Sharpening up CPTED

Paul Ekblom

DESIGN AGAINST CRIME RESEARCH CENTRE

ual: university of the arts london central saint martins

1

Genesis 11, 1-9

2

2-1

Genesis 11, 1-9

- Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. As people moved eastward, they found a plain in Shinar and settled there.
- They said to each other, “Let us build a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens….”
- But the LORD came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. The LORD said, “If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. Come, let us confuse their language so they will not understand each other.”
- So the LORD scattered them over all the earth, and they stopped building the city. That is why it was called Babel – because there the LORD confused the language of the whole world.

2

2-2

CPTEDbabel?

3

3-1

CPTEDbabel?

- The Tower of Babel story is a pretty good analogy for CPTED
  - It relates to the built environment
  - It could be seen as a crime impact statement - ‘OMG! If they can build this, they’re capable of anything!’

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  - It relates to the built environment
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  - Being scattered all over the Earth is not such a problem with air travel and the internet… and of being reunited every so often by conferences like this one… and we're situated on the Great Plains too
  - But finally, and most seriously, we have the issue of linguistic confusion: if we stretch this to include conceptual confusion, it's where I believe CPTED is today

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  - Being scattered all over the Earth is not such a problem with air travel and the internet… and of being reunited every so often by conferences like this one… and we're situated on the Great Plains too
  - But finally, and most seriously, we have the issue of linguistic confusion: if we stretch this to include conceptual confusion, it's where I believe CPTED is today
- I'm a firm believer in CPTED, but I want it to be as good as it can be – so please take what follows as a constructive critique from a close friend rather than the Wrath of the Lord

3-5

What's coming up

4-1

What's coming up

- Confusion within CPTED

4-2

What's coming up

- Confusion within CPTED
- How the confusion happened

4-3

What's coming up

- Confusion within CPTED
- How the confusion happened
- Confusion
  - Between CPTED and other preventive approaches
  - Within crime prevention more generally
  - Within security

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- The consequences of these confusions

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- Confusion within CPTED
- How the confusion happened
- Confusion
  - Between CPTED and other preventive approaches
  - Within crime prevention more generally
  - Within security
- The consequences of these confusions
- How to make things better – discourses, definitions and frameworks… experimental thoughts

4-6

Confusion within CPTED

- All the core concepts of CPTED overlap
  - Where does defensibility end, territoriality begin? Likewise defence and access control?
- All fail to distinguish between nature of **Action** and qualities of **Place**
  - Defence & Defensibility, Surveillance & Surveillability etc
  - And Territorial motivation/emotion, Territorial behaviour and plain Territory
- All fail to distinguish between **Preparation** & **Operation**
  - **Installation of Walls** enabling **Defence**
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- Target-hardening has particular limitations
  - What **exactly** is the target to be protected – the house or the Ultra HD TV set inside it?
  - And what about target **softening**?

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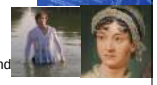
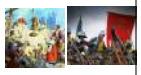

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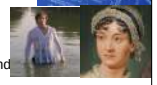
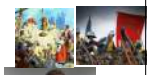

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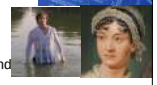
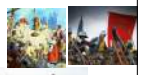

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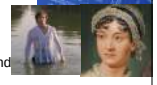
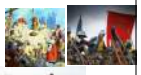

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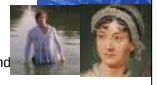
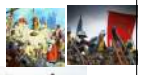

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5-9

Research by Victoria Gibson & colleagues at University of Northumbria

- Analysis of 64 CPTED documents identified
  - Significant terminological conflicts
  - Free-for-all use of vernacular terms to characterise CPTED framework, with little rationale – e.g. substitution of 'Movement Control' for 'Access control'
  - CPTED organised under anything from 3 – 7 headings
  - But total of 58 terms used
  - 25 out of 64 papers offered a framework either of the author's own interpretation or unreferenced

D. Johnson, V. Gibson and M. McCabe (2014). 'Designing in Crime Prevention, Designing out Ambiguity: Practice issues with the CPTED knowledge framework available to professionals in the field and its potentially ambiguous nature.' *Crime Prevention and Community Safety* DOI: 10.1057/cpcs.2014.3

6

6

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7

7-1

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7-7

Confusion between CPTED and other approaches to crime prevention

- CPTED label often used synonymously with crime prevention in general
- This risks
  - Over-reaching our expertise
  - Diluting quality of knowledge in both fields

8

8

Confusion within Crime Prevention more generally

9

9-1

Confusion within Crime Prevention more generally

- Lack of clarity over status of **Routine Activities**, **Rational Choice** – are they theory, perspective, truism, approach? Is **Pattern Theory** a theory?

