

**CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN
EMERGING THEMES, RACE/CLASS AND THE DESIGN OF PEEL YOUTH
VILLAGE**

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Foreword

Throughout my time within the FES program, I have found social inequity to stand out as an aspect of planning that has grown to become of great interest to me. Much of this interest has to do with my undergraduate background in Criminology; I learned of the unequal distribution of punitive measures as well as the differing views of criminality throughout larger society. As social inequity is present in almost all professional disciplines, I assumed there was social inequity present in Planning as well, and looked to marry my two interests in criminality and urban design in undertaking my Plan of Study. During my research I came across Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) and was able to engage all of my objectives by thoroughly studying this urban design strategy, and subsequently, writing this Major Paper.

I want it to be known that I am not out to indict CPTED as inherently discriminatory. I actually believe that it is effective, given the right environment, and that it is effective in addressing some types of crime as opposed to others. My interest primarily lay with understanding urban design as a function of decision making and social inequity, as stated within the components of my Plan of Study. Through my examination of CPTED, I was able to do so. My learning objectives, under component 1, Planning Policy and Decision-Making, are to understand planning and design practice with a focus on exclusionary politics. Component 2, Urban Planning and Design, has objectives related to how the urban built environment is shaped and whether crime-based strategies are considered in decision-making. Component 3, Social Inequity and Planning, focuses understanding social inequity as it related to the built environment. This paper examines how urban design strategies can be promoted and utilized by institutions of authority, (governments or security consultants) to the potential detriment of

others, while simultaneously and ironically promoting its benefits to those same groups. I was able to explore how planning decision making is affected at the political and community level, the ways in which planning can be exclusionary to different groups, and examining technical aspects of urban design to achieve a specific outcome.

Overall I feel this paper is a well put-forth effort in achieving the goals set forth in my Plan of Study, and I take great pride in the fact that it was done as thoroughly and as considerably as possible. I can only hope the readers feel the same way.

Abstract

This paper examines the design strategy CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) and critiques its implementation through a case study in a certain space within the City of Mississauga, Ontario. A concept that continues to gain credibility within urban design and law enforcement circles, CPTED has been incorporated into many municipalities' official plans, Mississauga being one of them. Through interviews with proponent practitioners of CPTED and a case study of the Peel Youth Village, I identify three key themes inherent in every argument as to why CPTED should be the strategy of choice: safer environments as paramount above all else; strategies as common sense, simple and obvious solutions to problems; and modern, updated, and aesthetically pleasing environments as inherently safe. What these themes fail to take into account is the racial and class consequences that can result from implementation of CPTED strategies, with little or no attempt to acknowledge and rectify these issues. A case study of the Peel Youth Village is examined as a recent project to highlight how these themes played out through the development and evolution of the space. I then examine CPTED within a larger governmental framework and look to address why race and class considerations, as well as a lack of an inclusive participatory process exists within a framework that has proven statistically somewhat effective and seemingly "common sense", and conclude by offering ways in which CPTED may look to remedy the aforementioned oversights of race and class, while continuing its effectiveness.

Acknowledgements

This thesis upon completion took much longer to finish than anticipated, largely due to the authors' inability to fully understand the complexity and fervour such an undertaking would necessitate. I have to first thank Professor Roger Keil, who noticed within me what I can only imagine what he regarded as a skill in writing, which afforded me the confidence to even attempt this undertaking. His encouragement and reference in my application to pursue graduate studies is a large reason why I am even here. Thanks must also be paid to the participants I interviewed for this paper as well as the staff at the Peel Youth Village for their support in allowing me to come and speak to them and allowing me to research the space. Professor Patrick Parnaby and Constable Tom McKay were two of the interviews of note that I can say were substantive and engaging, despite both taking somewhat differing positions along the spectrum of enthusiasm regarding the effectiveness of CPTED.

Special thanks must also be given to my supervisor, Professor Laura Taylor. Her unwavering support and patience throughout this whole process has been very much appreciated. She has helped me make sense of and guided me through all of this, and should this paper receive any acclaim, it would rightly include her. Sometimes you are only as good as the people around you and the thought of making her proud that more than anything drove me to completion, however long it may have taken.

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Introduction

The built environment and the processes under which it evolves have considerable influence on all aspects of urban behaviour. This is because it is the platform on which all meaningful human activity and connectivity can occur. An individual's ideas, self-identity, successes and different levels of expression are all informed by, as well as inform the kind of physical environment in which they are surrounded. These meaningful human qualities and acts, given that they are dependent on an identifiable and sometimes unique built environment standard of design, ensure that the process of creating said standard is as important as what ends up being created itself. The evolution of different conventional urban environments to more contemporary forms of urbanism, as well as the codes and regulations that govern such facets are debated, discussed and analyzed on a constant basis, due to the importance and implications of the results. What is less understood is the way in which these debates and decisions reflect the agendas and interests of those tasked with the responsibility of governing the built environment, and their effects on larger society. As globalization and neoliberal policy continue to gain prominence within the developed world, urban design decisions have also reflected these new narratives, with community interests and environmental sustainability often giving way to market interests. Avenues for design guidelines and regulation amendments are offered and regularly used by real estate developers, whose projects often boast modernized and intensified housing, and provide economic infusion to communities and environments where individuals can live, work and play. These so called "New-Urbanism" (Hodge and David, 2008) mixed-use utopias are prevalent within major urban centres across North America, as they allow for a diversity of use of spaces (residential, commercial, educational, etc.) on limited lands, which benefits certain populations who can afford to take advantage of such amenities. Although there has been more

of an attempt to include more subsidized housing in newer mixed-use development, those of little economic resources are often times unable to utilize these spaces.

Criminal activity has and always will be a part of any civil society, regardless of the kinds of negativity and repulsion that is generally tagged to the criminal element. Crime and lawlessness has in and of itself become sort of a pseudo-industry, resulting in countless enforcement jobs, resources and investment dedicated to preventing them. Although there are many theories that attempt to theorize how an individual would gravitate toward criminality, a sustaining prominent theory is that of Shaw and McKay (1942) that suggests crime and deviance are largely a result of communities, lacking basic economic and social resources, resorting to criminal activity due to the absence of a community effort or to cope with said situation, a condition the authors term “social disorganization”. Of course, this is not always the case; as there are other and varying and interrelated reasons why delinquency occurs. Yet on many occasions, those involved in serious and petty crime are likely to be lacking some kind of resource (economic, social, intellectual, political) that results in a deviant lifestyle. Crime statistics prove as much; places with more economic equality and social and educational/professional infrastructure, and smaller economic and social disparities, have lower incidences and rates property and violent crime, and are generally safer places to live (Bourguignon, 2001). Given this correlation, it would benefit the state to ensure to the best of its ability that societal infrastructure, income gaps and disparity are at levels that would perpetuate minimal criminal activity, but given the neo-liberal environment in which parts of modern society seem to be engulfed, the state is seemingly taking more of an approach that involves individuals exercising more individual responsibility for their own safety from crime and

becoming consumers of crime prevention strategies or else suffering the harsh consequences of moral/ethical retribution (Parnaby, 2007).

Another way in which the state looks to regulate criminal activity is through the control and access to space. In his writing *The Political Economy of Public Space*, David Harvey (2006) describes how public space in 18th century Paris was designed with grand boulevards and gleaming structures in an attempt to create spaces of grandeur and spectacle, worthy of the wealth and affluence of the patrons those in power wanted to attract. As important as controlling access to the spaces, was the political ideology that the state looked to perpetuate on the masses through the use of space. “Once the city is imaged by capital solely as spectacle, it can then only be consumed passively, rather than actively created by the populace at large through political participation” (Harvey, 2006, 23). This is interesting because as Harvey states, if people only see space as a place to express wealth and grandeur, then anything can be built, regardless of its fit in, or utility towards, any given community. In essence, people will start to believe that as long as it is big and shiny, it *must* be good planning. An example of Harvey’s perspective thought will be a focus of this paper later on. Also of note is that in the modern planning landscape, where community ideas and participation are aspirations and goals of many planned environments, the development itself influences the ideas and participation of the community.

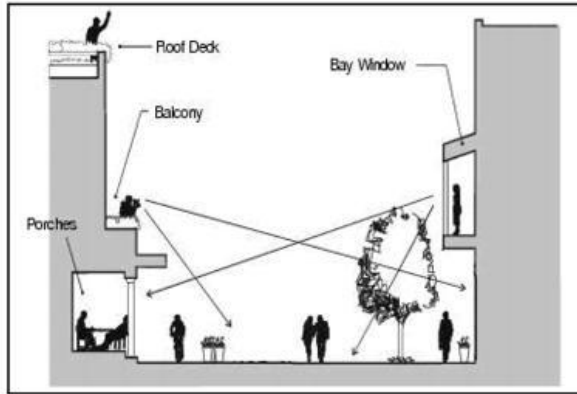
Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) is an urban design concept developed by Criminologist C. Ray Jeffrey in 1971. His work was inspired by earlier works of Jane Jacobs (1961) who criticized urban planners of the time for a lack of vision, claiming that urban environments are best represented when they foster increased human traffic and mobility, promoting safety through community participation and “eyes on the street” (Jacobs, 1961). Jeffrey theorized that any urban environment as it was structured relayed messages to individuals

who are weighing the opportunity/cost analysis of committing criminal acts, and that an effective urban design plan that utilized different key strategies can influence an individuals' behaviour and reduce instances of criminal activity. Though originally ignored when he first proposed these theories, Jeffrey's work has gained recognition and grown throughout the decades to be included in and apart of many municipal design and law enforcement strategies. Countries such as Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand are examples of countries where local and state/provincial governments have adopted CPTED principles into many of their official planning strategies. In Great Britain, Secure by Design, a planning theory with similar tenets to that of CPTED, has been widely adopted and implemented in the creation and maintenance of sustainable communities. Japan and the Netherlands are also other examples of CPTED on a global scale (Crowe, 2013).

CPTED's implementation revolves around creating three main effects of the built environment in order for its strategies to be effective; *Natural Surveillance*, *Access Control*, and *Territorial Reinforcement*. Growth and evolution over the years has resulted in more effects that have been added to further refine and enhance its effectiveness. In the interests of time and the debateable nature of the more recent effects (these three consistently show up in any publication outlining CPTED) only the aforementioned three will be addressed. A more detailed description of each follows.

CPTED Strategies

Natural Surveillance



bardcityblog.wordpress.com

Natural Surveillance involves building the environment in such a way that allows individuals within the community clear lines of sight. Lighting, non-recessed building entrances and increased presence and size of windows on building sides and exteriors all facilitate an individuals' ability to see the inside and outside environment, and reduced setbacks allow people to observe what is happening on the street. With these features implemented, it is assumed that anyone engaged in any kind of illegal activity will be more easily spotted and reported by citizens and law enforcement. This essentially reduces fear of crime by individuals while at the same time increasing potential offenders' fear of being caught, reducing incidences of crime overall.

