“...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
CPTED Definitions
CPTED Definitions

- The most commonly cited definition (Gibson & Johnson 2013) was given by Timothy Crowe (2000) of the U.S National Institute for Crime Prevention.
CPTED Definitions

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“CPTED is the proper design and effective use of the built environment that can lead to a reduction in the fear and incidence of crime and an improvement in the quality of life... The goal of CPTED is to reduce opportunities for crime that may be inherent in the design of structures or neighbourhoods” (2000:46)
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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 framework s 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
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
Methodology

Directed Content Analysis Literary Search
Methodology

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
Methodology

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

• 423 hits retrieved
# Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameters</th>
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<td>Language</td>
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<td>Studies published from 1970 (inclusive) onwards</td>
<td>Studies published before 1970</td>
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<td>Study Type</td>
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<td>Non critical acceptances</td>
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<td>Critical theme</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Textbooks</td>
<td>Second Generation CPTED studies</td>
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<td>Journal Articles</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Peer reviewed articles</td>
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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
CPTED: A critique
CPTED: A critique

Actor Network Theory
An approach to social research and theory which assumes that the objects being analysed are part of a social network
CPTED: A critique

Actor Network Theory

An approach to social research and theory which assumes that the objects being analysed are part of a social network

- Actor Network Theory integrated into the Directed Content Analysis to form a systematic categorisation and analytical process
CPTED: A critique

Actor Network Theory
An approach to social research and theory which assumes that the objects being analysed are part of a social network

- Actor Network Theory integrated into the Directed Content Analysis to form a systematic categorisation and analytical process
- Analysis of the complex relationships and drivers behind CPTED literature
CPTED: A critique

Actor Network Theory
An approach to social research and theory which assumes that the objects being analysed are part of a social network
• Actor Network Theory integrated into the Directed Content Analysis to form a systematic categorisation and analytical process
• Analysis of the complex relationships and drivers behind CPTED literature
• Used to form a structure to the category development
CPTED: A critique

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- Analysis of the complex relationships and drivers behind CPTED literature
- Used to form a structure to the category development

10 Categories were formed
- Criticism
- Authors
- Methodology
- Discipline
- Data
- Scale
- Type
- Place of Study
- Place of Author
- Citations
## Criticism Frequencies

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<th>Criticism</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Criticism Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tr>
<td>Poor Communication and Collaboration between stakeholders</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Work Effort</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assumes one size fits all</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Need for further research</td>
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<td>Top Down Approach</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal Capable Guardianship is dependent on wider conditions</td>
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<td>Need for further research</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poor Evaluation and Measurement</td>
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<td>Ignorant of Social Aspects</td>
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<td>CPTED creates a Fortress Society</td>
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<td>Negative Effects</td>
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<td>Offensible Space</td>
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<td>Increasing public use increases crime</td>
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<td>CPTED is not sustainable</td>
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<td>Methodological Weaknesses</td>
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<td>Displacement</td>
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<td>Weak empirical evidence</td>
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<td>Narrow range of tested scales</td>
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<td>Conflicting principles</td>
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</table>
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:
- Strength of Weak Ties Theory (Granovetter 1973)
Network Theory

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Network Theory

Analysis based on:
- Strength of Weak Ties Theory (Granovetter 1973)

- Weak ties may receive better knowledge transfer than strong ties
Network Theory

- Structural Holes Theory of Social Capital (Burt 1992)
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
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

Criticism

Discipline Sub Category

- Paper (50%)
- Criminology (8.38%)
- Psychology (8.08%)
- Sociology (5.69%)
- Planning (4.15%)
- 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 Health (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 Policy (0.3%)
- Environmental Resource Management (0.3%)
- Human Factors Management (0.3%)

Author (53.59%)
work effort (15.27%)
Need for further research (11.68%)
Negative effects (10.18%)
Msc (4.79%)
Weak Empirical Evidence (4.49%)
Single Criticism Networks vs. Author Discipline

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- Negative effects: (10.18%)
- Misc: (4.79%)
- Weak Empirical Evidence: (4.49%)
Mixed Networks with more than one author and paper
Mixed Networks with more than one author and paper

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
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

Physical Design
Preparatory Tasks

- Physical Design
- Technology

Operational Tasks
Preparatory Tasks

Physical Design

Technology

Operational Tasks

People/Activities

Economy
Concept 1

**Surveillance**

**Operational Tasks**
- CCTV monitoring
- Informal Guardianship
- Reporting offences

**Preparatory Tasks**
- CCTV
- Lighting
- Police Patrol
- Security Guards

**Preparatory Tasks**
- Large Windows
- Low Hedges
- Transparent Barriers

**Operational Tasks**
- Maintenance of Designs
- Use of public space
- Challenging offenders

**Formal Surveillance**
- Operational Tasks

**Informal Surveillance**
- Preparatory Tasks
Concept 1

Surveillance

Formal Surveillance

- CCTV monitoring
- Informal Guardianship
- Reporting offences

Informal Surveillance

- CCTV Lighting
- Police Patrol
- Security Guards

Preparatory Tasks

- Large Windows
- Low Hedges
- Transparent Barriers

Operational Tasks

- Maintenance of Designs
- Use of public space
- Challenging offenders

Concept 2

Positive Reinforcement

Preparatory Tasks

- Graffiti resistant surfaces
- Building variation (colour, design, materials)

Operational Tasks

- Use of public space
- Maintenance of environment
- Ownership

Preparatory Tasks

- Design to guide public
- Vulnerable activities in safe areas
- Recreation facilities

Operational Tasks

- Legitimate use of public space
- Discouraged offenders
- Positive social stigma

Activity Support

Image Management/Maintenance
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

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)
Sample

Questionnaire (8 closed and open questions)

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International Study

- UK
- Ireland
- USA
- The Philippines
- Australia
- Canada
Sample

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International Study

- UK
- Ireland
- USA
- The Philippines
- Australia
- Canada

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

- Crime prevention design advisor: 4 respondents, 26 policies
- Planner: 9 respondents, 6 policies
- Security and crime consultants: 14 respondents, 23 policies
- Urban designer: 2 respondents, 3 policies
- Architect: 10 respondents, 8 policies
- Architectural liaison officer: 2 respondents, 7 policies
- Real estate development: 1 respondent, 2 policies
Results

• Extremely varied and diverse CPTED terms and concepts
Professional Policies Containing a Crime Prevention Framework

No: 27
Yes: 12
## Policy Alignment with Academic Principles

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<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Number of concepts in the framework</th>
<th>Informal Surveillance</th>
<th>Formal Surveillance</th>
<th>Access Control</th>
<th>Target Hardening</th>
<th>Activity Support</th>
<th>Image Management/Maintenance</th>
<th>Alignment with Academic Principles</th>
<th>% of Alignment</th>
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<td>5. Protecting Crowded Places: Design and technical issues</td>
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<td>6. National guidelines for Crime Prevention through Environmental</td>
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<td>design in New Zealand Part 1: Seven qualities of Safer Places</td>
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<td>7. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) Security</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4/4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Handbook Oakland Police</td>
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<td>8. Defensible space by Oscar Newman</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>2/3</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Timothy Crowe's CPTED</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Greater Manchester Local Authorities UDP/SPD policies on designing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>out crime,</td>
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<td>11. NSW guidelines. “Safer by design”</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>100%</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Welsh assembly government tams</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2/5</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

Victoria Gibson
victoria.gibson@northumbria.ac.uk


