



Universiteit Leiden

MASTER THESIS

Divergence or Convergence in Agenda Setting in Metropolises in the UK?

*The meaning of environmental design theories in the stated policy
objectives of urban governance plans.*

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Abstract

Urban governance of crime and disorder has become a key contemporary challenge due to the impacts of globalization, mobility of populations and increasing population size in urban areas. Security within cities is no longer the sole responsibility of the state, but has spread to include multiple actors and organizations. A prime example is in the United Kingdom under the Localism Act 2011, which decentralized decision-making powers from central government control towards individuals and local communities. Furthermore, there has been a move to provide local actors with increased control over the governance of crime and disorder. An example being the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners, who are responsible for developing policing strategies and crime plans for their localities. In some cities in the United Kingdom, namely London, Mayoral figures also play a key role in the agenda setting of policy objectives regarding city governance. Policy objectives regarding the development of infrastructure and the environment of a city are stated within local plans. These plans outline the strategies and goals to ensure a safe and sustainable living environment for residents and are developed by local administrations. The use of urban design is used not only as a method of improving lifestyles of citizens, but also a key aspect of security provision in the reduction of crime and social disorder. Modifications to the natural and built environment have long been recognized as an approach by which to change the routines of offenders and victims so to reduce the presence of crime and disorder. More recently this has become known as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) theory. This research aims to determine the extent to which environmental design is used within current governance agendas and stated policy objectives regarding security within the city context. A comparative analysis between two different cities in the United Kingdom has been carried out to determine the use of environmental design theory within policy-making agendas at the local level. This was achieved through the evaluation of the extent to which indicators of CPTED theory can be found within local policy plans in the cities of London and Sheffield. This research allows for a new insight into the governing methods of local political leaders and the exploration of how urban design is incorporated among governance agendas to improve security at the localized level.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

An urban environment more specifically describes settlements with a high population density and a built infrastructure; these areas are created through the movement of populations to areas that provide economic, social and cultural benefits (Devroe, 2012b; Garland, 2001). The urban environment is an integral part of cities' social, political, economic and cultural foundations and therefore security within these areas is regarded of extreme importance (Cozens, 2011). Population increase and the movement of people to urban spaces is leading to the swelling of populations within cities and this is increasing the risk for accidents and disasters and is placing immense strain on infrastructure, services and resources (The Economist, 2015). To put this into perspective, it has been stated that populations within urban areas could increase by sixty percent by the year 2030 (van Ginkel & Marcotullio, 2007 in Cozens and Love, 2015).

The increase of populations living in urban areas can induce constraints on resource acquisition such as housing, education and employment for certain groups of individuals, which can lead to increased security issues (Devroe, 2012b; Garland, 2001). Furthermore, social issues such as cultural discrimination and an increasing untrusting society has led to decline in social cohesion within cities (Devroe, 2012b). The level of crime and disorder is known to be higher in inner city areas, compared with rural areas; this is attributed to increased opportunity to commit crime and the higher likelihood of availability of targets for crime (Cozens and Love, 2015; Devroe, 2012b, 2013; Raco, 2007). With this increase in urbanization, safety and security have become prime concerns for societies and especially for those who have the responsibility to provide this, more specifically local governments (Devroe, 2012b; Garland, 2001; Raco, 2007). Furthermore, the issue of crime and disorder in urban areas has become a contemporary challenge in the bid to ensure urban areas are 'sustainable' and 'safe' (Cozens, 2011: 481). A sustainable community is one that encompasses low levels of crime and disorder, as well as being perceived as safe by residents (Cozens, 2011). A community that is not sustainable is one that includes high levels of poverty, pollution, crime and disorder and whereby the fear of crime by residents is high

(Cozens, 2011). The Safe City Index¹ shows the ever-growing importance of a secure environment for those residing in urban areas and the popularity of large cities, which are able to provide a safe and sustainable residence (The Economist, 2015).

1.1 Governance of crime and disorder at the city level

It has been widely recognized that the decentralization of state and sovereign control has been spread horizontally to include other governing actors (Garland, 1996; 2001; Edwards & Prins, 2014). This has led to significant changes at the local governance level (Devroe, 2013; 2015; Garland, 1996; 2001). City regions are becoming significant centres of power and the impacts of globalisation is leading to changes within political, cultural and economic aspects of these urban spaces (Devroe, 2013). These processes are leading to divergent security issues and the need for responses at the local level to ensure citizen safety. It has become important for local leaders to ensure cities support thriving economies and sustain cultural diversity and growth, yet sustain one of their prime responsibilities; safeguarding of populations and the provision of services and systems that support quality of life (Devroe, 2012b). Further to this, local governance actors have been given additional responsibility to customize their own policy agendas and accountability for funding, in the wake of continued budget cuts (Edwards & Prins, 2014). The realisation that the understanding of crime lies within social issues such as unemployment and poor living conditions is becoming more widely acknowledged (Devroe, 2012b). Additionally, further understanding towards the underlying criminological theories of crime; more specifically modifying the environment to change offender and victim routines, are becoming more widely apparent in the provision of safety and security (Cozens, 2011; Cozens & Love, 2015; Felson & Clarke, 1998; Home Office, 2004). Crime is recognized as not a problem that stands alone but encompasses a range of social, cultural and economic conditions that need to be embattled in order to improve safety and social disorder. Therefore the urban space has become an increasingly important objective of governance (Devroe, Edwards and Ponsaers, 2017).

¹ Safety is determined across four categories: digital, health, safety through infrastructure and personal safety (The Economist, 2015). It describes how safety is closely linked to more well-developed markets as infrastructure and digital means are likely to be more resilient against increasing threats such as natural disasters and terrorism, as well as new threats linked to cybercrime (The Economist, 2015).

1.1.1. Environmental design theories and urban governance

The understanding of governance can be described as the actions whereby society is steered and societal issues are undertaken by governing representatives who are responsible for the safety of communities (Garland 2001; Raco, 2007). Governance is no longer solely the responsibility of a top-down approach of the national government; rather it has become the responsibility of a multitude of public and private actors, structured upon a horizontal level (Edwards & Prins, 2014). With these changes in urban governance structures, comes the changes in approaches of governance in relation to the security aspect; more specifically crime and disorder. The contemporary approaches to crime management within the urban environment has its roots in a number of well-renowned criminological perspectives (Clarke, 1997; Cohen & Felson, 1979). More specifically that the occurrence of crime in time and space is not random and behaviour is dependent on certain situational factors within the environment (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Clarke, 1997). The importance of the relationship between an offender's perspective, routines and the environment have therefore become inexplicably linked in the situational management of crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cozens, 2016; Clarke, 1997). The management of crime is inclusive of methods that alter the perspectives of criminals through changes in routines of both criminals and targets. This has been achieved by alterations to the natural and built environment; more precisely known as environmental design theories of crime (Jacobs, 1961, Newman, 1972; Reynald, 2014). Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) has become a significant present-day approach in the management of safety and prevention of crime in urban areas (Cozens, 2015). The principles of CPTED aim to limit the opportunity for persons to commit undesirable behaviour through the use of surveillance, territoriality, access control, target hardening, activity support and maintenance (Cozens, 2014). These principles will be explained in detail in the theoretical background section of this thesis.

1.1.2. Politics and Criminology

The political atmosphere in Europe over the past twenty years has seen an increasing move towards the provision of local governing actors to assume more power over urban governance agendas and crime prevention in cities (Devroe, 2013; Edwards & Prins, 2014). In 2010, the general election in the United Kingdom established the collation between the

Conservative party and the Liberal Democrats (Edward & Prins, 2014). One of the priorities within their governance agendas was to set out to reform the existing police authorities by electing officials known as Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC's). This became legislative with the introduction of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011 (Jones & Lister, 2015; Police Reform and Responsibility Act, 2011). This allowed locally elected officials to assume responsibility and accountability for introducing strategies to manage crime and disorder within their communities (Edward & Prins, 2014). Furthermore, it was claimed that the introduction of PCC's would encourage reconnections with the public and responsibility of policing would return to '*locally-derived democratic mandates*' (Jones & Lister, 2015: 258). The election of PCC's reflects a reversal of centralisation of police forces as in previous decades and allowed for the regulation of crime and the responsibility over budgets to be given to local policing authorities (Jones & Lister, 2015). With the introduction of PCC's, local governance actors such as Mayors assume less power and control over crime management strategies and delivery of policing resources; instead these responsibilities lie with the PCC representative and the Chief Constables within an area. It is the PCC's choice to decide upon budget referrals, choice of partnerships in the community and the issuing of a Police and Crime Plan. Separate arrangements exist within London, the capital of England, in which the locally elected Mayor also assumes the responsibility of PCC (Police and Reform Responsibility Act, 2011).

Following the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, local governments have statutory responsibility to govern over crime and disorder within their localities (Jones & Lister, 2015). The Act made it obligatory for the '*development of multi-agency crime reduction partnerships*' involving government bodies and local partnerships working collectively to manage urban crime (Jones & Lister, 2015: 249). Some have termed this policing '*through*' the government, as activities are state funded, but provided by other organizations (Loader, 2000: 324). It has become adequate that institutes other than the government regulate their own policing requirements and to select their own sources for particular local needs (Jones & Lister, 2015). This suggests that policing systems in England are being encouraged to become more '*pluralized*' so that policing functions and law enforcement is spread to include multiple organisations and actors (Devroe, 1015; Devroe at al., 2017; Jones & Lister, 2015: 245). This has been attributed to the growth of the '*commercial security industry*' and austerity

measures by local governments, which have encouraged the sharing of resources and responsibilities (Jones & Lister, 2015: 245). It was anticipated that the introduction of PCC's would encourage the further creation of partnerships with local private entities and therefore the increasing pluralisation of policing in the fight against crime. Jones (2015) argues that so far there is little evidence for this and that the introduction of PCC's has slowed pluralisation in regards to the outsourcing to private actors. This could however change in the future with further budget cuts and the need for fiscal support and resources from private institutions (Jones & Lister, 2015). It can be viewed that the introduction PCC's has encouraged a level of localism by which budgets, resources and priorities are managed by local governing police commissioners, however with time the continuation of pluralization in which cooperative management of security and crime control lies with a multitude of private and public institutions will likely increase, due to the changes in security threats and budget controls.

1.2. Academic Relevance

The importance of local governing actors in the establishment of policy objectives related to crime management, is becoming more apparent, especially in England, whereby locally elected officials are increasingly responsible for the management of crime in the urban environment (Devroe, 2013; Edwards & Prins, 2014; Jones & Lister, 2015). In the current climate in England, the election of PCC's has meant that methods of crime management have become the responsibility of local police leaders. Furthermore, in some areas in England, such as London, the Mayor assumes responsibility for this and for governing agendas over safety and security. These local actors have increasing control of establishing approaches of crime prevention specific to their areas and the opportunity to establish partnerships with other local organisations. It is therefore significant to question how the methods of governance by locally elected representatives are incorporating methods of crime prevention within their policy objectives. The contribution of environmental design theories of crime in the city context, are mostly researched in regards to changes within the environment and the impacts upon the presence of crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Clarke, 1997). However, there lies a gap in the research towards the extent to which urban governance actors are incorporating such concepts within their governing agendas. It is

significant to highlight that the priorities and decisions of such actors, impacts the quality of life and safety of communities and therefore this is an important avenue of enquiry to explore. This research contributes to the existing literature by considering the political context and governance agendas within the urban environment. It allows for the study of criminological assumptions upon agenda setting of local governing actors; a supposition not yet explored in prior literature. The purpose of this research is to explore whether stated policy objectives are encompassing an increasingly holistic approach to the maintenance of crime in cities, through the use of methods of crime prevention through environmental design. Furthermore, how the convergence and divergence between contexts can be explained.

1.3. Societal Relevance

Governance of crime and disorder within the urban environment has become an important theme among research regarding public policy and maintenance of urban areas over the past two decades (Devroe, 2013; Edwards & Prins, 2014; Garland, 2001). The expansion of city populations and the increased mobility of goods, services and people due to globalisation, have inevitably influenced social interactions and the expanding of cultural diversity, which has transformed overall quality of life (Devroe, 2012b; Garland, 2001). Criminals are more likely to reside in cities where there is increased opportunity to commit crime and social cohesion is lower (Devroe, 2013). The management of the urban space and the provision of safety are therefore high on the agenda of local governance actors. This research is significant in providing explanations and insight into the policy objectives of urban governance, to examine how governing actors are dealing with such issues and whether the theoretical underpinnings towards understanding the causes of crime, are moulding political agendas. The rising population of the world is a very real threat to the safety and sustainability of cities (Cozens, 211; Devroe 2012b). Therefore, it is significant to determine whether governance agendas are establishing successful and sustainable means by which to ensure a safe and secure environment in the wake of such pressures such as population increase, urbanisation and budget cuts (Edwards & Prins, 2014).

1.4. Research Question

The purpose of this research is to explain the link between stated policy objectives and environmental design theories that exist within local policy agendas in the UK, more specifically England. The research will test environmental design theory to establish to what extent the scope of principles within this theory can be found within urban policies and how their presence can be explained. It will establish insight into the urban governance agendas towards the management of urban safety and security in cities. The research will be conducted through case study design of two cities within England. This study will apply the indicators relating to the theory of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), to better understand tendencies within local policy agendas within the cities of London and Sheffield.

The central research question is:

How can environmental design theories explain convergence or divergence in agenda setting in two Metropolises in the UK?

1.5. Format of Thesis

The format of this thesis determines a logical approach to answering the research question. The introduction provided background into the urban governance approaches towards safety and security within cities, as well as stating the research question and the societal and academic relevance of conducting this research. Chapter 2 of this thesis provides the theoretical background. This is two-fold and will establish firstly the agenda setting influences of local governors towards stated policy goals in urban governance programs and secondly will outline the etiological understanding of crime and its occurrence in the urban context. Also in this section, urban governance issues will be discussed which will allow for an improved understanding of how policy making occurs and whether the underpinnings of crime theories are encompassed within policy objectives. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology section and will establish the design and context of the study to ensure that data collection and data exploitation is relevant and applicable to answering the research question. Furthermore, sub-questions will be proposed to provide an in-depth investigation of the overall research question. Chapter 4 of the thesis will provide the results generated

from the empirical study and will establish the extent of the presence of environmental design theory within stated policy objectives of the cases. In the conclusion of this chapter I will answer the research question. Lastly, Chapter 5, the discussion, will provide some shortcoming of the study and will provide some ideas for future research and recommendations

Chapter 2. Theoretical Background

The theoretical background chapter is two-fold; it will outline the policy agenda setting theory using Kingdon (2011) and Stone (1989). The aetiologies of crime and disorder will also be explained, more precisely defining environmental design theories and how modifying the environment can influence the presence of crime. This chapter will first establish the governance issues regarding crime and disorder in cities and move on to agenda setting theory and the aetiologies of crime. This allows for a logical approach to understanding governance within the urban context and a better understanding of political agenda setting and the underlying causes of crime within cities.