Access Control



<http://henrico.us>

Access control involves constructing the environment in such a way so as to clearly differentiate public and private uses of space. This can be achieved through fences, archways or some kind monument or sign signifying entry onto a different kind of space. By limiting points of entry and exit, and the use of various street designs, fencing and landscape, the criminal elements access to perceived targets can be limited as well, and thus make those targets and environments less appealing, thus reducing instances of crime.

Territorial Reinforcement



<http://wolfriver.org>

This aspect involves the construction of the built environment in such a way as to increase definition of space and allow for increase concern of space by property owners. A

maintained and well-kept environment, clear signage, as well as pathway and ground markings portray ownership, which it is assumed leads to a community's vested interest in a space and its willingness to keep it safe. It also allows for "undesirables" to more easily stand out when occupying said space and thus makes it harder to engage in criminal activity.

The effectiveness of CPTED is most evident when attempting to combat crimes of property, most notably theft, vandalism, loitering, and acts of random violence where the aspect of witnesses can come into play. The sale and use of narcotics on the street is also something that can be prevented to a degree given the idea that defined spaces with limited access points and witnesses will reduce opportunities to engage in such behaviour. Any mention of criminality and crime throughout this paper as it relates to CPTED would be about the aforementioned crime categories. Domestic violence, white collar crime and organized crime normally occur outside the public realm and are unaffected by the design of space.

Literature Review

Urban theorist Jane Jacobs describes urban planning of her time as short-sighted and arrogant in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961). Jacobs uses her voice to call out what she views as "mundane" and "decay" in terms of the path cities are being led down by those tasked with building cities, then lays out what aspects need to be concentrated on in order to make cities the vibrant and lively places they are in theory supposed to be, arguing in favour of mixed-use districts as opposed to exclusively residential or commercial areas. Jacobs' belief in these kinds of communities stems from her belief that informal social controls are important in fostering social solidarity and a subsequent sense of "community" (Jacobs, 1961;

Parnaby, 2006). Her perspective is largely in reference to an area in Boston she spent time in called the North End, and her promotion of “eyes on the street” laid the foundation for what is essentially ‘Natural Surveillance’, a key strategy in modern CPTED theory. It must be noted that for all the acclaim and insight displayed in Jacob’s work, she was not a researcher or practitioner, and her views are based solely on her opinions and first hand experiences. None-the-less, her work had an influence on the shaping of modern day design and crime reduction strategies.

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design by C Ray Jeffrey (1971) was the first work of literature that introduced a broad system-based approach to the relationship between crime and the environment, more concerned with being a proactive attempt at reducing crime than the aesthetic appeal of the built environment. Jeffrey argued that reactive strategies (i.e., policing, the courts, prison) were not working, as crime continued to be a societal problem (Schneider and Kitchen, 2007). Jeffrey’s work was based largely on the way in which the built environment could affect human behaviour in such a way as to reduce crime, it was largely theoretical.

Architect and city planner Oscar Newman’s work *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design* (1972) introduces the idea of “defensible space”. By analyzing different US housing projects, Newman posited that space could be designed to be defensible by residents acting on their own protective initiatives which would reduce the likelihood of crime and disorder, especially as perpetrated by ‘outsiders’ (Schneider and Kitchen, 2007, 19). Though the defensible space strategies Newman espoused placed more of an emphasis on physical design, Jeffrey’s and Newman’s theories grew in concert over the years, and have elements embedded within modern CPTED strategy. *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* by Timothy D. Crowe (2013) is the most comprehensive literature of CPTED and its principles to date, building on and locating the work of Jeffrey. The assumption that proper design and effective use

of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear of crime and the incidence of crime and to the improvement of the quality of life is still the purported idea of the day, as well as observations, and examples of specific site locations and their respective assessment forms and diagrams of “poor” and “proper” use of CPTED strategies to reduce crime. This being the 3rd edition of Crowe’s version, his text includes a section in which he discusses how behaviour analysis has made human activity predictable in regard to certain interactions with other people as well as the built environment, and how this predictability can be used to supplement the CPTED strategies he espouses. *21st Century and Security and CPTED*, by Randall Atlas (2013) looks to situate CPTED principles within the structure of modern building security and applies it within the framework design issues facing the twenty-first century planner. Atlas places CPTED as part of a larger approach that integrates security concepts, architectural elements, and technology into a balanced, holistic solution (Atlas, 2013). *Safe Cities: Guidelines for Planning, Design and Management* by Gerda Wekerle and Carolyn Whitzman (1995) lays out processes and guides readers on the different considerations of constructing safe environments within the urban core. Stressed as a core principle is the ideal that those the environment is supposed to serve should be a major part in devising said environment, something the authors feel was lacking at the time. From the beginning of the text, it is evident that of considerable interest to the authors is women and victimization within urban space, and how women’s fear of crime effects their use of space, particularly the urban core. They argue that spaces that allow women a heightened sense of security benefit not only women, but society on a whole as these spaces will become overall more vibrant and lively. This is significant because most of the writing on CPTED is gender-neutral. Focus is more on reducing opportunities for criminal activity in general, with less of a focus on how to keep a particular vulnerable group safe. Though the

measures are not said to be CPTED, (a small section discussing CPTED about a page and a half is at the beginning) much of the recommendations in the book are essentially CPTED-derived or features of CPTED strategies, such as improved lighting, sightlines and clear signage.

In their examination of various literature stating core findings of placed-based crime-prevention research with specific attention being paid to studies of crime prevention through environmental design, Cozens, Saville and Hillier (2005) conclude that although the empirical evidence cannot be conclusively demonstrated, there is a considerable and growing amount of research that suggests that CPTED is an effective strategy for crime reduction. Cozens et al. (2005), not only look at CPTED as a whole in their examination, but look at and reference studies that examine the individual elements (surveillance, access control, territoriality, target hardening, activity support, image/maintenance) and the positive effects and reduced crime that have resulted in respective analysis. While the article did speak about the overall positive effect of CPTED on criminal activity, it did also stress the limitations involved in various research. Two are of particular interest. Socio-economic and demographic dynamics can reduce the efficacy of the strategies (Cozens et al, 2005). This argument I feel is vital to any discussion on the effectiveness of CPTED, as it can affect how different people experience a particular community. Second Generation CPTED, which looks to amalgamate the conventional technical strategies with attention to socially-aware thinking, is an attempt to remedy this. How well I observed this in my research will be addressed later. Also, if CPTED is practiced without real community involvement then the process essentially works against itself and the strategies it extolls for its success. Tendencies to rely on too heavily on “target hardening”, a focus on security to prevent crime, result in “fortress cities” where citizens withdraw behind gates and walls, abandoning the social interaction and natural environment apart of the process (Cozens et

al, 2005, 338). Both of the limitations mentioned are important given their ability to undermine all of the seemingly positive results that can emerge from a CPTED designed space, a theme I address throughout this paper.

Neal Katyal (2002) examines CPTED from a legal perspective; more specifically he examines the ways in which architecture (a term he uses to include urban planning, zoning as well as traditional architecture) relates to crime, as conventional methods of law enforcement are partially effective (Katyal, 2002, 1041). The article is divided into three parts. Part 1 involves examining architectural solutions that lead to crime reduction, and Katyal spends considerable time detailing CPTED, even mentioning it in the article, as well as detailing how these solutions actually lead to crime, though systems such as perpetration costs, development of social norms against criminal activity and aiding law enforcement (Katyal, 2002). Part 2 details how the government can best harness architecture in crime prevention, with suggestions that the government use the design strategies within their own building projects, reform building codes to require crime control measures, and have courts strengthen tort liability for poor design (Katyal, 2002, 1091). Part 3 describes some problems that might occur as a result of utilizing architecture for crime control, including invasion of privacy, aesthetically displeasing spaces, and crime displacement. Overall, the author is article details staunch support for architectural involvement in crime reduction efforts, and some of what the author has outlined is already happening, such as certain municipalities amending building codes to include safe design principles.

What is most evident within this article is that there is no engagement with or examination of the architectural involvement in crime reduction and its effect on wider society, or the people it is going to affect most. What I mean is that though there are acknowledged potential problems with the consequences of using architectural strategies to reduce crime, there

is no critique of the different strategies themselves. Though the author does recognize the issues that can evolve as a result of such an undertaking, they are largely ignored as either negligible or amendable, with the author stating that law enforcement encounters the same issues in its attempt at crime prevention (Katyal, 2002). While this may seem somewhat problematic, upon closer inspection, it is understandable. The author is viewing this through the lens of a legal scholar, someone whose primary concern is the law and how best to aid the government and the law enforcement community in crime reduction. Assuming the author is not necessarily as well versed within the urban design discipline as he is the legal discipline, the kinds of considerations a legal scholar would make are different.

Methodology

When devising the methodology I would undertake to conduct my research, I first wanted to inform myself as much as possible as to what CPTED was. Even as more is being written and researched on the topic of environmental criminology, very little is written on the topic of crime and design relative to the other aspects of the urban planning discipline. Granted, there is a considerable amount of research regarding CPTED and its effectiveness. Where I find research to be scarce is attempting to examine CPTED and its inter-relational balance to other facets of society, as well as other facets of criminal activity. I found little in the way of research regarding CPTED and race / class, or CPTED and real community engagement. The more I researched the more I was able to come up with, and once I had done that, I considered the broader social implications that informed and perpetuated the positive ideas surrounding CPTED. More importantly I wanted to look at what practitioners and other proponents of it may not be considering when executing the strategies outlined. This process inevitably led me to take certain

positions and formulate opinions as to how these strategies function within the real world. Therefore, I am of the position that much of my research follows an inductive logic, wherein I undertake original research, examine data to form themes or categories, find theories from said themes, and pose said theories from past experiences or literature (Creswell, 2009, 63-64) to either validate or refute said assumptions. I therefore felt that the best way to undertake my research was a top-down approach consisting personal interviews and a case study of a particular area that had undergone a CPTED retrofit. Though the broader social implications and themes within my research are informed by research literature, the actual on-the-ground research that I conducted stems from the interviews that I conducted and the case study that I undertook. I had a very good idea that the opinions I would come to form would be qualitative in nature, and thus, my research is much the same. Very little of it is quantitative in nature; this is so because I am not necessarily researching whether CPTED actually works or not. Many others more qualified and resourced than myself can and have undertaken such studies, most notably Dr. Crowe (2013), as well as others whose views are not as optimistic. Secondly, I am of the opinion that if implemented in a thoughtful, measured fashion, CPTED can be part of an effective crime reduction strategy. Where my interests lie is in the implications of such strategies and investigating what is it that is fostering the spread of its ideas within urban design, law enforcement, and other facets of society. To get at the root of these questions, qualitative discussion-based research is more effective than a quantitative statistical approach to research. If my task was to evaluate the effectiveness of CPTED strategies, the opposite would most likely be the right approach.

