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The Way Forward in Designing Out Crime? : Greater Manchester Police Design for Security Consultancy

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Brief Biography

Leanne has been working at the Applied Criminology Centre, University of Huddersfield since 2006 and has a particular research interest within the field of Designing out Crime and Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED). Leanne has worked on a number of research projects within this field and she has extensive experience of liaising and working with Architectural Liaison Officers (ALOs)/Crime Prevention Design Advisors (CPDAs) across England and Wales and was one of the key researchers commissioned by the Home Office and ACPO in 2009 to work on a research project to investigate the feasibility of a National Crime Prevention Service.

Abstract

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) aims to make the built environment less vulnerable to crime and disorder through its design. CPTED is applied in practice by Architectural Liaison Officers/Crime Prevention Design Advisors employed within each police force in England and Wales. Their aim is to advise built environment professionals (architects and planners) how opportunities for crime and disorder can be minimised through the design of a development without compromising on the design quality. This paper provides an overview of relevant literature and an example of one force's promising, but as yet unevaluated approach to embedding CPTED early in the planning process.

Key words; Architectural Liaison Officers; built environment; Crime Prevention Design Advisors; Crime Prevention through Environmental Design; Local Planning Authorities (LPAs).

Introduction

When designing a new residential housing development, an increasing number of factors have to be considered by the client (e.g. the architect or developer) to ensure that the planning application satisfies national and local planning requirements (see HMSO, 2010 and DCLG, 2010a). A recent and pertinent example of an agenda which has to be carefully considered and embedded in the design of new housing developments is the Code for Sustainable Homes, which seeks to promote sustainable and environmentally friendly development (DCLG, 2008). Additional factors which have to accompany a proposed planning application include ecological, flood risk and transport assessments (Manchester City Council, 2010).

Owing to the number of elements whose consideration is necessary to obtain planning permission, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (hereinafter CPTED) or attempting to design *out* crime and design *in* crime prevention may not be viewed as a priority by built environment professionals (such as architects and planners) and consequently not be incorporated. For those whose business is crime prevention, this can prove frustrating and can be seen to compromise the quality of life of future residents. The development may require additional funding to incorporate security measures retrospectively to try and curtail the problems, the cost extending to the aesthetics of the development, marred by add-on CCTV cameras and security furniture.

Content and Scope

This paper is predominantly a summary piece which encompasses a review of the relevant literature and policy documentation relating to CPTED and its application. The paper discusses: the importance of reducing crime by reducing the opportunities for it to occur; the importance of CPTED and its application and how CPTED can be embedded into the planning process. The paper provides an outline of how CPTED is delivered within Greater

Manchester by Greater Manchester Police (hereinafter GMP). It is important to note at this juncture, that the author is currently in the process of conducting an independent comprehensive evaluation of the delivery of CPTED in Greater Manchester which forms part of a doctoral thesis which will be completed in 2013. The paper concludes with a number of practice points. Experience to date has suggested some practice points which may be safely advanced for consideration, given their provisional status.

Overview of the literature

Reducing the Opportunity for Crime and Disorder

A number of theories including: Rational Choice Theory (Cornish & Clarke, 1986); Routine Activity Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979) and Crime Pattern Theory (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981) suggest that crime is committed in response to an opportunity. Referred to as New Opportunity Theories, they acknowledge that those so motivated will be encouraged to offend if they are presented with an opportunity. If the opportunities for crime and disorder are minimised, crime can be prevented.

Situational Crime Prevention (SCP) outlines mechanisms whereby such opportunities can be minimised, for example: by increasing the perceived effort of committing the crime or the perceived risks of committing the crime; by reducing the anticipated rewards or 'provocations'; or by removing excuses (Clarke, 1992). The argument that SCP displaces rather than prevents crime is not consistent with the evidence (Clarke, 2008; Johnson *et al* 2011). In some cases there is evidence that the implementation of SCP measures can be beneficial to the surrounding areas, yielding a 'diffusion of benefits' (Pease, 1991; Weisburd *et al*, 2006).

