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Re-engineering construction: a new management research Construction Management and Economics, 12, 551-6

Flanagan, R. & Tate, B. (1997) Cost Control in Building Design, Blackwell Science, Oxford. Kelly, J. (2003), Value management in public-private partnership procurement. In Akintoye, A., Beck, M. & Hardcastle, C. (eds) Public-Private Partnerships, Blackwell Science, Oxford, pp 59-77

Bowen, P.A., Hindle, R.D. & Pearl, R.G. (1997) The effectiveness of building procurement systems in the attainment of client objectives. In Proceedings of W-92 Conference on Procurement Systems, C.I.B. Publication No. 203. Government of Malaysia, Total Planning and Development Guidelines, Department of Town and Country Planning. Peninsular Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, (2nd Printed), 2001.

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Universiti Teknologi MARA

Built Environment & Crime Prevention: Development & Issues

MOHAMED YUSOFF ABBAS

ABSTRACT

Reducing crime in the built environment would certainly add to an improved quality of life, but are efforts being made to achieve this goal? Who should be responsible if the environment designed or created is unsafe? This article briefly traces the development and related issues on the study of crime prevention through design of the built environment. It culminates with an important cautionary note on the legal responsibility of those currently involved with the creation of the built environment.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

Before the 1960s, studies relating to crime prevention through design of the built environment were relatively rare. Earlier studies on the subject such as by Burgess (1916) and Shaw & McKay (1942) had mainly focused on spatial locations of offenders. It was Jacobs (1961) who initiated the interest in crime prevention and public safety. Based on her observations and rational thinking she criticised the failure of city planners at the time to consider public safety. She suggested that there was a strong relationship between urban design and criminal activities which occurred. She stressed the need for an increase in territorial identity and natural surveillance if crime was to be prevented. Jacob's criticisms provided impetus for future initiatives on ways crime could be prevented by the design of the built environment. Her thoughts were shared by Jeffery (1971) who, referring to the massive scale of urban violence between 1964 and 1968, warned the American public on the direct relationship between urban design and crime. He coined the initiative towards crime prevention as CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design). According to Crowe (2000), CPTED is actually an extension of Newman's (1972) Defensible Space concept for commercial retail, industrial institutional and low-density residential environments.

Newman, an architect-planner, who was amongst the most prominent practitioners to believe that urban design could either enhance or reduce opportunities for crime. The concept demonstrated the importance of natural surveillance, access control and territorial concern in efforts for crime prevention. Newman proved that a relationship exists between space management and design and crime in public housing. Another successful use of CPTED concepts in residential areas was demonstrated in 1978 in the manual Design for Safe Neighbourhoods by Richard Gardiner, a landscape architect and developer. Here, he presented results of a successful project in a Hartford, Connecticut neighbourhood which significantly reduced crime and improved quality of life. Crowe (2000) also acknowledged the contributions made by Westinghouse Electric Corporation which conducted the most significant CPTED developmental effort in the United States through massive contractual effort funded by the United States Department of Justice. The corporation managed a large group of consultants & subcontractors responsible for adapting CPTED concepts proven effective in public housing environments to retail, transportation, and school environments.

CRITICISMS

However, the Defensible Space concept was criticised, amongst other reasons for its impracticality, the creation of the phenomenon of crime displacement, and for its lack of consideration for socio-economic and demographical factors. For example, measures of Defensible Space could conflict with fire regulations, or even with residents' preference for privacy (*Mayhew*, 1979, p. 156).

Kaplan (1973, p.8) argued that such crime prevention measures resulted in crime displacement; that is, criminal activities being transferred to another location. Evidence of such phenomena, such as studies of car steering locks and CCTV was cited by Hollin (1989). Hakim & Rengert (1981) suggested that five types of crime displacement could occur in areas where Defensible Space measures were in operation. In addition, Barr and Pease (1992) and Oc and Tiesdell (1997) argued that the inability to detect and measure displacement does not mean that it does not exist.