Throughout my time within the Faculty of Environmental Studies, I have come to find myself as a researcher based mostly within the qualitative paradigm as described by Creswell

(1994), believing the world to consist of multiple realities, subjective and best explored through interaction. One of the main reasons I feel this is the many academic and class discussions I have engaged with throughout my time within the program highlight the subjective and diverse realities we in academia share, as well as the differences we have, both among our peers as well as those outside of academia. More recently, I feel I identify more with this paradigm as it is a feature of my research: the subjective nature of the positions, intents and interests of the practitioners and researchers alike essentially alter their perceptions and perceived implications of a particular urban design strategy. This is not to say that I reject quantitative data outright, especially within my current research. I do believe that quantitative data has its place within the qualitative paradigm. I just feel that most of the research within this program as well as the current research topic was approached from a qualitative mind frame.

The main methods I employ to drive my research process are semi-structured interviews and a case study of a particular CPTED-retrofitted space. The questions are structured in such a way as to be leading enough as to maintain conversation on the topic of CPTED, yet open-ended enough as to gauge the interviewees' views, allowing each to specify what and why each was as optimistic or as skeptical regarding the effectiveness of the strategies. I make no attempts to hide the fact that before conducting my interviews, I read thoroughly on the use of CPTED and its reception by the planning as well as other disciplines. In doing so, I was able to recognize what I feel are some problematic implications and issues that are getting lost in the discussion of the implementation of various safe design strategies, given its effectiveness and seemingly obvious logic behind reasons for the strategies.

The qualitative research within this paper follows a Social Constructivist framework as described by Creswell (2013). Social Constructivism is defined by Creswell (2013, 24-25) as

research that develops subjective meanings towards objects to seek understanding of the world in which one lives and works. This results in the researcher looking for complexity of the view, and relies as much as possible on the participant view of a given situation. These subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically. Researchers generate and inductively develop a pattern of meaning (Creswell, 2013, 44-45). Given that the themes I mention within the research are induced through the interview process and a set of themes ultimately developed. I felt this was the most applicable framework in which to situate and describe my research. The views on CPTED and its effectiveness clearly stem from historical and cultural norms that operate within my interviewees' lives. My questions, as well as to confirm or rebut my thought process (a process developed throughout my time within the program) are also about exploring views of those within the field tasked with the burden of professional responsibility, and recognize how those views might conform or divert from myself or others within the academic space. Questions were typically open-ended and allowed me the opportunity to listen and better interpret the contexts in which people's thoughts and professional or personal lives function.

I have realized that within this FES program we are within a very privileged space to be able to examine from a distance and critique the world in a way we might approach very differently were our role within it different. This is not to say that what I am doing by researching is not as important, for I feel the role I am in as a researcher serves a crucial purpose that contributes to the overall advancement of knowledge and society in general. One must acknowledge, however, that the roles and perspectives are nonetheless different, and while all involved in thinking about CPTED appear to strive for the same thing (a safer/more enjoyable environment), different factors play a role in how each actor sees the best path to achieve said goal. In conducting my interviews certain trends emerge that I feel outline a common thought

process that underlies all the interviewee's opinions. Stemming from this, I am able to situate these trends in a broader societal context, allowing me to discuss how these thoughts and the strategies that are perpetuated by them fit to maintain certain economic and political power structures.

The case study I present is essentially the themes and trends I discuss within the first frame of the paper situated in a specific location that has employed all of the CPTED strategies extolled as positive through my interview research. Through some minor statistical analysis, my own observation, as well as some document analysis, I am able to tie in how the themes and thoughts I uncovered play out within an actual CPTED retrofit, further highlighting the overall discussion I initiated in my analysis. As per Yin (2003, 4) a case study is "the method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context". The location chosen speaks not only to how crime prevention strategies implemented affect the space, but also its effect on those who use it, and what is implied about said individuals. Though I understand that some might receive what I am reporting as an indictment of the strategies at play, this is not the intended aim. The goal here is to highlight effects of CPTED that may be overlooked as a result of well-intentioned solutions that on the face of things, produce beneficial results.

Analysis

My initial research topic was to examine CPTED from a stakeholder perspective in evaluating the strength of its community participation model, as well as to determine whether any race and class considerations are a part of conducting CPTED audits and implementations. By this I mean how implemented strategies deal with, or if an attempt is even made to deal with,

the effects they would have on individuals of minority status or lower economic standing. As part of my research, I also conducted a site analysis of the Peel Youth Village (PYV) which I will profile and discuss as part of this analysis. Based on my research and the interviews I have conducted, I have found that while in theory CPTED strives to include the community within the planning and design phase of audits and implementation, the reality falls somewhat short. Furthermore, I have also determined that there is little to no consideration when it comes to race/class and the practice of CPTED. I will illustrate this by first generally describing the interviews I conducted with my research participants, including their roles, training with CPTED and their feelings toward the process of its implementation overall, and within their professional realm specifically. Three key themes have been identified across all interviews as contributing factors toward weak community participation and a lack of race/class consideration: 1) Safety and crime reduction as paramount and utmost important within the process; 2) CPTED as apolitical “common sense” process; 3) the amalgamation of CPTED and criminological and psychological theories (i.e., broken windows theory) as well as modernity and aesthetics. These themes show up not only within the interviews but the case study of the PYV as well.

Interview Process

The interviews I conducted were insightful and thought provoking, and were considerably helpful in allowing me to gain insight into the attitudes of practitioners involved in the process of utilizing CPTED in varying capacities within a Canadian context. Below is a table outlining the names, dates and respective positions of those whom I interviewed:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Positional significance</u>	<u>Date of Interview</u>
“Mel” (pseudo)	Urban Designer, City of Mississauga, CPTED Level I & Interiors certified	May, 2015
“Jo” (pseudo)	Mississauga CPTED Association member, CPTED Level I & II, Parks Oriented CPTED certified	May, 2015
Kate	Team Lead, Peel Youth Village	June, 2015
Prof. Patrick Parnaby	Professor, University of Guelph; CPTED Researcher, CPTED Level I certified	June, 2015
Chris	Security Consultant	June, 2015
Tom McKay	Peel Regional Police; President, CPTED Ontario	July, 2015
“Pat” (pseudo)	Staff Member, Peel Youth Village	July, 2015

Serving on the Mississauga CPTED Association since 2012, Mel describes CPTED as positive and a considerable factor in reducing instances and fear of crime within the urban space. Joining the organization in 2014, Jo is also a proponent of CPTED, and described how it is used within the City of Mississauga and the organization they work for to help residents who participate within the CPTED process engage with it in a somewhat meaningful fashion. Jo, from my observation, was the practitioner who most connected with community from a participation standpoint, allowing residents at least some form of agency, albeit essentially superficial. Kate, a senior staff member of Peel Youth Village, also extolled the benefits of CPTED, albeit from a less technical aspect. During my interview with Kate, she informed me of the positive changes

and environment that was created at the PYV as a result of the CPTED audit. Neither being formally certified, nor responsible for the audit in the first place, it would have been unreasonable to expect a discussion regarding CPTED directly, but our discussion revolving community involvement and race and class considerations was illuminating none the less, as will be explained later on. Professor Patrick Parnaby has researched and written considerably about CPTED and some of the limitations it poses, particularly with regard to race and class. That being said, he is still level I certified and is invited to speak at various times at the Ontario CPTED Association conferences. Prof. Parnaby describes himself as a “cautious optimist” with regards to CPTED, acknowledging the benefits that CPTED provides, while also recognizing that there is more that needs to be done to eliminate some considerable issues. While providing important and eye-opening information that spoke to the heart of my research, the professor also led me to an area of inquiry I had previously overlooked, the practice of CPTED in the public versus private domain. As I was interviewing him he enlightened me on the many ways in which it was used by many a private practitioner to turn a profit or start a business, even being unsure if their recommendations would ever help the problem at all. It was at this point that I decided to track down and speak with a private security company who offered CPTED audits as part of their services, and Security Consultant Chris was able to offer me insight and anecdotes into his own practice as well as the positive and negative aspects of the practice from a private and corporate perspective. While conducting all of my interviews, almost everyone mentioned or referenced Tom McKay as someone to speak to on the issue of CPTED. The information gained was valuable to my research as he was able to provide visual and quantitative examples of its effectiveness. What was also encouraging about speaking with Tom was that he was not an individual who followed on blind faith, which would not have been entirely unexpected, given

his position and his personal professional investment to the success of CPTED. He was open to alternative and opposing views, even acknowledging some of the possible shortcomings that I looked to inquire about. Tom's attitude and outlook, while being proponent, is that of someone looking to improve and evolve the practice. A prime example of this is his idea of *Behaviour Based Design*, an approach McKay claims is more realistic and dynamic in addressing the versatility of decision-making criminals' process when in a particular environment. After Tom I was able to get a hold of another staff member of the Peel Youth Village, an individual involved with implementing the changes that were recommended during the CPTED audit. Similar to Kate, Pat extolled the positivity and reduced crime that came as a result of the retrofits, and is a believer in the process given past experiences with it, seeing it reduce victimization for a range of different crime types. Though Pat is not officially CPTED certified, this person is familiar with the principles and had a positive attitude to having an audit done for the PYV, before realizing one was completed two years prior. Interestingly, Pat upon the implementation of the CPTED recommendations, was involved in the process to include the community in what the PYV was trying to do, as well as in the process of design. This will be discussed and analyzed within the section that I profile the PYV.

Given that the scope of my interviews is small relative to the global expanse in which CPTED is practiced, I cannot be sure as to how others throughout the world would feel with regards to its effectiveness. Such questions of effectiveness are ultimately irrelevant, given the absolute, even if sometimes tepid, endorsement by scholars and practitioners alike. From my interviews, what I observed was that all of the people I utilized for my research spoke in varying degrees toward the positive effect CPTED provided the built environment, and that 3 common themes were distinct throughout and across all the interviews. I noticed that most of that

positivity stemmed from the aspect of safety. What I also observed was that it was commonly seen as not so much urban design strategy as it was a natural and rational progressing way of thinking, essentially a “common sense” approach to planning. The last trend I followed was that the aesthetic appeal of the built environment was always either seemingly taken for granted, often thought inherent within the CPTED process. Individuals and professionals seemed to synonymize modern, nice-looking places and things with safety, an idea rooted in the broken windows theory put forth by Wilson and Kelling (1982). All these themes, I feel, heavily contribute to why CPTED’s community involvement reality is weak as well as why there is little to no race and class considerations.