Reducing opportunities for crime as applied to the design and layout of the built environment is referred to as Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED).

The Importance of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED)

It is widely acknowledged that the design and the layout of the built environment can reduce the opportunity for crime and disorder to occur (Wood, 1961; Jacobs, 1961; Angel, 1968; Jeffery, 1971; Newman, 1973). The importance of CPTED is well evidenced and has

featured in many policy documents. A number of pertinent policy documents are listed in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Policy documents which reference CPTED

[Table 1 to go here – please see end of article]

The Application of CPTED

One practical application of CPTED in the United Kingdom is the Secured by Design (SBD) scheme. Owned and managed by the Association of Chief Police Officers, SBD encourages built environment professionals to design out crime at the pre-planning stage of a development. SBD accreditation is most commonly sought for social housing as developers receive a financial incentive if the housing is SBD accredited (Armitage & Everson, 2003).

The principles of SBD include:

- Ensuring individual properties have good *physical security* through the use of police accredited products (e.g: doors and windows);
- Ensuring there is maximum natural *surveillance*, without compromising privacy and;
- Limiting the number of *access* and *egress* points into and out of a housing development, reducing the opportunity of entering a housing estate unnecessarily.

As the five published evaluations of the SBD scheme suggest (Brown, 1999; Pascoe, 1999; Armitage, 2000; Teedon & Reid, 2009; Armitage & Monchuk, 2009) crime and the levels of fear of crime are lower on SBD developments compared to nearby developments which have not been built to the standard. Research by Armitage & Monchuk (2009) has also shown that in addition to providing a crime reduction advantage, SBD developments can sustain this advantage over a ten year trajectory. Nevertheless, the incorporation of CPTED into new residential housing design, especially private housing, remains uncommon (Armitage & Everson, 2003) and both academics and practitioners have expressed their concern regarding the lack of crime prevention consideration amongst those within the built environment professions (Colquhoun, 2004; Armitage, 2007; Schneider & Kitchen, 2007).

This concern is reflected in planning policy and as *Safer Places* (2004) outlines: “for far too long, too little attention has been paid by planners and designers to crime issues” (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004 pg. 5). Similarly, the Association of British Insurers argues that crime prevention should form an integral part of housing design “[as] we take it for granted that Building Regulations should make our homes and offices fire-proof. Why aren’t they required to be crime-proof too?” (2006, pg.4).

The Delivery of CPTED: The Role of Architectural Liaison Officers and Crime Prevention Design Advisors

CPTED is delivered across England and Wales by Architectural Liaison Officers (ALOs), also known as Crime Prevention Design Advisors (CPDAs). Located within each police force, it is the role of an ALO/CPDA to deliver crime prevention advice to built environment professionals and to deliver the SBD accreditation award. In 2004, the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister suggested that:

“for many [seeking crime prevention advice] there can be no better place to start than their local Architectural Liaison Officer or Crime Prevention Design Advisor” (2004, pg. 9).

A national evaluation of the role of ALOs and CPDAs was undertaken in 2009 by Wootton *et al.* This involved undertaking focus groups with ALOs and CPDAs from each police force within England and Wales and highlighted the fact that the delivery of CPTED varies significantly within and across forces.

Embedding CPTED into the Design of Residential Housing

As discussed above, incorporating CPTED into the design of a development can reduce levels of crime and disorder. However, for this to be executed successfully, CPTED must be embedded at the design, pre-planning or concept stage (Colquhoun, 2004; Schneider & Kitchen, 2007). This is reiterated in policy which states that:

“Once a development has been completed the main opportunity to incorporate crime prevention measures will have been lost. The costs involved in correcting or managing badly-designed developments are much greater than getting it right in the first place” (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004 pg. 7).