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Confusion within Crime Prevention more generally

- Lack of clarity over status of **Routine Activities**, **Rational Choice** – are they theory, perspective, truism, approach? Is **Pattern Theory** a theory?
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  - Not just 1) something 'out there in the **environment** enabling action' but also defined by 2) offender's **resources** to exploit and cope; and 3) offender's **goals** – opportunity to do *what?*

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- Sloppy usage
  - '**Likely offender**' (includes capability) shrunk to '**motivated offender**'
  - **Guardian** used for all preventer roles including place manager, handler of offender… and where are the planner, designer, architect and developer?

9-5

Confusion within Crime Prevention more generally

10-1

Confusion within Crime Prevention more generally

- Poor integration between perspectives
  - RC is psychological, RA ecological, PT spatial
  - All use slightly different terminology, or same words with different nuances
  - Put together, they have gaps and partial overlaps
  - And they shy away from **offender-related** factors – knowing about offender goals, resources and emotional precipitators can help design situational interventions

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- Process model (SARA) too crude
  - **Response** covers huge diversity of action, from fitting locks to running security campaigns to building Olympic stadia – hard to capture, organise, retrieve, articulate practice knowledge

10-4

Confusion within Security

- Many meanings of
  - **Threat** (risk, hazard, intent, intent + capability)
  - **Vulnerability** (weak points, exposure, manifest risk pattern)
  - **Hazard** (harmful event, something with potential to cause harm)
  - **Risk** (likelihood, likelihood x harm; negative uncertainty or all uncertainty)

11

What are the consequences of the confusion?

12

12-1

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- Our tools for thinking & communicating about CPTED principles and CPTED action are blunt & inefficient

12

12-2

What are the consequences of the confusion?

- Our tools for thinking & communicating about CPTED principles and CPTED action are blunt & inefficient
- Operationally, this can
  - Limit the scope of the problems we can tackle
  - Allow objectives to drift – e.g. from inclusive community safety to exclusive gated security
  - Reduce the quality of interventions suggested/ designed to address particular problems
  - Constrain our ability to undertake the CPTED process as professionally and rigorously as we might
  - Disadvantage CPTED in the wider planning/ development process
  - Hinder collaboration within CPTED locally, nationally and internationally, and limit the transfer of CPTED principles to other cultures and contexts

12

12-3

What are the consequences of the confusion?

13

13-1

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- In the background
  - Hinder collaboration and cross-fertilisation with wider disciplines/ professions – especially links with criminology, security and architecture
  - Hinder the capture, consolidation, retrieval & sharing of practice knowledge – efficient training and briefing is increasingly important with staff turnover/ reductions
  - Jeopardise formal research, evaluation of what works, & theory building
  - Stymie computer simulation/ agent-based modelling which can increasingly contribute to research, training, planning/design of developments, and to crime impact assessment

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13-7

Consequences of confusion – the example of Territoriality

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14

The example of Territoriality

Territoriality is central to CPTED – but **poorly defined**, so we can't

- Reliably spot **weaknesses** in design relating to territoriality
- Positively design **for** territoriality – designers need clear briefs
- Monitor & adjust **mechanisms** of prevention (how designs work)
- Clarify **values** embedded in design (e.g. connection with inclusiveness)
- Undertake innovative tradeoffs with values **outside** security e.g. between territoriality and aesthetics
- Handle tradeoffs and conflicts **within** security e.g. territoriality v surveillance (walls demark private space, but may block sightlines)
- Be alert to **cultural differences** in how territoriality is interpreted

15

15

How to make things better?

- Time for a sharpener

16-1

How to make things better?

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16-2

How to make things better?

17-1

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- This means setting out and combining:
  - **Environmental/architectural** discourse – building properties, structures, features
  - **Crime prevention** discourse – risks, causes and interventions
  - **Security** discourse – threat, hazard, mitigation
  - Action and implementation discourse – the messy people bits without which it all fails

17

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  - **Environmental/architectural** discourse – building properties, structures, features
  - **Crime prevention** discourse – risks, causes and interventions
  - **Security** discourse – threat, hazard, mitigation
  - Action and implementation discourse – the messy people bits without which it all fails

- With each, we must start with **primitives**

17

17-6

How to make things better?

