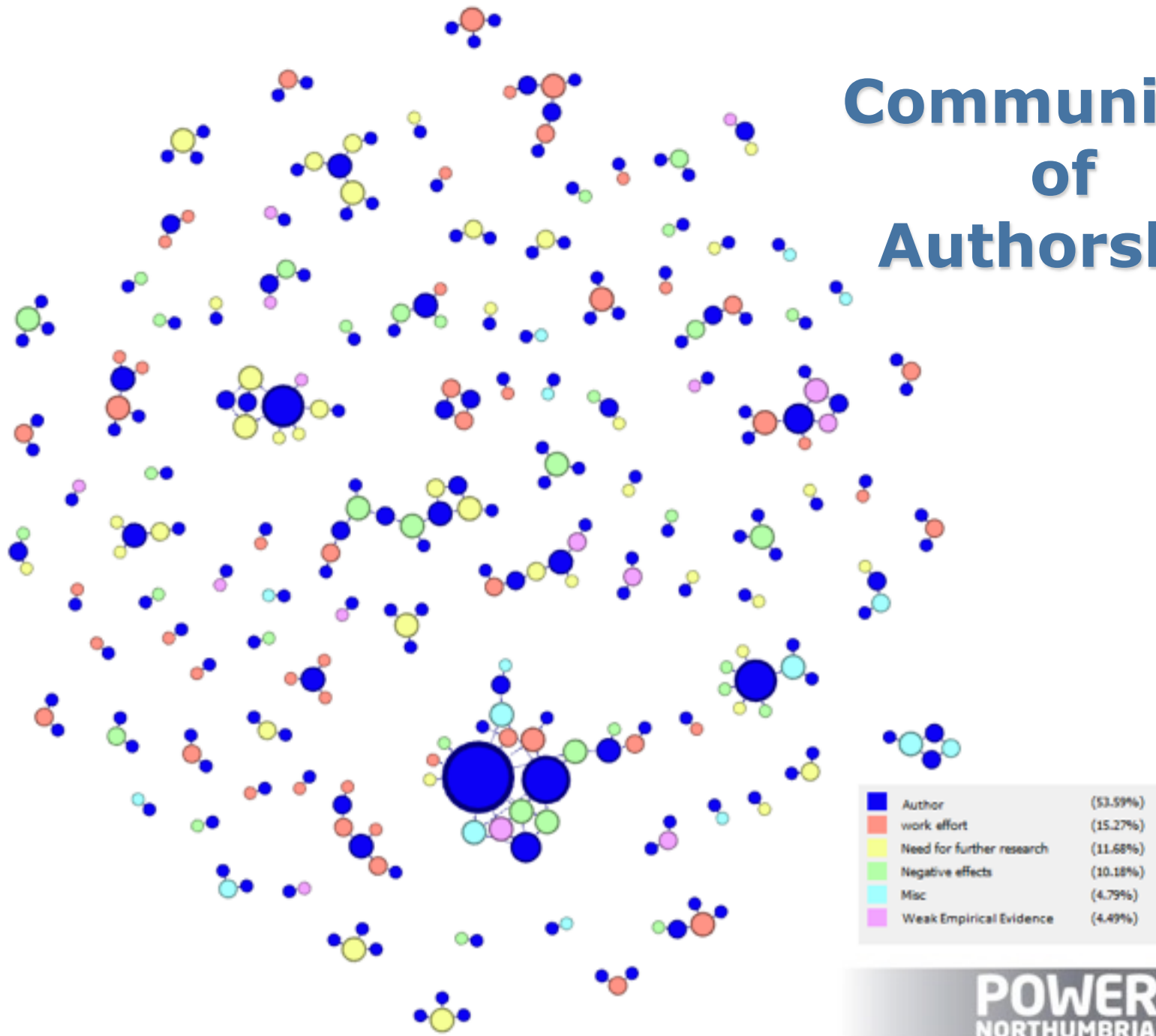
# Temporal Shift in Professions and Applied Science Disciplinary Perspectives



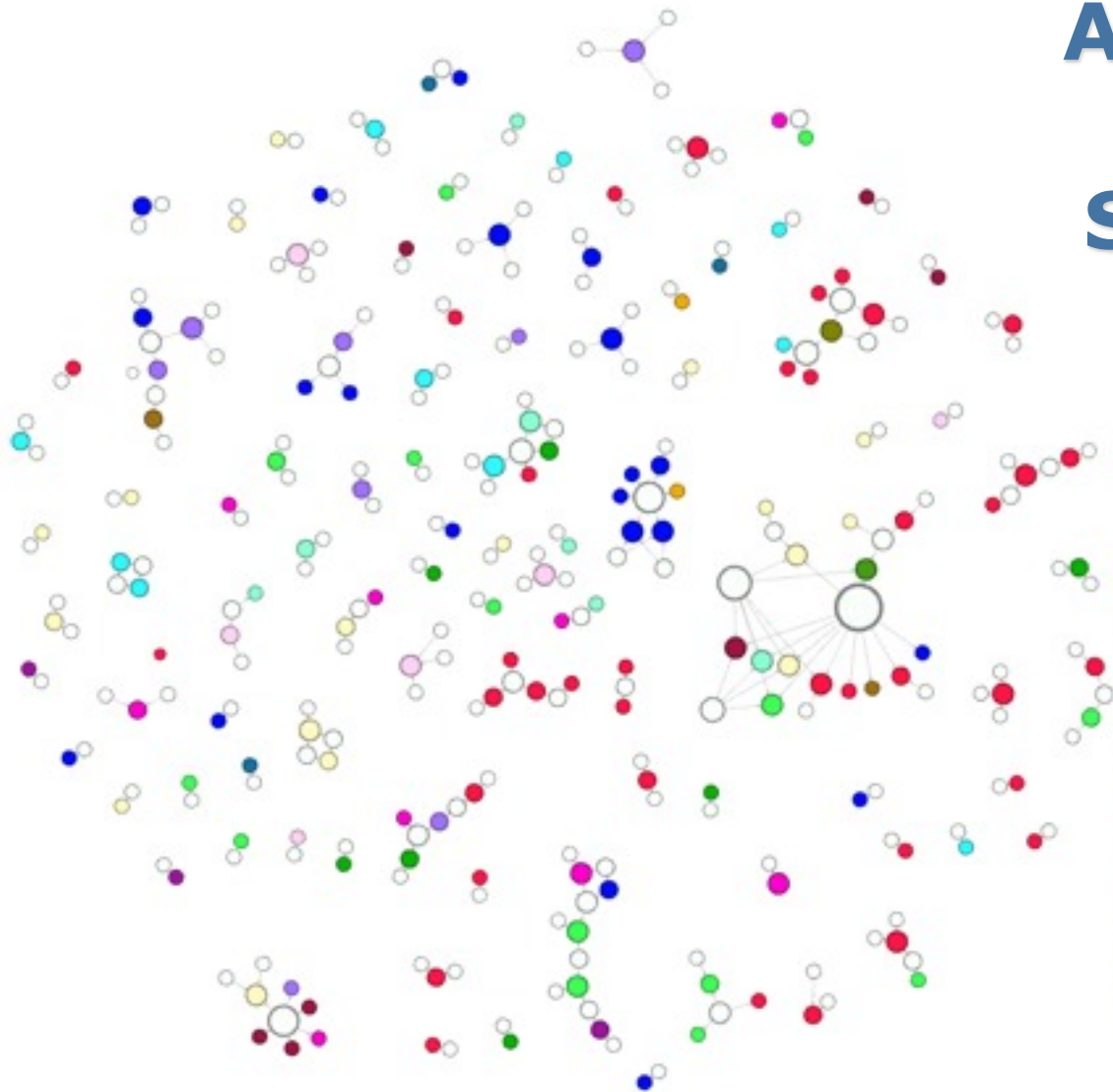
# Temporal Shift in Study Scale



# Communities of Authorship



# Author Network and Criticism Sub Categories



○	n/a	(53.29%)
■	Poor communication/ collaboration	(11.38%)
■	Personal Capable Guardianship dependent on wider conditions	(6.29%)
■	Misc	(5.09%)
■	Fortress Society	(4.19%)
■	one size fits all	(2.99%)
■	ignorant of social aspects	(2.69%)
■	Poor evaluation/measurement	(2.4%)
■	Narrow range of scales tested	(2.1%)
■	Offensible Space	(2.1%)
■	Weak empirical evidence	(2.1%)
■	Increasing usage of an area increases crime	(1.8%)
■	Top Down Approach	(0.9%)
■	Displacement	(0.9%)
■	Conflicting principles	(0.6%)
■	CPTED is not sustainable	(0.9%)
■	Ignorant of Social Aspects	(0.7%)



# International Collaboration, Filtered by Criticism Categories

- CPTED research predominantly clusters in the US
- Significant geographical distribution of work effort criticisms
- Negative Effects dominant within the network, but little recognition in Australia