2.1. From Government to Governance

It has been widely recognized that the decentralization of state and sovereign control, has been spread to include other governing actors (Edwards & Prins, 2014). The state is no longer the core centre for analysis and the focus has moved towards the examination of the practices of local governing actors and their agenda setting objectives that influence the regulation of society (Crawford, 2006; Devroe, 2015; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). The move from a top down approach, towards a horizontal form of governance inclusive of a multitude of actors, has resulted in alternative governance arrangements that devolve from solely state control (Devore, 2015; Edwards & Prins, 2014). Responsibility increasingly lies with local and regional governing actors who regulate their own localities (Devroe, 2015; Edwards & Prins, 2014). Since the early 2000's, there has been a move to provide local authorities with increased control over the governance of crime and disorder in cities; with the United Kingdom being a prime example. The Crime and Disorder Act, 1998, stated that local authorities are responsible for implementing strategies for preventing crime and disorder

(The Crime and Disorder Act, 1998). Further to this the introduction of the Localism Act (2011 c.20)² further intended to decentralize decision-making powers from central government control, towards local authorities. In addition the Act recognised the responsibility of local planning and infrastructure to be assumed by local authorities; *'to give neighbourhoods far more ability to decide the shape of the places where people live'* (GLA, 2016: 27). Additionally, The Police Reform and Responsibility Act, 2011 established locally elected Police and Crime Commissioner's (PCC's) to assume accountability for policing and crime strategies within their areas. This shows evidence for the devolution of national governing powers to locally elected officials.

The urban environment has become an increasingly important aspect of governance as the increasing population and movement of people brings new challenges to security and sustainability. It is progressively recognised that local governance actors are important in the provision of security methods that are structured upon their specific localities needs (Devroe, 2015; Edwards & Prins, 2014). It must be said however, that national governments are still essential in the delivery of financial aid, resources, legitimacy and power over law-making (Crawford, 2006). Osborne and Gaebler (1992) are noteworthy scholars who argued that in order for societies to develop and become innovative and responsible for delivery of successful services, the position of governments needed to provide a supportive role rather than a controlling one. They suggested that the governments should not be obliged to provide services for society, rather that they should steer the provision of the services needed. Furthermore, that society must be empowered to implement their own problem solving methods and decentralise authority figures (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). This reflects the move from overall government control of communities towards the spread of governance by many. The researchers argue that governments are bound by rules and rigidities and that in order for societies to prosper they must be left to their own devices and solve their own problems (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Additionally, government agencies

² The Localism Act was introduced in 2011 as an Act of UK Parliament to facilitate the powers and controls of decision making from a centralised governmental control, towards individual representatives of communities and communities themselves (Localism Act, 2011, c.20). A main part of the Act extends power to local city councils. In Sections 27 to 36 the expected standards of council members is highlighted and the importance of records of public interests and authorizes participants to take part in decision-making. The Act especially highlighted London as a key area in which the Mayor is to publish a framework, which highlights strategies to provide regeneration and development of the city.

should provide a beacon of support financially and guide societies but allow for the decentralisation of decision-making lying solely with the state.

2.1.1. The importance of glocalisation at the local level

'Glocalisation' is described as the global and local processes by which there is increased mobility and movement of people and products across borders, which is leading to the changes in policing methods and strategies in metropolises (Mouleart, Martinelli Gonzalez and Swyngedouw, 2007; Swyngedouw, 2004: 25). It has been suggested that this process of glocalisation initiates changes within urban areas in regards to social and economic impacts. This process of increasing mobility of goods and people to urban areas, can impact the capacity of the state to provide a centralised governing role over security, which in turn can increase the risk of transnational threats such as cyber-crime and terrorism (European Commission, 2015). The swelling of populations and the migration of people apply increased pressure on social groups, as well as increasing demands for resources. These pressures can lead to an increase in crime rates as individuals struggle to obtain economic stability and the basic resources to survive (Devroe, 2012b). This has led to reform in the policies and practices of governance of crime and disorder in some countries in Europe (Devroe, Edwards and Ponsaers, 2017). It is not only that the interplay of global processes is impacting changes to state powers and policing agendas, but also the changes within the political sphere. No longer is law enforcement or the state solely responsible for safety and sustainability of cities; the fragmentation of governance of security is expanding to enhance the capabilities and responsibilities of locally elected officials and public and private actors (Devroe, 2013; Devroe et al. 2017; Edwards et al., 2017).

2.1.2. The role of the Mayor in governance of crime and disorder.

In some cases within the UK the Mayor assumes more of a role over policy-making. This can be seen in London, the Capital City of the UK. Here, the Greater London Authority Act 1999 (GLA), legislates that the Mayor is to provide strategic development across three themes: economic, social and environmental development (Greater London Authority Act, 1999, section 30). Furthermore the Mayor is the elected PCC for London and is responsible for developing the crime plans for the City. This demonstrates that the management of urban governance and safety in London is no longer solely law enforcements responsibility; a process termed by Crawford (2002) as 'relocalisation' (Crawford, 2002 as cited in Devroe,

2012b). It must be highlighted that this is not the case with all cities within the UK, whereby many of the Mayors only hold a ceremonial role and are not responsible for policing and crime issues; these responsibilities are specifically assumed by the PCC's after the issuing of the Police Reform and Responsibility Act, 2011.

It can be seen that in the UK, the political sphere over the past twenty years, has allowed for local governance actors to assume more power over crime and safety, rather than just the state (Edwards & Prins, 2014; Edwards et al., 2017). There has been a shift in the political situation, which reflects increased localised planning regarding the governance of the urban space. Furthermore, specific policy programs have been introduced by localities, to better outline objectives for ensuring continued development of cities and the safety of their residents. These programs (also known as plans) outline the policy objectives related to changes to infrastructure, modification of the natural environment, re-development of poorly maintained areas and strategies to ensure public safety and crime management (GLA, 1999).

2.2. Agenda Setting and Urban Governance

Agenda setting within urban governance can be explained as the processes by which political authorities place their specified policy objectives on the political agenda. Furthermore, the governing arrangements of political parties differs and this influences the dispositions of the political entities in power and their approach towards certain issues. In this section agenda setting theory and urban regime theory will be explained to provide a background into the understanding of the political influences over policy arrangements in cities.

2.2.1. Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting theory is a widely accepted theory in the sphere of public relations and constitutes the first stage of the policy-making process (Kingdon, 2011; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Stone, 1989;2005). Kingdon (2011) proposes policy-making is a complex process involving problems, proposals towards the solution of a problem and politics. Furthermore, the actors involved and their personas, opinions and attitudes when setting an agenda, can impact the nature and significance of policy objectives (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Successful agenda-setting occurs with the convergence of an effective proposal for a problem and

when a window of opportunity opens such as changes in constitutional power (Kingdon, 2011). A policy is more likely to be placed high on an agenda if it is widely regarded as an effective solution to a problem it has been widely discussed and debated. Certain policy proposals and stated objectives will reflect the specific ideals and philosophies of administrations in power; therefore strategies shift nationally depending on the constitutional political entity in power (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). It is significant to understand this theory as it highlights the process of agenda setting towards stated policy objectives of urban governance, which is the focus of this research. Additionally, it explains that the divergence between certain agendas is dependent upon the political position representing them. Stone (1989) further highlights the importance of the assumption of a problem situation needing human intervention as a forerunner to agenda-setting (Stone, 1989). She emphasises the significance of three strands of thinking in regards to agenda setting literature; one being the characteristics of political actors, a second being the seriousness of the difficulties faced and finally, the use of language and symbols as a way of propelling an issue on the political agenda or ensuring its removal (Stone, 1989). Stone highlights that the core issues regarding agenda setting in the political realm is related to *'causal ideas'*; more specifically that political actors portray themselves in a certain way to gain support for their ideals and *'compose stories'* that imply difficulties in order to *'invoke government power to stop the harm'* (Stone, 1989: 282). Stone (1989) believes the understanding of political issues by societies, is dependent upon how the ideas are portrayed by political figures. It is expressed that political actors use personal attributes, stories and symbols to manipulate their strategies being placed upon the agenda (Stone, 1989).

2.2.2 Urban Regime Theory

Urban regime theory was an influential theory in the 1980's with the publication of Clarence Stone's study in 1989 of Atlanta (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). Here, Stone revealed an account of the politics in the post-war era and developed a theoretical framework, which intended to describe the social aspects of political governing coalitions. He argued that regimes consisted of coalitions of governing actors and that this association allowed for empowerment and political strength. Furthermore, that the governing bodies that are likely to develop a coalition are those that have the fiscal resources and voting powers

(Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). The theory implies the importance of governing arrangements in defining the pursuit of certain trajectories within planning and political agendas (Stone, 2005). This suggests that the power of politics mixed with the provision of expertise and resources from non-governmental organizations, can improve the provision of policy agendas and better deliver policy goals (Stone, 2005). Coalitions of governance are therefore formed around the agendas of a policy and can enhance stated objectives upon a governing agenda.

2.2.3. Urban Regimes of Devroe, Edwards and Ponsaers

A regime can be further distinguished when discussing governance responses to crime and disorder agendas in cities. Devroe, Edwards & Ponsaers (2017) highlight that metropolitan governance of policing include a number of regime types. They suggest that these five regimes develop where governing coalitions are in power for a long enough period to establish their policy agendas and priorities (Devroe, et al., 2017). These include *Maintenance regimes*, by which policy agendas reflect issues of criminal justice towards offenders that are already known to authorities. *Developmental regimes* reflect a risk-management approach towards those who are known or suspected perpetrators who may follow offending careers, and the reduction in the opportunity for victimisation of whole populations and those known to be at risk (Devroe, et al., 2017). *Reformist regimes* imply the reorganizing of the criminal justice system to divert criminals and victims away from the penal process and instead towards schemes that support a '*restorative justice*' approach (Devroe, et al., 2017: 7). *Transformative regimes* regard a robust focus on social and restorative justice approaches; furthermore, transforming the environmental conditions that cause crime, social injustice and exclusion of groups. Lastly, *Failed regimes* occur when '*rival agendas cancel each other out*' (Devroe et al., 2017: 7). It can thus be seen that policy agendas and approaches to governance vary depending upon the political constitution and coalitions in power.

The use of the diagnostic toolbox of the Policing European Metropolis Project (PEMP) compiled and created by Devroe, Edwards, and Ponsaers, (2017) determines also the policing dispositions of European cities (see Scheme 1 below). This toolbox was conceptually invented by Devroe, Edwards and Ponsaers (2017) and was based on the results from 22

European Metropolises. They explain that a disposition can be understood more specifically as the *'rules of meaning and membership, which organise social actors'* (Devroe, Edwards, and Ponsaers, 2017: 4). The five dispositions shown are criminal justice, restorative justice, social justice, managing the risks of opportunities for crime and disorder and managing the risks of offending careers. The framework draws upon two specific categories. Firstly, the rules of meaning and membership refers to arrangements over the different orientations, populations and objectives of policing. Orientation refers to particular kinds of offenders, victims and the environment. In terms of populations it refers to whole groups, particular offenders and victims known by the authorities. The objectives describe whether rules are consisting of crime reduction, maintaining public order or enhancing social cohesion. Secondly, dispositional power is related to different concepts of criminal justice and risk management, which are common themes of crime control across Europe. These include concepts of criminal, restorative and social justice, as well as risk management. The framework for diagnosing policing dispositions, more specifically referred to as the PEMP diagnostic toolbox, can be used as a theoretical framework to explain the divergent dispositions regarding crime and disorder found within certain policy agendas of urban governance.

Scheme 1: Diagnostic Toolbox of Policing European Metropolis Project (PEMP)

(Devroe, E., Edwards, A., and Ponsaers, P. (2017). Policing European Metropolises: The Politics of security in city regions. Milton Park & New York: Routledge)

	Rules of Meaning and Membership								
	Orientations			Populations			Objectives		
Disposition	Offender	Victim	Environment	Primary (entire populations)	Secondary (particular social groups)	Tertiary (victims and offenders known to the authorities)	Social Service	Public Order	Crime reduction
Criminal Justice	X					X		X	X
Restorative Justice	X	X	X			X		X	X
Social Justice			X	X	X		X	X	X
Managing the Risks of Opportunities for Crime and Disorder		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Managing the Risks of Offending Careers	X		X		X	X		X	X

2.3 The Aetiologies of Crime and Social Disorder

As the nature of everyday practices and lifestyles diversify, so therefore, do the social controls in response to these changes (Garland, 2001). It has been acknowledged that over the past centuries, structural transformations in governance of civilisations are being produced by the *‘process of adaptation to the social conditions that now characterize these societies’* (Garland, 2001: 7). Additionally, the creation of an industrialising society has meant that modern society is increasingly faced with new risks and challenges such as new illnesses, environmental issues and new types of crime (Beck 1992). With these variations comes the revised notions of social controls and the means of sustaining social cohesion as well as alternative methods of crime management (Garland, 2001; Devroe, 2012b). Furthermore the rise in crime rates in countries such as Britain in the 1970’s and 1980’s

induced perception changes to crime and increasing fear of crime by societies (Garland, 1996). Crime became a routine part of daily living, a '*normality*' in modern day life (Garland, 1996: 446). It was such changes that led to the transformation of criminal discourse and approaches to understanding crime, as well as the actions by the government to manage crime and the structure of the criminal justice system (Garland, 1996; 2001).

2.3.1. Criminology's of everyday life

Criminology's of everyday life are all-encompassing theories that relate to notions of crime as an opportunity. More specifically, that crime requires an opportunity but opportunities to engage in crime are not always taken (Atlas, 2013; Wortely & Townsley, 2016). Furthermore, offenders assume a rational thinking process before committing a crime and that they pick targets that have a high reward which entails low risks (Atlas, 2013; Wortely & Townsley, 2016). A significant part of this criminological perspective places emphasis on how routines and activities of individuals can influence opportunity for crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson, 1994). Perspectives such as this are important for policy-makers and governors to comprehend, in order to better implement approaches to ensure safety within urban environments. To begin to develop successful risk-management approaches to crime, the core underpinnings of offending behaviour need to be understood (Atlas, 2013; Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Taylor & Harell, 1996).

