



Crime Prevention and the Built Environment

Richard H. Schneider and Ted Kitchen



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Crime Prevention and the Built Environment

Both planning and crime affect the quality of life and the sustainability of cities, nations and lives. Worldwide interest is at an all-time high in the role that planning processes and the design of the physical environment can play in reducing the opportunity for crime, the fear of crime and the risk of terrorism. In seeking to advance the field of crime prevention planning, this book builds upon established theory and incorporates original research on the evolving relationships between planning systems, police and citizens. Surveying classical place-based crime prevention as well as concepts such as space syntax and new urbanism, it provides an international perspective on these issues and takes a look at the ways in which terrorism and technology affect place-based crime prevention. It also seeks to investigate the connection between crime prevention and development planning at a policy level, looking at the bureaucratic and administrative hurdles to cooperative action.

For professionals, students and researchers working in planning, design and criminology, the need to respond effectively to these problems represents a huge challenge. By linking theory, evidence and practical application, this book seeks to bridge gaps within and across these areas. The second book produced by this transatlantic writing partnership, *Crime Prevention and the Built Environment* provides a comprehensive analysis of some of the most important issues affecting quality of life in urban areas across the world.

Richard H. Schneider is Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Florida College of Design, Construction and Planning. His research has included work on the design and implementation of technology for crime analysis, the evaluation of crime prevention strategies and the comparison of crime prevention programmes at an international level.

Ted Kitchen is Emeritus Professor of Planning and Urban Regeneration at Sheffield Hallam University. Since his work as a professional planner, his academic research has centred on planning and urban regeneration practice, focusing in particular on the relationship between planning and crime prevention.

To our children

Joanna, Samantha, Christopher and Amanda

Preface

Having already written a general textbook in the field of planning for crime prevention, *Planning for Crime Prevention: A Transatlantic Perspective* (Routledge, 2002), we were conscious of two things in particular. The first was that, while that book was written mainly for the planning community, the interest in its subject matter turned out to be much more extensive than that. So this time we wanted in particular to engage with a broad spectrum of built environment professionals and police officers with an interest in this field, because we are conscious that they all have an important part to play in moving the field forward. The second point was the rather more personal one that we felt that our first book had tried to encompass the field, but as a consequence of this desire to achieve breadth it had not been able to look in as much depth as we would have liked at some particular topics which we felt were of emerging importance. So, we wanted in this book to take the opportunity to treat some of the issues that we think are important to the future development of the field in a greater degree of depth.

These two considerations have played an important part in shaping this book, as has our desire to see the field as being essentially about the interaction of theory and practice. So, Part One of this book tries to introduce both the classical theories in the field and some of the more recent challenges to them in a relatively succinct manner, while Part Two debates five particular elements of practice development in the context both of these theoretical discussions and of the real-world issues that are shaping what happens on the ground. As before, our working method was to allocate the responsibility for taking the lead on individual chapters to one of us, and then to exchange drafts and comment on them as critical friends until we were satisfied collectively with what we had produced. So, Richard Schneider took the lead with Chapters 2, 3, 7 and 8, and Ted Kitchen took the lead with the remaining chapters and acted as overall editor. The process of electronic exchange is, of course, of fundamental importance to the successful functioning of a transatlantic writing partnership, but in this particular case it was supplemented by the fact that Richard Schneider spent the period September–December

2005 on sabbatical at Sheffield Hallam University, during which time first drafts of around half of the book were produced. We hope this combination of electronic communication and propinquity has enabled us to produce a book that readers will enjoy reading as much as we have enjoyed writing.

We are both very conscious that our backgrounds, perceptions and writing styles are different, and that this could be a real barrier in a cooperation of this nature. But if people worried too much about issues of this nature, transatlantic writing collaborations like this one simply would not happen. And in any event, we see differences of this nature as sources of strength rather than as problems, and we have tried to ensure that our writing process has capitalised on this potential. It is, of course, for others to judge how successful this endeavour has been.

Acknowledgements

Richard Schneider is grateful to the University of Florida and to its College of Design, Construction and Planning for supporting a semester-long sabbatical in Britain in autumn 2005, during which time he was able to research and write parts of this book. While in Britain he served as a visiting professor at Sheffield Hallam University's Faculty of Development and Society, and he is appreciative of the munificent provision of office space, facilities and staff support which allowed him to pursue the research and to participate in the life of the university. In this and other regards he is especially indebted to co-author Ted Kitchen and to his wife, Ann Kitchen, for opening doors at the university as well as to their own home at crucial junctures. The value of their friendship, good advice, and warm and generous spirit cannot be overstated as contributions to this work. Special thanks are due to Dr Richard Walton and to the Reverend Ann Walton, who were gracious landlords and hosts throughout the time spent in Britain. Finally, but certainly not least, Richard is indebted to his partner and friend, Zulma Chardon, for her loving companionship, encouragement, good humour, and patience in supporting Richard as the work was completed in both the United States and Britain.