The importance of embedding CPTED at the design stage of a development is recommended in a plethora of academic literature and policy documentation, yet its implementation remains uncommon. As Kitchen (2010) observes “...*crime prevention when it is considered at all in the design process, is merely an afterthought*” (cited in ACPO Secured by Design, 2010 pg. 2). This can result in the creation of poorly designed developments presenting opportunities for crime and disorder to occur. This may then require alterations to the design retrospectively through the use of extensive target hardening.

Crime Prevention and the Planning Process

Unlike the Health and Safety Executive, the English Sports Council and local parish councils, the police are not named as a statutory consultee in national planning guidance (HMSO, 2010). There is therefore no national obligation for the client to contact the police for advice at the pre-planning stage. Wootton *et al* (2009) identified that the majority of ALOs/CPDAs in England and Wales are frustrated by this omission and consequently feel that they are involved too late in the planning process. In many instances, the ALO/CPDA may only be made aware of a planning application *after* the application has been formally submitted to the Local Planning Authority (LPA). Research undertaken by Kitchen & Morton (2005) and Wootton *et al* (2009) suggests that ALOs/CPDAs predominantly become informed about the submission of a planning application by viewing the weekly planning application lists via the LPA’s website and selecting or ‘cherry picking’ applications identified by the ALO/CPDA. As one ALO/CPDA stated:

“Pretty much a lot of developments will bypass us at the pre-planning stage and we won’t see much of it until it gets to the planning stage – the planning application - which is far too late down the line” (Wootton *et al*, 2009 pg. 28).

Receiving comments from the ALO/CPDA at such a late stage in the planning process can be frustrating and obtrusive for built environment professionals. Suggesting significant alterations to the design at this stage, when the plans are nearly finalised, may be problematic and delay the planning process. This is something which has been highlighted by the government in the Localism Bill (DCLG, 2011a). The Localism Bill proposes to make the planning system “...*clearer, more democratic, and more effective*” (DCLG, 2011a p. 10). The Bill also aims to reduce the number of “*community objections...often vociferously*

raised...resulting in a greater degree of conflict in the formal decision making stage, which can in turn lead to delays, withdrawn applications and refusals” (DCLG, 2011b p. 9). In an attempt to alleviate any objections made by the local community, the Bill proposes that developers consult the local community at the pre-planning stage of a proposed large scale development (DCLG, 2011). The developer will then be required to prepare and submit a ‘statement of community consultation’ as part of the planning application. Crime may be one topic which is raised by the local community and therefore be an aspect of the proposed design which the developer comes to consider.

In some instances (see Manchester City Council, 2010) LPAs have concluded that, although the police are not statutory consultees, involving the police in the design of proposed major residential housing developments is essential. It has therefore sought other mechanisms to embed CPTED into the planning and validation process. This is an example of the Local Authority’s duty to execute Section 17 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 which states that:

“...it shall be the duty of each authority...to exercise its various functions with due regard to the likely effect of the exercise of those functions on, and the need to do all that it reasonably can to prevent, crime and disorder in its area” (HMSO, 1998).

The remainder of this paper discusses how CPTED is delivered within Greater Manchester. Across the ten LPAs within Greater Manchester, the process and delivery of CPTED has been formalised and is an important consideration by the LPAs when considering the approval of major planning applications. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to Greater Manchester’s promising, but as yet unevaluated, approach to ensuring crime prevention advice is incorporated in the planning process in a timely way.

Greater Manchester Police Design for Security Consultancy (GMP DFSC)

Greater Manchester Police Design for Security Consultancyⁱ (GMP DFSC) is a design led consultancy based within Greater Manchester Police. Its aim is to work with built environment professionals (e.g. architects, planners, developers) at the *design* or *concept stage* of a development, and to highlight any areas of the proposed design which, from a security/crime prevention perspective, could encourage crime and disorder to occur once the development has been built. The key objectives of GMP DFSC are:

- To establish effective partnerships in order to develop the existing environment in a way that reduces opportunities for crime and the fear of crime to occur;
- To influence designers and developers to incorporate crime reduction measures into their projects;
- To identify the risks to individual developments and respond by providing appropriate crime reduction advice and
- To promote and administer the ACPO 'Secured by Design' and 'Safer Parking' schemes.

