SKANDINAVIAN CPTED

A Dilemma of Happy Welfare States - or a More General One?

Denmark, Sweden & Norway:
20.3 million people
816 municipalities
Gini coefficient 0.25 (worlds lowest)
Public expenditures ca. 50% of GNP

2013 ICA Int. Conference
Creating Safer Communities
Calgary, Canada July 3-4, 2013

Grönlund CPTED work in Swedish cities (black, right)
Sweden population density (far right, red most dense)
THE STARTING QUESTION FOR ME AFTER 27 YEARS IN THE FIELD:

Why is Scandinavia slow to take on CPTED in practice?

- Our crime situation is not that different – we need CPTED
- Our CPTED has been adapted to Scandinavian culture – not the same as US or UK
- Our welfare states are efficient, rich and scientifically rational
- Government and money should be no problem
- There is organisational infrastructure: national and local crime prevention councils

Grönlund, CPTED experience, core area =blue

The percentage of people agreeing that ‘most people can be trusted’ is higher in more equal countries.
Three Scandinavian CPTED history reports has been prepared and sent to key persons for review. They include working internet links to many of the most important documents – You will get it later!
THREE CRIME PERIODS IN DENMARK + HOUSING AND CPTED

Development of property crimes (blue) and private consumption (red) in Denmark since 1950

The more poverty - the more crime
(Bonger, NL, 1831-61: higher bread price = more theft)

The more wealth - the more crime
(Felson, US, et al: new life forms - less control)

The more wealth - the less crime
(v. Dijk, NL: better security)
but not in DK housing areas

Modernism’s large scale housing in DK

Guidelines for safe cities and housing in DK - used too little

New safe housing examples in DK:
Egebergsgård & Sibeliusparken
CRIME AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SWEDEN
- and CPTED guidelines

Police reported crimes in Sweden 1950-2008
- no crime drop!
(source: Ulf Malm)

GNP per capita, fixed prices, in Sweden 1950-2008
(source: Ulf Malm)
So, after 20 – 30 years of CPTED in Scandinavia we are in limbo
There is some effect, but no general break through
There is a mixture of progress and set backs
CPTED people are growing old and only one private consultant can make a living out of it
VICTIMISATION, FEAR OF CRIME & SOME BACKGROUND
– not so different?

Victimisation

Background

Fear of crime

Security devices
A DILEMMA OF HAPPY WELFARE STATES - OR A MORE GENERAL ONE?

### SOME SCANDINAVIAN CPTED PROBLEMS
- People happy - don't want to be worried about home
- We don't want to stigmatize areas
- Social prevention domination very strong - they own the problems, the staff and the money
- CPTED said to reduce city and architecture quality
- The police has other priorities
- We don't use existing data (privacy laws)
- General sustainability certification takes over

### SOME GENERAL CPTED PROBLEMS
- Individualistic society - neoliberal politics (no political left solutions)
- Displacement thinking still pops up
- CPTED trusted for locks, bolts and fences - not for natural surveillance and other soft aspects
- The architectural society not interested
- CPTED can't solve all crime problems
- Cost - benefit questions to little in focus
- Crime varies with country, city, and place

- We can discuss which problems are country or region specific and which problems are general and we can easily add more problems to the lists...

- .. but I think, we need to focus more on discussions about policy

- To me the questions is not so much if CPTED is more than planning and design – it is that CPTED as planning and design still has policy difficulties
A LITTLE MORE ON SCANDINAVIAN CPTED

Scandinavian CPTED guidelines:

- Movement network layout – integrating
- Spatial overview and visible people – where it is needed (not everywhere)
- Functional mix for populated spaces throughout the day
- Activities and involvement of citizens, including the youth
- Built density for populated spaces – eventually add more
- No more target hardening and access control than absolutely necessary

In short – the opposite of gated communities – and consciously so!
DENMARK'S TWO CPTED DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS – FROM 1985

- Egebjerlegård in Ballerup is one of them – crime is proved to be lower
- we still show these demonstration projects to foreign delegations …..
- so well liked that you have to wait for more than 10 years to get an apartment here
GELLERUP, AARHUS, DENMARK
– MAJOR REDEVELOPMENT STARTING NOW

- improvement of CIAM-like project with many problems
  - especially in the vast and rather empty green area
- proposal for the spine after redevelopment, agreed upon by the residents
  - user participation in the transformation programme
- cost 300 million US $ for 2600 existing dwellings, 400 new to be added
Hammarby Sjöstad is new, non-gated and rather dense. It contains basic features of CPTED. Even if relatively affluent, the difference from Stockholm averages are rather small concerning housing composition, income and education. It is located in the country with the lowest GINI inequality index, 0.25.
HAMMARBY SJÖSTAD – THE GENERAL PROGRAM

- A new ‘Light Rail City’ with streets and blocks – being built since the late 1990s
- Functional mix – in the right locations
- 8000 dwellings, 15,000-20,000 residents, 8000 places of work
- Populated streets and walks, rich in services and recreational places
- Also contemporary modern: Green and open
HAMMARBY SJÖSTAD OVERVIEW PLAN 2007.