- Since all core principles of CPTED overlap, to understand Territoriality, for example, we have to simultaneously understand the rest of the concepts – they define each other
- So we need to **deconstruct** them and develop **definitions in depth** – to expose the 'buried connections' between the concepts and link them up
- Those definitions all need to be in a common set of **discourses** and draw on same set of **subsidiary concepts/ elements**
- This means setting out and combining:
  - **Environmental/architectural** discourse – building properties, structures, features
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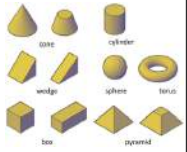

17

17-7

Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

18

18-1

Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

Causal properties

- Space
- Movement
- Manipulation/force
- Shelter/refuge
- Perception/ prospect
- Understandability/ information
- Motivation/ emotion
- Ownership, competition, conflict

- Each has physical, psychological and social dimensions

18

18-2

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Structural Features

- Nodes
- Paths
- Barriers /screens
- Enclosures/ containers
- Furniture
- Signage

18

18-3

Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

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Content
- People (bodies)
- Furniture
- Mobiles (cars etc)

18

18-4

Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

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Expanding the detail of properties, and of features & content that confer them
- **Sight**
- **Sound** …etc

18-5

Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

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  - Sightlines

18-7

Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

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  - Sightlines
    - » ***features*** *affecting this property:* **Dog-legs, Sight screens, Barriers, Recesses, Enclosures, Containers**
    - » ***content*** *affecting this property:* **Crowds, Parked cars**

18-8

Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

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18-9

Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

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18-10

What is crime risk? Definition in depth

19-1

What is crime risk? Definition in depth

Crime risk has several aspects

19-2

What is crime risk? Definition in depth

Crime risk has several aspects

Possibility – nature of criminal event

Who does what illegal act to whom/what?

19-3

What is crime risk? Definition in depth

Crime risk has several aspects

Possibility – nature of criminal event

Who does what illegal act to whom/what?

Probability of event

How likely is it to happen?

19-4

What is crime risk? Definition in depth

Crime risk has several aspects

Possibility – nature of criminal event

Who does what illegal act to whom/what?

Probability of event

How likely is it to happen?

Harm from event

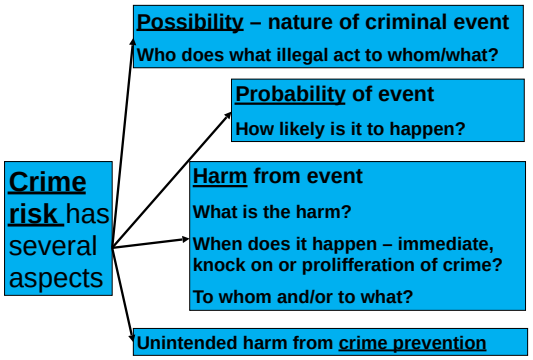
What is the harm?

When does it happen – immediate, knock on or prolifferation of crime?

To whom and/or to what?

19-5

What is crime risk? Definition in depth



19-6

What is crime prevention?

- Crime prevention seeks to reduce the risk of criminal events
- In particular, to

20-1

What is crime prevention?

- Crime prevention seeks to reduce the risk of criminal events
- In particular, to

Eliminate **possibility** of crime
or if not

20-2

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Reduce **probability** of criminal events
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20-3

What is crime prevention?

- Crime prevention seeks to reduce the risk of criminal events
- In particular, to

Eliminate **possibility** of crime
or if not

Reduce **probability** of criminal events
or if not

Reduce or mitigate **harm** when events do happen – including propagation of crime

20-4

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – causes and interventions

21

21-1

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – causes and interventions

21

21-2

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – causes and interventions

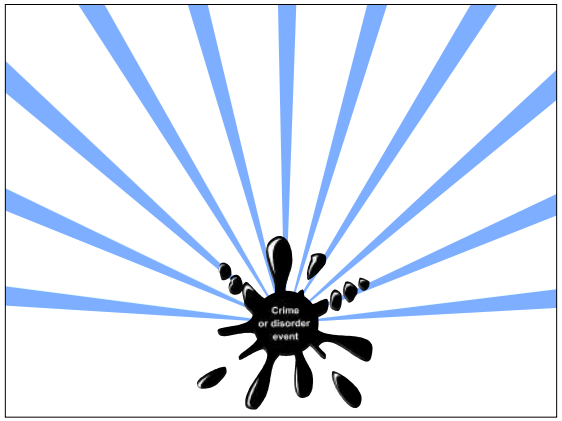
Very simple – but very limiting – can't handle the detail

21

21-3

22-1

22-2



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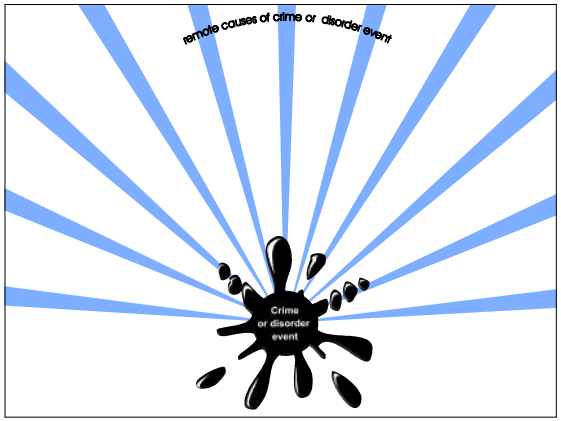