2.3.2. Criticism of crime control within everyday life

Managing urban space in the UK through the regeneration of dilapidated areas has been a focus of attention by the British government since the early 1980's (Crawford, 1994; Squires, 1999). The move towards commitment to the safety of communities accompanied the shift towards the development of local policies and plans to maintain a safe and secure environment and to reduce crime and disorder (Crawford, 1994). What was previously the prime focus of crime prevention became the new focus of crime control (Squires, 1999). Local community safety planning became a very relevant issue and was adopted by governments in their quest to promise safety and economic enrichment for communities (Squires, 1999). With this increased importance of community safety planning very much on the political agenda, however, came the stirrings of criticism (Crawford, 1994). Criticisms which include the elevated corporate interest and their involvement in policy-making schemes, developments led by the market and widening of social divisions created in the

managing of public space (Crawford, 1994; Squires, 1999). Over the past ten years there has been an increase in the public realm being privatized in which commercial regeneration has been placed in the hands of private organisations (Jones & Lister, 2015). Although this has led to regeneration of city areas, it has also led to exclusionary process towards groups within societies. A high profile case was the exclusion of a group of youths from a shopping centre in the Midlands of England (Jones & Lister, 2015). Furthermore, the removal of a group of petitioners against commercial development by private security guards, from what was deemed as private land (Jones & Lister, 2015). Some have further argued that the regeneration of urban environments began to create a suspicious and segregated society in which the less wealthy suffer the consequences of social controls and limited access to certain areas (Garland, 2001; Squires, 1999). The use of electronic surveillance such as Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) was widely introduced in cities such as London in the 1980's and urban areas became more of a monitored space that was governed and watched by the state (Squires, 1999). It has been stated that *'the UK now has more CCTV cameras monitoring public space than any other country in the world'* (Jones & Lister, 2015: 252). To some, this stands to provide an effective means towards managing crime. To others, it is an approach by which instigates further exclusion and social strains (Squires, 1999). Furthermore, the regeneration of neighbourhoods left the upper class safe and the derelict areas and lower classes assertively policed. The sense of creating a public space of which is safe and inclusive for all has therefore been deemed by some, as a false portrayal (Behr, 2009; Greenberg, 1999).

2.4. Environmental approaches to crime

Environmental design theories seek to explore crime through the event itself (Cozens, 2011; 2014; Wortley & Townsley, 2016). This perspective approaches the incidence of crime in relation to the environmental and social configurations that provide prospects for a crime (Clarke, 1997; Wortley & Townsley, 2016). The incidence of crime is therefore very much linked to the natural environment and the nature of the physical environment such as localities, building structure and natural space (Newman, 1972; Wortley & Townsley, 2016). In order to reduce the presence of crime, environmental modifications can be applied which can increase surveillance opportunities and improve the appearance of a public space so

that residents assume responsibility for protecting these spaces from unwanted behaviours. Furthermore, improving attractiveness of the environment can increase the overall feeling of safety for communities.

2.4.1. Rational Choice Perspective

The rational choice perspective is a classical approach towards the explanation of crime and states that an offender maintains a rational approach when committing a crime (Clarke, 1983; Clarke & Cornish, 1985). The theory assumes that a criminal act is an intentional behaviour in which the criminal makes a rational choice. A criminal will make an informed decision whether to break the law after contemplating the benefits that the crime will provide to meet the needs of the offender and certain situational factors that may increase the likelihood of getting caught (Clarke, 1983; Taylor & Harell, 1996). A potential offender will assess the availability of a target or the possibility of being seen; offenders are therefore more likely to commit crimes which provide the most benefits and the lowest risks (Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Clarke, 1983; Taylor & Harell, 1996). The decision to commit a crime is therefore linked to a rational thought process. This decision-making approach to understanding crime concentrates on the events leading up to the committal of a crime and the internal and external contemplation of the benefits and costs of engaging in a criminal act. The role of the environment within this thinking process, as well as the everyday routines of individuals in a public space, are further aspects that are important to consider when analysing how an offender views the potential committal of a crime (Wortley & Townsley, 2016; Felson & Clarke, 1998). It is significant to highlight that not all illegal behaviour reflects a well-thought out rational approach and can occur under sudden circumstances. However, rational choice theory is a well-established criminological model that has shown to be substantial in the explanation of urban crime (Wortley & Townsley, 2016).

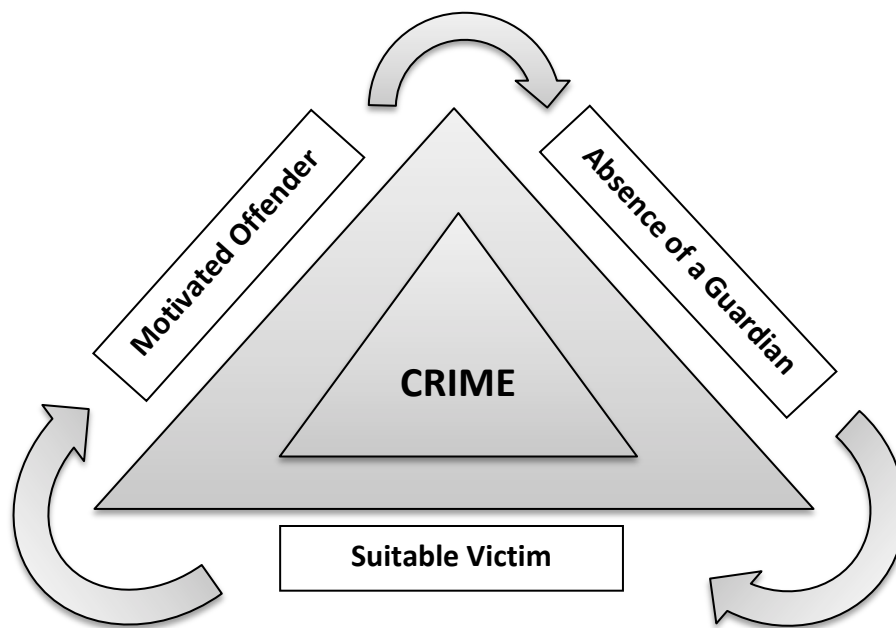
2.4.2. Routine Activity Theory

Cohen and Felson (1979) present the routine activity approach towards crime and the analysis of criminal trends. This approach is based on two ideas; first that the incidence of crime is more likely when an offender converges with an appropriate target without the presence of a guardian and second, the convergence is dependent upon the everyday routines of possible victims of crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson, 1994). This somewhat

represents a 'physics' which involves certain elements (a target, victim, offender and those who act as guardians or supervisors) that need to combine in order for crime to occur (Felson, 1994: 42; Felson & Clarke, 1998). This theory was developed in response to the increase in presence of crime in the United States after the Second World War. It was argued that 'structural changes in routine activity patterns can influence crime rates by affecting the convergence in space and time' (Cohen, & Felson, 1979: 589). Such understanding was the basis of new criminological approaches towards structural changes in the environment to alter routines of offenders (Felson, 1994).

The problem analysis triangle is a core element of routine activity theory (Scheme 2 below). It defines three specific roles: handlers, guardians and managers (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Handlers are those that may be significant in the lives of potential offenders such as family, relations, educators and peers. If a handler is not present, or is weak, then crimes are likely to take place. Guardians can be described as those who try to protect a victim from crime or assault. A formal guardian may be in the form of law enforcement persons or informal guardians such as those who may be surrounding the target such as friends, neighbours, teachers or peers (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Those who may be a target for crime can be protected by the presence of a guardian. Managers are those who own a place and have rights over the place to introduce controls. Crime is less likely in the presence of managers (Felson & Clarke, 1998). The risk of crime is greatly increased when the offenders and victims converge in the same place in the absence of an operative handler, guardian or manager. All these aspects congregate to influence the opportunities for offenders to commit crime (Felson & Clarke, 1998). The routines of individuals living within the shared space of an urban environment are significant to consider when developing approaches to tackle urban safety. Routine activity theory has been the basis of the development of situational and environmental approaches to the managing of a safe and sustainable urban setting.

Scheme 2: Cohen and Felson's problem analysis triangle



2.4.3. Situational crime prevention

Situational Crime prevention refers to the strategies that are intended to prevent crimes before they happen and has been a major contribution to the field of environmental design theories (Wortley & Townsley, 2016). This approach was developed by Ron Clarke in the 1970's and can be considered as the use of situational design changes in the fight against crime; focussing on reducing the opportunity for criminal behaviour rather than the behaviours themselves (Clarke, 1997). The foundations of situational crime prevention are related to rational choice theory and the routine activity approach, as well as that of 'defensible space' highlighted by Newman (1972). The defensible space approach implies that individuals will better govern public space if visibility and environmental maintenance is enhanced. Furthermore, the preservation of a space which is well guarded through surveillance, will improve sense of ownership and reduce the risk of crime (Reynald & Elfers, 2009). Situational crime prevention strives to reduce the opportunity for certain crimes through techniques such as target hardening (fences, gates, walls, CCTV surveillance) and the improvement of visibility within the natural environment which encourage citizens to police their own neighbourhoods (Clarke, 1997). It is focussed on the settings of crime and the discrete environmental changes that can diminish the risk of potential criminality (Clarke, 1997). The aims of these methods are not to abolish the propensity for criminals to

commit crime, rather to make crime less attractive to potential offenders. Situational crime prevention has been a significant approach in the development of environmental crime theories; more accurately known as the designing the environment to reduce the presence of crime.

2.4.4. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) has become a popular approach in the prevention of crime in cities (Secure by Design, 2014; Cozens & Love, 2015). CPTED can be defined in literature as *'A process for analysing and assessing crime risks in order to guide the design, management and use of the built environment (and products) to reduce crime and the fear of crime and to promote public health, sustainability and quality of life'* (Cozens 2014: 21). The concept of CPTED surrounds the overall perception that by providing a user of a public space with a sense of ownership of the space, this will in turn allow them to become guardians against potential criminal behaviour. Furthermore, improving visibility and introducing natural barriers, can promote increased opportunity for surveillance and limit opportunity for law-breaking (Cozens, 2011; 2014; Cozens & Love, 2015). Essentially it can be viewed as a method of 'designing out crime' (Wortley & Townsley, 2016: 259).

This approach can be traced back to a number of scholars such as Jane Jacobs (1961), Ray Jeffery (1971) and Oscar Newman (1972) (Cozens & Love, 2015; Wortley & Townsley, 2016; Reynald & Elffers, 2009). Jeffery (1971) based his development of CPTED on 'defensible space principles' highlighted by Newman in the 1970's (Cozens & Love, 2015: 394; Jeffery, 1971). Jacobs (1961) was influential in challenging the existing ideas surrounding city planning. She established that a prosperous city is one in which a person must *'feel personally safe and secure on the street'* (Jacobs, 1961: 30). For Jacobs (1961), safety in cities consisted of clear definitions of what is public and private space, streets must be in view and supervised by residents and sidewalks where people should act as deterrents for potential disruptive behaviour (Jacobs, 1961: 30). This view recognised that the conditions of the physical and social environment could potentially allow for opportunities for criminal behaviour and that modification of surroundings would allow for the reduction of vulnerable targets and lower the risk of crime (Cozens and Love, 2015; Jeffery, 1971; Robinson, 1999; Taylor and Harrell, 1996). Furthermore, Jeffery's (1971) suggested that environmental

elements were very much neglected in the field of criminology and that crime prevention needed to focus on the reduction of opportunities for crime through the built environment (Jeffery, 1971). He stressed the importance of the external physical environment and the internal thoughts of individuals and the interactions between the two (Jeffery, 1971). Further to this, Newman (1972) studied the relationship between lawbreaking and blocks of public housing to develop his '*defensible space theory*' (Reynald & Elffers, 2009: 26). He concluded that high rise blocks constituted of less visible, hidden spaces where criminal activity was more likely to take place. Furthermore, the architectural design of high rise blocks did not allow for appropriate surveillance of these spaces and consisted of many escape routes for criminals (Cozens & Love, 2015). Newman's work approached crime from an architectural perspective and argued that there was a relationship between certain features of design of buildings and crime trends (Reynald & Elffers, 2009). During the 1970's and 1980's in the United States and the United Kingdom, crime in cities was on the rise; scholars were approaching new ways to tackle increase in crime trends and this approach became more widely accepted (Cozens & Love, 2015). It was the basis of this thinking that led to what we today consider as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED).

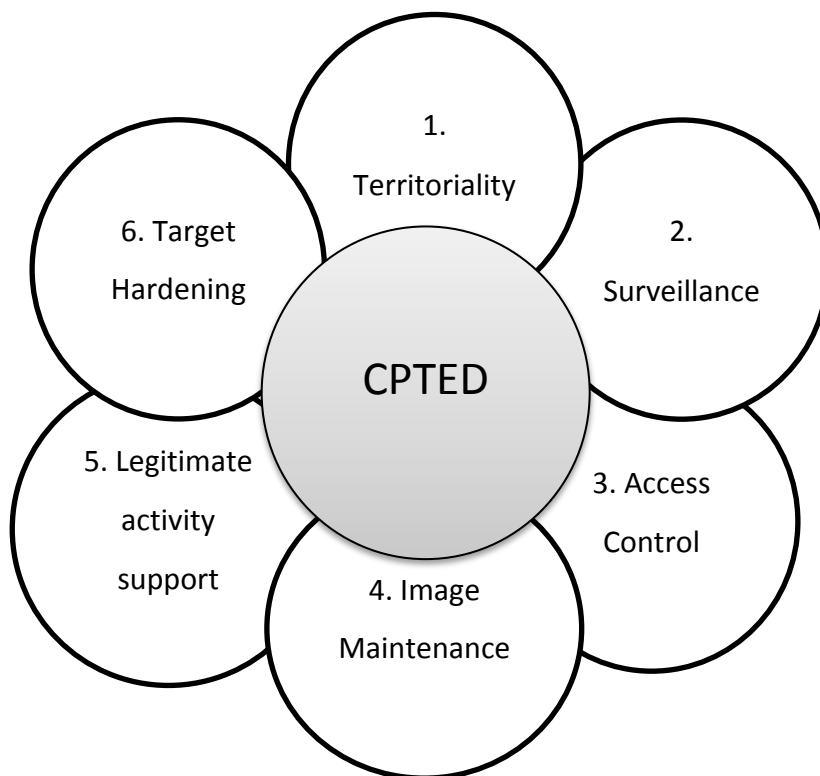
CPTED draws upon environmental design theory approaches, as well as the connection between people's reactions to the arrangement of the environment (Cozens & Love, 2015; Cozens, 2016). CPTED can be defined as '*A process for analysing and assessing crime risks in order to guide the design, management and use of the built environment (and products) to reduce crime and the fear of crime and to promote public health, sustainability and quality of life*' (Cozens 2014: 21). Traditional approaches to crime management in cities such as the presence of police and use of surveillance have become costly and so alternative approaches to crime management such as CPTED, are being considered (Cozens and Love, 2015; Jeffery, 1971; Robinson, 1999; Taylor and Harrell, 1996).

2.4.4.1. Principles of CPTED

On-going refinement of the theory of CPTED has established a first and second generation of CPTED principles (see Scheme 3 below). Moffat (1993) highlighted six principles of first generation CPTED, which include the physical design factors used to modify environments to

reduce opportunity for crime. These include territoriality, surveillance, access control, image maintenance, legitimate activity support and target hardening (Cozens & Love, 2015; Cozens, Saville and Hillier, 2005). These principles are explained in detail below and are used in the analysis section of this thesis as indicators to determine the presence of environmental design theories within stated policy objectives of urban safety and security.

Scheme 3: The six principles of first generation Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design. (Cozens & Love, 2015).