# **International Collaboration, Filtered by Criticism Sub-Categories**

- Poor Communication/Collaboration most geographically distributed
- Personal Capable Guardianship dependent on wider variables is limited to collaboration between the UK and USA

# Single Criticism Networks vs. Author Discipline

## Discipline Sub Category

Paper	(50%)
Criminology	(8.38%)
Psychology	(8.08%)
Sociology	(5.69%)
Planning	(4.19%)
Architecture	(4.19%)
Crime Prevention	(2.99%)
Political Science	(2.1%)
Geography	(2.1%)
Law	(1.8%)
Criminal Justice	(1.2%)
Housing and Urban Development	(0.9%)
Computing	(1.0%)
Medicine	(0.6%)
Waste and Resource Management	(0.6%)
Urban and Regional Studies	(0.6%)
Health	(0.6%)
Public Affairs	(0.6%)
Psychiatry	(0.3%)
Government and Justice	(0.3%)
Occupational and Environmental ...	(0.3%)
Sociology of Law	(0.3%)
Epidemiology	(0.3%)
Education	(0.3%)
Design	(0.3%)
Community Engagement	(0.3%)
Business	(0.3%)
Anthropology	(0.3%)
Community and Regional Planning	(0.3%)
Human Development and Social ...	(0.3%)
Environmental Resource Manage...	(0.3%)
Human Factors Management	(0.3%)

## Criticism

Author	(53.59%)
work effort	(15.27%)
Need for further research	(11.68%)
Negative effects	(10.18%)
Misc	(4.79%)
Weak Empirical Evidence	(4.49%)

# Single Criticism Networks vs. Author Discipline



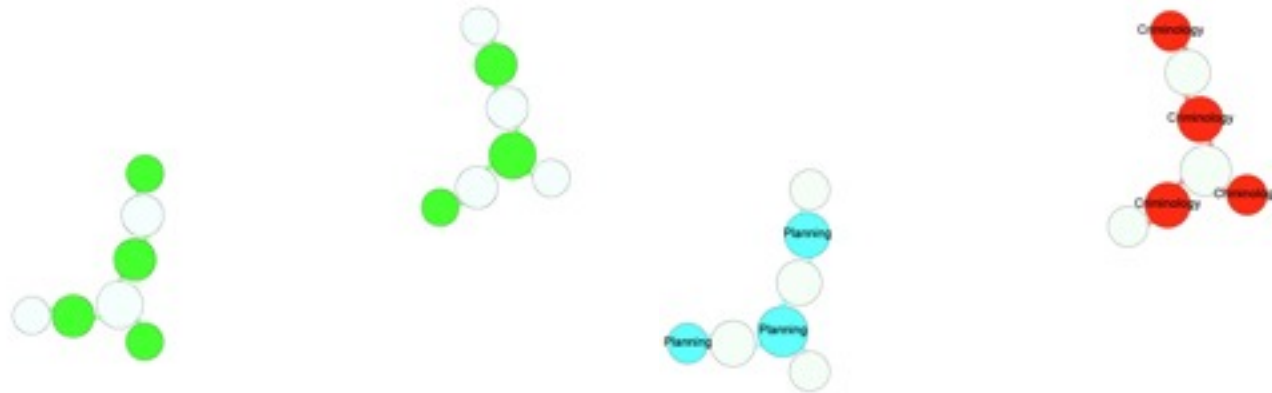
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# Single Criticism Networks vs. Author Discipline



Discipline Sub Category

White	Paper	(50%)
Red	Criminology	(8.38%)
Blue	Psychology	(8.08%)
Pink	Sociology	(5.69%)
Cyan	Planning	(4.19%)
Green	Architecture	(4.19%)
Yellow	Crime Prevention	(2.99%)
Purple	Political Science	(2.1%)
Dark Green	Geography	(2.1%)
Brown	Law	(1.8%)
Pink	Criminal Justice	(1.2%)
Purple	Housing and Urban Development	(0.9%)
Olive	Computing	(1.0%)
Maroon	Medicine	(0.6%)
Yellow-Green	Waste and Resource Management	(0.6%)
Light Green	Urban and Regional Studies	(0.6%)
Teal	Health	(0.6%)
Dark Red	Public Affairs	(0.6%)
Magenta	Psychiatry	(0.3%)
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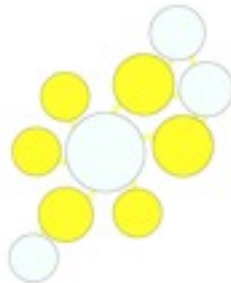
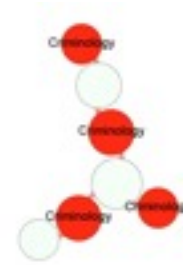
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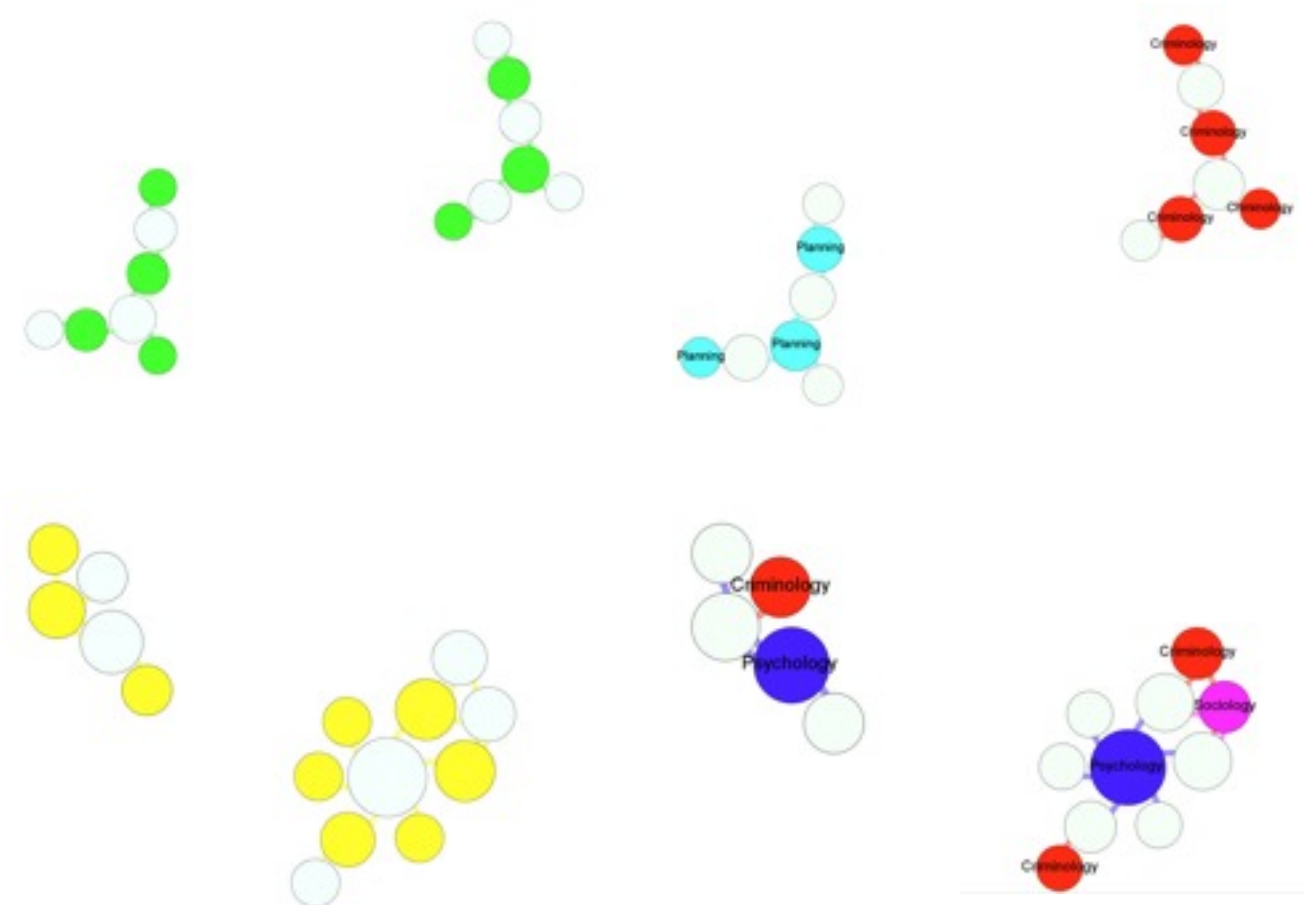
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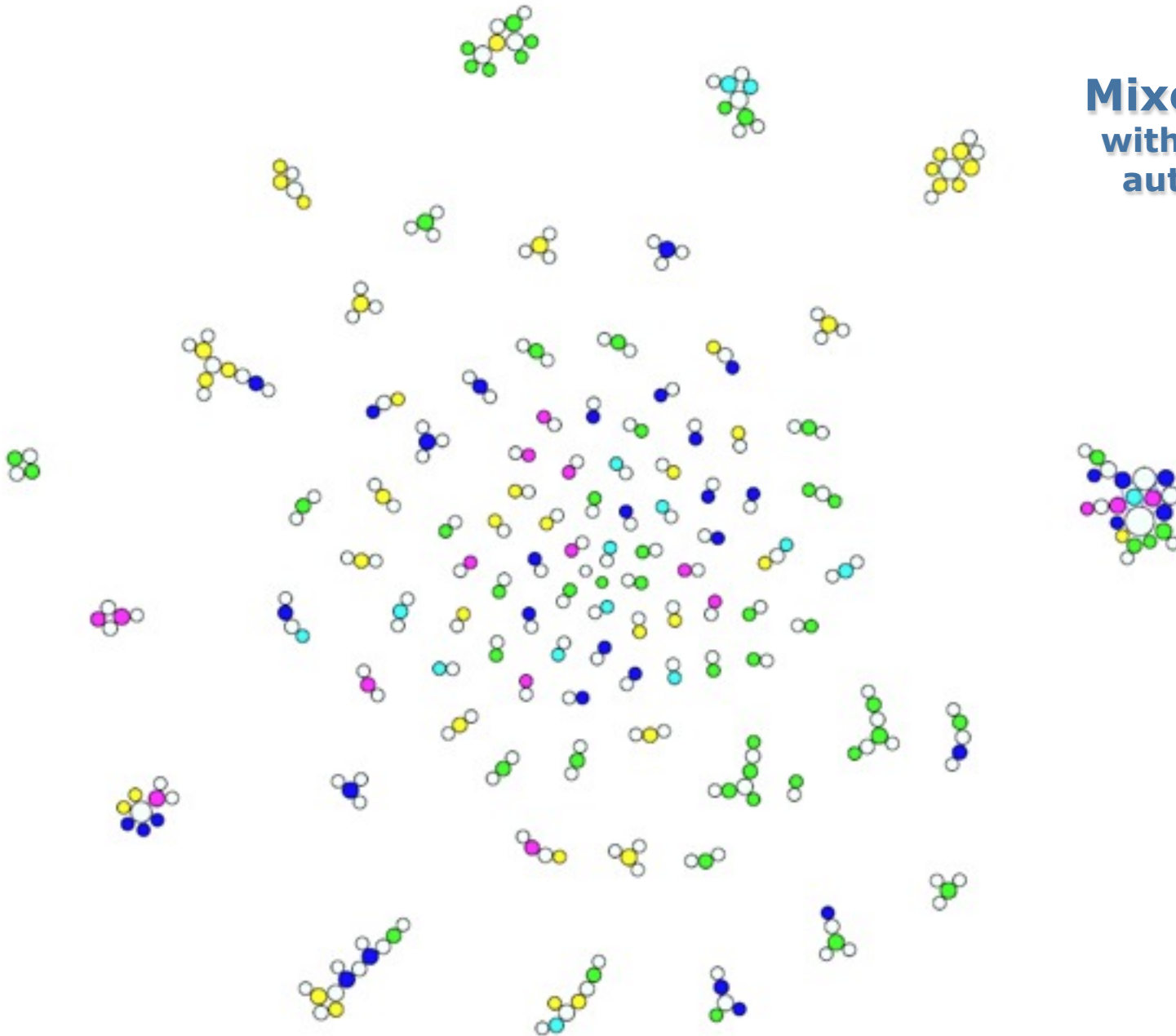
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## Criticism