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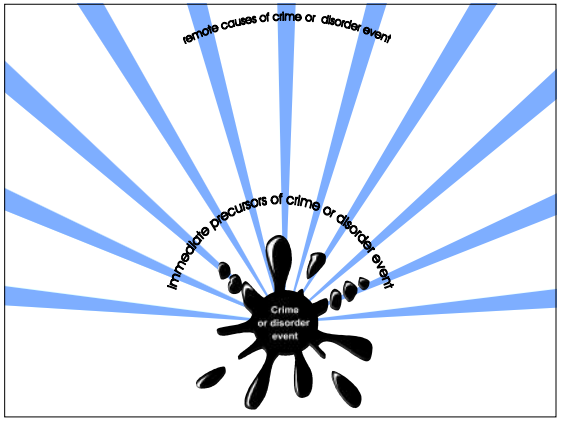

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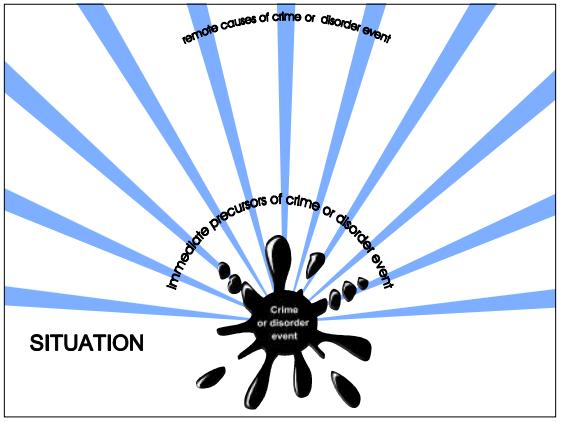

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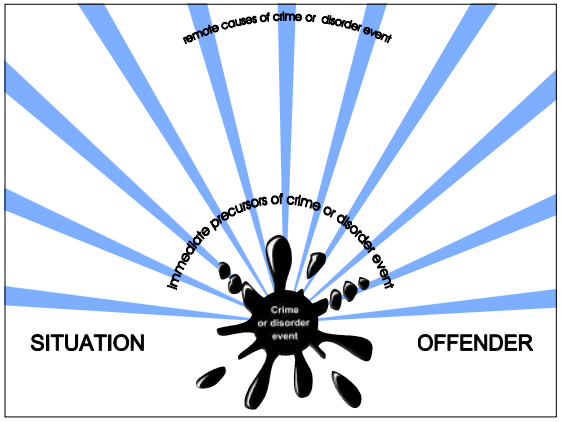

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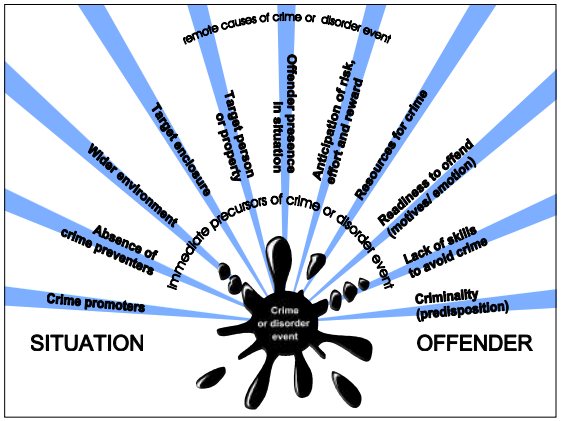

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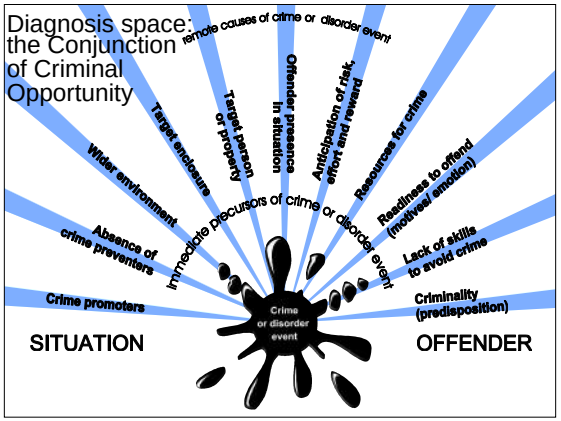

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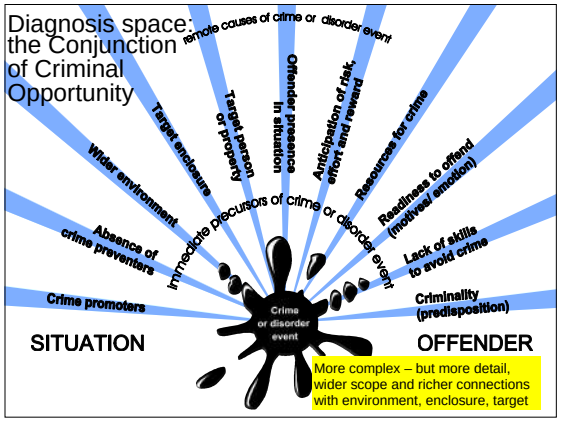