Source: Stockholm's Stadsbyggnadskontor, 2010. Red: New Housing; Orange: Schools; Violet: Places of work and major institutions
GOALS FOR THE SAFETY AND FEELING OF SAFETY, HAMMARBY SJÖSTAD, 2004

- Visibility and overview in public space
- Strong sightlines for easy orientation
- No pedestrian cul-de-sacs
- Avoid pedestrian tunnels
- Car and bike parking visible from windows
- Garages with light and overview
- Courtyards for about 100 apartments
- Common rooms at ground level and with windows
- Clear separation of private and public space
- Possibility for personalisation of the environment

- Source: Gatu- och fastighetskontoret, 2004:44.

*Goals inspired by an early presentation of the European standard in 1997*
GOOD NATURAL SURVEILLANCE

- The car can be seen from the window
- Entrances with see-through-glass, bike parking and bench
- Look-through balcony railings with good contact between the dwelling and the city
- You can even look into the supermarket from the outside – because its floor is lower
ACTIVITIES HELP POPULATE THE ENVIRONMENT AND STIMULATE SOCIAL CONTACTS

- Several pleasant and interesting walks and parks
- Restaurants, cafés, a library and other facilities to visit – and a free ferry
MARKING OF TERRITORIES, SOME DISTANCE KEEPING, CHANGE OF LEVELS, VISIBLE PRIVATE GARDENS

- Help guide movement and decent behaviour
- Increase social contacts
LATEST ENTRANCE IN HAMMARBY SJÖSTAD
- WITH OVERVIEW, ENTRY PHONES AND ELECTRONIC KEYS

- There are not many burglaries into dwellings, but electronic keys give more control
- Storage rooms have more thefts – here electronic keys are even more relevant
BICYCLE PARKING HAVE TO BE SAFE TOO
– IT’S CONSIDERED, BUT NOT ENOUGH

- Many small bicycle rooms are needed – spacious and with electronic security keys
- Outdoor bicycle parking shall be visible from windows and with solid racks to lock the bikes to
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PARKING GARAGES – ALL WITH SAFETY MEASURES, BUT....

Some large garages with public and private parking mixed – CCTV, visibility and overview are thought of, but theft problems anyhow

Smaller, private dwelling garages - better but still some thefts
CRIME/1000 INHABITANTS IN HAMMARBY SJÖSTAD

In comparison with Skarpnäck district (to the south of Hammarby Sjöstad), the average for the city of Stockholm and for Sweden. Source: Stockholm Police headquarters (2010).
HAMMARBY SJÖSTAD
PEDESTRIAN AND BICYCLE TRAFFIC, AVERAGE/HOUR.

Hammarby Sjöstad pedestrian and bicycle traffic average/hour
Thursday April 8 2010 between 8:00 and 20:00. Light clouds, 7-8 degrees C, light winds

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<th>Selected 'gates' counted:</th>
<th>Pedestrians</th>
<th>Bikes</th>
<th>Peds+bikes</th>
<th>&gt;3 people / 100 meters</th>
<th>central place</th>
<th>crowding</th>
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To have 3 people within 100 meters you need 90 people / hour or more, as one person walks 100 meters in 2 minutes
To have a central place you need at least 1,000 people/hour
To have a place with crowding you need at least 0.25 persons / square meter, or more than 1 person / meter on a sidewalk

- Most of the streets are populated to a degree, which makes informal surveillance possible.
- Only in the afternoon-rush hour does a part of the main street in Hammarby Sjöstad become a central place and on an average day there is no crowding anywhere, except maybe at the ferryboat and in the tram
FEAR OF CRIME, 2010, HAMMARBY SJÖSTAD

In comparison with Södermalm district (of which Hammarby Sjöstad is a part), the Skarpnäck district (to the south of Hammarby Sjöstad), the Södermalm district (mainly to the north of Hammarby Sjöstad), and the average of City of Stockholm. Source: Roth and Sandal, 2010.
TO SUM UP:

I think we need to discuss CPTED policy across countries to get the message across, adapt local solutions and strengthen implementation.

Thanks for the attention!

- More on http://bo.gronlund.homepage.dk
  (homepage to be rebuilt this fall: Apple computer killed it with iCloud last summer!)
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Some recent books with CPTED chapters by me in Danish, Swedish and English.