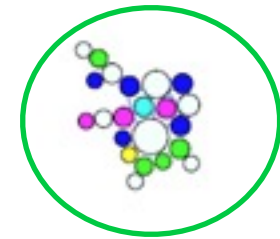
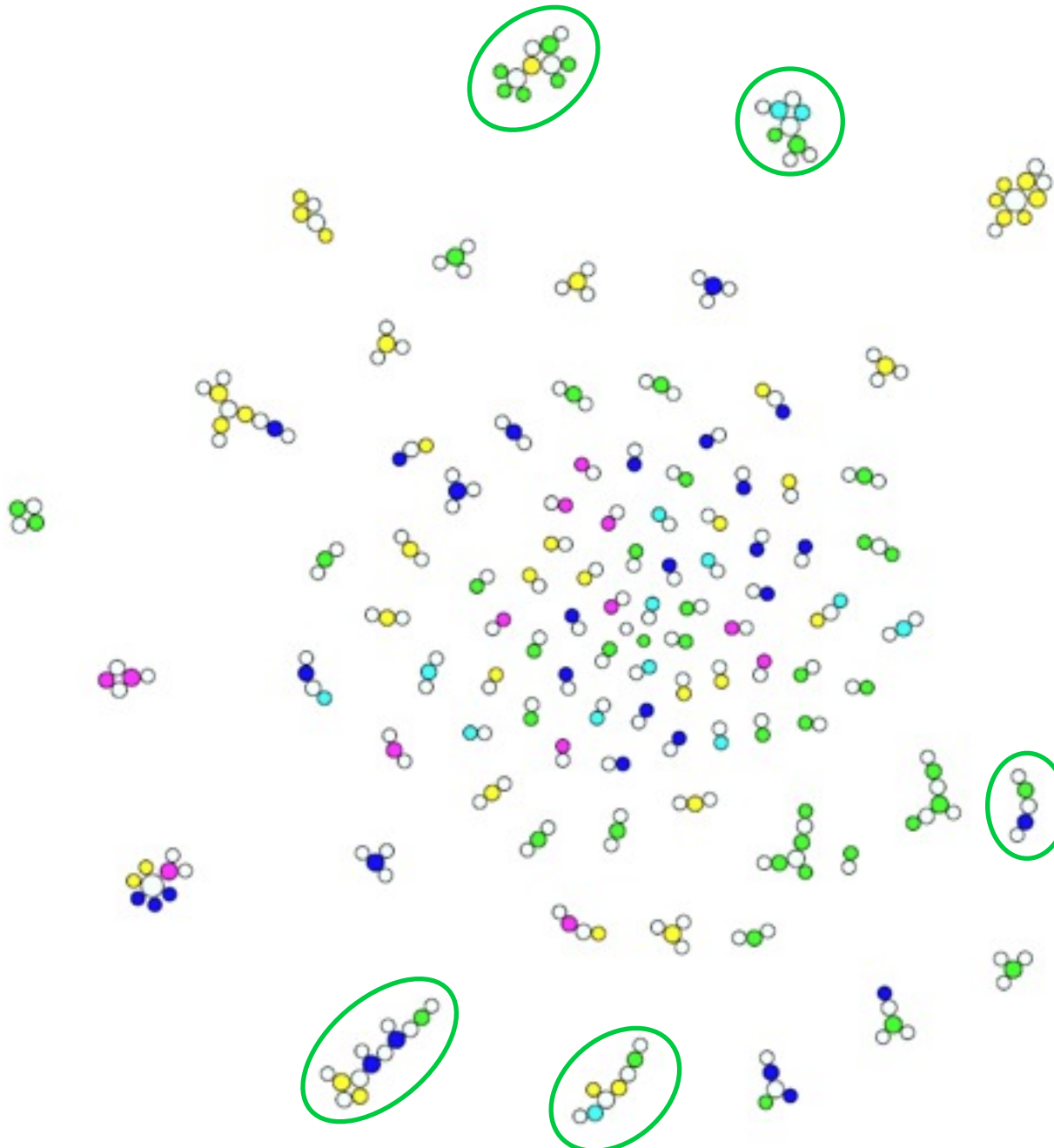
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# Mixed Networks with more than one author and paper



