

## CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH URBAN DESIGN AND PLANNING – A PRACTITIONER’S VIEW

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### Summary

Crime Prevention Through Urban Design And Planning (CP-UDP), also called CPTED – Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design, builds on a body of theory and practice, that dates back to the 1960s and 1970s in the US, and to some degree also on safety measures of cities far back in human history before the modern movement of planning and architecture did away with a lot of it, starting about a hundred years ago. In the 1990s CP-UDP came to continental Europe in the form of guidelines (Denmark, Danish Standards) and a certification programme (the Netherlands, The Police Label Safe Housing). These initiatives led to the CEN 14383 series of European standards and the EU COST TU 1203 network, which is now being transformed into ICPN (the International Crime Prevention Network). Worldwide, since the 1990s there has also been the International CPTED Association, ICA, that promotes further development in the field together with many other organisations and institutions. In a few countries (e.g. UK, the Netherlands and France) parts of CP-UDP is demanded by law, but in most countries it is still voluntary and needs a constant focus to happen.

CP-UDP is founded on the notions that crime prevention can be strengthened through the built environment without building gated communities, while instead focusing on reducing opportunity for crime and promoting a civilized social behaviour as well as reducing fear of crime. The latter, fear of crime, can develop partly independently of the level of crime and therefore also has to be considered on its own in CP-UDP if necessary. In Scandinavia today, there is a political focus on fear of crime (as feelings) while the crime reducing aspects of the built environment (as actual risk reduction) are not always taken care of.

CP-UDP has gone through several stages of development. In North America, Australia and New Zealand there is 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> generation of CPTED including gradually more social and sustainability aspects to the degree that CPTED 3<sup>rd</sup> generation becomes the same as good planning and design practices generally with the risk of weakening CP-UDP as a complex knowledge and specialist field on its own. In Europe, CP-UDP has developed from normative guidance rules to be used in a rather general way in a process oriented approach that includes all the relevant stakeholders and stages of planning, design and management, and further in the place specific approaches that considers that crime and fear of crime are very unevenly distributed in the urban environment.

This contribution to Belgrade conference will, based upon the initial notions above, cover some practical experiences with recent use of CP-UDP in Sweden and Denmark. It will

start out from the CP-UDP progress circle in 7 steps first presented in Stockholm in 2015: CP-UDP research, CP-UDP professionalism, official backing of CP-UDP, CP-UDP education, integration of CP-UDP into the planning and design systems, CP-UDP data access, and CP-UDP place adaption of solutions.<sup>1</sup>

Taking this progress circle as 7 important steps to reflect on, the contribution will use 4 examples for a discussion on the use of CP-UDP. The author has been personally involved in all of them at some stages:

1. Hammarby Sjöstad in Stockholm, a new large development by the seaside, being there for 20 years (recently completed), partly inspired by the CEN 14383 guidelines, partly by a Stockholm new-urbanism concept that continues to be used even in other locations inside Stockholm.<sup>2</sup>

2. Gellerup in Aarhus, Denmark, a modernist suburban 1970s development, with a large immigrant population, under reconstruction since 2008 with large built environment changes including a new main street, light rail and a new mix of urban functions. In the area the inhabitants voted in favour of demolishing some of their dwelling to open up for the reconstruction. The development has gone through several steps and is still in progress.<sup>3</sup>

3. Bispehaven in Aarhus, Denmark, a modernist suburban 1970s development, with a large immigrant population, to be reconstructed from 2017 (safety improvement bidder competition with project solutions in 2016). This redevelopment, although not as large as in Gellerup, is more complex and difficult in its initial conditions and many difficult CP-UDP issues came up in the programming and bidding process that shows that place based CP-UDP has to be negotiated and compromises found.<sup>4</sup>

4. Tingbjerg in Copenhagen, Denmark, a partly modernist suburban 1950s development, with a large immigrant population, to be reconstructed. In 2015 the City of Copenhagen in cooperation with 2 housing companies developed and decided upon a strategic redevelopment including major infrastructure changes to break the areas character as an isolated enclave. The project is complex, e.g. because it is bordering another municipality, because of architectural heritage issues and because of weak interests of private developers to invest in a problem area.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.veilig-ontwerp-beheer.nl/publicaties/crime-prevention-trough-urban-design-and-planning-in-denmark/view>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.veilig-ontwerp-beheer.nl/publicaties/is-hammarby-sjostad-a-model-case/view>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.veilig-ontwerp-beheer.nl/publicaties/crime-prevention-trough-urban-design-and-planning-in-denmark/view>

<sup>4</sup> <http://stiften.dk/aarhus/Bispehaven-skifter-navn-og-bliver-renoveret-for-millioner/artikel/432532> (newspaper article in Danish [novinski članak na danskom jeziku]; <http://www.niras.dk/aktuelt/nyheder/2017/bispehaven-i-aarhus-faar-en-hjaelpende-tryghedshaand.aspx> (news on winning project, in Danish [novosti o pobedničkom projektu, na danskom jeziku]; <http://www.oestjyskbolig.dk/tryghed-i-bispehaven> (Housing company homepage, in Danish) [http://www.oestjyskbolig.dk/Files/Images/2017-01-Januar/PrAesentationBispehaven\\_170112\\_lille.pdf](http://www.oestjyskbolig.dk/Files/Images/2017-01-Januar/PrAesentationBispehaven_170112_lille.pdf) (presentation of winning project, in Danish [prezentacija pobedničkog projekta, na danskom])).