1. Territoriality

Territorial reinforcement can be achieved through the use of design to ensure distinct boundaries between areas which are public and private and clearly defining space to reduce the possibility for legitimate use. Barriers can be used to distinguish private areas. These may be physical such as fences, bollards or gates or may include signs that direct users and distinguish an area as public or private. The establishment of informal social controls is also reflected within this indicator; more specifically attracting members of the public to congregate in areas to informally act as guardians (Cozens, Saville and Hillier, 2005). Benches

and seating³ in public spaces imply an area congregates and are methods by which to territorially reinforce an area to deter the presence of unwanted behaviour.

2. Surveillance

Surveillance is a crime strategy widely used in crime prevention and allows for opportunities for increased observation by people sharing a public space (Cozens & Love, 2015; Home Office, 2014). There are two types of surveillance: Natural and Formal. Natural surveillance includes the use of design so people can view what others may be doing. Such examples are avoiding blind corners in pathways and car parks, providing entries to buildings that are visible from the street⁴, placement of windows facing streets⁵ and designing landscapes⁶ that do not obstruct natural surveillance or provide hidden spaces. These methods allow the public to act as guardians and potential offenders are less likely to engage in crime if they are perceived to be visible or in the presence of guardians (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Felson, 1994). Formal techniques of surveillance include the provision of lighting in public areas⁷, closed circuit television (CCTV) and the presence of police patrols. Studies have shown that the increase in guardianship by the public or law enforcement has lowered the potential for crime as there is more opportunity for increased surveillance of public areas (Cozens, Saville and Hillier, 2005; Reynald, 2009). In the Secured By Design framework, it is mentioned that 'a mix of dwellings can enable homes to be occupied throughout the day which gives increased opportunity for natural surveillance, community interaction and environmental control' (ACPO, 2014: 11). This suggests that the provision of mixed developments is linked to the CPTED principle of natural surveillance.

³ Seating at bus stops, in parks and outside shopping centres can encourage guardianship as people are likely to assemble in these areas (Cozens & Love, 2015).

⁴ Entrances to buildings should be very visible and positioned so users can see into a building before entering. The number of entry points should be reduced and maximum surveillance from the streets of all entrances should be encouraged. Administrative offices should be positioned at the front of a building (Penrith Development Control plan, 2016)

⁵ Windows should be adjacent to common areas (such as playgrounds, swimming pools, car parks). Stairwells should be close to areas where there is activity and the use of transparent materials on elevators, walls or stairwells can improve the surveillance (Penrith Development Control plan, 2016).

⁶ Landscaping can significantly impact opportunities for surveillance and to ensure increased surveillance trees and shrubs should be high or low (avoiding medium height), dense foliage should be avoided as these can be a barrier against views, vegetation should not conceal entrance to buildings and vegetation should not block natural lighting (Penrith Development Control plan, 2016).

⁷ Lighting in public areas should maximise illumination to cover wide areas, not cause nuisance to the neighbourhood, shine directly upon pedestrian pathways, illuminate possible hiding spaces and be directed at access points to illuminate potential offenders. Lighting should be designed so it is difficult to destroy and maintained and attractive to fit in with the physical environment (Home Office, 2014; Secure by Design, 2014).

3. Access Control

Physical and symbolic barriers can be used to control or contain the movement of people and therefore decrease the opportunity for crime. The principle of access control defines the use of space to deny access to possible offenders and increase the risk perception of being seen or caught engaging in misconduct (Cozens and Love, 2015; Home Office 2014). Effective access control can be achieved through the provision of clear entry points, creating physical locations to channel groups of people into areas, using trees and shrubs to deter from entering unauthorized areas, use of materials in buildings to reduce opportunity for entry by an intruder, design of public areas to encourage gatherings of people and ensuring areas such as car parking⁸ are identified through use of signs⁹ to assist direction and prevent unpermitted admittance (Cozens, Saville and Hillier, 2005; Home Office, 2014).

4. Image maintenance

The sense of ownership by users of a public space can promote guardianship of an area and therefore remove the prospect for illegitimate use of the space (Cozens and Love, 2015). A public space that is well-maintained is appealing and inviting and becomes a space that is well used and safer. Furthermore, the attractiveness of the physical environment can produce a positive and comforting presence and sense of safety from harm (Cozens, Saville and Hillier, 2005). Image maintenance includes the creation of attractive areas, the removal of vandalism and graffiti and the removal of physical features that are corroded or perishing. It may also include the use of materials on walls and buildings that reduce the prospect for vandalism and designing areas that promote a sense of pride in the community (Secure by Design, 2014).

⁸ Public car parks should not impede the flow of movement of pedestrians and ensure for surveillance through use of CCTV and patrols. Lighting should be appropriate and dark areas should be minimised. The presence of telephones and alarm systems should be available for public use. Appropriate signage should clearly direct the flow of people and cars (Penrith Development Control Plan, 2016).

⁹ The use of signs can ensure individuals are sufficiently directed and avoid the potential for straying into areas which may be unauthorized or areas of poor visibility from the streets or from guardians (Cozens & Love, 2015). Further to this, signs at bus stops, train stations or in crowded social areas, should warn individuals to keep belongings safe.

5. Legitimate activity support

The use of signs¹⁰ can be successful in the promotion of acceptable behaviour in a public space and therefore improve and maintain its acceptable use and indicate the direction of safe routes for pedestrians. Signs can also indicate where support can be accessed if help is needed. Furthermore, the placement of activities in certain areas of better safety and surveillance can lessen the risk of being a target for crime (Cozens & Love, 2015). An example may be the placing of money withdrawal machines in places where surveillance opportunities by other members of the public are high.

6. Target Hardening

Target hardening refers to the processes by which increase difficulty of an offender to achieve the efficient committing of a crime (Cozens, Saville and Hillier, 2005). These are measures of security that reflect methods to limit the access to a target for crime, through the use of physical obstacles. Such examples are locks, walls and fences, and alarm systems. Security patrols can also be included in this principle (Cozens & Love, 2015).

2.5. Problem situation

A safe and secure environment is one that is sustainable and provides communities with a wholesome quality of life (Cozens, 2011). The maintenance of an attractive and well-designed public space improves quality of life and reduces the fear of crime (Cozens & Love, 2015; Devroe, 2012b; Home Office, 2014). It is therefore of significant importance for local governors to provide this for the communities they serve. The decentralization of state governance over the past number of years has seen a move towards providing municipal leaders with greater accountability and responsibility for policy-making surrounding crime maintenance and urban environmental design (Edwards, Chambers, Fyfe and Henry, in Devroe, Edwards and Ponsaers, 2017; Localism Act, 2011). Further to this, budget cuts to public expenditure has meant that it is no longer the sole responsibility of law enforcement to ensure safety of citizens within a city, but the cooperation and responsibility of a multitude of government and non-government actors (Edwards & Prins, 2014). Local

¹⁰ Signs should be placed where they can be seen at entrances and in view. They should be large and understandable with standard use of symbols (Penrith Development Control Plan, 2016).

governing actors are becoming fundamental political agents for the implementation of agenda-setting objectives within their cities (Cities and Local Government Devolution Act, 2016; MOPAC, 2015). Additionally, urban governance policy plans have become an increasingly important means by which to administer these objectives that target the issue of crime and disorder (Cozens & Love, 2015).

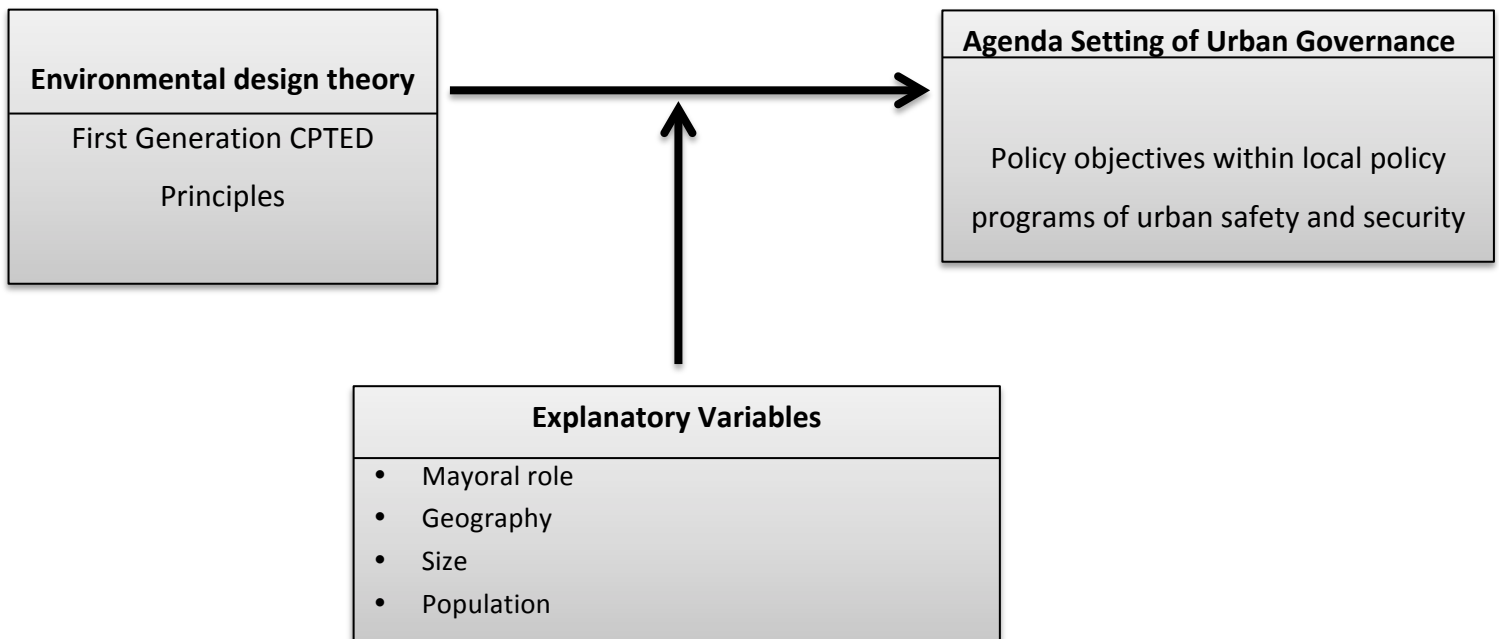
Classical environmental design approaches have established the importance of the natural and built environment in managing the routines of offenders and their targets and therefore improving safety in the public space (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Clarke, 1997; Felson & Clarke, 1998; Reynald & Elffers, 2009; Wortley & Townsley, 2016). Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) has therefore become a means by which to increase security in the urban space (Clarke, 1997; Cozens, 2015). Furthermore, it has been expressed that the importance of understanding crime and its dimensions, by policy makers, is crucial in the improved application of programs that target safety and crime reduction (Cozens & Love, 2015). The agenda setting of local political actors is therefore fundamental in the establishment of successful policy objectives regarding crime maintenance. This research will add to the insights into the governance of cities, inclusive of the political influences and the assumptions of the causes of crime and disorder. More specifically, environmental design theory will be explored within the stated policy objectives of local policy plans. It can be supposed that policy plans will be more relevant towards tackling crime in cities if the core underpinning of the aetiologies of crime are better understood by those actors who decide upon the agenda. The research uses the comparison of governing arrangements in city regions, to determine the portrayal of urban governance programs and how these can be explained.

2.6. Constructs of the research

The constructs of this research are displayed in a conceptual model below (see Scheme 4). The explanatory variables are assumed to be moderating variables between environmental design theory and its relevance within policy plans of urban governance. This research enables a new and innovative outlook towards the governance of crime at the city level and the political assumptions regarding crime and disorder. Environmental design theory will be

applied to the agenda setting of local governance actors and explore the influence of constitutional powers on specific strategies and dispositions of policy agendas. It is assumed that principles Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) can contribute to the reduction of crime in cities. However it is still not yet known how governance actors integrate and translate such concepts within their policies; this research will aim to elucidate this.

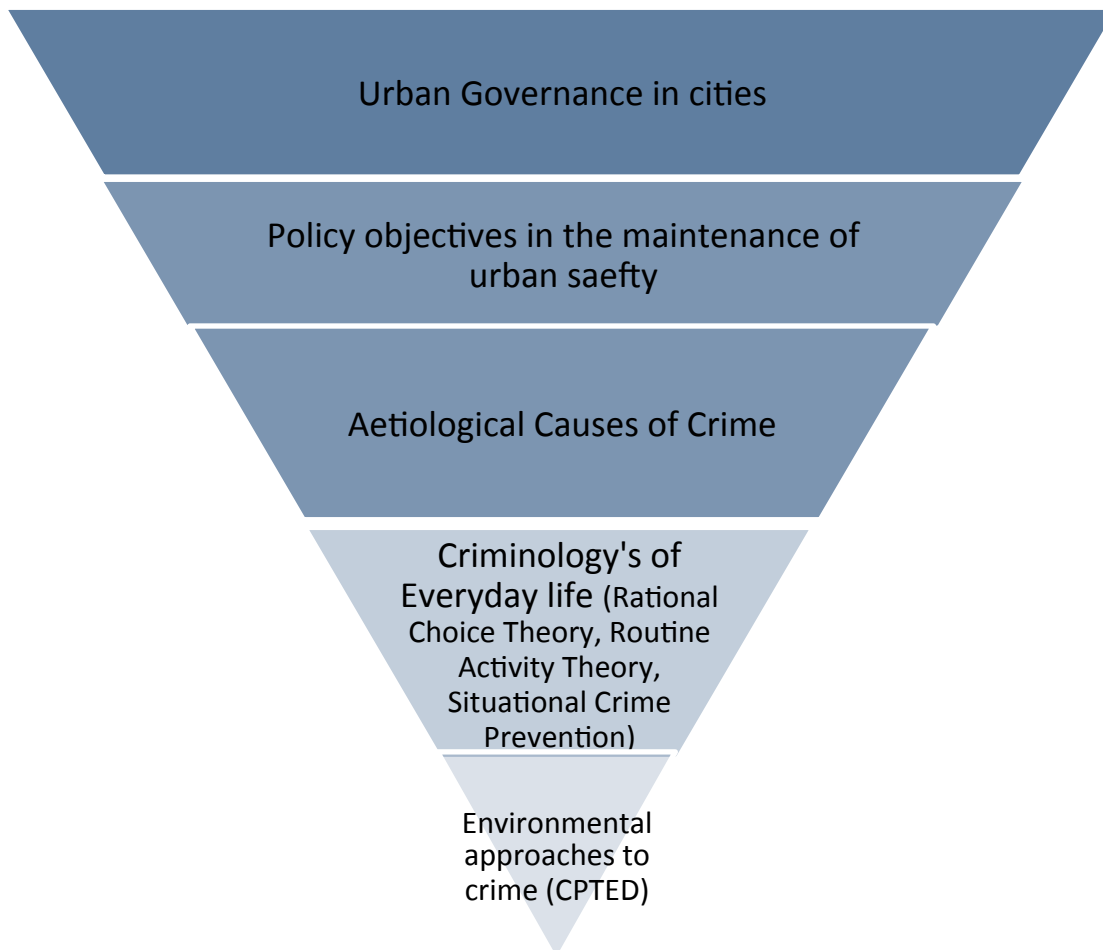
Scheme 4: Conceptual model



The funnel below represents pictorially, the process by which the research question was developed. The importance of urban governance and crime maintenance at the city level was established as the main focus as this is a significant security issue due to the ever-increasing populations living in cities. In order to examine the approaches towards urban governance, it was established that stated policy objectives within programs of urban safety and sustainability would be a significant means by which to investigate the research question. The aetiology of crime at the urban level clarifies why crime is a significant issue in the urban space and the theoretical underpinnings of crime in cities (the criminology's of everyday life) are established to explain the presence of crime and provide a theoretical background to the study. The use of environmental modification (CPTED principles) to adjust

offender routines is an environmental approach to crime reduction, which is widely being recognised by localities as a means to provide safer cities (Cozens & Love, 2015).