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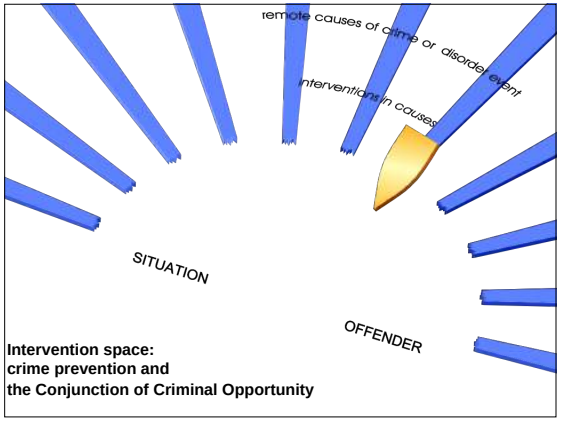


Intervention space:
crime prevention and
the Conjunction of Criminal Opportunity

23

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions – Counterterrorism project

Project on what works tackling terrorism at complex stations

www.hud.ac.uk/research/researchcentres/acc/projects/reducing-serious-crime-and-terrorism-at-mmpts/

24

24-1

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions – Counterterrorism project

Project on what works tackling terrorism at complex stations

www.hud.ac.uk/research/researchcentres/acc/projects/reducing-serious-crime-and-terrorism-at-mmpts/

24

24-2

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions – Counterterrorism project

Project on what works tackling terrorism at complex stations

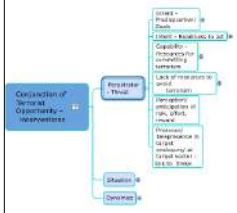
Start with map of causes of terrorism events, and the perpetrator perspective, and drop the interventions onto them later

www.hud.ac.uk/research/researchcentres/acc/projects/reducing-serious-crime-and-terrorism-at-mmpts/

24

24-3

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions



Start by 'thinking perpetrator' – intent, capability, perception, presence

25

25

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions

Then 'think situation' – target, target enclosure, preventers and promoters

26

26

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions

Dynamics – decision-making, and how perpetrators and preventers interact through 'script clashes'

27

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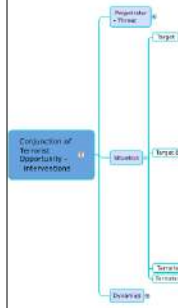
Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions

Detail of situation – target, target enclosure… its defensibility and offensibility, and motivational/ emotional properties

28

28

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions



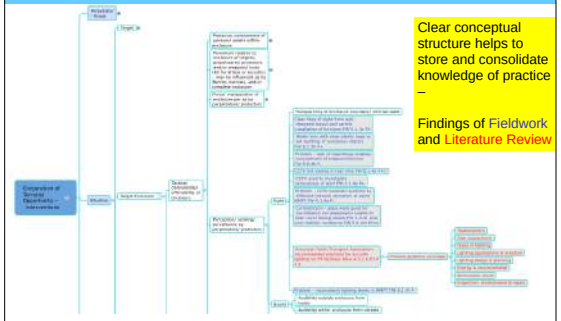
Situation in still greater depth – **Defensibility**… Containment, Movement, Force/ manipulation, Sensing, Control;

Motivation/ emotion… Reward value to perpetrator, Prompting/provoking territoriality; Generating stress and conflict

29

29

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions



Clear conceptual structure helps to store and consolidate knowledge of practice –

Findings of Fieldwork and Literature Review

30

30

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions

Storing knowledge of practice – **the whole caboodle** – 400-odd items of research, guidance, fieldwork

31

31

Discourse of Design – Process models

www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/design-process-what-double-diamond

32

32-1

Discourse of Design – Process models

- Ted Kitchen – CPTED lacks a decent process model

www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/design-process-what-double-diamond 32

32-2

Discourse of Design – Process models

- Ted Kitchen – CPTED lacks a decent process model
- Design has a generic model – the **Double Diamond**

www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/design-process-what-double-diamond 32

32-3

Discourse of Design – Process models

- Ted Kitchen – CPTED lacks a decent process model
- Design has a generic model – the **Double Diamond**
- Not so far removed from Designate, Define, Design

www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/design-process-what-double-diamond 32