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/Tingbjerg-husum byudviklingsstrategi web.pdf](https://www.kk.dk/sites/default/files/uploaded-files/Tingbjerg-husum%20byudviklingsstrategi%20web.pdf) (Tingbjerg strategic plan, in Danish)

The effect of CP-UDP in Hammarby Sjöstad has been evaluated and found mostly appropriate, while the other 3 examples have not been evaluated yet as they are still under redevelopment. Concerning cost-benefit, there is still not much evidence anywhere, except on burglary prevention by locks, bolts and gates.

In conclusion, CP-UDP is developing in practice in Northern Europe but often in a “two step forward/one step backward” kind of way. The use of CP-UDP in practice is complex and many different issues have to be considered and compromises made to be able to reduce crime and fear of crime in the built environment in a place specific way.<sup>1</sup>

**Keywords:** *CP-UDP, CPTED, Scandinavia, practice, compromises*

## PREVENCIJA KRIMINALA POMOĆU URBANISTIČKOG PLANIRANJA – VIDENJE PRAKTIČARA

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### Sažetak

Crime Prevention Through Urban Design and Planning [Sprečavanje kriminaliteta urbanističkim projektovanjem i planiranjem] (CP-UDP), takođe zvano CPTED – Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design [Sprečavanje kriminaliteta oblikovanjem okruženja], nadograđuje korpus teorije i prakse koji seže do 1960-ih i 1970-ih godina u SAD, a u nekom stepenu i mere sigurnosti gradova daleko unazad kroz istoriju čoveka pre nego što je to umnogome izradio moderni pokret [urbanističkog] planiranja i arhitekture, započinjući pre stotinak godina. Tokom 1990-ih CP-UDP je došao do kontinentalne Evrope u obliku smernica (Danska, Danski standardi) i programa certifikacije (Holandija, Policijska oznaka sigurnog stanovanja). Ove inicijative su vodile nizu CEN 14383 evropskih standarda i mreži

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<sup>1</sup> For more general info on the author and CP-UDP see [za opšte informacije o autoru i CP-UDP-u videti]:  
<http://www.veilig-ontwerp-beheer.nl/publicaties/improving-safety-from-crime-in-streets-and-public-spaces/>  
[http://www.cpted.net/Resources/Documents/ICACConf/2013/Scandinavian\\_CPTED\\_revised19-08-2013.pdf](http://www.cpted.net/Resources/Documents/ICACConf/2013/Scandinavian_CPTED_revised19-08-2013.pdf)  
<http://costtu1203.eu/>  
<https://safecitiesblog.wordpress.com/>

EU COST TU 1203, koja se sada pretvara u ICPN (International Crime Prevention Network – Međunarodna mreža za sprečavanje kriminala). Širom sveta je od 1990-ih postojalo i Međunarodno udruženje CPTED, ICA, koje se zalaže za dalji razvoj u tom polju, zajedno s mnogim drugim organizacijama i ustanovama. U nekoliko zemalja (npr. Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, Holandiji i Francuskoj) delove CP-UDP-a nalaže zakon/pravo, ali je u većini zemalja još dobrovoljan i potrebna mu je neprestana pažnja.

CP-UDP se zasniva na predstavi da se sprečavanje zločina/kriminala može osnažiti pomoću izgrađenog okruženja bez stvaranja ograđenih zajednica, usredsređujući se, umesto toga, na umanjivanje prilika za kriminalitet/zločin i zalažući se za civilizovano društveno ponašanje, kao i umanjivanje straha od zločina. Ovo poslednje, strah od zločina, može se delimično razvijati i nezavisno od stope kriminaliteta i, prema tome, takođe se u CP-UDP-u mora razmatrati sâm po sebi, ako je to potrebno. Danas je u Skandinaviji političko težište na strahu od zločina (kao osećanjima), mada se ne obazire uvek na aspekte izgrađenog okruženja koji umanjuju kriminalitet (poput stvarnog sniženja rizika).