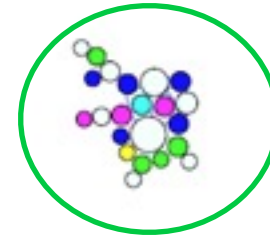
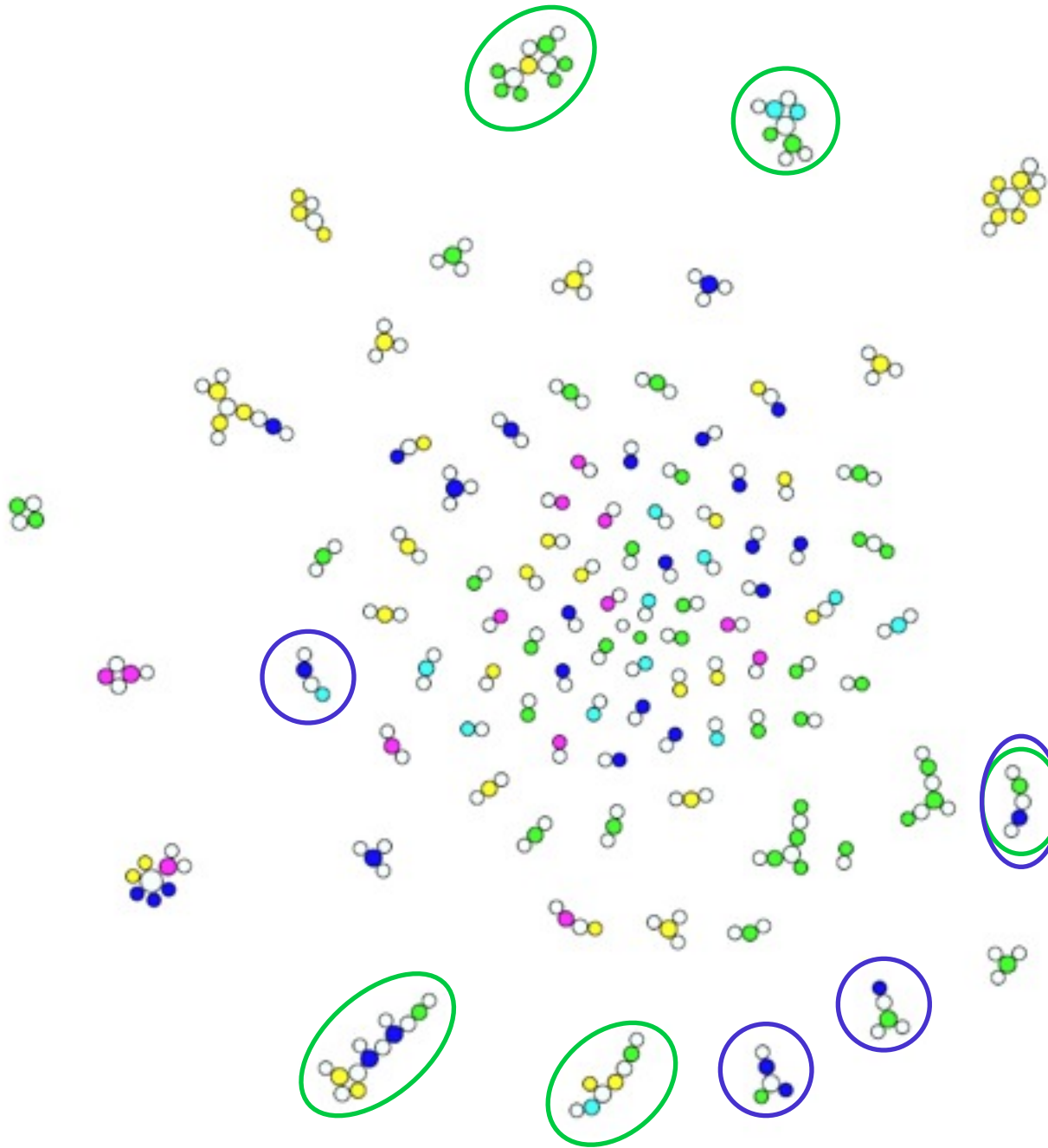


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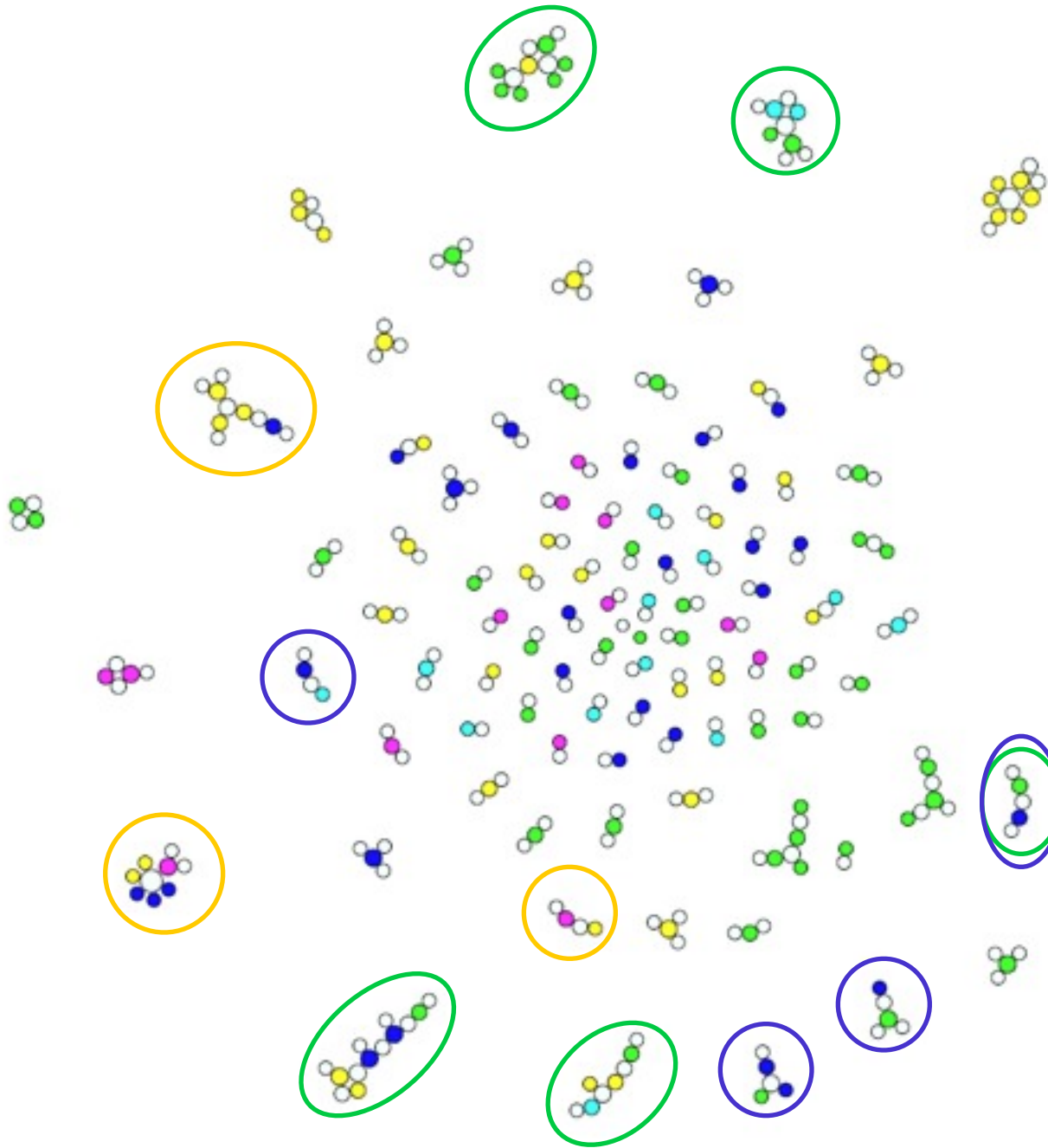
Work Effort- 50%

# Mixed Networks with more than one author and paper



**Work Effort- 50%**  
**Negative Effects- 33%**

# Mixed Networks with more than one author and paper

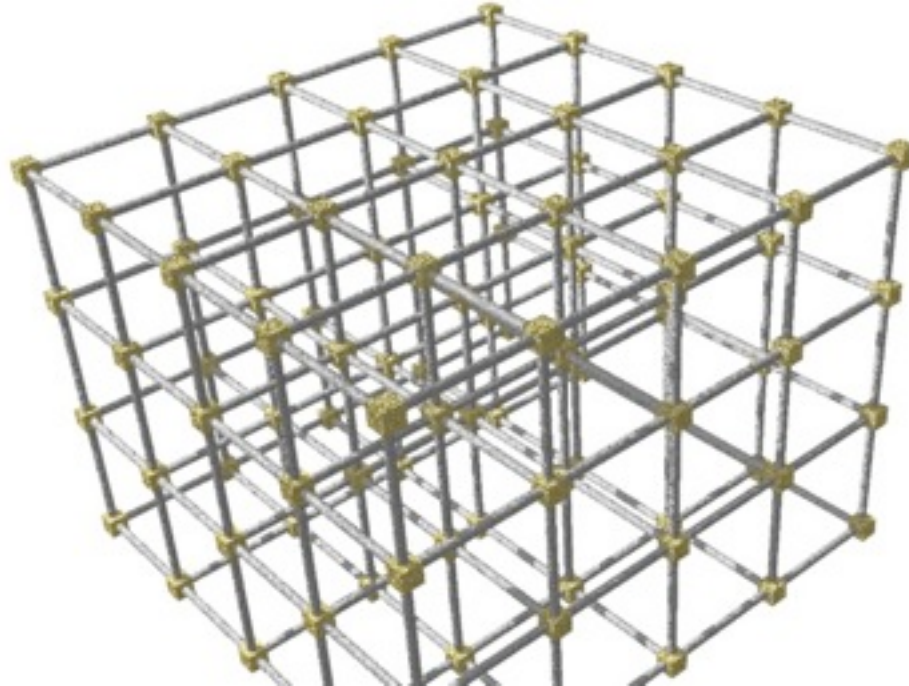


**Work Effort- 50%**  
**Negative Effects- 33%**  
**Need for further research- 25%**

# Top Ranking Criticism of CPTED

- There is a significant problem with effective communication and collaboration between CPTED stakeholders and a major reluctance for planning professionals to engage with crime prevention practice
- Designers assume that one size fits all
- There is a reluctance to engage with communities at a local level, and interventions are often 'top down'

# CPTED Frameworks in Academia



Aim: to evaluate the diversity of CPTED frameworks within academic literature and assess the clarity of the academic knowledgebase.