Scheme 5: Funnel displaying the key elements of the research and development of the research question



Chapter 3. Methodology

This section will outline the method by which the study will be conducted. The study is based upon theory testing and aims to determine the use of environmental design theory within the policy objectives of local governance actors. First, sub-questions will be stated and the operationalization of the research will be explained. Next, the research design will be specified which includes explanations of the case study design, sampling and a description of the cases. Lastly, the data gathering and exploitation processes will be explained. The study

is explanatory in nature as it aims to determine the extent to which environmental design theories are represented within political agenda setting and the divergence and convergence between two different cases; London and Sheffield.

3.1. Research question

This basis of this research aims to answer the following research question:

How can environmental design theories explain convergence or divergence in agenda setting in two Metropolises in the UK?

The use of environmental design theory towards crime prevention will be tested within an urban setting. It is the intention to detect stated policy objectives that are based on CPTED principles within governance programs in cities and to find explanations for the convergence and divergence between the cases. Comparing policy agendas between the cities using this theory-testing approach will explore any divergent trajectories, for example the particular governing arrangements, size of the cities, populations within the cities and geographical aspects (Edwards, Chambers, Fyfe & Henry, 2017). Divergence can be more simply expressed as differencing characteristics. A contending proposition may be that convergence or similarities between the cases, may be represented through the use of strategies that are assumed to be the most successful; objectives and strategies are often assumed by others due to their reputational success (Edwards et al., 2017).

3.1.1. Sub Questions

The sub questions below intend to provide further comprehensive questions that are linked to the research question. This allows for a breakdown of the main research question into sub parts that can be answered more specifically. The sub-questions are:

- ***To what extent are local policy objectives and programs based upon the principles of environmental design theory in London and Sheffield?***
- ***How can the divergence or convergence between the two cases be explained?***

The first sub-question answers the extent to which environmental design theories can be seen in the stated policy objectives and priorities of local policy plans of urban governance, within the cities of London and Sheffield. More specifically the extent to which actors responsible for urban governance, express their political agendas in relation to crime and disorder, based upon modifications to the urban environment. The second sub-question refers to the explanation of how the convergence and divergence regarding the constructs of environmental design theories within local policy plans can be explained between the two cities.

3.2 Operationalization

To answer the research question, local policy plans regarding urban governance in the cities of London and Sheffield will be analysed in relation to environmental design theories within stated policy objectives. This will allow for the explanation of how local governance agenda setting is based on the assumption that environmental alteration may reduce the presence of crime. In this section, the constructs of environmental design theories are operationalized.

3.2.2. Indicators

In order to determine the link between environmental design theories within policy objectives of local city policy plans, the use of principles of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) theory will be used as a measurement indicator of the presence of such perspectives within local policy-agendas. The indicators chosen are those that reflect the six principles of CPTED theory as it was established that these indicators allowed for specific reference to environmental modifications that are viewed to reduce the presence of crime in cities (Cozens, 2011; 2015).

The six CPTED indicators are highlighted below:

1. Territorial Reinforcement
2. Surveillance
 - 2.1 *Natural Surveillance*
 - 2.2 *Formal Surveillance*

3. Access Control
4. Image maintenance
5. Legitimate activity support
6. Target Hardening

The operationalisation table below was conceptually invented by the researcher as a means by which to construct the gathering and assimilation of data. Specific policy plans reflecting urban safety initiatives will be chosen for both London and Sheffield. For each policy analysed, a table will be used to display the CPTED indicator which is present among any goal within the city plan that is oriented to environmental modification in the management of crime. The results will then be collated and further analysed to determine conclusions of the study and displayed in the Appendices section of this thesis. The principles of CPTED theory are displayed in the first column. The second column includes specific indicators relative to these concepts, based upon the literature and theory of CPTED. The third column provides the specific description of the policy objective within the analysed policy plans, that represents the CPTED indicator. To further establish a visual presentation of the extent of specific CPTED indicators that appear in a program, a traffic light system will be used in the final fourth column. A principle of CPTED that appears widely used, will constitute a green colour. An orange colour will determine if a CPTED principle is present but not widely apparent. If a CPTED principle is not at all reflected within the environmental design program, a red colour will be used.

Scheme 6: Operationalization table

CPTED Principle	Detailed description of indicator	Specific description of the policy objective	Traffic light indicator
1. Territorial Reinforcement	Barriers to unauthorized areas and signs can reduce the opportunity for criminal behaviour. The congregating of groups can act as natural guardians; physical entities such as benches and seating can allow for this.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barriers to distinguish authorised areas of entry for example: fences, gates, bollards. • Signs that distinguish an area is for public or private use • Positioning of benches in public spaces (bus stops, parks and shopping areas). 	<i>No Mention of CPTED Indicators</i>	
2. Surveillance	Increased surveillance by individuals or technology, can reduce the opportunity for crime as potential offenders resist due to the possibility of being caught.		
2.1. Natural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open pathways with no blind corners • Visible entries to buildings from the streets • Windows facing streets • Landscapes with no obstructions of views for surveillance • Mixed dwellings 	<p>Policy 7.7 Location and Design of Tall and Large Buildings (p.293)</p> <p>C) Tall and Large buildings should: d) improve the legibility of an area by emphasising a point of civic or visual significance where appropriate f) have ground floor activities that provide a positive relationship to the surrounding streets h) incorporate publicly accessible areas on the upper floors, where appropriate</p> <p>D) Tall buildings should not impact on local or strategic views adversely</p>	

2.2. Formal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lighting in public areas (pathways, parks, car parks) CCTV Security patrols 	Policy 7.5 Public Realm (p.289). 7.19 The lighting of the public realm also needs careful consideration to ensure places and spaces are appropriately lit, and there is an appropriate balance between issues of safety and security, and reducing light pollution	
3. Access Control	The use of signs and physical barriers can direct individuals to safer spaces where there are higher levels of surveillance available.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical or natural barriers (trees, shrubs) that deter individuals from unauthorized areas Use of signs or landmarks to assist direction of movement for individuals Creating physical locations where individuals can congregate and surveillance is available 	Policy 7.5 Public Realm (p.289) B) Development should make the public realm comprehensible at a human scale, using gateways, focal points and landmarks as appropriate to help people find their way. Street furniture should be of the highest quality, have a clear purpose, maintain uncluttered spaces and should contribute to the easy movement of people through the space.	
4. Image Maintenance	An attractive environment can create a sense of pride in a community; this in turn encourages guardianship over public space. A well maintained space induces a sense of safety and removes fear of crime.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhancing an areas attractiveness through establishment of green infrastructure (parks, gardens, lakes, ponds, flowers, artwork). Removal of vandalism and perishing structures Use of shrubbery on walls or building materials to reduce possibility of vandalism 	Policy 2.18 Green Infrastructure (p. 81). A) The Mayor will protect, expand and manage the extent and quality of green infrastructure to benefit biodiversity, a sense of place and community well-being. F) Boroughs should: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> set out strategies for green infrastructure to manage and design areas of green open space. Green infrastructure needs are planned and ...to support the delivery of the widest range of linked environmental and social 	

		benefits. c) In London's urban fringe... create and protect valued recreational landscapes of well-connected and accessible countryside around London for both people and wildlife.	
5. Legitimate Activity support	The placing of signs can deter certain disruptive behaviours or warn individuals of possible criminal activity		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signs that promote appropriate behaviour in a public space • Placement of cash machines in an area with surveillance opportunity • Signs that warn the public of possible criminal occurrences 	<i>No Mention of CPTED Indicators</i>	
6. Target Hardening	The use of security hardware can act as a prevention against criminal behaviour.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercoms and codes at building entrances • Well-lit garbage disposal areas • Lockable gates to building front back and side entrances • Walls or fences to secure an area • Security cameras • Security patrols 	<i>No Mention of CPTED Indicators</i>	

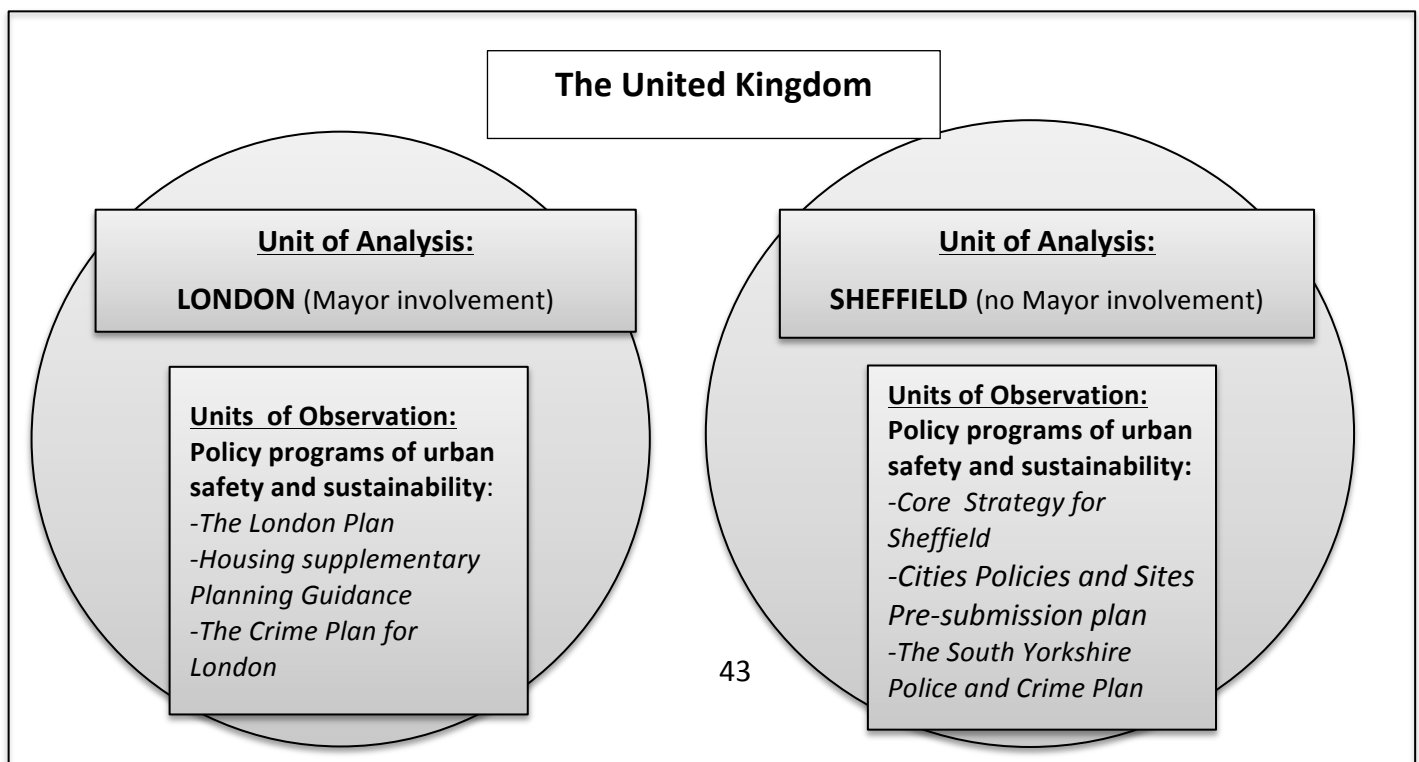
3.3. Research design

This research will follow a qualitative theory testing research design. Qualitative research most fits with the posed research question and provides increased possibility of choosing topics of interest (Yin, 2003). Furthermore, qualitative research studies can be used within real-world situations and encompasses conditions of context which is suited to this research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Yin, 2003). Qualitative case study analysis is a valuable method in which to evaluate programs and provide extension to theory and informed decision-making (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The use of policy programs in this study therefore is well-suited to this type of analysis. A case study design was selected due to the applicability to theory-test and make reference to objective actuality (Eisenhardt, 1989). Robert Yin (1984) describes case study research as an experimental investigation that explores an existing occurrence within a real-life perspective; this type of analysis is used *'when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used'*. (Yin, 1984: 23). The use of a case study design therefore allows for a detailed contextual analysis of a certain number of cases and relationships and the use of multiple cases can offer outcomes, which could be generalized, to other populations (Eisenhardt, 1989). This also allows for explanatory variables to be considered and their influence upon the reality of a situation. It permits the answering of the 'how' and 'why', as well as exploration of conditions which are relevant to the occurrences under study (Yin, 2003). A case study design can consequently provide further insight into the extent to which the agenda setting of urban governance is linked to the assumption that environmental modification within the urban context can reduce crime and how governance actors use environmental design theories within stated policy objectives of local plans. An additional advantage is the ability to use a number of sources with which to conduct the research and reduces the presence of shortcomings and improves overall validity of results. Further to this, validity within such a study can be improved with careful and appropriate selection of cases (Eisenhardt, 1989). Theory testing allows for deductive reasoning in which to evaluate existing theory and test these against observed occurrences (Yin, 2003). This allows for the linking of data gathered, to propositions (theories) that are already developed and so enables valuable assumptions to be made.

3.3.1. Comparative case study design

To answer the posed research question, a comparative case study design in which two cities in the UK, London and Sheffield, will be analysed and compared. Multiple cases were chosen as they can allow for a replication of results through the use of establishing patterns and therefore results can be generalised to other populations (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 1994). Comparative case studies cover two or more cases that enable a researcher to generalize understanding surrounding a causal question (Yin, 1994). Comparative case studies are usually undertaken over time and accentuate a comparison within and across contexts. This type of study is useful to examine how features within a situation, influence the achievement of a program or an initiative and to explore the similarities and differences across two cases (Yin, 1994). It is a most different case study design due to the significant differences between the comparative cases of London and Sheffield. Both cities differ in terms of their size, geography, police organization, crime trends and most significantly upon the position of the Mayor in regards to the managing of crime and safety. It is therefore assumed that the position of the Mayor in their approach to crime and security, will impact upon the outcomes of each cases. It is therefore very important to study the differences between both cases and the hypothesis proposed is: *that as the mayoral position in both cases is different, that this position matters in regards to the extent of environmental design theories found within agenda setting of urban governance.*

Scheme 7: Visual representation of the case study design



3.3.2. Sampling

The study is a non-probability, purposive sampling design with different cases; purposive sampling is applied through specific case selection. Purposive sampling also includes theory-testing. The cases were chosen purposefully according to the position of the Mayor regarding policy-making of urban governance and crime in each city. The Mayor of London is very involved with policy-making and delivering of security objectives in the city, however in Sheffield, the Mayor holds only a ceremonial role and has no involvement in agenda setting of policies regarding urban governance and crime. The type and presence of crime within the cities differs due to size and population, with London being very large and more populated compared to Sheffield. Furthermore differences in polarisation of cultures and communities living in both cities differs which influences levels of crime and the strategies by which crime is tackled.