32-4

Discourse of Design – Process models

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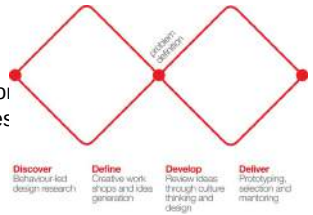


www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/design-process-what-double-diamond 32

32-5

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process models

5Is framework for crime preventive action

- Crime prevention has SARA ….
- But also 5Is which can arguably catch more of the detail and complexity of preventive action
  - The better to connect with CPTED

http://5isframework.wordpress.com

33

33

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process

34

34-1

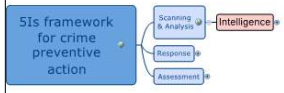
Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process

Starting with familiar equivalent – SARA

34

34-2

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process



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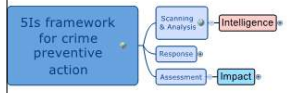
Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process



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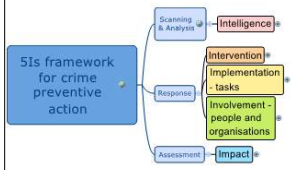
Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process



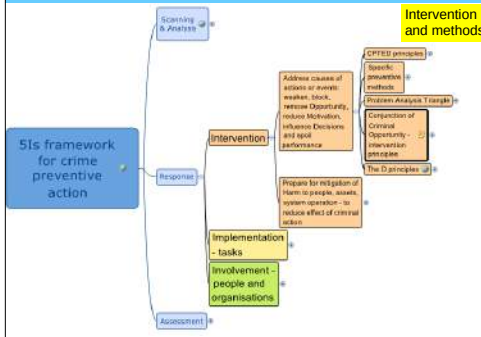
SARA's Response task expanded

37

37

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process

Intervention principles and methods fit here



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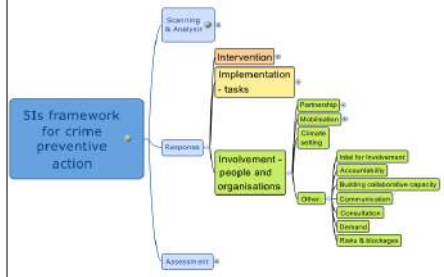
Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process



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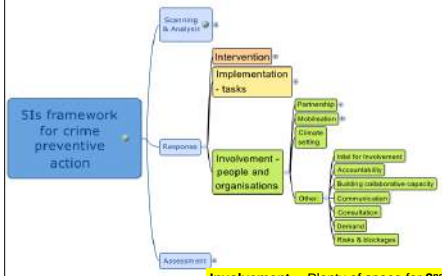
39-1

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process

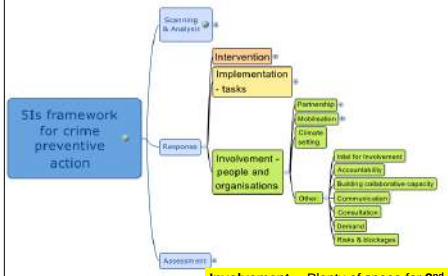


Involvement… Plenty of space for **2nd Generation 'C' processes** without confusing them with Intervention

39

39-2

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process



Involvement… Plenty of space for **2nd Generation 'C' processes** without confusing them with Intervention

Task (to be done) is to adapt 5Is to articulate all the specific processes of CPTED so there is a common family of process models

39

39-3

Example definition – Surveillance

40

40-1

Example definition – Surveillance

- **Surveillance** is an **activity** for which someone or some institution, acting in a **crime preventer role**, has taken responsibility

40

40-2

Example definition – Surveillance

- **Surveillance** is an **activity** for which someone or some institution, acting in a **crime preventer role**, has taken responsibility
- **Surveillability** is an instrumental **property** of the **environment** conferred by **features** e.g. sightlines and lighting, that facilitate surveillance; and **content** e.g. obscured by parked cars

40

40-3

Example definition – Surveillance

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- **Surveillability** is an instrumental **property** of the **environment** conferred by **features** e.g. sightlines and lighting, that facilitate surveillance; and **content** e.g. obscured by parked cars
- Surveillance may be undertaken in support of **Territoriality** and may exploit advantages of **Defensible Space** (prospect)

40

40-4

Example definition – Surveillance

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- Surveillance may be undertaken in support of **Territoriality** and may exploit advantages of **Defensible Space** (prospect)
- Other definitions at end of this presentation and see also http://reconstructcpted.wordpress.com

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40-5

Surveillance – concept map

41

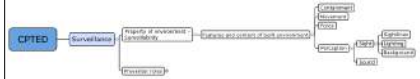
41

Surveillance – concept map

42

42

Surveillance – concept map



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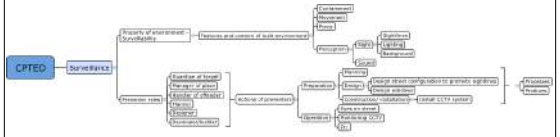
43