- Systematic analysis of CPTED literature
- Directed Content Analysis of CPTED frameworks
- Conceptual Mapping

# Framework Definition

*For the purpose of this research:*

*A framework can be seen as a set of concepts organised to facilitate the understanding and operationalisation of a complex overlapped crime prevention approach.*

*A framework should aim to organise the component parts of the approach in a suitable format leading to the understanding of the complex relationships and drivers behind them.*

# Literature Sample

## Inclusion Criteria:

- Illustrate a CPTED framework version
- Published in an academic document of any format

## Exclusion Criteria:

- Non English documents where no translation could be obtained
- Documents published prior to 1972

64 documents formed a representative subset of all academic CPTED literature in terms of framework provision.

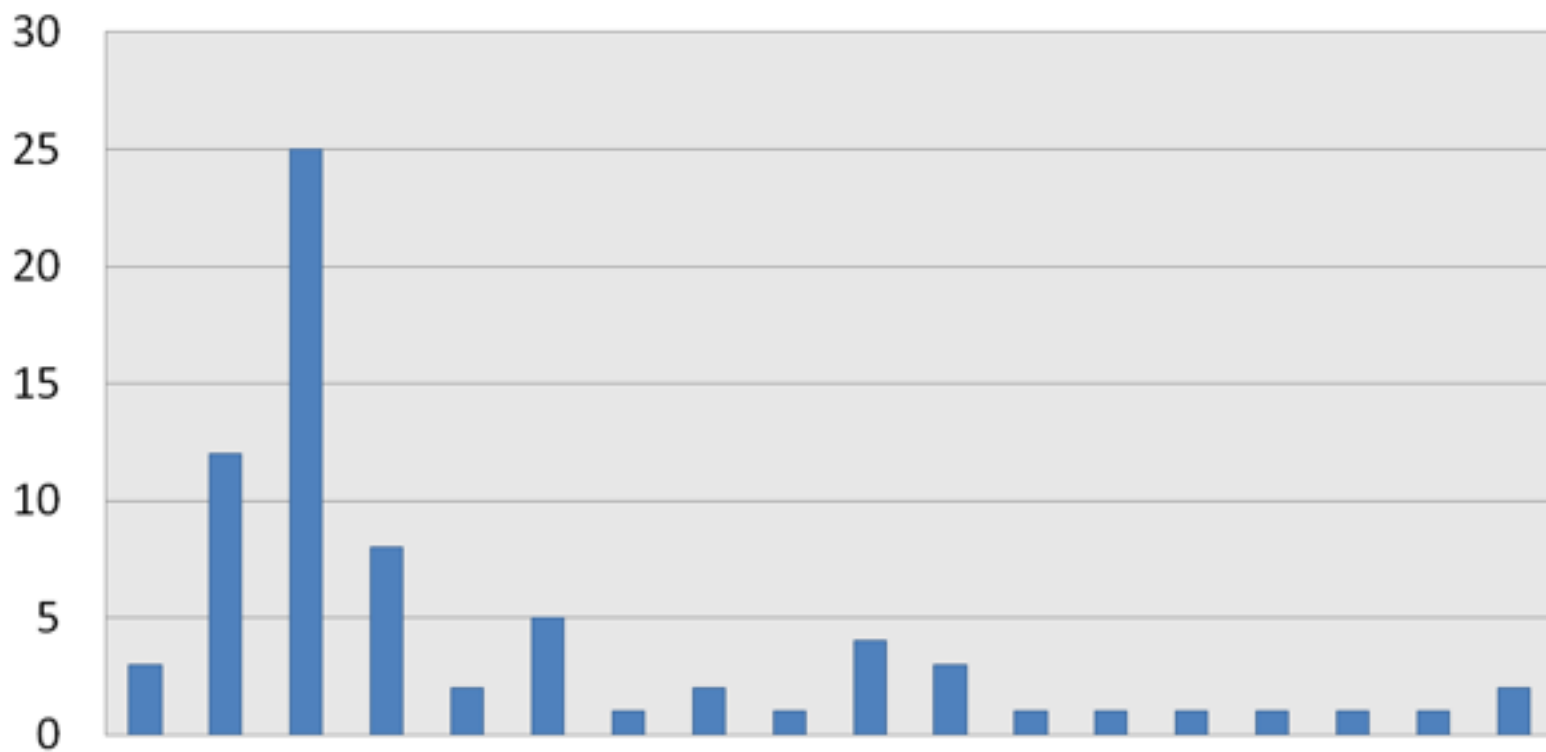
# Academic Framework Results

- Extremely varied and diverse CPTED terms and concepts





# Number of Supported Framework Sources



■ Number of Documents

# Territoriality

- Deeper issues beyond definition
- Question of position within the CPTED structure
- Previous frameworks propose territoriality as one of a group of concepts, becoming a concept that can be considered alone.
- Often referred to with prescriptive design solutions

**‘Natural behaviour by which organisms characteristically lay claim to an area and defend it against members of their own species’ Henry Eliot Howard (1920)**

- Territoriality proposed as a mechanism to be reached only through the facilitation of legitimate human behaviour.