Ted Kitchen would like to thank his colleagues in the Urban and Regional Studies Group in the Faculty of Development and Society at Sheffield Hallam University (SHU) for all their support during the life of this project, even if at times they may not have realised they were giving it. For his last year at SHU before retirement, Ted had two book contracts to deliver (one of which was this present book), and the work planning process in the group created for him the time and space to undertake this task, with inevitable knock-on effects on colleagues. In particular, it was important, with Richard Schneider in the university between September and December 2005, for Ted to have the time and space to work effectively with him, and again this need was taken into account in the process of adjusting work commitments among group members. He would also like to thank the Dean of the Faculty at the time, Professor Kevin Bonnett, and his colleagues for agreeing enthusiastically to the idea that Richard Schneider should come to SHU on sabbatical, and then

for doing the necessary things to make this happen. There is no doubt that work on this book benefited enormously from this sabbatical arrangement. Finally, Ted would like to thank his wife, Ann, for all her love and support during the life of this project, when she lived with both a husband and two books. He hopes the latter were more awkward than the former, but somehow doubts it.

Richard and Ted would both like to thank Ann Wilson for her work on the book from start to completion. In Ted's case she turned his handwritten scripts into conventional text quickly and efficiently, like the experienced reader of his handwriting that she had become after dealing with his other recent book in the same way. In Richard's case she converted American English into English English with grace and good humour (and a little help from the appropriate spell-checker). But more than this, she helped us standardise the presentation of our figures, our notes and the bibliography, and thus contributed a huge amount to the transatlantic effort, for which we are very grateful. We would also like to thank police architectural liaison officers Stephen Town (Bradford) and Peter Knowles (Bedfordshire) for showing us round parts of their areas, for hosting us for a day each, for responding to our many questions, and for offering us comments on drafts of parts of this book. We both hope that Ann, Stephen and Peter feel that all of their efforts on our behalf are properly reflected in the end product. We would like to thank Dr Ilir Bejleri for his helpful comments on a draft of Chapter 8, and Peter Harrison for the several improvements he suggested at the editorial stage.

Most of the photographs, diagrams and other figures in this book have been created by us, but where we have sourced them from elsewhere we have acknowledged these sources in our text and where necessary obtained the relevant permissions to republish. We are grateful for the cooperative approach to the creation of illustrations for this book that we have experienced from all sides.

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Abbreviations

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
AIP	American Institute of Planners
ALO	architectural liaison officer
ANPR	automatic number plate recognition
AT/FP	Anti-Terrorism and Force Protection
BOMA	Building Owners and Managers Association
BRAC	Base Realignment and Closure
BSI	British Standards Institution
CCTV	closed-circuit television
CDRP	crime and disorder reduction partnership
COP	crime opportunity profile
COPS	community-oriented policing; Crime Opportunity Profiling of Streets
CPTED	crime prevention through environmental design
CRAVED	concealable, removable, available, valuable, enjoyable and disposable
CSO	community support officer
DHS	Department of Homeland Security (United States)
EDRA	Environmental Design Research Association
GIS	geographic information system(s)
GPS	global positioning system(s)
HUD	Department of Housing and Urban Development (United States)
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JIATFE	Joint Interagency Task Force East
MAPS	Mapping and Analysis for Public Safety
NAF	Naval Air Facility
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center (United States)
NTD	neo-traditional development
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (United Kingdom)
POP	problem-oriented policing
PPS1	Planning Policy Statement 1 (United Kingdom)

RFID	radio frequency identification
SBD	Secured by Design
TND	traditional neighbourhood design
TOD	transit-oriented development
TRIA	Terrorist Risk Insurance Act 2002 (United States)
UCR	Uniform Crime Reports
UL	Underwriters Laboratory

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Introduction

Introduction

We commence this book with a short discussion of the relationship between crime and the design of the built environment, since aspects of those relationships are our primary focus. We then discuss, again relatively briefly, the phenomenon of fear of crime, which is not our primary focus here but which in many people's minds is inextricably linked with the issue of crime prevention. After this, we set out our approach to this book, and follow that with an outline of its structure, before closing with some brief concluding remarks.