GMP DFSC currently comprises six consultants and one dedicated crime analyst. Staff are not warranted or retired police officers; they are civilian staff who have previously worked within the field of design, architecture and planning and who have received crime prevention training. As noted by Weatheritt (1986), many of those appointed to crime prevention posts are close to approaching their retirement from the police force. This was confirmed by the work undertaken by Wootton *et al* (2009) which highlighted that the role of an ALO/CPDA is one which is often filled by officers approaching their retirement or who have retired and who then return to the police as civilians. However, since 1990, the services of ALOs at Greater Manchester Police has been provided by built-environment professionals (Blyth, 1994).

The GMP DFSC consultants are co-located, working from a centralised location within Greater Manchester, from which each of the ten LPAs is served. As Wootton *et al* (2009) found, the majority of ALOs/CPDAs across England and Wales are not co-located but work independently within a defined geographical boundary e.g: a police division or local planning authority area. They may be based within an active police station; a police building or within the local authority which they serve.

GMP DFSCs seek to be involved from the inception of a proposed development. This ensures that CPTED recommendations are easily incorporated at the design stage, opposed to later in the planning and development process where recommendations made may be unachievable, too expensive to incorporate/implement and may impact upon the

development's design quality. In an attempt to engage architects and developers at the pre-planning stage and before plans are submitted to the LPAⁱⁱ, GMP DFSC has developed the Crime Impact Statement (CIS).

The Crime Impact Statement (CIS)

When a client (e.g a developer) wishes to apply for planning permission, an application is made to the LPA. In addition to submitting the planning application, which must adhere to national planning policy, each LPA stipulates additional information required to supplement the planning application locally. This additional information, which varies across LPAs in England and Wales, is outlined in a document called the Validation Checklist. If the applicant does not submit the relevant documentation outlined in the Validation Checklist, the progress of the planning application can be delayed or the application can be rejected.

In an attempt to embed CPTED into the planning and development process, GMP DFSC has developed the CIS and this has been in existence since 2006. It is stipulated within the Validation Checklist for all of the authorities within Greater Manchester, that a CISⁱⁱⁱ has to accompany *any* major planning application^{iv}. If a CIS is not submitted to the LPA along with the planning application, the application will not be validated and processed by the LPA. As mentioned previously, generally the advice of ALOs/CPDAs is sought when the applicant is proposing the development of social housing, thereby seeking to achieve SBD accreditation and its associated financial incentive. Within Greater Manchester, the CIS must be sought for **any** housing tenure – private or social. Although a CIS is required by all the LPAs in Greater Manchester and clients are informed that they can be compiled by GMP DFSC, there is no stipulation that the CIS' *must* be compiled by GMP DFSC.

The CIS comprises two elements:

- i. a consultation process and;
- ii. the compilation of a document entitled the Crime Impact Statement (CIS).

The CIS Process

For any residential planning application of more than ten dwellings, the client must contact GMP DFSC and provide a copy of the proposed plans. The allocated GMP DFSC consultant

then commences a thorough evaluation of the proposed development which may involve liaising with the client and other built environment professionals, undertaking a visit to the proposed development location (a site visit) and liaising with other relevant agencies and organisations (for example the local Neighbourhood Policing Team (NPT) and Counter Terrorism Unit (CTU)^v). In addition, GMP DFSC also compiles a Crime Pattern Analysis (CPA) which involves a detailed analysis of the levels of crime and disorder within the locality of the proposed development. This includes analysing *modus operandi* data. Based upon the CPA, the consultant is then able to formulate advice and recommendations and work in collaboration with the client to help them mitigate against any elements of the proposed design which could prove criminogenic. In addition to assessing the proposed development, the consultant will also assess the impact that the development could have on the community and the surrounding land uses.