Preparatory Tasks

Operational Tasks

Preparatory Tasks

Operational Tasks

Physical Design



# Preparatory Tasks

# Operational Tasks

Physical Design

Technology



## Preparatory Tasks

## Operational Tasks

Physical Design

Technology

People/Activities

## Preparatory Tasks

## Operational Tasks

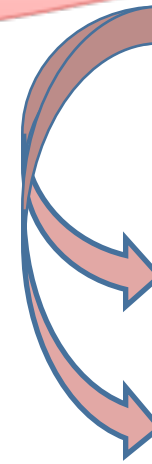
Physical Design

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Economy



# Preparatory Tasks

# Operational Tasks

Physical Design

Technology



People/Activities

Economy

Politics





# Preparatory Tasks

# Operational Tasks

Physical Design

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# Preparatory Tasks

# Operational Tasks

Physical Design

Technology

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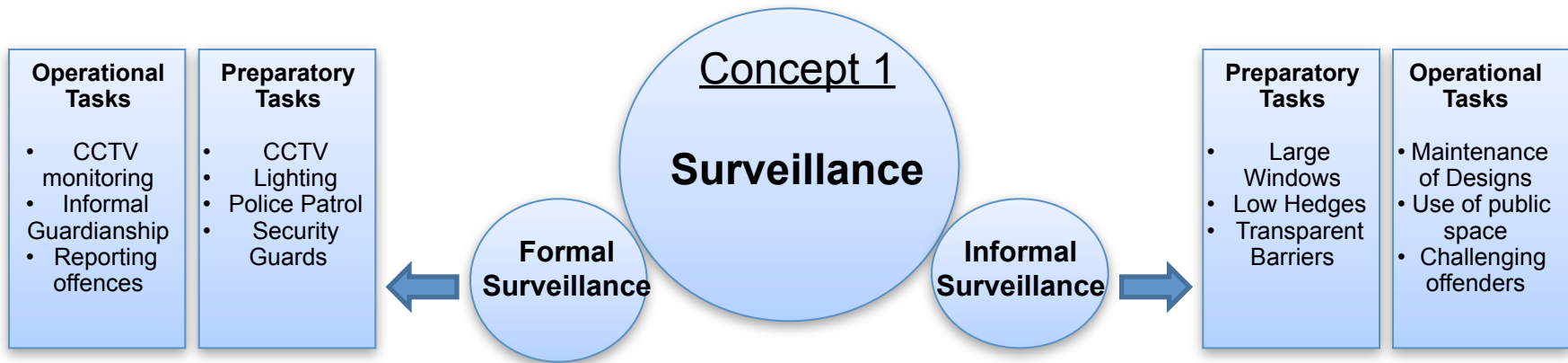
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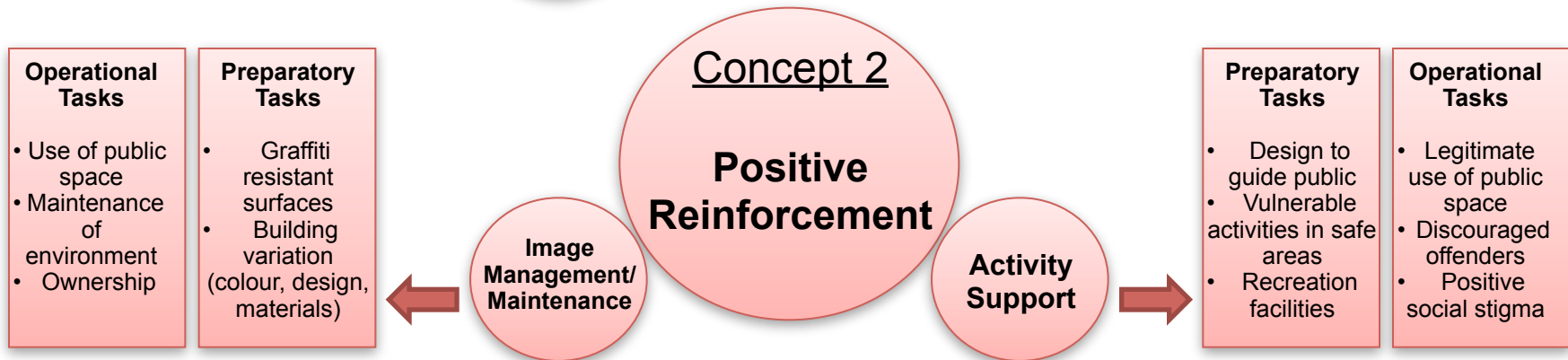
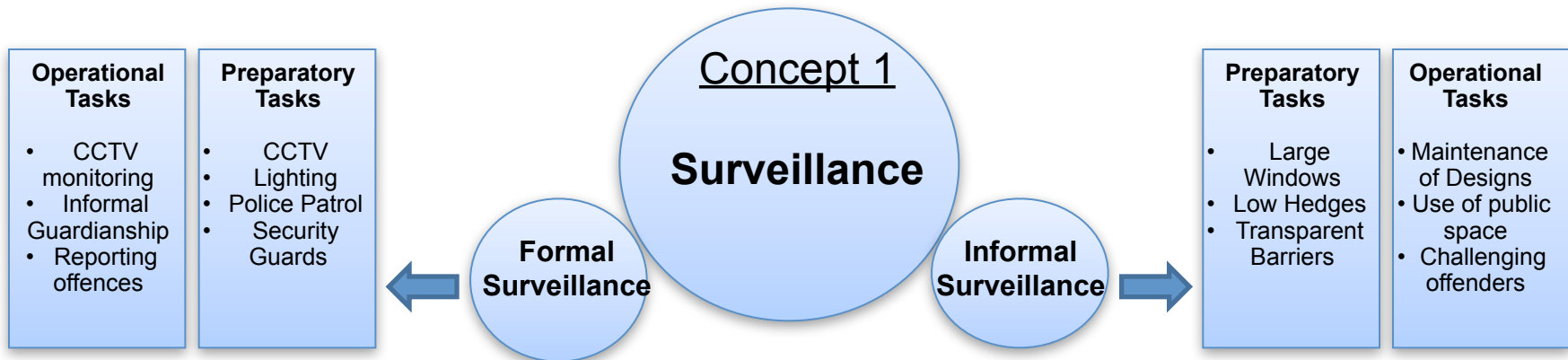
Politics

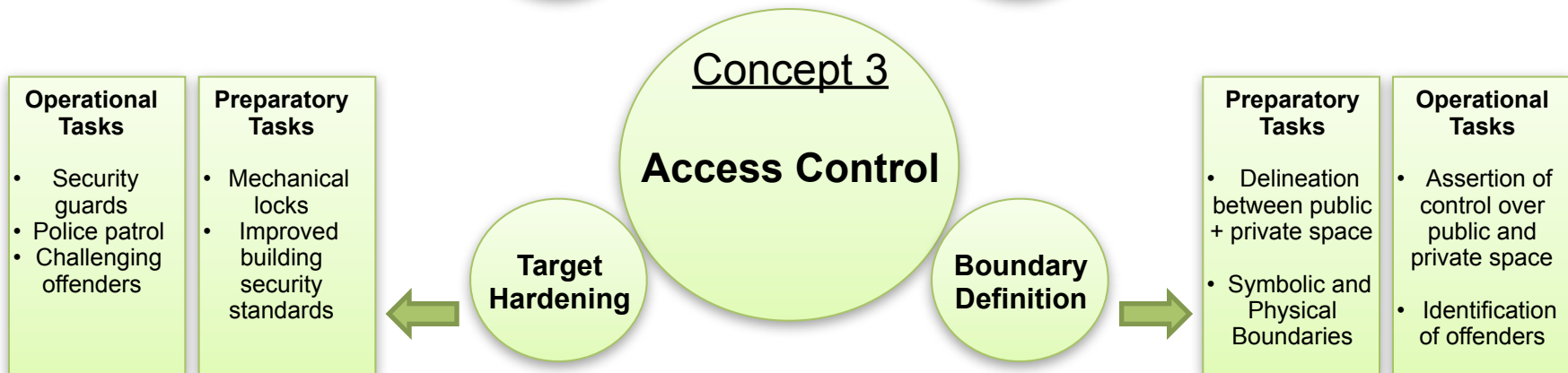
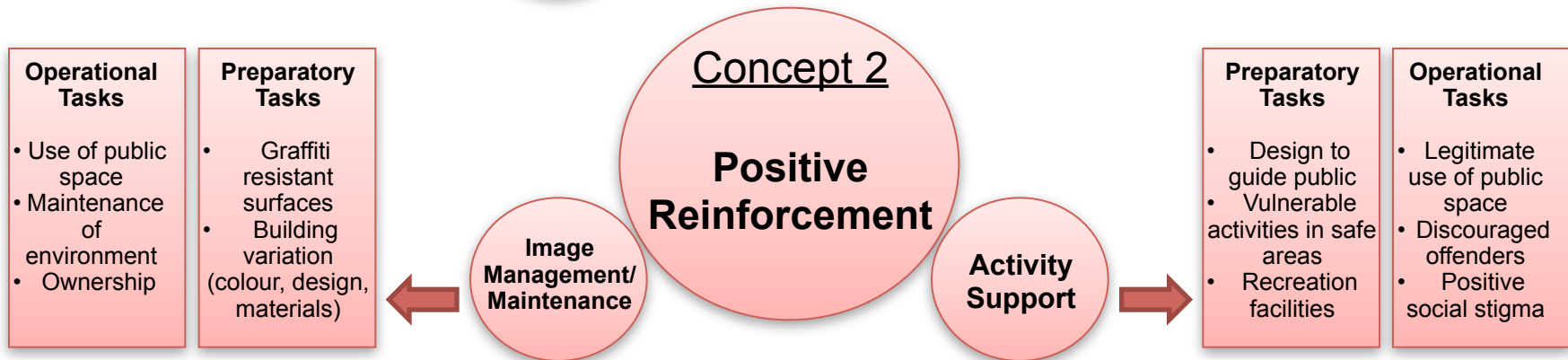
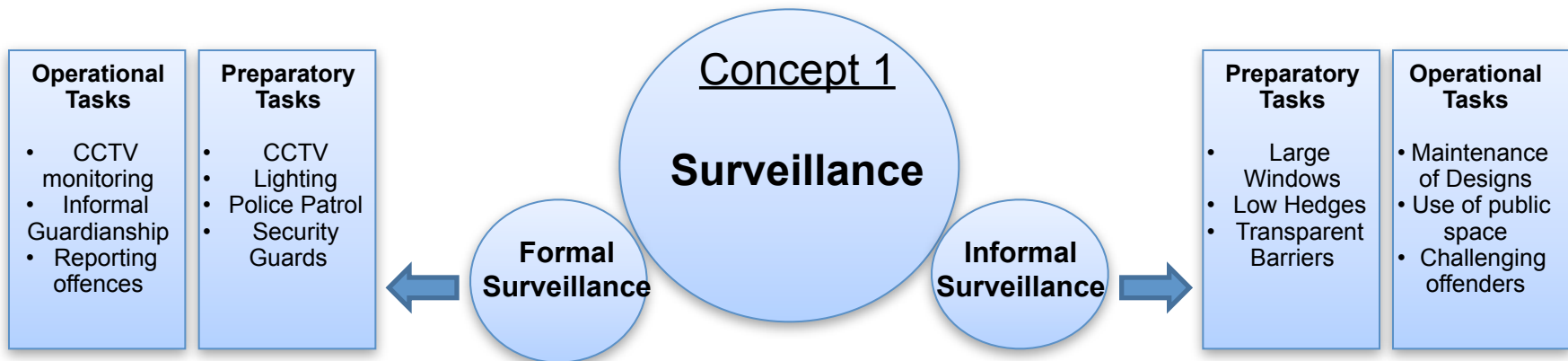
Ecology