Themes

Theme 1- Safety First

In conducting my research, I noticed that everyone involved referenced the fact that, regardless of the research and studies that were out there which questioned or criticized aspects of CPTED’s practice, more research than not proved that it did reduce instances of criminal activity to a degree, especially in their experiences. Even Professor Parnaby, whose views were the most tempered as they pertained to the positivity of the strategies, had to concede the evidence of reduced crime and fear of crime as well, even though he did state that the scientific evidence is fairly limited. Mel, who was kind enough to give me a brochure and referred me to the website of the Mississauga CPTED association, did talk about how the strategies employed were a making a positive impact to the reduced fear of crime within Mississauga, and a general acceptance by practitioners and community members alike. Jo, whose organization more directly

deals with the community at large, spoke about how well received the ideas are by the community, and that since the organization has started giving presentations, the community has started to participate to a degree in whatever ways they can. That participation however, comes in the pre-molded fashion in which CPTED authorizes community participation; through its actual tenets. Surveillance, access control and territoriality are three ways in which participation three ways in which participation is actively encouraged, but have little to do with the actual audit and implementation of strategies because the end user, who has little formal training in urban design or safety, can have a minimal role in at best. Essentially Mel and Jo are acting for organizations who offer safety from prescribed methods, which do not allow self-design of said safety. There is little incentive to move from the prescribed methods if there are reduced instances of crime. Private security consultant Chris feels CPTED is an important part of everything he does, and again stresses the importance of community involvement, but that involvement is limited to finding out what the safety and crime problems are within the community and what they want achieved. Given that he, a *security* consultant, was the one consulted in the first place, it is a safe assumption that any given clients' needs revolve around safety first and foremost. Tom McKay states as much, when he points out issues with community involvement. According to McKay, people are unsure as to what it is they actually want given their lack of knowledge and technical expertise on the subject, but they do know that they want to be and feel safer. He interprets a client's claim of "I want more light" as essentially "I want to feel safer", as residents' with no technical skills would not know how to best position the lighting available to optimize safety. Professor Parnaby sees the inherent danger in this monolithic ideal, especially in regards to the private realm, where CPTED is offered for a fee. In his experience, the private realm of practitioners "take advantage and leverage a fear of crime,

and avoiding lawsuits” without any evidence to support the fact that these things that are being proactively avoided would have otherwise happened. Although saying he does not practice or condone this kind of behaviour by security professionals, Chris did confirm that this kind of behaviour does exist. In expanding on this point, Chris claimed that while some consultants are willing to work with clients in figuring out exactly what their needs are, others want to be able to tell clients how things are and how things need to be in order to achieve the desired effect. Chris states, “A lot of what’s done in security consulting is done through pressure, essentially CYA (Cover Your Ass)”. This is not at all surprising, given that practitioners such as Chris are in the business of, have experience with, and some even certified to providing safe environments. Given this fact, as well as the previous criminal issues likely faced by clients, as well as potential negative ramifications of continued criminality, one can imagine the vulnerable state in which some clients exist, and the opportune circumstances for business consultants would look to take advantage of.

While this trend is somewhat at odds with regards to urban design strategies, one must remember that while CPTED is utilized within the realm of urban planning, it is a crime prevention strategy first and foremost. Its founder was a criminologist, and those who are its biggest proponents tend to flow from the law enforcement community. Tom McKay, the president of the Ontario CPTED association, has been a constable with the Peel Region Police for many years, and many of the private companies offering audits promote their prior law enforcement and security experience.

What is also of note here is the fact that there was not much mention in the level of community participation, or lack thereof, given the primary objective of safety had been achieved to a sufficient degree. It seemed understood that the citizenry wanted safety, and the

practitioners could provide it, so everyone was content in playing their proverbial position in letting things come to fruition. Whether this was the case for sure, one cannot tell, but from all the interviews I conducted with practitioners, all parties involved were happy with the results. Given that there is no follow-up or consultation with community members after a Mississauga CPTED association approved project is completed, it is safe to assume that end-users are left to passively engage with the spaces that have been designed for their safety and not have a real opinion. It is this convenience that is enjoyed by any practitioner in the business of offering safety. When those of us become the target or victim of some criminal act, law enforcement will most likely blame and pursue the perpetrator or the negligent lack of security infrastructure necessary to prevent such happenings. Very few if any instance occur in which people will look to blame the overall design of the built environment for their misfortune, normally assuming that space is space, and it is human beings who commit the acts. This is important when examining CPTED, as it is important to stress that though it is possible to reduce crime and fear of crime, it cannot eliminate it completely.

Theme 2- Rational Thinking

Part of the reason why the people I interviewed were so encouraging in their assessment of the different strategies was because on first reflection, the strategies seem like obvious. Words like “common sense” and “logical” were repeatedly spoken by those interviewed. It “makes sense” to people that more lighting and open space in an isolated area would increase safety and make people less afraid to utilize these spaces. It also “makes sense” that actually restricting or controlling the flow of people through particular spaces as well as clearly defining what a space is used for will not only perpetuate a particular behaviour within a space, but also allow for increased noticeability when someone is using a space counter to that which it was designed.

Says Mel of CPTED “it’s not so much complex planning as it is common sense planning”.

According to Mel, the appeal of CPTED lies in the fact that it does things that people should be doing anyway. Better lighting, defining space and controlling access are basic common sense things to do when trying to rid an area of crime. Chris looks at the strategies as “logical security”, requiring human beings to assess the situation and engage in making the most prudent implementations for a particular space. As he also stated, “signage is important, as it defines the right users of space”. In this instance signage helps to make the process more logical, as an individual who is doing something counter to what the signs are saying is permitted can be easily identified as potentially engaging in a criminal act. He then goes on to articulate his annoyance with what he terms “Google Heroes”, individuals who give pushback and try to offer up advice counter to what has been suggested. Given that he was called to consult on security issues facing the particular space, why someone would tell him how it should be done makes little sense to him. One reason he feels this kind of thing happens is that a lot of the people who engage in the pushback are executives, managers, or others in a position of authority who want or need to look knowledgeable in a professional setting, or who after realizing the potential efforts and costs that will be incurred, look to convince him and others of a less encroaching process. It is conceivable that given the position of CPTED already being logical, any ideas that would fly in the face of those recommendations could conceivably strike a professional as erroneous. This idea of rational design is ultimately what allowed for it to be adopted and institutionalized into many a municipal planning infrastructure across the continent and many places around the world. As Tom McKay states, “CPTED is ultimately a success and alive within the city of Mississauga.” According to McKay, the benefits of committees and making a place for it within the official plans and zoning laws is that it allows people from different professional realms (law

enforcement, urban planning, engineering, architects, academia, politicians, etc.) to come together and find common ground around a cause. According to McKay, CPTED essentially equates to having a good design of the space will equal a good use of the space. Other theorists thinking that CPTED is some form of social engineering have their “heads up their asses”. This notion of common sense design and logical security is what professor Parnaby was concerned about when speaking of the overzealous positivity surrounding CPTED. According to Parnaby, practitioners too readily take things for granted when devising strategies for implementation. Things may sound good in theory and even may be good ideas, but there may not be any evidence that said strategies will actually reduce criminal behaviour. Simplistic and unfounded causal connections are rampant within the CPTED community according to Parnaby, and this in essence, could lead to a space displaying some negative aspects that are by-products of the strategies, without any assurances of a greater net positive effect, or for that matter, assurances of any positive effects, such as a more aesthetically appealing space and/or a reduction in crime. Constable McKay somewhat agrees with this assertion, when he states “CPTED is most effective at keeping the honest guy honest.”

Kate who works at PYV holds ideals that fit within this realm of thinking even without the technical knowledge or specific details of the audit that took place within the environment in which she spends a significant amount of time. In speaking with her, a lot of the design changes that were made are in her opinion the main reason that things are “a lot better than they used to be”. This in and of itself is not strange; if there are problems and changes are made to address those problems, and the problems dissipate, it is only fair to assume that the changes made resulted in the dissipation of said problems. This however, may not be the case, as was expressed by Professor Parnaby, but rarely ever considered by anyone involved within the CPTED process

either directly or indirectly. In speaking with Kate, she informed me that another non-profit group was running the space that is now the PYV before the City of Mississauga took it over. Their management, according to her, were not as involved as the current management at ensuring the kind of safe environment that exists today. That is not to say that the previous group was incompetent or lackluster in any way; it does however show that the initiative and determination of the current property managers and staff of PYV were a driving force behind the positivity experienced there today. These characteristics manifested themselves in the obvious form of a CPTED audit, but also most likely manifested in a myriad of other efforts that could be just as, if not more significant to the positivity of the environment than the audit and implementation were. Another reason for the improved atmosphere within the space is the displacement of illicit activity that presumably took place, an unfortunate, yet ultimately inevitable by-product of CPTED that will be discussed later on.

Theme 3- Crime prevention is aesthetic appeal and vice versa

Social psychologists and police officers tend to agree that if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken...one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing. (Wilson and Kelling, 1982)

Untended property becomes fair game for people out for fun or plunder and even for people who ordinarily would not dream of doing such things and who probably consider themselves law-abiding...But vandalism can occur anywhere once communal barriers—the sense of mutual regard and the obligations of civility—are lowered by actions that seem to signal that "no one cares." (Wilson and Kelling, 1982)

The above two quotes are taken from an article published by social scientists James Wilson and George Kelling (1982), in which they advocate and lay out the benefits of police foot

patrol presence in high crime neighbourhoods. This article, aptly named “Broken Windows”, would go on to spawn the criminological theory known as the broken windows theory, highly debated and used as a guiding principle in police forces across North America, most famously in New York City under Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Police Chief Bill Bratton in the early 1990’s. Essentially the theory states that an area left to disrepair and a continued state of ruin will ultimately invite the criminal element and become dangerous, as the disrepair signifies a lack of authority, community, or a sense that anyone cares what happens to said space. Such criminological and psychological theories lay the groundwork for CPTED to take form, highlighting the kinds of problems within the built environment that can be reduced if space looks ‘cared for’ and ‘communal’. What is of note is the point the article looked to make originally and how it manifested itself over time. As aforementioned, Wilson and Keiling were advocating for more police on foot patrol in a society that was increasingly moving to keep policemen in cars. Their argument was that a police presence on the ground would help to prevent an area falling into seediness, by their *regulation* of deviants and well-to-doers alike. Although there are concerns with assigning labels to individuals given the fluidity of human behaviour, Wilson and Keiling noted how police officers would monitor “disreputable regulars” who would have to adhere to informal and understood rules (Wilson and Keiling, 1982).

This monitoring, one would assume, would be less problematic within the confines of smaller communities and towns, where strict adherence to policies and regulation would not be necessary given the intimacy of the environment in question. The ramifications of the aforementioned problematic labelling start to really rear their ugly heads when policing and crime prevention function on a broader scale, which was and is inevitable given the rapid expanse of urbanization and the lack of social familiarity that comes with it. This is largely so

not only because large amounts of people move into urban centres, but large cross sections of individuals move into these spaces, with different cultural norms, income levels, and social practices. In small intimate settings, these differences could be assessed with more objectivity and less bias as those in authority would have more time and less individuals to monitor. With a larger population and the growing demands of policing over a larger area, history has shown us that there it is not realistic to expect human beings, be they police officers, politicians or ordinary citizens, to assess sections of society they are not fully aware with any real level of objectivity, especially when it comes to criminal activity and personal safety. For decades, marginalized groups have been attributed with many disreputable qualities, crime being among them, as justification for the marginalization that they endured.