The CIS document

The CIS document is the formal document compiled by a GMP DFSC consultant and which the client has to submit as part of a planning application. The CIS document will not include an *exact* commentary on the communication which has occurred between the consultant and the client (e.g.: attendance at meetings, discussions over telephone and e-mail, exchange of plans), but the CIS provides a description of the proposed development and will outline the main areas/issues which may be criminogenic and from a crime prevention/security perspective, need amending. The CIS confirms that the client has consulted with GMP DFSC at the pre-planning stage, that the associated crime risk of the proposed development has been assessed and that the police have had the opportunity to comment on the proposed plans and recommend alterations. A CIS document is therefore a synopsis of the CIS process. Once compiled, the CIS document is sent to the client and submitted alongside their planning application.

The aim of the CIS is to ensure that CPTED is considered and embedded at the design stage and consequently the planning process runs smoothly and efficiently opposed to there being any subsequent delays to the application process if, from a security/crime prevention perspective, there are concerns with the design of the development.

The process described above is displayed in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Process of compiling a Crime Impact Statement

[Figure 1 to go here – please see end of article]

GMP DFSC is a not-for-profit organisation but charges a fee for the service provided. Charging for services within this arena is common (for example see Urban Vision, 2010). The fee charged is based on the number of dwellings within the proposed development^{vi} and provides them with an income stream. In addition, GMP DFSC is also part funded by Greater Manchester Police.

Assessing the Impact

As described earlier, an extensive research study comprising a process and outcome evaluation is currently being undertaken by the author. The methodology consists of: semi-structured interviews with GMP DFSC consultants; semi structured interviews with representatives from each of the LPAs within Greater Manchester; interviews with clients who have requested a CIS and undertaking non-participant observation. Crucially, a number of residential developments, which have been subject to a CIS, have been built and resided in will be selected and the levels of crime and disorder will be analysed. Each of these developments will be matched with a similar sized development in the immediate vicinity to the CIS developments. The following datasets will be obtained for each site (the CIS development and the matched pair): i) police recorded crime data ii) visual audit data obtained from visiting each development and assessing visual signs of disorder iii) obtaining anecdotal information (information which may not be reflected in the crime statistics) from the local Neighbourhood Policing Team and iv) residents living within the selected developments will be invited to complete a questionnaire to assess their levels of fear of crime and elicit any crime or anti-social behaviour which may have been unreported to the police.

Emerging Issues

It is premature to report any indicative findings at this stage in the evaluation; nevertheless, there are a number of areas which have been identified whilst undertaking non-participant observation which warrant further investigation and clarification.

Local Knowledge

All of the GMP DFSC consultants work from a centralised location. This is advantageous to ensure consistency and communication amongst the consultants, however one could argue that this is also a limitation. Although the consultants undertake a visual audit in and around the location of the proposed development, police recorded crime statistics are relied upon whilst compiling the CIS. As Clarke & Eck (2003) suggest, an important aspect of problem solving is to elicit local, anecdotal information from communicating with local officers which can provide invaluable information about emerging crime trends as and when they happen and changes in *modus operandi*. Often, the numbers of incidents reported to the police are only a small proportion of the total number of incidents that have occurred. This is often referred to as 'the dark figure of crime' (Home Office, 2006). It is important that local crime information is sourced to complement the police recorded crime data.

Monitoring Development Progress and Management

Once a CIS is completed and GMP DFSC has been consulted on the planning application, there is no systematic monitoring regarding whether the development has been built; when the development has been occupied; whether the development is being managed adequately and whether there have been any subsequent crime and disorder problems. The effective management and maintenance of SBD developments has been highlighted as an area for improvement for SBD (Armitage, 2000; Armitage & Monchuk, 2009) and could be considered by GMP DFSC.