3.3.3. Units of analysis

The cities of London and Sheffield are the *units of analysis* in the study. Firstly, a comparative table below shows how each of the cases compare in regards to composition on a number of aspects. The green rows showing similarities and the red rows indicate the differences.

Table 1: Table displaying Comparative analysis of London and Sheffield

CONTEXT VARIABLES	London	Sheffield
Population Size	Over 8 million inhabitants (around 8.6 million). Capital city.	Around 566,615 inhabitants
Mayoral Position (on security)	Has a large role in policy-making regarding security	Has no role in policy-making regarding security. She only has a ceremonial role.
Police System	Territorial Police system, but specific Police force for London- the Metropolitan Police	Territorial Police system- The South Yorkshire Police includes policing of Sheffield
Police structure	London has its own police force, the Metropolitan Police who are responsible for policing in London.	Sheffield is policed by the overall territorial police force the South Yorkshire Police
Geography	Very urbanised with some green spaces such as parks, also the river Thames. It is the capital city and main centre for business.	Contains a lot of open space, hills, rivers and countryside. It is one of the most geographically diverse cities in England
Composition of the population	High polarisation of cultures within community, multi-ethnic, deprivation among some boroughs.	Multi-ethnic community in the city and high percentage of elderly and student populations.
Frequency of crime	Highest levels are violent crime (knife and gun crime). Also high levels of theft.	Highest level of crime are burglary and theft.

3.3.4. Presentation of the Cases

The section below will describe each of the cases in detail to provide a contextual overview of the Cities of London and Sheffield.

3.3.4.1. The City of London

London is the capital city of the United Kingdom (UK) and is situated in the south-east of England, next to the river Thames. It comprises of thirty-two boroughs (districts), each of which are culturally diverse. London is the largest Metropolis of the UK and is the centre for economic trade and commerce; in 2011 London was ranked as the top city business locality by the European Cities Monitor (Greater London Authority (GLA), 2016). Since the year 1988, London's population has grown incrementally every year and it was estimated to reach

about 8.6 million this year (GLA, 2016). It has been indicated that by the year 2020, London's population will reach the highest number of residents than at any stage of the city's history. And is anticipated that it will reach '*10.11 million by the year 2036*' (GLA, 2016: 15). Poverty rates for young adults, children, pensioners and ethnic minorities are higher in the city than elsewhere in the UK. Deprived areas tend to be concentrated geographically in certain boroughs. London does comprise of a number of communal parks which offer green spaces for residents and employees of the city. Improvements to quality of life through the establishment of green infrastructure¹¹ and open spaces has been an important part of infrastructural changes within the city, since the establishment of the London green belt (Greater London Authority (GLA), 2017; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2016).

Policing in London assumes a territorial police force which provides policing for a specific area; and these forces are provided with fiscal resources and support from the national government (Devroe, et al., 2017). Although London contains a territorial police force, there is a specific police force for the City of London known as the Metropolitan Police (MOPAC, 2016). It has been stated that crime in England is on the rise and that London is a city whereby hate crime, terrorism, serious organized crime, trafficking, violent crime and abuse and anti-social behaviour is ever-present (MOPAC, 2016: 11). This has been attributed to the rapidly expanding population, increasing commuters for employment purposes and the visitors to London (GLA, 2017). The increasing diversity in cultural aspects are inciting more hate crimes, and rise in urban populations are creating an upsurge in the opportunities for crime within the routines of everyday life (GLA, 2017; MOPAC, 2016). Most recently, the Metropolitan Police Force have expressed that between the years of 2016 and 2017, violent crime in London has risen significantly with gun crime rising 42% and knife crime rising by 24 % (Dodds, April 2017). Overall crime in London has increased by 4.5 %. It is the view that now, more than ever, that it is significant to provide the most effective strategies to keep London safe (GLA, 2016). The Greater London Authority (GLA) are responsible for

¹¹ Green infrastructure defines the physical environment within and between towns and cities. It consists of a network of green elements within and surrounding urban areas which act to enhance and maintain the environment system, biodiversity and to maintain quality of life (Cheshmehzangi & Griffiths, 2014). This is inclusive of public and private spaces, such as parks, gardens and trees, as well as the natural landscape as woodland, grassland, moors and wetlands. Applying planning design to these green aspects can help cities to improve upon the negative impacts of climate change, as well as delivering a better quality of life (Cheshmehzangi & Griffiths, 2014; The London Plan, 2016).

coordinating overall administration of the city, with the local boroughs then assuming authority for local administration. The GLA consists of the Mayor of London who was directly elected and is currently Sidiq Khan from the Labour constituency who was elected in 2016 (GLA, 2016). He is responsible for the creation of the policies and strategies regarding the development of the whole of London¹², as well as safety for London and budget plans. Additionally the Mayor is the elected Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) for London and is responsible for the issuing of the Police and Crime Plans (Police and Social Responsibility Act, 2011; MOPAC, 2016). He is responsible also for the delivery of effective policing by the Metropolitan Police and the management of resources and fiscal controls. At the more local level, the thirty-two boroughs are led by their own borough councils. These councils consist of members of the political parties and are responsible for the provision of services in their areas such as local planning and education (GLA, 2016).

3.3.4.2. The City of Sheffield

Sheffield is a city within the county of South Yorkshire that lies in central-north of England about 260 kilometres to the northwest of London. It is the fifth largest city in the UK with a population of around 566,615 (Sheffield City Council, 2016). It has been proposed that the overall population will rise by 62,000 between now and 2034 and therefore development of residential and business areas as well as sustainability of the natural environment have been seen to be of high importance (The Sheffield Plan, 2015). The city contains a multi-ethnic community and contains a large population of elderly and youth aged 20-29 years due to the presence of two Universities (South Yorkshire Police and Crime Commissioner, 2014). Sheffield is the main shopping centre and cultural hub of South Yorkshire. Currently Sheffield has moved to the 60th most deprived local authority in England out of 326 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2016). Sheffield's geography is varied, and the city contains both large urban and rural areas. This includes woodlands, a national park and local parks. Sheffield City Council has the responsibility for the local authority services, excepting public transport, fire & civil defence and the police, which are managed across the whole of South Yorkshire. The city is growing and the economy is adapting to technological changes and globalisation (The

¹² The London Plan is a policy framework which covers the development and regeneration in London for the next 20-25 years. The document outlines policy objectives which cover planning policies for local boroughs, as well as specific Mayoral strategies regarding improvements to transport, housing, social and environmental issues and land use (GLA, 2016).

Sheffield Plan, 2015). The city is facing some challenges such as inequality between neighbourhoods and life chances are vastly different between groups. The City Council is run on a Leader and Cabinet model in which a leader and the cabinet members discuss and make decisions and implement policies (Sheffield City Council, 2016). The Council is comprised of eighty-four councillors who are responsible for twenty-eight wards and councillors are then elected to be responsible for their ward. The council seats represent a number of political parties with the most being held by the Labour party (Sheffield City Council, 2016). The Mayor of Sheffield is Denise Fox and her position as Mayor is ceremonial. Her duties do not include any political obligation to design and implement policy programs regarding urban governance or crime.

Policing in Sheffield consists of a territorial police force, which is known as The South Yorkshire Police. A locally elected PCC is responsible for the overall managing of The South Yorkshire Police which is inclusive of the City of Sheffield. This position is held by a locally elected member of the Labour constituency, Alan Billings (South Yorkshire Police and Crime Commissioner, 2017). He is required to produce a Police and Crime plan for South Yorkshire which sets out overall policing priorities and strategies. It has been established that the highest recorded crime in Sheffield is that of burglary and theft (South Yorkshire Police, 2014). *'Recorded crime levels in South Yorkshire increased by 3.3% between October 2014 and September 2015'* (South Yorkshire Police and Crime Commissioner, 2016: 8). The largest decreases in crime levels has been burglary rates which have reduced by 14.1% , this has been attributed to managing offenders and targeting at-risk groups (South Yorkshire Police and Crime Commissioner, 2016).

3.3.5. Units of Observation

The units of observation in this study are the policy plans of urban governance in the two Metropolises London and Sheffield. Three policy plans for each city will be analysed; these plans are associated with the development, safety and security of the urban space. In the case of London these plans include The London Plan, The Housing Supplementary Planning Guidance and The London Crime Plan. In the case of Sheffield, The Core Strategy for Sheffield, The Cities Policies and Sites Pre-submission plan and The South Yorkshire Police and Crime Plan. The city plans are a broad overview of development and sustainability

objectives as well as specific environmental modifications to the cities, the crime plans are representative of specific approaches to crime control. Therefore it is determined that a broad overview of policy plans have been represented. In each of these policies specific CPTED indicators will be applied to policy objectives and discourse analysis will provide an overview of the extent to which policy agendas encompass environmental design theory.

3.4. Research method

This research will be conducted through desk top analysis and document analysis. The use of at least two sources that provide evidence is needed in order to find confirmation of a research objective (Bowen, 2009; Jick, 1979). It is crucial that information is examined upon different methods to allow the researcher to determine credible findings and to reduce biases that could occur in one single study (Bowen, 2009). Desktop research allows for data exploitation regarding the explanatory components of convergence and divergence between the cases. Document analysis will allow for policy plans to be analysed in order to determine the extent of environmental design theories present in stated policy objectives. The data gathering of information will first be described and following this the exploitation of data will be explained.

3.4.1. Data Gathering

Data Gathering implies the methods by which data is collected in order to provide information to answer the research question. The specific means of data gathering will be described below.

3.4.1.1. Desk top research

Desktop research specifically refers to the gathering of information that is available over the internet, or sources such as books and articles. In this study desktop research was used to gather existing literature regarding the theoretical background knowledge related to urban governance, agenda-setting, aetiologies of crime and environmental design theories (see table 2 below). Secondly, desktop research was used to gather data regarding the specific cases, their context and explanatory factors relative to their convergence and divergence (see table 3 below). In order to gather policy documents, desktop searches were made via Google and also through official UK government websites. Search engines such as Research Gate, Google Scholar and the Leiden University Library catalogue were used to gather

information in books, scholarly articles and understanding of the theoretical background regarding aetiologies of crime. Furthermore, government websites and internet searches were used to assimilate information regarding the contexts of London and Sheffield as well as Mayoral roles and responsibilities in each of the two cities.

Table 2: Table displaying the collection of data regarding theoretical background

Objective	Source used	Terms searched
To understand the context of cities and the urban environment	<i>Leiden University Library</i> <i>Google</i>	Urban environments, Globalisation, cities and crime, Safe cities Index
To understand urban governance	<i>Leiden University Library</i> <i>Google</i> <i>Research Gate</i>	Urban governance, governance within cities, local governance, PEMP toolbox, urban regimes, government to governance, how cities are governed today, studies of urban governance
Understanding the causes of crime	<i>Leiden University Library</i> <i>Google/ Google Scholar</i> <i>Research Gate</i> <i>Lecture material from Governance of Crime and Social Disorder elective</i> <i>Previous research in books and journal articles</i>	Etiology of crime, Understanding crime, Crime in cities, environmental crime theories,
Understanding Agenda setting and policy-making	<i>Leiden University Library</i> <i>Google</i> <i>Google Scholar</i> <i>Research gate</i>	Agenda setting theory, Kingdon, Stone, Policy making and cities
Understanding Mayoral roles	<i>Leiden University Library</i> <i>Google / Google Scholar</i> <i>Research Gate</i> <i>Lecture material from Governance of</i>	Mayoral figures and urban governance, position of the mayor and the UK, Mayoral role and crime

	<i>Crime and Social Disorder elective</i> <i>Previous research in books and journal articles</i>	
Understanding environmental crime management and environmental design theory, situational crime prevention, CPTED, routine activity theory	<i>Leiden University Library</i> <i>Google</i> <i>Google Scholar</i> <i>Previous research in books and articles as suggested by advisor</i> <i>Governance of Crime and Social Disorder elective</i>	Environmental Criminology, CPTED, environmental design and crime, approaches to crime through environment, environmental design theories, situational crime prevention, routine offender theory, routine activity theory, crime triangle, public space and crime

Table 3: Table displaying desktop research of the cases and contexts of London and Sheffield

Objective	Source used	Terms searched
To describe the case of London and the context	<i>Google</i> <i>Google Scholar</i> <i>Government websites (City Council)</i>	The City of London, population of London, Crime in London, Police system in London, government of London, constituencies in London, Mayor in London, London demographics
To describe the case of Sheffield and the context	<i>Google</i> <i>Government websites (City Council)</i>	Sheffield and the UK, demographics of Sheffield, Mayor and Sheffield, population of Sheffield, City characteristics of Sheffield, crime in Sheffield, Sheffield Police system, South Yorkshire and Sheffield
Understanding position of Mayors in the UK (mainly London and	<i>Google</i> <i>Government websites (City</i>	Mayor and the UK, role of Mayor in London, Role of Mayor in Sheffield,

Sheffield)	<i>Council websites)</i> <i>Previous research in books and articles</i>	Mayors in Europe, Mayors and Crime management, Localism Act 2011, Devolution Act,
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3.4.1.2. Document analysis

Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents that are printed or electronic (Bowen, 2009). Comparable to other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to produce meaning and gain understanding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). It allows for the generation of new questions and concepts that can be researched further. As a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies providing expansive descriptions of a single occurrence, event or program (Yin, 1994). This allows for an in-depth examination into certain case specific information that is relevant to answer the research question of a study. The documents analysed in this research are specific policy plans of urban governance and will be further examined in detail in the analysis section. Each of the policy documents displays approaches to crime in the cities or environmental design within the urban context; allowing for a broad overview and analysis of policy objectives regarding urban governance.

3.4.2 Data exploitation

Data will be exploited on the basis of answering the sub-questions. An analysis of the chosen policy plans will provide an analysis of the extent to which environmental design theories are present within policy objectives, therefore answering the first sub question: *‘To what extent are local policy objectives and programs based upon the principles of environmental design theory in London and Sheffield’?* The presence of the six first generation CPTED principles will act as indicators, these are: *Territorial Reinforcement, Surveillance, Access Control, Image maintenance, Legitimate activity support and Target Hardening.* The data will be presented in a table as described in the operationalization section of this thesis, with evidence of policy goals that reflect the indicators for CPTED. The coding was done by the use of colours to determine the presence of each of the CPTED indicators; green means the indicator was completely found, orange means some elements of the indicator were found and red

nothing at all of the indicator was found. These tables are part of the Appendices and were used for data exploitation by the researcher. In order to answer the second sub-question: *'How can the divergence or convergence between the two cases be explained?'* A comparative analysis between the cities will take place. The cities of London and Sheffield will be compared upon possible factors that explain their convergence and divergence.