CP-UDP je prošao kroz nekoliko stupnjeva razvoja. U Severnoj Americi, Australiji i na Novom Zelandu postoje 1, 2. i 3. generacija CPTED-a, sve više postepeno uključujući društvene i aspekte održivosti, sve do mere gde CPTED 3. generacije postaje isto što i dobre prakse planiranja i projektovanja, uopšteno uz rizik od slabljenja CP-UDP-a, kao složenog znanja i specijalističkog područja samog po sebi. U Evropi se CP-UDP razvio iz normativnih smernica kako bi se koristio na prilično uopšten način u procesno nastrojenom pristupu koji uključuje sve relevantne aktore i stupnjeve planiranja, projektovanja i upravljanja, te, nadalje, u prostorno specifičnim pristupima, a koji smatra da su kriminalitet i strah od zločina vrlo neravnomerno raspoređeni u gradskom okruženju.

Ovaj prilog Beogradskoj konferenciji, zasnivajući se na prethodnim polaznim pojmovima, obuhvatiće neka praktična iskustva s nedavnim korišćenjem CP-UDP-a u Švedskoj i Danskoj. Započeće od ciklusa napredovanja CP-UDP-a u 7 koraka, što je isprva predstavljeno u Stokholmu 2015. godine: istraživanje u okviru CP-UDP-a, stručnost CP-UDP-a, zvanična podrška CP-UDP-u, obrazovanje za CP-UDP, uključivanje CP-UDP-a u sisteme planiranja i projektovanja, pristup podacima CP-UDP-a, te lokalno prilagođavanje rešenja CP-UDP-a.<sup>1</sup>

Poimajući ovaj ciklus napredovanja kao 7 važnih koraka o kojima valja razmišljati, prilog će koristiti 4 primera za raspravu o upotrebljavanju CP-UDP-a. Autor je na nekim stupnjevima bio lično uključen u sve njih:

1. Hammarbi Sjestad u Stokholmu, nov veliki razvojni projekt pored morske obale, odvijajući se tokom 20 godina (nedavno dovršen), nadahnut delimično smernicama CEN 14383, a delimično stokholmskim konceptom novog urbanizma, koji se i dalje koristi, čak i na drugim mestima unutar Stokholma.<sup>2</sup>

2. Gelerup u Arhusu, Danska, modernističko prigradsko naselje iz 1970-ih, s velikom useljeničkom populacijom, koje se rekonstruiše od 2008. godine, s velikim promenama u izgrađenom okruženju, uključujući novu glavnu ulicu, laku železnicu i novu mešavinu gradskih funkcija. U toj zoni su stanovnici glasali u korist rušenja jednog dela stambenih objekata da bi otvorili mogućnost za rekonstrukciju. Taj put razvojne obnove naselja prešao je nekoliko koraka i još je u toku.<sup>3</sup>

3. Bispehaven u Arhusu, Danska, modernističko predgrađe iz 1970-ih, sa brojnim useljeničkim stanovništvom, koje bi trebalo da se rekonstruiše od 2017. godine (konkursno nadmetanje u poboljšanju sigurnosti s projektnim rešenjima u 2016). Ovaj projekt obnove, premda ne toliko velik kao u Gelerupu, složeniji je i teži prema svojim početnim uslovima, a mnoga teška pitanja CP-UDP-a iskrsla su prilikom procesa programiranja i konkursa, što pokazuje da se oko prostorno zasnovanog CP-UDP-a mora pregovarati i naći kompromisi.<sup>4</sup>

4. Tingbjerg u Kopenhagu, Danska, delimično modernističko predgrađe iz 1950-ih godina, sa brojnim useljeničkim stanovništvom, koje bi trebalo rekonstruisati. Godine 2015. Grad Kopenhagen u saradnji sa dva stambena preduzeća razradio je i opredelio se za stratešku obnovu, uključujući promene glavne infrastrukture kako bi se presekle oblasti označene kao izdvojene enklave. Projekt je složen, npr. zato što se graniči sa drugom opštinom, zbog pitanja arhitektonskog nasleđa i usled slabog interesovanja privatnih preduzimača da ulože u problematičnu zonu.<sup>5</sup>

Vrednovan je učinak CP-UDP-a u Hamarbi Sjestadu i ocenjen kao vrlo prikladan, dok druga tri primera još nisu procenjivana, pošto su i dalje u projektu obnove. U pogledu analize troškova i koristi još nigde nema mnogo svedočanstava, osim o sprečavanju krađe katan-cima, bravama i kapijama.

U zaključku, CP-UDP se u praksi razvija u severnoj Evropi, ali često na način „dva koraka napred, korak nazad“. Korišćenje CP-UDP-a u praksi složeno je i moraju da se razmotre mnoga različita pitanja te učine kompromisi kako bi se kriminalitet i strah od zločina u izgrađenom okruženju mogao umanjiti na prostorno specifičan način.<sup>6</sup>

**Ključne reči:** *CP-UDP, CPTED, Skandinavija, praksa, kompromisi*