The concept's emphasis on the physical factors alone with total disregard of the socio-economic and demographical factors has been criticized by many; for example, by Hillier (1973), Mayhew (1979), Smith (1987), and Moughtin and Gardner (1990). Smith (1987, p. 149) noted that " CPTED is a relatively minor factor, and one that should not be considered independently of social organisation and local initiative." Similarly, Oc and Tiesdell (1997, p. 55) echoed the view that the concept might obscure the importance of other factors which might nullify attempts to control crime.

WORLDWIDE INTEREST

Nevertheless, interest in CPTED spread worldwide after 1980 (Crowe, 2000). In the United Kingdom, several publications supported and contributed towards this effort. These included Clarke's (1982) Situational Crime Prevention, Poyner's (1983) Design Out Crime, and Underhill's (1985) Security of Buildings. Another initiative known as Security-By-Design (SBD) - a direct influence of the Defensible Space concept - was launched in 1989 by police forces in the south east of England to counter household burglary (Pascoe and Topping, 1998). Basically, this initiative emphasized the concept of 'target hardening', which involved the upgrading of defense or increased protection of potential popular soft spots targeted by criminals. The several criticisms which were made against the Defensible Space concept indeed suggest the interdisciplinary and highly complex nature of the subject studied. This is coupled with the frustration of any

attempt to locate truly comparable areas where socio-economic and demographic factors are controlled. Such difficulties were highlighted by Armitage (1999) and Brown (1999) in their evaluations of SBD housing estates in West Yorkshire and Gwent, respectively. In fact they questioned whether such an intricate operation is objectively achievable at all.

In Canada, a manual for planners entitled A Working Guide for Planning and Designing Safer Urban Environments was published in Toronto in 1992. The Peel Regional Police, Toronto implemented CPTED in housing guidelines, school site plans, commercial and industrial site improvements. Vancouver has a formal CPTED programme involving police and planners.

In Japan, the Japanese Urban Security Research Institute (privately funded) published CPTED journal articles and conducted two major national symposia on CPTED.

The first edition was published in 1991 and the Japanese translation published in 1994. In addition, the Japanese Ministry of Justice has conducted CPTED in housing and transportation.

In the Netherlands, a group of researchers - Van Djk, von Soomeren & partners, Amsterdam - had considerable success in obtaining acceptance of CPTED in the Community Planning process.

In Australia, the Australian Institute of Criminology has conducted numerous research projects involving CPTED. Its Design Out Crime manual was published in 1989. The Planning Committee for the 2000 Olympic Games adopted CPTED in planning for venues, housing, and transportation.

In Malaysia, more recent efforts and public awareness about crime prevention of the built environment have been initiated with the formation of the Malaysian Crime Prevention Council. In addition, the Malaysian Police Department successfully organised a national level conference on reducing crime on 2-3 May 2002 in Malacca. The Human Spatial Behaviour Unit (HSBU) of UiTM's Faculty of Architecture, Planning and Surveying is currently undertaking a 2-year nationwide research project on crime prevention in housing under the Malaysian Ministry of Science Technology and Environment's IRPA research grant. The main aim of the research is to identify design faults which could have contributed towards criminal activities. Prior to that, Abbas and Sugijanto (2002) had successfully completed a study relating to criminal activities at UiTM's main campus. An international level conference is also being planned by HSBU to be held in Kuala Lumpur. Interestingly, this would be the first international conference which will specifically focus on the Eastern experience of crime prevention of the built environment.

CURRENT ISSUES

In the United States the concern for public safety had given rise to the formation of a victim's rights movement in the 1980s (Kennedy, 1993, p. 106). Recently, there has been a steady increase in cases brought to court by such movements against landlords and others liable for failing to provide sufficient security precautions against criminal attack on residents, their guests, etc. Suits related to the liability of premises' are often made especially if there are grounds for believing that criminal attacks could be partially associated with poor design. It is not uncommon nowadays for CPTED specialists to be called as expert witnesses in premises' liability cases where design is implicated as a causal factor. This certainly has a far-reaching impact upon town planning, criminal justice agencies and residents alike (Infield, 2000) and more particularly on designers and architects - the creators of the built environment.

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