Sharpening up CPTED
Paul Ekblom

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.

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!’

Planning permission denied!
CPTEDbabel?

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  - 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!’
  - Being scattered all over the Earth is not such a problem with air travel and the internet... and of being reunited 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.

3-4

What’s coming up

- Confusion within CPTED
  - How the confusion happened

4-2

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

4-3

What’s coming up

3-5

3-4

4-1
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
• The consequences of these confusions

4-5

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
  – Sightlines enabling Surveillance
• 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?

5-1

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
• The consequences of these confusions
  – How to make things better – discourses, definitions and frameworks… experimental thoughts

4-6

5-2

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Confusion within CPTED

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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
How did this confusion happen?

- CPTED has built up like a stack of pancakes, with an accretion of successive terms and concepts from different writers – Jacobs, Jeffrey, Newman, Coleman, Poyner

- This resembles succession of ‘schools’ of architecture and design practice – Bauhaus etc. – in extreme cases each school rubbishes its predecessors

- And now we have ‘generations’ of CPTED – 1x2nd, and at least 2x3rd gen – added content is good, but
  - Concern about revolution rather than accumulation
  - Division among practitioners/theorists

- We also have ‘quick grabs’ of ideas from other criminological domains – Opportunity, Broken Windows – which are then ‘stuck on’ to CPTED often uncritically with regard to evidence, and without much attempt to integrate the underlying theory or concepts
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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

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?
- Opportunity is oversimplified
  - 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?

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)
What are the consequences of the confusion?

1. 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

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
- Imagine medicine without a controlled vocabulary
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Consequences of confusion – 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
How to make things better?

• Time for a sharpener

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

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**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

**Structural Features**
- Nodes
- Paths
- Barriers/screens
- Enclosures/containers
- Furniture
- Signage
Discourses of environment & architecture – primitives

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Structural Features
- Nodes
- Paths
- Barriers/Enclosures
- Containers
- Signage

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

Expanding the detail of properties, and of features & content that confer them
- Sight
  - Light
  - Discrimination – camouflage etc.
  - Sightlines

Features affecting this property:
- Dog-legs, sight screens, barriers, recesses, enclosures, containers

Content affecting this property:
- Crowds, parked cars

18-10

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 proliferation of crime?
To whom and/or to what?

19-1

Crime risk has several aspects

Possibility – nature of criminal event
Who does what illegal act to whom/what?

19-2

19-3

Crime risk has several aspects

Possibility – nature of criminal event
Who does what illegal act to whom/what?

19-4

19-5
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 proliferation of crime? To whom and/or to what?
- **Unintended harm from crime prevention**

**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

**Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – causes and interventions**
Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention
– causes and interventions

21-2

Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention
– causes and interventions

21-3

22-1

22-2

22-3

22-4

Very simple – but very limiting – can’t handle the detail.
Diagnosis space:
the Conjunction of Criminal Opportunity

More complex – but more detailed, wider scope and richer connections with environment, enclosure, target.
Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions – Counterterrorism project

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


Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions

Start by ‘thinking perpetrator’ – intent, capability, perception, presence

Then ‘think situation’ – target, target enclosure, preventers and promotors

Combining environmental properties and crime preventive interventions

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

Detail of situation – target, target enclosure... Its defensibility and offensibility, and motivational/emotional properties.


Clear conceptual structure helps to store and consolidate knowledge of practice – Findings of Fieldwork and Literature Review.

Storing knowledge of practice – the whole caboodle – 400+ odd items of research, guidance, fieldwork.

www.designcouncil.org.uk/news-opinion/design-process-what-double-diamond
Ted Kitchen – CPTED lacks a decent process model

Design has a generic model – the Double Diamond

Not so far removed from Designate, Define, Design
Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process

Starting with familiar equivalent – SARA

SARA's Response task expanded

Intervention principles and methods fit here
Discourse of Crime and Crime Prevention – Process

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

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

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

reconstructcpted.wordpress.com
5isframework.wordpress.com
designagainstcrime.com/methodology-resources/crime-frameworks/
p.ekblom@csm.arts.ac.uk
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
A Definition of CPTED

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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
  - Whilst achieving a balance between
    - the efficiency of avoiding crime problems before construction
    - and the adaptability of tackling them through subsequent management and maintenance

Territoriality

- 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**
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

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

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

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

### 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
- 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
- Has to have the properties of identifiability (whose is it?) and demarkability (where is it/what are its boundaries?)
May also have properties of access control and wider defensibility, both of which may be facilitated by surveillability and hardening of enclosure.

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

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

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

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)
### Target hardening

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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
- **Hardened enclosures** may contribute to **Defensible Space**

### 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
- May be motivated and facilitated through **Territoriality** acting on owners/managers and visitors

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Note: The content is structured as a table for better readability. Each row represents a separate section or point about target hardening or access control.
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- May be facilitated by **Defensible Space**

**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/ undertakings legitimate activities, and thus as potential crime preventers
  - And/or which channels them away from conflict over space, noise, incompatible behaviour etc
- 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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- Territoriality may empower owners/managers to influence activity support, & visitors to accept influence

**Image & Maintenance**
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)

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

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

- 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