Within the appeal of CPTED as designing a safer environment in which individuals can live is the notion of designing a cleaner environment, which is viewed as synonymous with being safer and more inviting. “Transformational Change” is the term Constable McKay uses to describe the aesthetic impact that can further enhance urban design strategies that combat crime. According to McKay, utilizing more finances and newer, more ‘modern’ looking materials will encourage patrons to respect the space and take more pride in it. He went on to exemplify this idealism by showing me pictures of a washroom facility in a park that was having problems with constant vandalism and graffiti. The next set of pictures I was shown were of a new facility in its place, this time with a glass façade and skylight, newly tiled and fitted with the newest fixtures as far as public bathrooms are concerned. His claim that said facility has not been vandalized or abused since (it was erected in 2011) is his proof that if people see resources, investment in space and “nice looking things” they tend to feel safer and more engaged in the space, and will ultimately act accordingly. Other pictures of a Mississauga Community Centre, dead spaces

(small pockets of open space in which nothing was present or happening) were designated for different unique uses, with redesigned and repainted walls and corridors. This further illustrated the transformation of behaviour that followed the transformation of space. Kate and Pat, both staff at the PYV, acknowledged the positive effects of the aesthetics on reducing crime activity within the space. Unaware of the CPTED audit that had taken place, Kate spoke largely about the physical changes that occurred within the building and the results that followed. Highlighted within our conversation were the redone downstairs basketball court, the new computer lab at the rear of the building, and the redesigned area at the front of the building. Pat also expressed pleasure with the removal of the cold concrete facing of the front desk with a warmer glass material, as well as the wooden flooring and painted cement column. From Pat's observations, those involved in criminal activity did not like the changes that took place, as it hindered their ability to engage in illicit acts, while other 'law abiding' community members were very pleased with the changes, even going so far as to report that some who were normally involved in criminal acts modified their behaviour while inside the PYV, which was fully encouraged. Given the purpose of the PYV, it was not the intention to restrict people from entering the premises, but according to Pat, changing the look of the building changes the way people feel about themselves, and therefore their behaviour within the space. Anyone was welcome inside the POV, "as long as the wrong people were using the facility the right way" (Pat, 2015).

It is the above point that perfectly exemplifies the essence of the David Harvey (2006) quote highlighted earlier regarding "shiny" places. Though he was referring to the ramifications of grandiosity as spectacle, any value as spectacle, in the case of the PYV, modernity and cleanliness-not necessarily bad things-are consumed passively by the populace as symbols of safety. Given the effectiveness of the Broken Windows thesis, people are convinced that modern,

new, and aesthetically pleasing places signify a safe environment, so if individuals confront such a space they are to assume it is safe. Given the diverse amount and constantly changing nature of criminal activity, safety may not be as assured as thought. Harvey's point also highlighted the exclusionary effects of such a thought process. The same can be said of CPTED and its modernity as spectacle view. While in Harvey's grandiosity example those who didn't display the high-class values said design looked to entice were looked as indigent and shunned, CPTED shuns these same individuals as possible criminals, a highly controversial assertion. This is discussed further in the next section.

Race & Class

Race and class considerations and how both race and class work within social and urban design are important, yet often overlooked aspects of environmental design, especially from a crime-preventive perspective, due to the increasingly positive results that seemingly arise as a result of crime prevention design strategies. While the strategies that are relied upon to effectively implement an effective safe design framework, may in fact work in some sort of productive fashion, they also can inadvertently reinforce further marginalization of already marginalized peoples, as well as become a weapon of spatial exclusion by promoting suspicion and dare I say "fear" of the 'other'. Parnaby and Reed (2009) discuss the meaning and implications of differing groups to navigate space successfully. They write, "Thus racial identities...gendered identities...and (depending on the circumstances) even sexual identities...have important spatial dimensions that are defined in relation to shifting normative structures that delineate and enforce boundaries of inclusion and exclusion" (2009, 92-93). This writing argues that although CPTED strategies (natural surveillance in this specific instance)

start out as objective exercises that do show positive effects, their reliance on the participation of human beings who carry within themselves biases and particular attitudes result in the unintended consequences of prematurely suspecting as criminal certain segments of society over others. Parnaby and Reed highlight the young black male and the homeless as two groups in particular who would be adversely affected by such a strategy, an unfortunate situation given their already marginalized status within society.

“Opportunities for natural surveillance do not render the difference between desirable and undesirable populations objectively clear. What renders these differences clear, rather, are the decisions and prejudices of human beings. (Parnaby and Reed, 2009)

Indeed some people are more suspicious than others, not because they are engaging in a criminal act, per se, but because their behaviour and/or appearance resonates with preconceived typologies of what a potential criminal looks like...For the vast majority of people, however, these typologies have their roots in the socially constructed nature of crime and the offenders in popular discourse. (Parnaby and Reed, 2009).

In her examination of post-apartheid crime and fear of crime in South Africa, and how mitigation strategies tend to facilitate socio-spatial segregation that essentially recreates an apartheid like environment, Charlotte Spinks (2001) addresses CPTED as one of the strategies utilized, and its role in creating a ‘new apartheid’. In her assessment of Jacobian ‘eyes on the street’ theories, a precursor to modern day environmental design strategies as discussed above, Spinks recognizes their use is often as tools of exclusion against marginalized groups.

However, her assumptions of voluntary ‘natural surveillance’ only succeed when harnessed with territorial affinity (as Newman recognised). Yet this territory ultimately facilitates socio-spatial segregation (the very opposite of Jacob’s aspirations), and the exclusion of difference (i.e. non-territory members). Whilst this exclusionary discourse seems fundamental to human

nature, problems lie in the significant inequality between segregated groups (Spinks, 2001, 12).

The above noted quotes are powerful as they clearly lay out where CPTED, whose principles are intended to be applied objectively, are used to further often illegitimate and damaging stereotypes about a particular groups' behaviour, thus legitimizing the exclusion and criminalization that result. This is important because where the strategies are supposed to identify and discourage criminal behaviour, it in essence is used as a tool to brand, define and create criminal behaviour where none may exist. Both Spinks and Parnaby and Reed recognize the class considerations that emerge as well. The latter scholars address the plight of the homeless and indigent, who often seek out spaces of little visibility so as to avoid the scorn and scrutiny of the law enforcement and general society alike. Similarly, Spinks mentions what she considers a significant critique of CPTED as it perpetuates what she terms 'fortress societies' whereby "the powerful are able to exclude undesirables" (2001). Natural surveillance, access control, and territoriality essentially allow for the designing out of not only crime, but any group of persons deemed an outsider to an area of desire. Both writings agree that to alleviate this negative effect, those who are most likely to be victimized in the aforementioned ways need to be included within the decision making process. The problem is that on many occasions, not only CPTED but urban design processes in general tend to be superficially participatory, a line of discussion that will be raised later on.

The subject and analysis of race and class within CPTED and other similar ecological crime prevention strategies was something I felt was important to the analysis of how day to day practitioners view and engage with CPTED. As well as the emerging themes that arose from my discussion interviews with the different practitioners within CPTED, I also found a *lack* of race

and class considerations; these ideas are not engaged with in any meaningful fashion. In a modern society filled with socio-racial as well as socio-economic tensions, the fact that one could find any crime prevention strategy or tactic that fails to consider race or class a bit out of the ordinary. What I did find was how subtle, exclusionary urban design tactics were utilized to constrain behaviour and isolate neighbourhoods. In her work, Sarah Schindler (2015) chronicles an affluent Atlanta suburb whose residents refuse expansion of inner city transit routes into their affluent community, a ten-foot tall, 1500 foot long wall erected in Connecticut to separate white and minority communities (the wall was ultimately taken down in 2014), and other discriminatory practices veiled as innocuous urban planning. Constraints on behaviour traditionally focuses on regulation through law, however other tools can regulate behaviour, and one of them is architecture (Schindler, 2015, 1944). Part of the reason Schindler believes architectural exclusion exists is because the courts fail to even identify architecture as a form of regulation. Ironic in all of this is when one considers the work of both Schindler and Kumar, both legal scholars arguing the considerable effect architecture has on behaviour, the latter fails to understand the negative implications of such a phenomenon, only seeing the good (lower crime rates) that can come of it. Schindler herself acknowledges the dearth of legal literature that speaks to exclusion and discrimination through design regulation, for which asserts that there is an inability by the justice system to prove intent to discriminate as an explanation (Schindler, 2015).

Reasons start to emerge, irrespective of their legitimacy, when one starts to wonder why design concepts take on such an innocuous nature. Most conventional crime perspectives, at least the ones touted by politicians, law enforcement, and community activists alike focus on either punitive, and/or engagement strategies that focus on *direct* human influence. Tough on crime

measures, including harsher jail terms, as well as educational and various social programs, aim to curb human behaviour away from crime by setting up an environment in which human behaviour is directly targeted. The goal is to give people a more appealing way to spend their time other than engaging in deviant behaviour. Design strategies work in a similar fashion, as their aims are still to influence behaviour away from crime. Where design strategies differ from the aforementioned punitive and community/social programs is *how* they appeal for alternative behaviour. While the latter attempts to portray *crime as immoral/ non beneficial to one's life*, the former attempts to *minimalize or eliminate criminal opportunities*; it makes no appeal to the individual itself to question his or her moral compass, and equally important, it makes no requirement of the implementers of the strategies, largely viewed as exercises of technical expertise, to consider how best to appeal to an individual's "good side". If there is no distinction between individuals, and the predictability of human behaviour is viewed as a standard social event, then there can be no consideration of how different individuals are effected, and more importantly how different individuals are viewed, as the individual does not exist. Somewhat like mathematics, practitioners in the field of CPTED don't consider race and class because their interest is the technical process. The human element that arises, though important, is almost a positive coincidence. With this in mind it is no wonder that ecological crime prevention strategies are viewed objectively.