Crime prevention and the built environment

There is no doubt that the form and layout of the built environment have a huge impact on the opportunity to commit crime, and therefore at least potentially on thinking about crime prevention (Tilley, 2005, chapter 1). A high proportion of crime takes place in particular locations, and the characteristics of those locations in terms both of their general settings and their specific attributes influence very considerably the crimes that do (and don't) take place there. This broad understanding has probably been around for nearly as long as crime has existed as a recognised phenomenon, although the process of writing about it systematically is somewhat more recent than that. What is rather more challenging than this broad proposition, however, is the idea that we might manipulate the physical environment at both the micro and the macro scales in order to reduce or even eliminate the opportunities for crimes to be committed. This is challenging, because, for such activities to be effective, we need to know what the relationship is likely to be between particular interventions and crime outcomes; and while there is much that can be said about this, there is also much that we do not know with any degree of certainty (Sherman *et al.*, 1997). Additionally, while we can say with confidence that the characteristics of the built environment influence the opportunity to commit crime, rarely will this be the only explanation of why a crime did (or did not)

occur. So, a second major challenge is around understanding the significance of the process of manipulating the form of the built environment in order to reduce or eliminate the opportunity to commit crime alongside all the other activities that societies might sanction to this end. And there is almost certainly a third major challenge here as well, which is around the concept of public acceptability, both collectively and individually. Human beings are by no means all the same, and so what some would regard as sensible preventive measures (for example), others might see as unacceptable inhibitions or as unappealing fortifications.

These three challenges are by no means the only ones that exist in this field, but they are at the heart of what we are trying to do in this book. We want to contribute to the growing understanding of the ways in which the built environment can be manipulated in order to reduce the opportunity for crimes to be committed. We recognise that initiatives of this nature almost never occur in isolation (even if that is how they might be seen in the minds of some of their protagonists), but are almost always part of a complex, multifaceted and ever-shifting process of modifying the environments in which people live in order to improve the quality of that experience. And we recognise in particular that initiatives of this type need to be undertaken *with* people rather than done *to* them, seeking consent, providing knowledge and understanding, and responding constructively to individual and collective preferences. There is a long way to go before it could be said that we are on top of this agenda; after all, if that were the case, wouldn't we already be manipulating the built environment successfully across the world, and be a long way down the road towards eliminating crime? We believe that, starting from where we are now, this will be a long journey, but we hope that this book can make a contribution to this process.

In particular, we are interested in the relationship between the work of architects, planners, civil engineers and other designers of the built environment and the experiences of crime that their layouts produce, because it is surely better (and, in the long term, much cheaper) to produce a safe and secure environment at the first time of asking than it is to have to revisit and remodel a built environment where the experience of living or working in it has been a negative one from a crime perspective. This suggests that it is possible not only to design crime out of environments (or at any rate to make it hard for crimes to be committed successfully), but also that some designs might actually facilitate crime by failing to recognise and eliminate opportunities for crimes to be committed. We think that this is the case; while there are examples of layouts that have in large measure designed out crime, there are also many examples of layouts that could be said to have designed crime in. This is not, in our experience, because architects, planners, civil engineers and other design professionals are the deliberate assistants of criminals. Rather, it is because they have given too little (or even no) thought to what the crime experience of living in their design is likely to be, and because they often do not acknowledge the resourcefulness and adaptability of individual criminals (Ekblom, 1997b), even when they have given this matter some thought. That said, crime is not the only element that needs to be thought about in the

process of urban design, but it is in our view an important and often under-recognised one. Our position is in essence very simple: it ought to be possible to improve the quality of the experience of living in a new development throughout its lifetime by thinking about crime prevention as an integral part of the design process from the outset, and the various chapters of this book have been written in order to contribute to this complex task.

It is important not to generalise too much when talking about these matters, however, because:

- 1 built environments are very different from each other;
- 2 the people who occupy them are different from each other in large numbers of ways; and
- 3 the crimes that are committed in such localities (and the criminals who commit them) are also different from each other, although there is probably more commonality here than there is with the other two propositions.

This last point is of particular significance for this book, because it is important that crime and its relationship with the built environment are not treated as a single entity. One of the most important contributions that Barry Poyner has made to the field is through his careful weighing of the available evidence, and in particular his meticulous approach to distinctions between types of crime. This has led him to suggest that the process of incorporating crime prevention into the design of residential areas is not a single strand of thought but is rather a recognition of the need to develop strategies against four principal crime problems:

- burglary – a strategy is needed to discourage people from trying to break into houses;
- car crime – a strategy for providing a safe place to park cars;
- theft around the home – a strategy for protecting the front of the house, and items in gardens, sheds and garages;
- criminal damage – a strategy to minimise malicious damage to property (Poyner, 2006, p. 99).

He then proceeds to offer a series of principles that can help in the formulation of these strategies (*ibid.*, pp. 99–103), although he is at pains to suggest the following:

Defining the tasks of design this way around puts the responsibility for thinking about these issues on to the planner or designer. It also opens the way to a more design-oriented approach than a prescriptive approach, giving designers more opportunity for flexibility in developing or adapting solutions that fit well with all other aspects of the design.

(*ibid.*, page 99)

Exactly so. We believe that this approach captures very well what we are trying to say in this introduction. The field does not need more one-size-fits-all