Culture





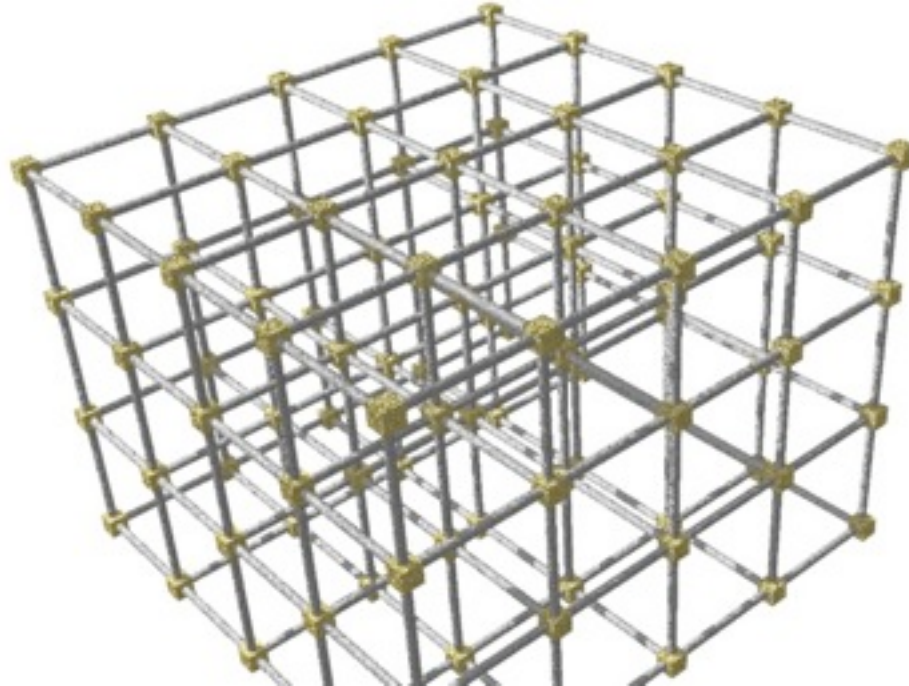




# Academic Framework Discussion

- Provision of a significantly diverse knowledge base and framework guidance for CPTED
- Opportunity for the maximum potential of CPTED strategies may be hindered
- Significant paucity of studies to take on the facilitation of a holistic framework
- Substantial gap in knowledge for this research to fill
- Academia is yet to provide a universal language and framework for clear dissemination

# CPTED Frameworks in Practice



Aim: To evaluate a snapshot of the professional knowledge base available to and used by professionals when considering a crime prevention approach within design

- Systematic content analysis



# Sample

# Sample

Questionnaire (8 closed and open questions)

- World Wide Web
- Interest group forums
- Professional Newsletters:
  - Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors (RICS)
  - Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA)
  - Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO)

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- UK
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## Professions

- Planners
- Architects
- Urban Designers
- Crime and Security Consultants

# Methodology

## Systematic analysis of documents

### Research Question:

Is there structured guidance on developing crime prevention in the design of the built environment, and does that guidance follow the concepts and principles of CPTED within academia?

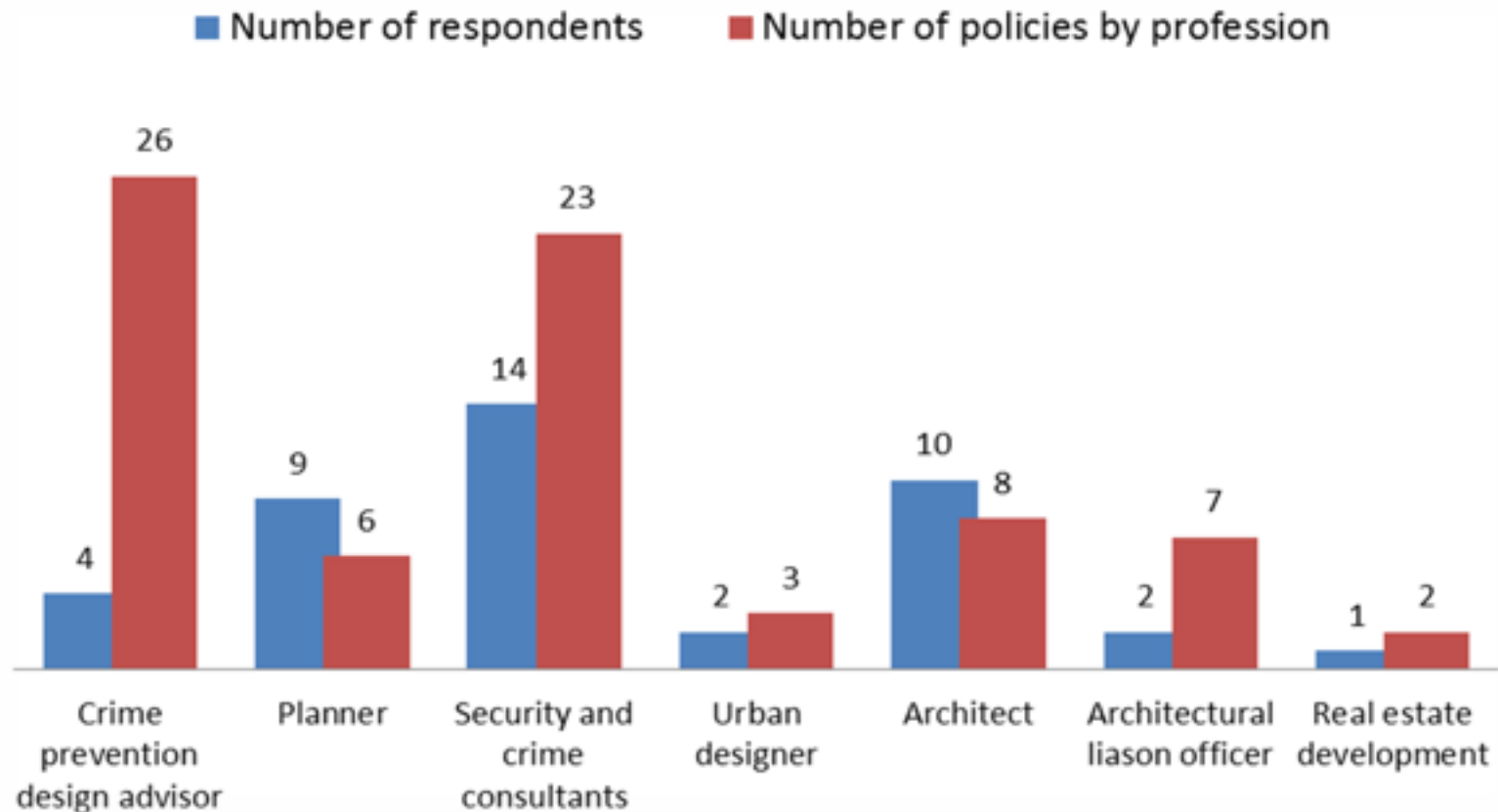
### Primary content analysis categories:

- Contains a crime prevention *framework* (analysed using qualitative coding techniques)
- Discusses crime prevention but no framework (excluded from further analysis)

# Inclusion Requirements

- Relate to the design of the built environment
- Contain more than one crime prevention concept
- Provide an unambiguous explanation or definition of the concept meanings in relation to crime prevention (those without definition, lack context and are therefore unable to align with academic concepts)