All the people I interviewed expressed positive objective views of CPTED, with the notable exception of Professor Parnaby. His optimism was cautious, expressly because of the race and class considerations that were largely ignored by the other interviewees in their responses. When asked about the subject of race and class within CPTED and how each interviewee feels about the possible effects on consumers, some did acknowledge that the

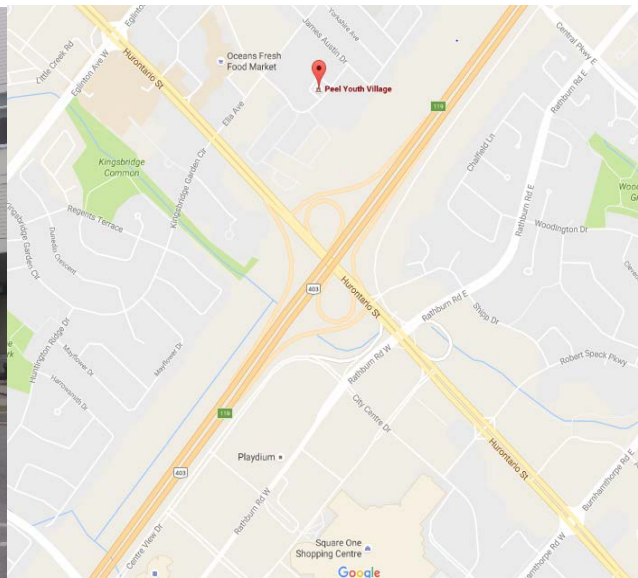
possibility for discrimination could exist. Their answers however, were general and personal, and therefore inadequate in rebuttal. For instance, security consultant Chris said that his plan to combat any potential for racial and class discrimination was to try and go in neutral and objective, working the issues not the people. He also stressed the importance of interviewing as many people as possible when on the job, to account for the many perspectives and complaints individuals would have. Jo, who works with the community, acknowledges the potential hazards natural surveillance can create for marginalized groups, but puts forth an effort to ensure people do not fall victim to stereotyping, and focus on suspicious behaviour, not colour or class status. While these are worthwhile and admirable efforts partaken on both their part, these individuals are but two people, who when speaking to them (albeit relatively brief) seemed not to harbour any racial or class bias as far as I could tell. The same cannot be known for sure about other security experts or the people within the community that Jo presents to, given the narrative of the criminal black body and indigent “other” rampant throughout society. This is so because these images and ideals are so ingrained in the social collective, that the just the sight of young black males or the homeless subconsciously triggers thoughts of fear and suspicion. The unfortunate deaths of teenager Trayvon Martin by a man who was of his local Neighbourhood Watch group in Florida, as well as the rash of shootings of young black men by police officers across the United States are the unfortunate evidence that, at times, the core principles that CPTED do, in my mind, have ill-fated unintended consequences. In our interview, I brought up the death of Trayvon as an example of possible racial biases inherent within the design stipulations to Mel, who believes CPTED to be innocuous common sense observations, that when implemented prove effective. The response I received was that the biggest contributing factor to the Martin situation was the lack of proper lighting and overall poor visibility, a testament to the vehemence

of belief in the process. That the shooter was possibly aroused to suspicion of possible criminal activity by seeing a young black male in an upper-class neighbourhood_ his own prejudiced mentality operating an objective natural surveillance strategy to initiate action_ never seemed to take hold as valid in Mel's opinion. Constable McKay acknowledges that race and class biases are not included within the CPTED realm, and though he feels that biases can be perpetuated to a degree, CPTED is not responsible for said inherent biases. This point is not in dispute, as theoretical design strategies can never be responsible for people's actions or thoughts. On the other hand, I cannot help but think that providing an avenue to exercise those biases without an approach to stymy other than the reliance on good-natured people is okay in a perfect world, but somewhat troubling in reality. Jo, who also feels racial and class bias are a human issue, not a CPTED one, and thus also ignores this reality.

Case Study: Peel Youth Village



Entrance to Peel Youth Village



Peel Youth Village location as per Google Maps

Located just a few kilometres north of the Mississauga City Centre and Square One shopping mall, the Peel Youth Village (PYV) is a property that underwent a CPTED audit as recently as 2010. The Village opened in 2006 in response to a 1999 report by the Peel Region Task Force on Homelessness which identified a growing number of, and the need for supports for, homeless youth (CMHC, 2009). Built with the support of the Federal Government, the Region of Peel, as well as various private and non-profit organizations, the PYV provides transitional housing for up to 48 youth aged 16-30 who would otherwise be without. As well as support staff that are on site 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, other staff work with the youth, people who specialize in case management, counselling, and various social services i.e., addiction, health and wellness, educational resources (Region of Peel, 2015). Although its primary mandate is to provide safe and steady housing for youth of tenuous living situations, the space also doubles as a community centre for the outside community, with a common area, computer lab, exercise equipment, as well as a gymnasium with basketball and badminton resources available. It should be noted that youth who live there do not live for free, but pay rent at a cost that is dependent upon the level of income they earn, either from a job or government social assistance, either being a requirement for residency. The building itself is nestled between two high-rise apartment complexes, across the street from another high-rise residential unit, with a townhouse complex situated diagonally across the street (southwest of PYV). All three of these residential complexes cater to individuals of a low income economic status. A community of detached homes spread out east of the facility, with the higher more traditional suburban, high income developments enveloping the surrounding area.

The PYV was initially planned to be built purely as a housing project, to support the mandate of the Task Force report. During the initial development stages, three meetings were held where the youth were able to express their concerns and their wishes for what the space would be like. It was not until consultation with youth within the community that the recreational and resource space aspect came to fruition, with architects crediting the youth with being responsible for them reconceptualising the design of the PYV (Bridgman, 2002). The youth involvement is a very positive outcome of the entire process, as it shows a desire and commitment to community inclusivity in a process that is constantly criticized for perpetuating the opposite. What one gleans upon closer inspection of the youth insights is that a lot of what the youth proposed was more about how the facility would operate and cater to the needs of homeless youth more than it was about the actual design of the space. If and when the youth did speak about the design of the space, it was more out of concern for factors that had little if anything to do with safety or security, at least from a physical or criminogenic standpoint. According to Bridgman (2002) of most concern for youth was having more shelters in Peel Region for homeless youth, making sure the place was transitional, so that it was a place to help the youth move on and not stay “forever”, maintaining separation between the residences and community centre spaces, and accommodating couples. For instance, when questioned about the functioning of the housing aspect of the PYV, two youth spoke and said “They should separate so that people from the community can’t get upstairs... You might have friends in the recreation who you don’t necessarily want to know that you are living there (Bridgman, 2002). This observance in no way is meant to diminish the importance the youth played in the process, as the combined housing units/recreation centre was essentially youth driven. It is only to note that for a space that was essentially deemed unsafe by those who operated it, enough so that it underwent

a CPTED audit, there was seemingly very little talk of safety and security when the space was first conceptualized and built.

The PYV faced some obstacles when it was being presented to the different levels of government in order to qualify for funding and planning approvals. The space was designed to include 25 spaces for permanent housing of youth, but efforts to receive Federal funding required that the space be presented as “transitional housing” as opposed to “permanent housing”, even though the idea was to have youth live in the facility on a semi-permanent to permanent basis. (Bridgman, 2002). A different approach had to be considered when seeking planning approvals from Peel Region, where the idea of transitional housing and counselling brought connotations of mental health and institutionalization. As a result, there was a lot of discomfort, and resulting discussion centred on selling the project as a transitional and supportive housing for the Feds, but omitting that aspect from the pitch to the Regional Planning Department, especially after the Mayor of Mississauga declared the city would not get involved in any provincial or federal housing initiative (Bridgman, 2002). Those involved in the project seemed to have to walk the proverbial tight rope, navigating the different nuances and regulatory issues of the different levels of governments in order to successfully get the project off the ground. In spite of it all, the PYV design team was able to get the region to contribute \$700,000 toward operating costs. This afforded Peel a great deal of input into the design of the project, with their main concern being operating costs being kept to a minimum. “The department was particularly concerned that costs be kept as low as possible, so there would be no air conditioning, and no extra expenses that could be perceived as extravagant” (Bridgman, 2002).

The minimization of costs at PYV may or may not have contributed to the PYV descending into a space of relative danger of crime. Programming was originally run by the

United Way of Peel Region and the YMCA of Greater Toronto. These organizations, while very reputable and notorious for the philanthropic and support services, are also very large. The sheer size and scope of their operations may have prevented said organizations from maintaining the necessary observant and intimate relationship with the space as well as the community that would have prevented the kinds of criminal activity that ultimately plagued the PYV. In speaking with Pat, before SHIP (Supportive Housing in Peel) took over running the PYV, issues of assaults, robberies and drug dealing were common-place. Furthermore, many people within the community were turned off or even scared to utilize the space that was as much for them as it was for the homeless youth, due to the aforementioned criminal activity. Police presence was standard, and the space was not able to attain the intended effect of providing an engaging and inviting space for the community that was originally envisioned and its potential warranted. After the Region took over the operation of the space in 2010, a CPTED audit was commissioned and undertaken by Constable McKay, with the recommendations being examined and implemented with the arrival of Pat in 2012.

In his CPTED audit, Constable McKay thoroughly examines the state of the building in general, its outward appearance, and the furniture layout. All contributed to opportunities for criminal activity in different ways. The overview of the audit describes the building as having a “harsh/underdeveloped and often dirty or worn appearance” resulting in “a building that is underwhelming and leaves a poor and sometimes, uncared for impression”. This assessment is congruent with one of the aforementioned theme of my interviews, whereby crime prevention is synonymous with aesthetic appeal. This is not the only instance of this occurring within the document, as many criticisms, from the lack of landscaping outside of the front entrance, to the lack of colour and character of the front entrance itself, to the “institutional nature” of the

concrete and plywood finishes. In essence, it is implied that the overall drab and uninviting feel does not garner any respect, which then leads to criminal activity. Though there is mention of storage cabinets underneath the main stairwell blocking important sightlines, as well as the front entrance vestibule being poorly placed making it difficult to monitor who is coming or going from the facility, there is not a lot of mention regarding the main tenets of CPTED, i.e., natural surveillance, territoriality, access control. Most of the audit is centred on the layout of the space as well as its appearance, with mention even being made of the filthy appearance of the couches in the lounge area, as well as carving into the wooden bannister overlooking the gymnasium. No mention at all is made of the upper area living quarters where the youth were housed. Constable McKay believes in the visual appearance of a space being a big determining factor in how it is treated. The appendix of his report contained an article regarding form vs function, detailing the work of an artist and his use of more visually appealing colours and materials to solve issues of misused space emphasized Constable McKay's considerable belief. Pat, with the CPTED audit in hand, held meetings within the community, as well as with the youth utilizing the space in an attempt to rectify some of the issues that were plaguing the PYV. This, Pat informed me, led to the youth being able to choose a lot of the material that ended up being used (i.e., a granite table with leather chairs in the lounge area, a new white front desk with glass facing attached, an exercise area with new equipment, foosball table). While the participatory method employed by Pat is admirable and something all urban design initiatives should strive for, in this instance, not unlike most CPTED audits, the participation was limited in scope. Given that the method of reform was already chosen, those who would be primarily utilizing the space were left to engage in picking the finishing touches of a plan already in motion. Constable McKay had already laid out what was to be done to make the place safer in the audit: utilize different colours, and newer

finishes. All the youth and community had to do was decide what those colours and finishes were. Speaking to both Pat, and Kate, the manager I interviewed at the PYV, the changes were a big success with staff, youth, and the community alike. Pat even advised me that some of the youth who had usually engaged in the criminal activity that was trying to be avoided came back and enjoyed the space in a respectful manner. That these youth and community involved may have known little to nothing about Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, or that their participation in the transformation process of the PYV was almost superficial and of little consequence, given that the space was safe and thus enjoyable again. This illustrates another theme of my interviews, that individuals are not too concerned with the particular how or consequences of a space being made safe, so long as the space *is* safe, given the importance of safety in peoples' everyday life.