3.4.2.1 Data exploitation through discourse analysis

The data exploitation methods are achieved through discourse analysis. This is an analytic procedure that uncovers meaning and understanding and offers insights into the answers to the problems or questions that the research is trying to uncover. *'The view is that different perspective provide different forms of knowledge about a phenomenon, so that, together, they can produce a broader understanding'* (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 4). Discourse analysis will be applied to the chosen urban governance policy plans in each case of London and Sheffield. Specific quotes from the policy plans were taken from the policy plans and stated in the analysis section to show evidence of environmental design theory present in the plans.

Chapter 4. Analysis and Results

In this section, each of the policy plans of London and Sheffield will be analysed in-depth. For each case, descriptions of the plans will first be outlined and then an in-depth analysis of each plan will be established. This section will aim to answer the first sub question: *'To what extent are local policy objectives towards urban development and safety in London and Sheffield, based upon the principles of environmental design theories?'*

4.1. London

4.1.1. Overall presentation of the policy plans for London

In this section a short description of each policy plan for London will be presented. The Policies analysed for London are The London Plan, The Supplementary Planning Guidance and The Police and Crime Plan for London.

- **The London Plan (2016)**

Strategic planning for the city of London occurs under the legislation of the Greater London Authority Act (GLA). Under this legislation, the Mayor is inclined to implement a spatial development strategy (SDS) or what is more specifically known, as 'The London Plan'. The plan sets out framework and policy-objectives for environmental, infrastructural, economic and social aspects over the next twenty-five years (GLA, 2016). It outlines the policy objectives of the Mayor of London in regards to the provision of safety and sustainability. Under the Crime and Disorder Act, 1998, the Mayor is inclined to achieve what is reasonably possible to prevent crime and disorder in the city (GLA, 2016). One of his priorities is to take *'effective steps to ensure Londoners feel safe in their city and do not have to feel constrained in going about their lives by crime and fears about their safety'* (GLA, 2016: 27).

- **Mayor of London Housing Supplementary Planning Guidance (2016)**

The Housing supplementary Planning guidance is also developed by the GLA and establishes policies for the provision of safe housing (GLA, 2016). The framework was originally developed by the previous Mayor, Boris Johnson, however it still stands as the existing framework for the current Mayoral constitution headed by Sidiq Khan (GLA, 2016). This document works in association with the London Plan (2016) and outlines the policy objectives for future developers and current owners, to ensure high quality, well-designed and secure housing (GLA, March 2016). The plan is divided into seven parts, each of which detail specific planning guidance and advice. Preventing crime through building design is a key concept within CPTED theory and therefore this plan is regarded as significant in the analysis of this study.

- **The Police and Crime Plan for London (2017)**

The Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) is involved in the setting out of policies to ensure the city of London is kept safe. The current Mayor, Sidiq Khan is the Police and Crime Commissioner for London and published the Police and Crime Plan this year (2017). The framework sets out his ambitions to provide safety and reduce the fear of crime in the capital and only focuses on security priorities and the tackling of crime and disorder in London (GLA, 2017). The plan was developed in conjunction with the Police and the public in order to better understand issues of relevance and by which to establish the overall

priorities for crime management (GLA, 2017). The Police and Crime Plan for London was chosen for analysis as the framework consists of Mayoral policies that incorporate crime management strategies for London.

4.1.2. In depth-analysis of each policy plan

This section will provide an in-depth analysis for all the policy plans for London. Firstly, priorities of each plan in regards to security will be established. Secondly, political influence over agenda setting of each plan will be explored. Thirdly, the results of the analysis in search of elements of environmental design theory within the plan, will be presented; in this paragraph the results will be shown surrounding the findings on the different indicators of CPTED theory. The findings for London are displayed in the Appendices (see A, B and C). Finally, a small conclusion will be given regarding the findings. The same in-depth analysis will also be completed for Sheffield.

4.1.2.1. Priorities of the Local Plans for London

Within the London Plan, the fundamental theme that runs through out, is that of maintaining an improved quality of life for Londoner's and ensuring a safe and secure environment in which communities live and work. Much of the plan is dedicated to policy objectives regarding spatial development, expansion of housing, provision of infrastructure and protection of the environment. The issue of crime and security through environmental design is regarded within chapter seven of the plan, with policy 7.3 labelled as 'designing out crime' (GLA, 106: 287). This suggests that environmental design theories are of great importance in the plan. The intention of the Mayor is to ensure residents are provided with a wholesome '*quality of life*'¹³ and to ensure a sense of safety, security and '*belonging*' (GLA, 2016: 33). Although this is not outwardly referring to issues of security; quality of life and sense of belonging are values within theories of environmental design theories and crime

¹³ Policies aim to ensure "London has the physical infrastructure adequate for the needs of a growing city... to help use the city's resources as efficiently and sustainably as possible" (The London Plan, 2016: 28). Furthermore, policies aim to tackle deprivation, enhance the natural environment and allow for continued economic growth and sustainability among a continuing rising population. Conformity with the London plan should apply to all London borough local plans. Paragraphs in the policies are lettered A, B, C/ a, b, c, for reference purposes and numbers are used as a hierarchy of preference; the number 1 is the first priority (The London Plan: 35).

prevention. Theories such as situational crime prevention and CPTED suggest that a well-maintained living environment is crucial in ensuring a sense of pride for communities who then inadvertently act as guardians over their surroundings (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cozens, 2016; Clarke, 1997). Additionally, an attractive urban space can reduce the presence of crime, as potential criminals will be less likely to engage in crime in an area that are well-maintained and provide better natural surveillance (Cozens, 2015). Chapter three is dedicated to London people and proposes policy objectives that aim to improve deprivation issues and inequality, provide '*secure neighbourhoods with a high quality environment*' and enhance care for the cities built and urban environment (GLA, 2016: 99). The high concern for image maintenance is a significant principle within CPTED theory.

The Supplementary Planning Guidance (SPG) is focussed specifically on the delivery of housing in London, which is viewed as a key issue by the Mayor of London in order to provide a sustainable living space for future generations, as well as the development of attractive areas in which Londoners have a sense of ownership and belonging (GLA, March 2016). This document is substantial as it accompanies The London Plan; specifically relating to policy 3.5 of the London Plan which outlines the standards and character for building regulations and new building developments. Part six of the plan is associated with planning for social infrastructure¹⁴, which is viewed as an important aspect of sustainability and inclusivity in urban environments. Sustainability is inextricably linked to better security, lower crime and increased feeling of safety (Cozens & Love, 2015). The priorities of the plan are specifically associated with housing design and the issue of security and crime is not mentioned specifically; however, the design of buildings is very much linked to CPTED as this can influence surveillance opportunities (Cozens, 2011; Cozens & Love, 2015). Therefore security through environmental design is a theme which is shown within the plan.

The Police and Crime plan for London outlines specific priorities for policing such as improving community policing, training for officers and partnership work with agencies within the community. The plan is very much linked to security issues and tackling of crime

¹⁴ Social infrastructure is defined as 'covering a wide range of facilities, including health, nurseries, schools, colleges and universities, community, cultural, play and informal recreation facilities, sports and leisure facilities, places of worship, emergency facilities and other uses and activities' (HSPG, 2016: 144).

and disorder in the city. Additionally, priorities highlight the need to improve the criminal justice system and to tackle violent crime and serious organized crime such as terrorism, drugs and trafficking (GLA, 2017). The plan specifically outlines three major issues that need tackling: *'Violence against women and girls, keeping children and young people safe and reducing hate crime and intolerance'* (GLA, 2017: 7). It is stated by the Mayor that reduced government funding and budget cuts¹⁵ to the Metropolitan Police Service are a key concerns that have to be taken into account when delivering strategies for crime in London and that partnerships with other organisations are important in the delivery of security in London. This highlights the very real pressure of budget cuts that are encouraging a more cooperative approach, with other organisations and services. The main goals in the plan are to *'provide a safe city for everyone in London'* and *'support for the most vulnerable'* (GLA, 2017:11). Overall the policy plans in London highlight that the issue of security and safety is high on the policy agenda. All three plans outline objectives that are related to safety, quality of life and sustainability; which has been associated with lower crime and lower fear of crime (Cozens, 2011). The plan with most reference to overall crime and security is the Police and Crime Plan, however the London Plan and the SPG both display elements of security aspects in their chapters and reflect themes of environmental modifications related to safety and security.

4.1.2.2. Political influence over agenda setting

The Mayor of London is highly involved in the creation of the London plan and the development of the policy objectives related to the overall safety and sustainability of London. His visions and strategies are outlined in Chapter One: *'A city diverse, strong and secure, A city that delights the senses, A city that becomes world leader in environmental improvement, A city where it is safe, easy and convenient for everyone to access jobs, opportunities and facilities'* (GLA, 2016: 32). Such principles are far reaching and reflect a determined leader wishing to ensure high quality of life, innovation and development. Additionally, it is the obligation of the Mayor under the Greater London Authority Act, 1999 to provide security, economic potential and environmental protection (GLA, 1999). Policy 2.1

¹⁵ 'Between 2010 and 2015 the Police Grant was cut by 20 per cent by the Government. This meant that the MPS needed to make £600 million of savings over the period, which was achieved by cutting 2,800 (PCSOs) and back-office staff, selling more than 120 buildings and making cuts to other areas of policing. The MPS faces further real-terms reductions in its budget and will need to make £400m in additional savings over the next four years as a result' (GLA, 2017: 16).

(Ab) states: *'The Mayor and the GLA group will ensure that 'the development of London supports the spatial, economic, environmental and social development of the United Kingdom'* (GLA, 2016: 39). The Mayor of London is also involved in the creation of the SPG which accompanies the London plan. The SPG was amended in minor alterations to the London Plan in 2016, in response to the current constitutions review. It is indicated that one of his main priorities is to *'to improve standards for the quality and design of housing, making sure that homes meet the needs of a changing population throughout their lives, and are built to the highest environmental standards'* (GLA, March 2016: 62). Quality of dwellings is regarded as an important feature within CPTED theory; as a high quality environment acts to improve guardianship by communities and create a sense of ownership of the public space (Cozens & Love, 2015).

Additionally the Police and Crime plan for London is produced by the Mayor of London who is the Police and Crime Commissioner for London¹⁶. The Mayor states that his highest priority is *'safety 'as 'this is the foundation of London's success as a great place to live, work, visit and do business'* (GLA, 2017). Therefore the Mayor of London's role in objectives for policing and crime within the city of London is substantial. In the crime plan it is stated *'at the same time giving local MPS leaders and elected local politicians more control, freedom and flexibility to take action on the crimes that affect residents the most'* (GLA, 2017: 24). This shows further evidence of devolution of the state as the sole provider of security and the importance of developing partnerships manage crime in the Capital. Furthermore, it is stated: *'Inclusion and involvement are at the heart of our approach to our work, and we will continue to engage with communities and stakeholders throughout this Plan period, building relationships and working together to make our city safer for all'* (GLA, 2017: 143). In all of the policy plans analysed for London, the Mayor reflects a very present and committed individual towards agenda-setting. His photograph and a paragraph explaining his visions and goals are at the front of each of the policy plans. This emphasizes his dedication and allows for the people of London to associate with him and gain a sense of his personality and future visions.

¹⁶ The 2011 Act established the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis as a statutory corporate body. The Metropolitan Police, and the civilian staff of the Metropolitan Police, are under the direction and control of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis (GLA, 2017: 146).

4.1.2.3. Elements of indicators of environmental design theory

All three of the policy plans were analysed to determine the extent of the presence of CPTED indicators reflected in stated policy objectives. The table below re-establishes the descriptions of the six CPTED indicators used in the analysis. Specific quotes from the plans will then be provided as evidence for each of the CPTED indicators found within the policy plans.

Table 4: This table displays the descriptions of CPTED theory indicators

CPTED Indicator	Short Description of Indicator
1. Territorial Reinforcement	The principle of <i>Territorial Reinforcement</i> establishes that signs and barriers as well as physical entities such as benches and bus stops, as well as sports facilities can allow for congregation of groups and therefore less likelihood of crime due to the increased possibility of getting caught (Cozens & Love, 2015).
2. Surveillance	2.1 Natural Surveillance includes: Open pathways, landscapes with views, windows facing the streets (Cozens, & Hillier, 2005).
	2.2 Formal Surveillance Includes: CCTV, patrols, improved lighting (Cozens & Love, 2015).
3. Access Control	The principle of <i>Access Control</i> refers to the provision of access routes to direct individuals to spaces of increased surveillance is available and the use of locations whereby congregation of people can allow for increased safety (Cozens, & Hillier, 2005).
4. Image Maintenance	The CPTED principle of <i>Image Maintenance</i> regards the visual environment (natural and built) as an important aspect in improving safety of a public space and ownership communities living and working there (Cozens & Love, 2015). The increased ownership of an area leads to better surveillance and guardianship and therefore less likelihood of criminal behaviour; the underpinnings of environmental design theories (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Cozens, 2016).
5. Legitimate Activity Support	The principles of <i>Legitimate Activity Support</i> entails the placement of signs to prevent unwanted behaviour in certain areas (Cozens, & Hillier, 2005).
6. Target Hardening	Target Hardening involves methods by which The use of security hardware can act as a prevention against criminal behaviour; such as walls, gates locks, cameras or patrols (Cozens & Love, 2015).

1. Territorial Reinforcement

Territorial Reinforcement is marginally reflected in the London plan as three policies mention changes to infrastructure to distinguish public and private areas through signage and the use of corridors to facilitate travel by users. Policy 6.1 states that *'where appropriate, a corridor-based approach should be taken to ensure the needs of street users and improvements to the public realm are co-ordinated'* (GLA, 2016: 226). Policy 7.3 states that *'there should be a clear indication of whether a space is private, semi-public or public, with natural surveillance of publicly'* and policy 7.5 highlights the need for features to *'incorporate local social infrastructure'* (GLA, 2016: 290). Such methods allow distinguishing of access routes for the safe directional travel of individuals, directing individuals away from unsafe and inaccessible areas and provision of features to support congregation of people and therefore improved surveillance and guardianship over the public space. Within the SPG, the principle of *Territorial Reinforcement* is mentioned within the plan when it is stated under objective 2.2.4, that *'routes and spaces should be legible with a clear understanding of whether they are public, semi-public or private'* (GLA, March 2016: 67). By ensuring the public realm contains barriers, specified routes or signs that determine areas of authorized and unauthorized access, the presence of crime can be reduced as individuals are directed towards areas of safety and areas of congregation and improved surveillance. This is however the only mention of this principle within this plan; this could be due to the specific nature of the plan towards building design and territorial reinforcement is more likely to be regarded within guidelines for infrastructure. The Police and Crime Plan has no specific mention of *Territorial Reinforcement* within the policy objectives. This could be due to the plan being very much focussed on changes to policing strategies that are more related to provision of support for victims of crime and social justice approaches (GLA, 2017).