# Respondents Professions vs. Knowledgebase Documents



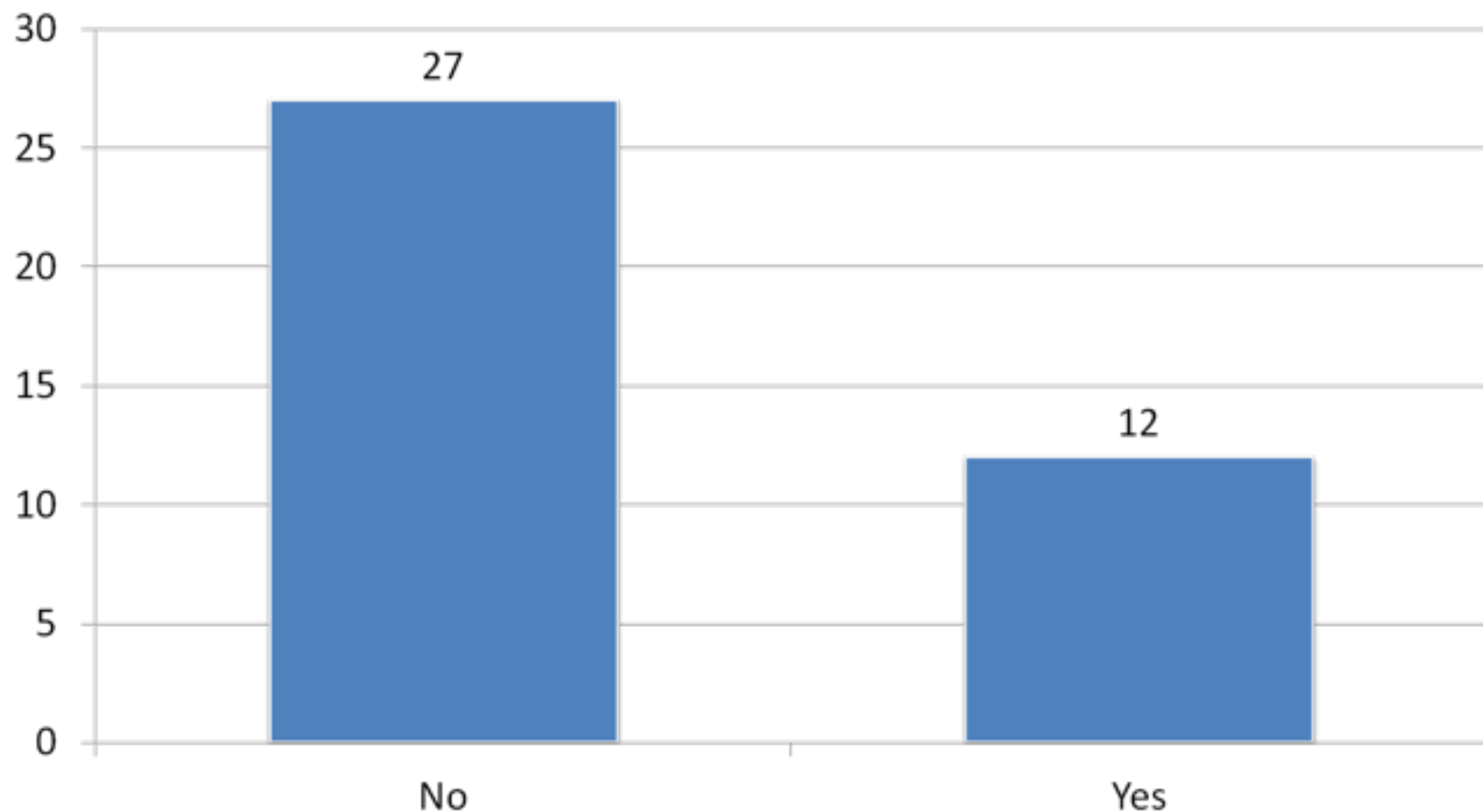
# Results

- Extremely varied and diverse CPTED terms and concepts

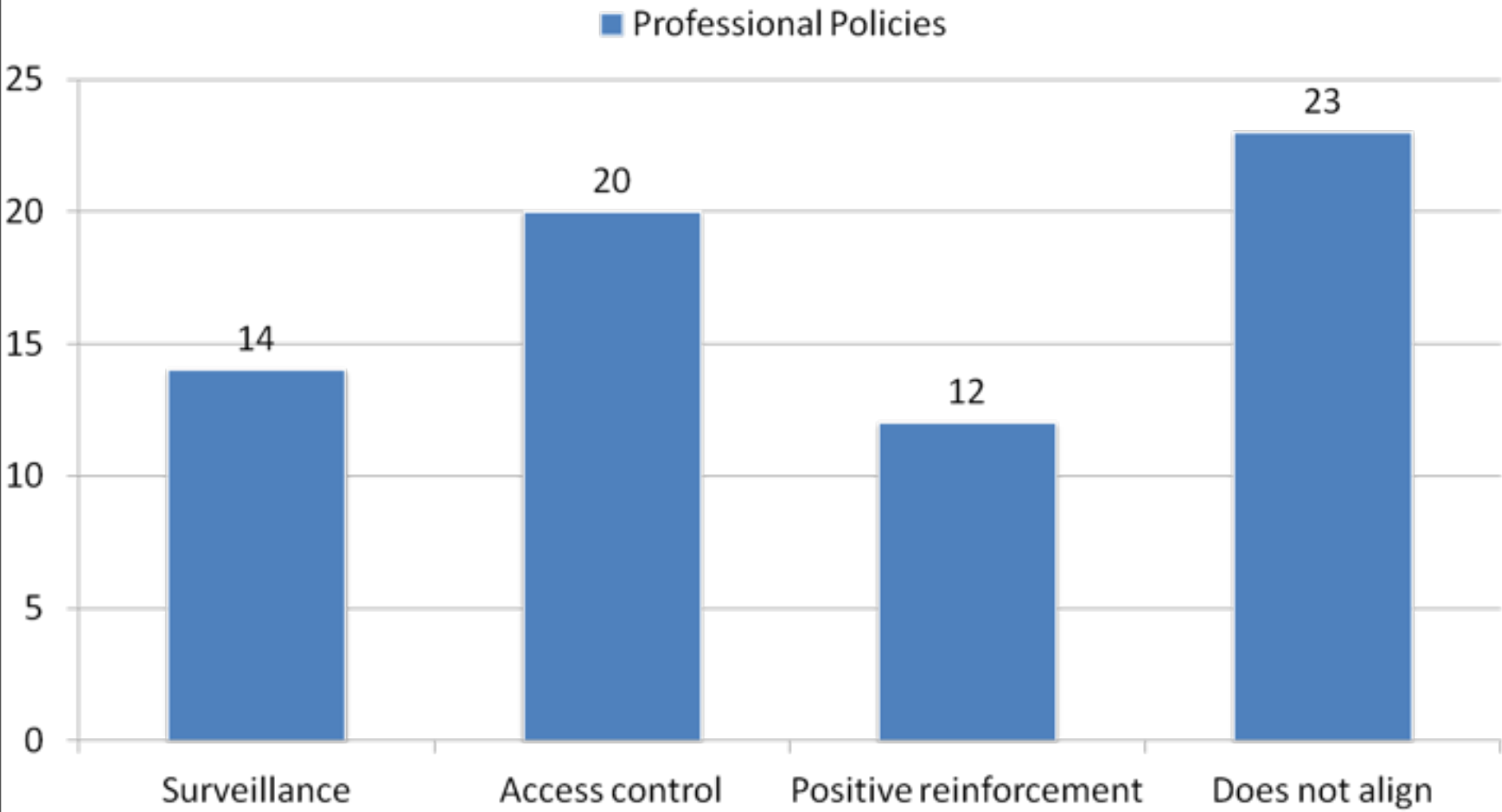




## Professional Policies Containing a Crime Prevention Framework



# Relationship between Academic and Professional CPTED Frameworks



# Policy Alignment with Academic Principles

Policy	Number of concepts in the framework	Informal Surveillance	Formal Surveillance	Access Control	Target Hardening	Activity Support	Image Management/Maintenance	Alignment with Academic Principles	% of Alignment
1.Designing for community Safety Supplementary Planning document (Newcastle Council)	5	2	0	2	0	0	1	4/5	80%
2.Designing out crime, supplementary planning document (Carlisle Council)	3	1	1	1	0	1	1	2/3	40%
3. Crowded Places: The planning system and counter terrorism	4	1	0	0	3	0	1	4/4	100%
4. Safer Places- The planning system and crime prevention	7	1	0	1	0	1	1	4/7	57%
5.Protecting Crowded Places: Design and technical issues	7	0	0	2	0	1	1	3/7	42%
6.National guidelines for Crime Prevention through Environmental design in New Zealand Part 1: Seven qualities of Safer Places	7	1	0	1	0	1	1	4/7	57%
7.Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) Security Handbook Oakland Police	4	1	1	2	1	1	0	4/4	100%
8.Defensible space by Oscar Newman	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	2/3	66%
9.Timothy Crowe's CPTED	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	2/3	66%
10.Greater Manchester Local Authorities UDP/SPD policies on designing out crime,	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	1/7	14%
11.NSW guidelines. "Safer by design"	4	1	1	2	1	0	1	4/4	100%
12.Welsh assembly government tams 12	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	2/5	40%

# Results

- **39** different policies were collected from **42** respondents and **no** identical frameworks were provided (indicates no industry standard)
- **26%** of respondents did not refer to or use any formal policy, framework or set of guidelines in relation to developing crime prevention
- **69%** of documents were excluded from further textual analysis because they did not contain a framework or set of guidelines
- **No** single framework covered all 3 CPTED concepts mentioned earlier
- The 6 principles were identified separately with **36** different definitions using **43** different topic/theme headings (huge disparity of terms between research and practice)
- **39%** of definitions in practice did not align with CPTED concepts/principles in academia
- **50%** of the frameworks had components which were categorised more than once (significant confusion)

# Overall Conclusion

- Academia is lacking in provision of a holistic CPTED framework
- Extremely low levels of engagement from practitioners
- Feedback from respondents suggested that further research would be problematic due to engagement
- Majority of professional documents failed to provide a recognisable and functional crime prevention framework
- There is a demonstrable gap between research and practice knowledge
- There is significant confusion and diversity within academia and within built environment professions

# Concluding Statement

*If CPTED is to be acknowledged as a valid and worthwhile design component, then a common language, through a common knowledgebase must be brought to the fore; without dictating outcomes, or failing to acknowledge the value of flexibility and innovation which is equally essential.*

**Thank You**

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