While interviewing both Pat and Kate, evident in the discussions was even though they both acknowledge the successful transformation of the PYV from a place of regular criminality to regular enjoyment by all, little of what they attributed the success to is directly tied to CPTED. From what I determined based on the interviews is that most of the success of the place is a result of renewed interest and expansion of the programs being offered and staff engagement with the youth who frequent the space, something that was seemingly lacking with the previous operators of the space. The discussion, which I intended to be centred more around CPTED and its positive effects on PYV, consistently moved to the programs, renewed relationships, and investment between staff and youth/community utilizing the space. This would lead me to believe that though CPTED and its tenets may yield encouraging results in different spaces, it has and always will be part of a larger crime prevention strategy, a strategy that will always have human interaction and community building as its most crucial element.

Findings

Through my discussion of my research, interviews and case study of the Peel Youth Village, a reader might glean a somewhat pessimistic view of CPTED and the numerous strategies that it employs. I want to emphasize that this is not the case; I do believe that Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design has its place within the urban design realm and it and strategies like it should be practiced, studied and further implemented within the discipline. I would consider myself a part of the group Professor Parnaby termed so well: the “cautious optimist”. Any tone of an apparent negative nature that may emanate from my research stems from my intention to highlight the areas of safe-by-design strategies that are afterthoughts; issues that don’t really exist in the minds of proponents, but that help to perpetuate inequality. A significant amount of literature, as well as the interviewees, approach CPTED as not only effective, but obvious. Practitioners who view the strategies employed as common sense, “why didn’t I think of that earlier” ideals are dismissive of serious social concerns that rarely if ever get taken into account. Safety and security are a necessity within any space and are a basic requirement for the enjoyment and flourishing of any civil society, but become problematic when treated as subjective and fluid, as they have the potential to become under certain design guidelines. People are not thieves and murderers until they steal and kill respectively. To indicate that the environment can be altered in such a way as to deter and identify such individuals is to somewhat assume that individuals are inherently criminals, which as an assessment is incomplete. Though areas targeted for implementation of some of the safe design strategies normally have a history of criminal behaviour, these strategies also have the consequence of making users of the space view the space itself, as well as other users of the space as dangerous. This can have serious, even grave consequences. The idea that the built environment can reduce

criminal behaviour is one thing. By allowing and perpetuating the idea of reduced criminal activity through exclusionary and divisive tactics can, I believe, inadvertently criminalize already marginalized groups, as well as allow space to be used in a way that justifies social separation through criminalization.

All indications point to the fact that the Peel Youth Village was a success. The CPTED audit addressed an issue within the community and utilized the community and end users to plan and execute the design, function and operation of the facility. According to those involved in the retrofitting of the facility through CPTED strategies, the community and end users were involved with the new design to a degree, and the PYV is enjoyed as a community space. What we must understand is that whether it is the Peel Youth Village or any space being modeled on crime prevention strategies, the themes that I have outlined in my interviews will more often than not appear in some sort or fashion, whether it is a resulting promotion of, and/or rationale for applying said strategies. Safety will always play a dominant role within the CPTED paradigm. Many a strategy will utilize statistics and examples of reduced instances of crime to tout effectiveness, as was the case with PYV. Increased lighting and different territorial additions or subtractions, as well as ways of access control are presented as easy common sense strategies that are minimally invasive but extremely effective. Subtle to medium changes to the environment, as opposed to large-scale mechanical changes, can have as much of, if not more of an effect on reducing crime. The CPTED audit for the PYV suggested numerous rearrangements of cabinets, a rearrangement of workout space and the control of access to an outdoor space next to the window as moves that would benefit in the crime reduction goal. Also mentioned were the replacement of common area furniture, the painting of walls and the upgrade to building material to make the place more aesthetically appealing, as strategists feel a nice looking environment is one that is less

conducive to criminal activity. What is not studied is those who may feel targeted or profiled as a result of the various changes, or those who are simply not comfortable with them. This is so, mainly because: 1) those who feel that way are usually not around to voice any displeasure, and 2) those who are displeased are viewed as the miscreants that are unwelcome to the space in the first place. With a strategy that relies so heavily on human interpretation, this facet is problematic, especially from a race/class perspective, where most of the issues would arise.

Discussion

While all of the issues that I have addressed pointed toward a somewhat pessimistic outlook, I did label myself a cautious optimist, and thus lukewarm believer in Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design. That then being the case, the focus of my discussion requires a shift away from simply identifying everything wrong with CPTED, and more toward how people address these issues so as to minimize and or eliminate them entirely.

The first step to fixing any perceived problem is understanding. Diane Zahm (2005) highlighted the ineffectiveness of various CPTED programs to combine a thorough understanding of strategies with a useful implementation processes, as well as a lack of post implementation monitoring and evaluation, essentially rendering uncertain how practical the strategies were in reducing crime. Effective CPTED programs would ideally allow for the following: focus on specific types of crimes in specific locations or neighborhoods; examine neighborhood uses, activities, and routines and evaluate these with regard to the opportunities for crime they may create; consider how today's design and development decisions may change neighborhood uses, activities, and routines, and therefore change opportunities for crime in the

future; include monitoring and evaluation to track changes in activities and routines, as well as in actual crime and victimization (and to allow for program modifications in response to the evaluation results) (Zahm, 2005). The call for a more nuanced and versatile understanding of CPTED programs and how they relate to specific neighbourhoods, as well as monitoring and evaluations of programs encourages and could conceivably lead to an understanding of issues that can arise from strategies such as natural surveillance, territoriality, and access control. Monitoring and evaluations would be the especially significant processes, as evaluating CPTED processes as they are potentially inadvertently discriminate against and criminalize certain groups more than others create a realization that these effects are not just collateral damage in the fight for safety, especially in a world that seemingly strives for equality.

While Professor Parnaby does well to highlight these issues, and Spinks points to manifestations of these effects from a global perspective, more practitioners and academics need to help raise awareness. Human biases and profiling is instinctive if one were to use history as an example, and cannot be undone, especially in the realm of criminality, where peoples' need to feel safe can easily take over intellect. Education is key in this respect, as allowing people to be aware of their biases, might make for more efficient use of the strategies, and one day lead to new innovative augmentations that can further reduce that effect. Another issue is the touting of CPTED as a crucial tool in the fight to keep streets safe. Though I feel there is no problem with implementing it as part of any city or town design infrastructure, CPTED cannot prevent crime from happening. As crime is an issue of many factors, among them being social inequity as well as opportunity, eliminating one element will not 'prevent' crime per se, but reduce it hopefully to a modest enough degree. Ecological crime prevention strategies need to be utilized in conjunction with other strategies to form a comprehensive plan that addresses crime, design,

equality, economic growth, and all issues that make cities and spaces worth interacting with. This is not to say that this is not being done, but it is to highlight the industry that is starting to grow around the use of ecological crime prevention strategies like CPTED and others. Upon first glance, it makes sense why individuals, companies and even governments would extol the “greatness” of CPTED, as it is an easy sell, made even easier with statistics to back claims. Change the environment to reduce opportunities to crime and reduce crime. It is however, an oversell, and as such can simplify and trivialize important opportunities for spaces, not just physically, but socially as well.

Participation within the design process is something that needs to be included within the CPTED process, more so than it is currently. What I mean by that is that *all users of a particular space*, be it homeowners, youth, staff, and even the indigent; people of all creeds and colours who utilize a space need be included or at the very least considered when talks of reformation take place. In her article, Clara Irazabal (2009) looks to inform communicative action theory with regime theory, which she feels is a stronger model for participatory planning. Communicative practices that are able to ensure participants can better understand planning governance and how politicians and other agents interact with power knowledge and space ultimately allow for participants to better engage the system they are tasked with, being more adept at navigating power, knowledge, and space relations, to achieve outcomes more reflective and representative of their desires for the built environment (Irazabal, 2009). What happens when only one segment or group is spoken to, is that only their agenda is heard, and thus considered. As a result, anything suggested by said group that could potentially be damaging and negative for the non-considered groups. As an example, if a community is designing a new housing block or tenement around CPTED principles to better promote natural surveillance and

access control, having not only the residents, but other community members, possibly of colour or lower economic standing in the same room with planners, politicians, police to voice concerns, may not solve all the issues. What it will most likely do is bring awareness forward to planners, residents and other groups who may have been unaware of these possible situations, and thus they can attempt to be addressed within the early stages of the design phases. The Peel Youth Village seemed to get the process right when it spoke to the youth about their vision for the space, which when taken into consideration, changed the direction of the project. Regardless of the fact that the youth involvement consisted of three meetings, miniscule in comparison to the likely countless meetings and presentations necessary before the project got underway, the inclusion of the end-users of the space in the design stages in a meaningful fashion can be viewed as a success with regard to participatory planning.

CPTED and governance

As stated earlier, Mississauga has made a place for CPTED within its official plan (City of Mississauga, 2013). This is not uncommon, as other municipalities within Canada as well as around the world (US, Australia, UK) have some kind of crime-reducing design principles as part of their planning and design infrastructure. When one examines why more and more bureaucracies are quick to adopt these strategies into various building regulations, certain considerations become evident. It offers a “common sense” approach to making spaces safer, as safety is a primary concern to any prosperous community. Not only that, implementation in certain instances has yielded positive results. It must be pointed out that available research suggests that one cannot be sure of increased safety through CPTED strategies, but the mere

existence of a reduction of crime in a CPTED enhanced space make it easy for any organization or bureaucracy to draw that conclusion.

Another interesting reason in which varying governments have been quick to adopt CPTED is the idea that the strategies are reflective of the increased neo-liberal policies enacted by modern governments. Parnaby (2006) explains this in his examination of CPTED as a strategic form of governance, CPTED was a strategy that appealed to governing bodies largely because of its demand of citizen participation in ensuring the effectiveness of the strategies. When it is the responsibility of individuals to partake in surveillance and portray a sense of ownership over space, they are also partaking in the local crime prevention, an encumbrance traditionally afforded the state. “Taking responsibility for one’s own risk management becomes the means by which one can help offset the state’s current fiscal and logistical crises” (Parnaby, 2006)

Given the pressures of governance and the demand for action from the populace, it is not surprising that government will more willingly lean toward less nuanced, ‘Band-Aid’ solutions to over complex, layered ones that may take longer and more effort and investment to institute, in order to appease disgruntled masses. This is especially true within the realm of crime prevention. In detailing how a nuanced and seemingly effective “Safe City” planning project, developed within the municipality of the Gold Coast of Australia, initially inspiring enthusiasm among many within their local government as well as planning experts, failed to come to fruition, Wilson and Wileman (2005) explains that it was the politics of governance that was the biggest hindrance to the project. Apparently an executive who was behind the “Safe City” project had engaged in politics which ran counter to local business interests, and as a result, his contract was not renewed, and he left office. This resulted in there being a lack of anyone senior

enough to see the project to conclusion. As stated in the article, “A holistic approach to crime prevention, generally, is likely to fail...unless there is a person in significant authority within the council willing to steer the program through the bureaucratic and political maze that permeates local government” (Wilson and Wileman, 2005). One need to only look to the recent history of Mayor Rudy Giuliani’s “get tough” method on crime of the 1990’s, in which aggressive policing of lower level crimes, viewed as the broken windows approach (Corman & Mocan, 2002) took place. Many a law in which the mandate involves getting “tough” on crime, look to further punish the offender, as if simply making life harder on criminals will stop people from committing crimes. CPTED, however positive it may be, offers that same non-complication. More lighting, controlling access, encouraging territorial markers are strategies that can be put into effect immediately when designing a space. Community engagement, ensuring access to various resources, and maintaining an adequate economy in which those looking for reasonable work can find it, continues to be an ongoing struggle. This is another issue with CPTED that needs further discussion; while being overall a positive strategy, its implementation should never negate or diminish the investment in social and community programs that heavily contribute to overall safety within society.