Discussion and Conclusions

Although research has shown that residential developments built to SBD accreditation standards experience less crime and disorder than those which have not, there still remains the frustration that CPTED is not considered early enough in the planning process and that it is rarely considered at all within the private sector housing market. Through the CIS, Greater

Manchester Police has attempted to embed CPTED into local planning policy using the local Validation Checklist and the CIS as the mechanisms to do this. Although a summary of the application of CPTED within Greater Manchester has been outlined within this paper, it is important to note that the author is not advocating that the role of an ALO/CPDA should be civilianised throughout other forces in England and Wales. This approach was adopted in 1990 by Greater Manchester Police and has remained. However, the charging for the design service, and production of the CIS, which is provided by GMP DFSC is something which could be considered and replicated by other forces to regain staff costs in the current economic climate.

Implications for policy and practice

- Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) can reduce levels of crime and disorder.
- Embedding CPTED into local planning policy can ensure that it is incorporated at the design stage.
- If embedded early, CPTED can be incorporated discreetly without detracting from the aesthetics of the development and the need for extensive and overt target hardening measures, consequently improving the overall sustainability of the development.
- LPAs can execute their duty under Section 17 of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 by stipulating the involvement of ALOs and CPDAs within their local planning policy.
- Adopting and formalising a process to embed CPTED into local planning policy requires a more consistent approach from police forces and may require additional staffing resources.
- The cost of additional staffing resources can be subsidised by making the consultations between the client and the police a chargeable service. Consequently reducing the financial cost to the police service.

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ⁱ Greater Manchester Police Design for Security Consultancy (GMP DFSC) was previously referred to as Greater Manchester Police Architectural Liaison Unit (GMP ALU). The name was changed in April 2009 in an attempt to better reflect the consultancy service that they provide. Those delivering the service are referred to as consultants, whereas in other forces they are referred to as Architectural Liaison Officers (ALOs) or Crime Prevention Design Advisors (CPDAs).

ⁱⁱ There are ten Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) within Greater Manchester. These are: Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan.

ⁱⁱⁱ Some LPAs refer to this as a Crime Risk Assessment.

^{iv} CIS' are required for residential, commercial and mixed-use planning applications.

^v This list is not exhaustive.

^{vi} For residential CIS' there is a £30 charge for each unit/dwelling with a development. For a proposed development consisting of 35 units, the cost of a CIS would be $35 \times 30 = £1050$. There is a minimum fee of £500 applicable to any residential scheme and a maximum fee of £10,000. See <http://designforsecurity.org/crime-impact-statements/service-charges/> for more information and for information regarding charges for commercial and mixed use CIS'.

Table 1: Policy Documents which reference CPTED

| Name of Policy Document | Publisher | Year | Reference to CPTED |
|--|---|------|--|
| Safer Places | Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (OPDM) | 2004 | Argues that seeking and incorporating crime prevention techniques should form part of the planning process. |
| Planning Policy Statement 1 (PPS1): Delivering Sustainable Development | Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (OPDM) | 2005 | States that developments should <i>"...create safe and accessible environments where crime and disorder or fear of crime does not undermine quality of life or community cohesion..."</i> (pg. 15). |
| Manual for Streets | Department for Transport | 2007 | Acknowledges that the design and layout of a residential area can have an impact on crime and disorder and outlines how areas can be designed to ensure that they are safe for those who use them. |
| World Class Places: The Government's Strategy for Improving Quality of Place | Department for Communities and Local Government | 2009 | Discusses the importance of ensuring that developments are carefully designed to ensure they do not encourage crime and disorder: <i>"Bad planning and design and careless maintenance encourage crime"</i> (pg. 6). |

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| <i>Planning Statement 3 Housing</i> | <i>Policy (PPS3):</i> | Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (OPDM) | 2010 | <i>Local Planning Authorities should ...develop design policies that set out the quality of development that will be expected for the local area, aimed at: – Creating places, streets and spaces which meet the needs of people, are visually attractive, safe...” (pg. 8).</i> |
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Figure 1: Process of compiling a Crime Impact Statement