Surveillance – concept map



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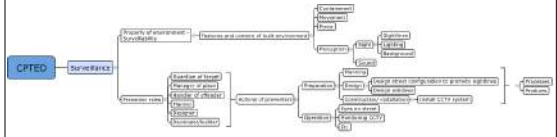
44-1

Surveillance – concept map



All this could well be disrupted and modified by new research e.g. interviews with offenders – but it's designed to be a flexible, adaptive 'learning engine'

44

44-2

Overall message

- CPTED needs a controlled vocabulary and sharpened concepts…
- *But* we designers against crime must combine discipline & rigour *with* exploration & creativity
- And this must cover material, informational and social dimensions
- The people stuff in particular is what makes or breaks CPTED

45

45

The End is nigh

- Hopefully I've combined the destroyer role of Shiva with the creator role of Brahma, whilst – like Vishnu - preserving what's good about the research and the huge body of experience on CPTED

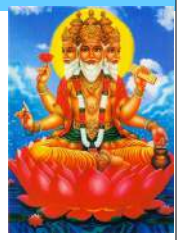
46-1

The End is nigh

- Hopefully I've combined the destroyer role of Shiva with the creator role of Brahma, whilst – like Vishnu - preserving what's good about the research and the huge body of experience on CPTED

46-2

The End is nigh



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46-3

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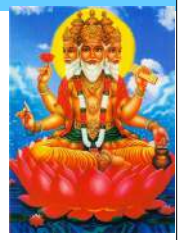

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46-4

reconstructcpted.wordpress.com

5isframework.wordpress.com

designagainstcrime.com/methodology-resources/crime-frameworks/

p.ekblom@csm.arts.ac.uk

47

47

Extras

48

48

A Definition of CPTED

49

49-1

A Definition of CPTED

- **CP** Reducing probability of crime and related problems, and their consequent harm, and enhancing the quality of life through community safety

49

49-2

A Definition of CPTED

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- **ED** By using processes of planning and design of environment

49

49-3

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- On a range of scales and types of place from individual buildings and interiors to wider landscapes, neighbourhoods and cities

49

49-4

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- **ED** By using processes of planning and design of environment
- On a range of scales and types of place from individual buildings and interiors to wider landscapes, neighbourhoods and cities
- To produce designs that are 'fit for purpose', and contextually appropriate in all other respects

49

49-5

A Definition of CPTED

- **CP** Reducing probability of crime and related problems, and their consequent harm, and enhancing the quality of life through community safety
- **ED** By using processes of planning and design of environment
- On a range of scales and types of place from individual buildings and interiors to wider landscapes, neighbourhoods and cities
- To produce designs that are 'fit for purpose', and contextually appropriate in all other respects
- Whilst achieving a balance between
  - the efficiency of avoiding crime problems *before* construction
  - and the *adaptability* of tackling them through subsequent management and maintenance

49

49-6

Territoriality

50

50-1

Territoriality

- Territoriality is both a **value** in itself (an Englishman's home is his castle) and an **instrumental means** to crime prevention ends

50

50-2

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- As used in CPTED practice and literature, it is unclear whether it is a **human attribute**, or a socially-ascribed and physical **property** of **space**

50

50-3

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- Territoriality is both a **value** in itself (an Englishman's home is his castle) and an **instrumental means** to crime prevention ends
- As used in CPTED practice and literature, it is unclear whether it is a **human attribute**, or a socially-ascribed and physical **property** of **space**
- Best to consider it as both (**territoriality** and **territory**), subsumed under an **ecological** framework which includes human **agents** in relation to their **environment**

50

50-4

Territoriality – human side (1)

51

51-1

Territoriality – human side (1)

- A complex **propensity** of perceptual, emotional and motivational tendencies, goals and resources leading to responses of acquisition, preferential enjoyment, ownership, management, control and defence of a tract of space

51

51-2

Territoriality – human side (1)

- A complex **propensity** of perceptual, emotional and motivational tendencies, goals and resources leading to responses of acquisition, preferential enjoyment, ownership, management, control and defence of a tract of space

- These processes may operate individually or collectively at group, community, institutional or national level

51

51-3

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- Territoriality is a common human propensity but may be **realised** and **communicated** differently by different individuals and/or (sub)cultures

51

51-4

Territoriality – human side (2)

52

52-1

Territoriality – human side (2)

- Territory is held **relative to other possible owners**, so
  - There have to be relations of either **acceptance/ legitimacy or conflict** between private parties, or with the involvement of the community and/or state
  - and **cultural understandings** of concepts of ownership, norms (and laws) of legitimate acquisition, use, defence etc

52

52-2

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52

52-3

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- Territoriality in particular requires people's **roles** to be understood
- **Sharing** of territory will pose particular issues

52-4

Territory – spatial side (1)

53-1

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- Has to be **extended** in space and **durable** over some time period (brief or lasting)

53-2

Territory – spatial side (1)

- Has to be **extended** in space and **durable** over some time period (brief or lasting)
- May extend into virtual or cyber space

53-3

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- Has to be **extended** in space and **durable** over some time period (brief or lasting)
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- Will normally have properties relating to **utility to users**
  - Either for **itself** (a private garden to enjoy)
  - Or as an **enclosure** to secure their person and belongings

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- Has to have the **properties** of **identifiability** (whose is it?) and **demarkability** (where is it/what are its boundaries?)