CPTED and gentrification, though two supposedly different concepts and processes at work, can, and sometimes are, linked together by those cautioning against blind acceptance of crime prevention strategies in urban design. This happens when the latter becomes an unintended (or in some cases disguised) consequence of the former. Strategies that are designed to reduce criminal activity are essentially utilized in a way that seeks to exclude certain groups’ presence within certain spaces, under the guise of crime reduction. In his article detailing how CPTED was integrated into Australian urban space, Christopher Martin details how such phenomenon occur.

In an effort to provide CPTED and thus a more “marketable community” (Martin, 2000), what is supposed to be designed in an organic fashion turns into a construction of symbolic capital, replete with both symbolic and actual barriers that capital can erect. (Martin, 2000). He uses both Los Angeles, and to a lesser extent Sydney, to highlight bumps in park benches, gated communities, security stations with panoptic views, as recent installments throughout different neighbourhoods that under the guise of safety, work to exclude those of low economic and visible minority status. Such consequences went largely unnoticed due to the fact that CPTED, being integrated into the project design process, was viewed as “good urban design” (Martin, 2000). In his discussion of 1990’s Los Angeles and how public space has been monopolized and reduced through a wave of mechanical as well as urban design feats intended to protect against criminal activity, Mike Davis (1990) outlines the effect of said public space reduction on different groups of society. “In the first place, the market provision of ‘security’ generates its own paranoid demand. ‘Security’ becomes a positional good defined by income access to private ‘protective services’ and membership in some hardened residential enclave or restricted suburb... ‘security’ has less to do with personal safety than with the degree of personal insulation...from ‘unsavory’ [*sic*] groups and individuals, even crowds in general” (Davis, 1990, 224). These two examples are indicative of how a seemingly valiant achievement of crime control can work to victimize the citizens it is supposed to be protecting. Crime prevention was merely a justification tool in both 1990’s Los Angeles and a more recent Sydney. The apparent real aim was to insulate the minority and indigent population from sharing space with those more affluent and whose properties thus had higher land value. Gated communities, ‘panopticon’ structures, ‘bum-proof’ benches, and police entrenchment sites within particular spaces help

identify and alienate not only criminals, but individuals not resident to, or welcome based on personal specific qualities from utilizing said spaces freely.

This is an important element to consider when thinking about the Peel Youth Village in relation to its surrounding area. The PYV is located a few kilometres north of Square One, one of the biggest shopping malls in Canada, and a major Greater Toronto Area destination point, with numerous restaurants, markets, entertainment venues, and the municipal City Hall on the surrounding property. The PYV is also situated within a suburban enclave, with detached housing, parks, and a public school. That this space was the concentration of not only a CPTED review, but a management review as well (some time before) may not just be about making the space safer for end users, but bringing it in line with space more suited to the “existing character” of the surrounding space, vernacular I have come across when reading design guidelines for various developments and spaces (City of Toronto, 2016). For all its supposed issues with criminal activity, the new space is a very nice, modern and open. It is known these renovations appeased staff and end users, but we can also presume it appeased the greater surrounding community. This is confirmed when speaking to Pat, who speaks of the considerable positive response from the community some of which who now access the space. What is unknown is if their positivity is influenced not just by the reduced criminal activity, but equally by the new look, and thus, a justified acceptance of said space of fitting into the community. Though one cannot be sure, based on my interviews and research the level of significance given aesthetic appeal to apparent crime reduction only works to further that assessment as likely. My interview with Kate specifically, who as previously mentioned, was not trained or well-versed in the concepts of CPTED, revolved mostly around the renovations and upgrades that have taken place

in PYV, a testament to the importance placed on what a space should look like when situated within a specific area.

Conclusion

So what does all of this mean? Upon total reflection and probably fairly obvious to any reader, I believe that CPTED is a positive tool that can be used to the benefit of urban spaces. There are no doubt flaws that need to be addressed if ever CPTED and or any ecological crime prevention strategies are to reach their full potential. What I have also concluded is that there is very little talk of the flaws to the CPTED approach, especially amongst practitioners within the urban design industry as well as law enforcement. Part of the reason is because of the relatively minor literature on CPTED in both these disciplines. The other reason harkens back to what I observed within my research. Among all the people I spoke with, there was a general acknowledgement of CPTED as a common sense approach to crime prevention. Also acknowledged was safety as paramount to the well-functioning of society, and given that CPTED is primarily concerned with safety, a lot of practitioners fail to notice, or write off, the risks posed by these strategies as occupational hazards. Also thematic within my paper was the ideal that an aesthetically appealing area was synonymous with a safe environment, and given the upgrades and aesthetic standard that comes with safe design strategies, again many of my interviewees were able to overlook the risks posed by said strategies.

What are said risks? The lack of consideration of how said strategies affected individuals of minority and lower economic standing is considerable. Only one of my interviewees who was the least enthusiastic but yet invested in CPTED happened to understand these risks, while the

others, as well as other literature I have studied, seems to dismiss this demographic as part of the criminal element being caught in the safe design dragnet. So much of what is defined as a criminal is fluid and subjective, sometimes changing within and across space that CPTED strategies aimed at identifying someone outright as a criminal would come with a considerable degree of inaccuracy. That then leaves that inaccuracy to be corrected by human intuition. Given the disproportionate representation of minorities within the criminal justice system, as well as those of lower economic standing, it is not unfair to think that a strategy relying on ordinary citizens to spot and deter criminal activity can be potentially very dangerous for these groups, as often time people's idea of a criminal accesses the discriminatory, stereotyping aspects of their intuition. The tragedy that befell a teenaged Trayvon Martin is an example of surveillance, a key strategy of CPTED, utilized in the manner in which it was intended but leading to an unfortunate result.

But if all this is true, how is CPTED positive? What I think must be understood is that CPTED reaches its highest effectiveness when it works in conjunction with other social and community based strategies to help strengthen the cohesion between space and individuals, and looks not only to reduce crime, but increase economic standing and overall quality of life for inhabitants of space. Peel Youth Village achieves this, and not just by creating a more modern, aesthetically pleasing space where criminal activity is more easily identified. Offering transitional housing to homeless teens, allowing them a space and various other programs that ensure their ties to the larger community, and the social and professional skills necessary for survival will not dissipate. An engaged and compassionate staff to act as friends, disciplinarians or anything in between in my opinion is more important an explanation than environmental design as to why criminality within the space has dissipated. More than CPTED on its own ever

could be. My belief in the importance of engaging the community in CPTED design processes is similar to the findings of consultant Gregory Saville (2009) who chronicles the turnaround of San Romanoway, an apartment complex located in a historically high crime area of Toronto, pointing to the importance of the strategy that was employed called *SafeGrowth*, an alternative design strategy that looks to ensure that the quality of life for inhabitants is addressed through new facilities, engaging and empowering community leaders, and encouraging programs for residents to encourage social interaction. All this capacity-development was done in conjunction with the utilization of CPTED strategies to create a more vibrant and livable community, which drastically reduced most crime within the area. Saville explains how CPTED and other “allopathic” crime prevention strategies affect the symptoms of criminal behaviour, attempting to eliminate opportunities for crime yet not addressing the motives behind criminal activity or engaging in any real community building (Saville, 2009). This results in short term positive results, but lacks in any real systemic change to the overall ‘toxicity’ of dangerous environments, and minimal, if any reduced fear of crime by residents. Through surveys, round tables and the coming together of residents, community leaders and planning officials, as well as the implementation of CPTED strategies, *SafeGrowth* was able to reduce crime by considerable margins through the period of 2000 to 2006 (Saville, 2009). Both *SafeGrowth* and the Peel Youth Village followed an intensive and meticulous approach to community building that manifested itself over years. They were also identified as areas targeted for improvement through the local municipalities.

The above mentioned examples best exemplifies how CPTED can be best utilized to achieve the optimal desired use of space. Though I have addressed some aspects I feel can be problematic, there is a lot of potential for CPTED to become a very effective design strategy

while considerably minimizing, if not eliminating, some of the inherent bias and over-securitization issues. I do believe, as the limited studies have shown, that CPTED is effective at creating spaces more conducive to reducing opportunities for criminal activity and identifying those who still choose to engage in such behaviour. Issues arise when others not involved within such activity are caught up in resultant dragnet, and individuals are unfairly viewed as possible committers of illegal acts, with no evidence other than being in the “wrong place at the wrong time”. I am of the belief that any certification course or text that aims to demonstrate how to design using CPTED must devote attention to the ways in which race and class can affect human interpretation of criminality, both through specific acts of crime as well as interpretations of spaces and communities in relation to crime. If technicians gain an awareness of how certain strategies can affect different groups more than others, as well as different communities, ideas and designs put forth will minimize the problems that would otherwise arise and go unnoticed. A technician who is more aware of the biases inherent in natural surveillance, and understands the nuances of a community and the activities surrounding it is better equipped to ensure the security needs of any space are met without undue victimization to particular groups of people. Equally as important, implementing this consideration within CPTED training will allow a continuation and development of discourse that over time evolve into something much more fruitful than currently constructed.

Because CPTED is about designing an environment reduce instances of criminal activity, there is great potential for participation within that design process not only for clientele, but for all users of a given space, which may include peoples more likely to be affected by the strategies than others, given the current lack of race and class considerations earlier specified. Therefore, CPTED practitioners should aim to be less prescriptive in their assessments and seek ways to

include ideas from both clientele and the community at large. If currently not necessarily as feasible through smaller, private assessments of smaller spaces, a good starting point could be the larger, government funded or government assisted funded projects, such as the Peel Youth Village. In conjunction with the previous mentioned awareness of biases in security design, such extra consideration would help ensure the safety and security of everyone who utilizes space, not just consumers of the CPTED product.

The investment with the social issues of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design will yield overall strategies that can lay the groundwork for a less damaging, overall more positive experience for all users of any space at any given time. Given the increase in commercial “CPTED for hire” services available, where an assessment consists of nothing more than an assessment of the space, CPTED will only continue to produce moderately positive results, while the potentially discriminatory and exclusionary aspects of its strategies will continue to go unexamined. Given its potential, one hopes this does not remain constant.

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