53-5

Territory – spatial side (2)

54-1

Territory – spatial side (2)

- May also have properties of **access control** and **wider defensibility**, both of which may be facilitated by **surveillability** and **hardening of enclosure**

54-2

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54-4

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- Will have an **image** to the owner and/or to other parties
- Will usually require **maintenance**, which influences image
- All these properties may be influenced for good or for bad by
  - The **design** of the environment on micro to macro **scales**
  - In interaction with the **social context**

54-5

Defensible Space

55-1

Defensible Space

- An instrumental **property** of the **environment**

55

55-2

Defensible Space

- An instrumental **property** of the **environment**
- Conferred by **features** eg barriers and markers, plus the property of surveillability

55

55-3

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- An instrumental **property** of the **environment**
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- Linked to **capacity of people** to defend it through human resources (eg numbers, assertiveness, knowledge of how to challenge and respond) and technical resources eg alarms

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- **Defending** the space is an **activity** closely linked to **Territoriality**

55

55-5

Target hardening

56

56-1

Target hardening

- A preventive **activity** whose purpose is to give material or informational **targets of crime** the **property** of **resistance to physical attack** in the service of some offender's attempt to **misappropriate** (steal), **mistreat** (damage), **mishandle** (counterfeit, smuggle), **misuse** (as tool or weapon) or **misbehave** with (in antisocial behaviour)

56

56-2

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- Note that hardening the **target** is often confused with hardening the **target enclosure** such as a building or compound which offenders wish to enter – this last is achieved eg by creating, strengthening or heightening barriers

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- Hardened **enclosures** may contribute to **Defensible Space**
- **Target hardening** of built environment against mistreatment, misuse or misbehaviour may aid (or spoil) **Image and Maintenance**

56-5

Access control

57-1

Access control

- An **activity** intended to
  - Discriminate between individuals seeking to enter the interior **space** of an **enclosure** (in terms of who, when, what carrying/wearing and how they are behaving)
  - To prevent their committing crime by their presence (eg minors in a bar), or their actions once within the enclosure

57-2

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- May be facilitated by **Defensible Space**

57

57-4

Activity support

58

58-1

Activity support

- A **property** of the **environment** which variously
  - **Alerts, informs, motivates, empowers and directs** people to enter it and remain there
  - Where they act as **users** playing legitimate roles/ undertaking legitimate activities, and thus as potential **crime preventers**
  - And/or which channels them away from **conflict** over space, noise, incompatible behaviour etc

58

58-2

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- Legitimate users may supply preventive support by
  - **Occupying space** that would otherwise have been taken by (potential) offenders
  - Their mere **presence** may **deter and discourage** offending
  - Or they may undertake **surveillance** and make appropriate preventive responses including **informal social control**

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58-3

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- **Territoriality** may empower owners/managers to *influence* activity support, & visitors to *accept* influence

58

58-4

Image & Maintenance

59

59-1

Image & Maintenance

- **Image** is an **individually/collectively** held **perception** with **emotional** content

59-2

Image & Maintenance

- **Image** is an **individually/collectively** held **perception** with **emotional** content
- It relates variously to
  - **Crime risk**
  - Wider **community safety/quality of life**
  - **Reputation** of residents/users etc
  - Influencing people's **decisions and actions** (eg to visit, work, live there)

59-3

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- **Image and maintenance** together may influence **objective crime risk** by **prompting, provoking or permitting** offending through broken windows-type processes

59-4

Image & Maintenance

60-1

Image & Maintenance

- **Maintenance** is **activity** (or the **state** of an **environment** reflecting that activity or its absence), which influences **image**
  - Both in terms of the litter, graffiti etc which may be present
  - And by the perception of the very fact that someone is/is not doing the maintenance

60-2

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  - Both in terms of the litter, graffiti etc which may be present
  - And by the perception of the very fact that someone is/is not doing the maintenance
- Maintenance relates to **Territoriality** in terms of
  - Individuals, families or institutions being motivated and permitted to take responsibility for undertaking maintenance of a given **space**
  - and **defensibility** and **access control** to enable them to do the maintenance without interference, or risk of it being messed up

60-3