2. Surveillance

Surveillance is a CPTED principle that is widely encompassed within policy objectives of the London plan; *natural surveillance* more so than *formal surveillance*. The principle regards the importance of natural methods such as landscapes with no view obstruction, visible entrances from the street and formal methods such as lighting and technological surveillance or security patrols (Cozens & Hillier, 2005). *Natural surveillance* is very much represented in the policies referring to the quality and design of housing developments.

Policy 7.7 displays specificities regarding the design of tall buildings and states that *'tall and large buildings should have ground floor activities that provide a positive relationship to the surrounding streets, incorporate publicly accessible areas and should not impact on local or strategic views adversely'* (GLA, 2016: 293). Furthermore in the Secured By Design framework which is based upon CPTED theory and established by the Association of Policing (ACPO) in the UK, it is mentioned that *'a mix of dwellings can enable homes to be occupied throughout the day which gives increased opportunity for natural surveillance, community interaction and environmental control'* (ACPO, 2014: 11). This suggests that mention of developments of mixed dwellings is linked to the CPTED principle of *Natural Surveillance*. In the London plan a significant amount of importance is placed upon the development of housing to provide sustainable living for communities. This is reflected in a number of policies such as 3.5, 3.8 and 3.9 which establish the need for a mix of developments: *'new developments offer a range of housing choices, in terms of the mix of housing sizes and types'* (GLA, 2016: 108). Additionally policy 3.9 portrays this well: *'communities mixed and balanced by tenure and household income should be promoted across London, which foster social diversity, redress social exclusion and strengthen communities' sense of responsibility for, and identity with, their neighbourhoods'* (GLA, 2016: 116). The emphasis on strengthening a sense of responsibility for a neighbourhood is also reflected within the provision of mixed housing. This is inadvertently linked to the underlying ideals of CPTED theory in which a sense of ownership leads to the increased sense of guardianship over an area (Cozens & Love, 2015). *Formal Surveillance* in regards to the presence of lighting to ensure improved surveillance and safety is present in three policies (7.5, 2.8 and 6.9). This establishes that formal surveillance is somewhat present; *'the lighting of the public realm also needs careful consideration to ensure places and spaces are appropriately lit, and there is an appropriate balance between issues of safety and security, and reducing light pollution'* (GLA, 2016: 289). The *Surveillance* CPTED principle is indicated widely among the SPG, with standards 4, 8 and 10 specifying building entrances in view of the public realm in order to *'provide a number of significant advantages in terms of natural surveillance, activity and resident's social interaction'* (HSPG, 2016: 74). Standard 4 highlights that *'where communal open space is provided, development proposals should demonstrate that the space is overlooked by surrounding development'* (GLA, March 2016: 68). Further to this it is stated that *'inactive frontage facing the public realm can attract anti-social behavior and therefore*

should be avoided and *'blank and inactive frontages at ground level should be minimised and natural surveillance should be provided from the ground floor of buildings where possible'* (GLA, 2016: 74). It is specifically stated in objective 5.1.1.7. that *'active frontages where buildings face publically accessible space, increases natural surveillance'* (GLA, March 2016: 139). This evidence clearly distinguishes the *Natural Surveillance* CPTED principle as a means to enhance security within building design. Within the Police and Crime plan, *Formal Surveillance* is signified in the statement: *'we expect the police to problem solve in our communities in order to address issues and prevent crimes from happening in the first place. By December 2017 we aim for each of the 629 wards in London to have at least two dedicated Police Constables and one PSCO'* (GLA, 2017: 26). Additionally it is stated that they will *'provide 100 officers to police the Night Tube and patrol the 144 stations'* (GLA, 2017: 31). This shows evidence that increasing the police presence in areas around London will improve formal surveillance methods to provide more security and surveillance around London.

3. Access Control

In the London plan *Access Control* is very much a prime principle that is displayed in policy objectives. Policy 7.3 encompasses this notion overall and specifies the provision of *'design should encourage a level of human activity that is appropriate to the location, incorporating a mix of uses where appropriate, to maximize activity throughout the day and night, creating a reduced risk of crime and a sense of safety at all times'*. (GLA, 2016: 287). In regards to providing safe accessible routes around London, policy 7.5 states that *'development should make the public realm comprehensible at a human scale, using gateways, focal points and landmarks as appropriate to help people find their way'* (GLA, 2016: 289). Policy 6.10 specifically refers to the promotion of the *'Legible London'¹⁷ programme to improve pedestrian wayfinding'* (GLA, 2016: 137). Furthermore, recreational and leisure facilities (sports facilities, retail) have been viewed to be significant in allowing for the congregation of people. This is covered in policy 3.19 when it is highlighted *'wherever possible, multi-use*

¹⁷ Legible London is a pedestrian wayfinding system, developed by Transport for London (TfL), to support walking journeys around the capital. By providing clear, comprehensive and consistent information the system gives pedestrians. The system uses map-based information, presented in a range of formats including on-street signs (GLA, 2016: 274).

public facilities for sport and recreational activity should be encouraged' (GLA, 2016: 148). Policy 7.17 further states *'development of open land must include open air facilities, especially for leisure, recreation, sport, the arts and cultural activities'* (GLA, 2016: 313). The principle of *Access control* has no reference within the objectives of the SPG. The Police and Crime plan also has no mention of the *Access Control* Principle within its outlined strategies.

4. Image Maintenance

It can be established that the principle of *Image Maintenance* is the CPTED principle most incorporated in the policy objectives within the London Plan and highly regarded by the Mayor. A high quality and attractive environment enhances positive behaviour and attracts higher levels of congregation and therefore increased surveillance over unwanted activities (Cozens, 2011). It can be stated that CPTED principles are thus related to one another and surveillance of a public space is interlinked with image maintenance. The provision and importance of green infrastructure is specifically mentioned in Policy 2.18 and is regarded as an essential means by which to improve the quality of the environment in London and provide social benefits for residents, *'the mayor will protect, expand and manage the extent and quality of green infrastructure to benefit biodiversity, a sense of place and community well-being'* (GLA, 2016: 81). Policy 2.15 highlights the importance of *'an enhanced environment, urban greening and links to green infrastructure'* (GLA, 2016: 70) and policy 5.10 specifically refers to urban greening and states, *'the mayor will promote and support urban greening'* and *'development proposals should integrate green infrastructure from the beginning of the design process'* (GLA, 2016: 197). The mention of the Mayor promoting such environmental approaches significantly reflects that green infrastructure is very important in the promotion of a greener and high quality environment. Additionally, policies regarding the high quality design of the built environment are also of significance. Policy 3.5 expresses this well, stating *'housing developments should be of the highest quality internally, externally and in relation to their context and to the wider environment'* (GLA, 2016: 102). Furthermore, policy 7.1 states *'development should be designed so that the layout, tenure and mix of uses interface with surrounding land and improve people's access to social and community infrastructure (including green spaces) and should contribute to people's sense of place, safety and security'* (GLA, 2016: 282). Such statements embrace the core underpinning of environmental design theories which perceives that improving sense of ownership within a

public space, can discourage the presence of crime (Cozens & Love, 2015). *Image maintenance* is also a CPTED principle that is broadly reflected in the SPG document. The statement ‘the *scope for well-designed new development to positively reinforce the character and legibility of an area*’ completely encompasses this principle (GLA, March 2016: 52). Furthermore strategies highlight that enhancement of attractiveness of the area through infrastructure: ‘*large residential developments should be supported by an open space and landscape strategy which considers the full range of possible provision, including outdoor sport and play facilities, local parks and other public spaces*’ (GLA, March 2016: 69). It is also specifically identified that public space should be created without the fear of crime; ‘*open space, whether for public or private communal use should be designed to be safe, accessible, inviting and well used, without the fear of crime. It should encourage an appropriate sense of ownership and should be managed to ensure that it remains useful and welcoming to all users*’ (GLA, March 2016: 69). This is a prime and key assertion, which regards the core of CPTED theory and the importance of environmental modification to reduce crime. The removal of the fear of crime is linked to the creation of an attractive and welcoming living environment and the reference to creation of sense of ownership of a public space, both lie at the heart of CPTED theory. This is the most specific link to environmental management and crime reduction in the entire plan. The SPG even states the specifications of car parking in provision of an attractive living space when it is stated ‘*careful consideration should be given to the siting and organisation of car parking within an overall design for open space so that car parking does not negatively affect the use and appearance of open spaces*’ (GLA, March 2016: 77). It can therefore be expressed that the CPTED principle of *Image maintenance* is significantly represented in a high number of stated policy objectives and that the Mayors agenda setting towards housing specifications most reflects the prominence of environmental attractiveness in the provision of a safe and secure urban space. The plan specifically states that a living environment whereby parks are littered and the presence of abusive groups in the streets can make an area feel unsafe and that policing alone cannot solve such issues (GLA, 2017). This suggests that environmental design theories are being recognized within stated objectives; the need for a well-maintained environment and increased surveillance are viewed to be of great prominence in the provision of a safe and secure public space. The Police and Crime plan also has no mention of the *Image Maintenance* indicator within its outlined strategies.

5. Legitimate Activity Support

The principles of *Legitimate Activity Support* which entails the placement of signs to prevent unwanted behaviour is not represented within the London Plan, the SPG or the Police and Crime Plan for London.

6. Target Hardening

Target Hardening in relation to provision of security hardware is reflected only within the Police and Crime Plan and none of the other plans. This principle is associated with the provision of cameras for police officers; *'we will complete the roll-out of 22,000 BWV cameras to frontline officers in 2017'* (GLA, 2017: 47). Moreover, *Target Hardening* methods are specifically stated in regards to providing businesses with alert systems; *'more than 2,000 businesses in London have been provided with digital radios, alerts and key crime prevention messages'* (GLA, 2017: 37). The initiative *'Operation Dauntless'* also suggests the use of target hardening principles with the aim of *'keeping victims safe in their own homes, using a range of methods including panic alarms, mobile phones, covert / overt cameras'* (GLA, 2017: 123).

4.1.2.4 Conclusions of London

All plans specified some level of CPTED indicators, apart from that of Legitimate Activity Support which was not found in any of the plans for London. It is shown that some principles were more present than others; overall, in all plans the principles of *Surveillance*, *Access Control* and *Image Maintenance* were the most represented in the policy objectives. Overall, there were 60 recorded policy objectives within the analysed plans that encompassed CPTED indicators. Many of these principles however, were not specifically stated as methods of crime prevention; it was more apparent that they were linked to environmental design theory indicators. The London plan is a longer and more detailed plan than the others and outlines a chapter and policies specifically to *'Designing out Crime'* which encompasses CPTED theory (GLA, 2016: 287). The policy objectives in this section maintain the *'reduction of the opportunities for criminal behaviour'* through well-designed and attractive spaces, incorporation of *'designed security features'* in buildings, *'convenient movement without compromising security'*, increasing *'natural surveillance of publicly accessible spaces'* and

designing areas to encourage ‘*level of human activity that is appropriate to the location to maximise activity throughout the day*’ (2016: 287). It can therefore be assumed that the plan does cover policy objectives related to crime prevention through environmental design, mostly through objectives towards spatial development, improvements to infrastructure and environmental protection. The Police and Crime Plan shows the least evidence of environmental design theory but is the only plan that reflects the principle of *Target Hardening* such as increased police surveillance and provision of structures by which businesses and individuals can protect themselves from crime. The only principle not stated in any of the plans was *Legitimate Activity Support* such as the placement of signs which state not to engage in certain behaviours. Although this principle was not covered within the plans, it must be stated that the reference to other policy frameworks that work alongside the plan may include such indicators. Those specifics regarding signage and security hardware, would perhaps be included within alternative policies such as road and street specifications or building specifications such as SBD¹⁸ and the New Homes Framework¹⁹ (2014). These documents were in fact indicated in the London Plan as a reference for developers to acknowledge when designing new builds. This implies that environmental design theory is encompassed within London’s policy objectives through the mention of supporting frameworks which act as supplementary guidance to the overall plan.

¹⁸ Secured by Design (SBD) is a police initiative to ‘guide and encourage those engaged within the specification, design and build of new homes to adopt crime prevention measures’ (Association of Chief Police Officers, 2014: 2). The aim is to provide specific measures and advice in which individuals can secure external and internal housing entities (doors, windows and roofs) as well as surrounding footpaths, communal areas, lighting, parking and installation of alarm systems (Secured by Design, 2010; Association of Chief Police Officers, 2014).

¹⁹ The New Homes framework (2014) is based on Secured by Design principles, which encompass all six of the first generation CPTED principles. Secured by Design is established by the Metropolitan Police as a means for developers to ensure security of property. The standards reflect methods of Territorial Enforcement, Access Control, Surveillance, Image Maintenance, Legitimate activity Support and Target Hardening (Secured by Design, 2010; ACPO, 2014).

4.2. Sheffield

4.2.1. Overall presentation of the policy plans for Sheffield

In this section a short description of each policy plan for Sheffield will be presented. The plans analysed for Sheffield are The Core Strategy for Sheffield, The The Cities Policies and Sites Plan (CPS) and The Police and Crime Plan for South Yorkshire.

- **The Core Strategy for Sheffield (2009)**

The Sheffield Core Strategy is developed by Sheffield City Council and consists of planning strategies that outline spatial development of the city, land use, building design and transport provision (Sheffield City Council, 2009). The plan was developed in 2009 for the period up until 2026. The plan states the policy objectives for *'encouraging patterns of land use, methods of travel, design of development and safeguards for resources and the natural environment that help to create sustainable communities'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 29). This document was chosen because it distinguishes policies for regeneration and the *'achievement of sustainable development'* and is the overall framework for Sheffield (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 25). Sustainability has been related to low levels of crime and disorder and higher levels of perceived safety (Cozens, 2011; Sheffield City Council, 2009: 25). It is also specified that the objectives for providing well-being for citizens is inclusive of a *'safer and more secure environment, minimizing physical hazards and opportunities for crime'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 33). This signifies that the framework is inclusive of crime prevention strategies and therefore is relevant in the analysis of this research.

- **The Cities Policies Sites Pre-submission plan for Sheffield (2013)**

The Cities Policies and Sites document *'flows from the Core Strategy's vision, objectives and policies'* and is generated by the Sheffield City Council (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 8). The document is used in conjunction with the Core Strategy and outlines the policies and principal objectives to inform expansion of the city and *'securing development that is appropriate, sustainable and enhances the local environment'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 8). The plan is very area-specific and highlights the areas of Sheffield that have been chosen for regeneration; within these areas specifics for housing development and improved access routes are mentioned. The document was chosen because it is associated with the overall

Core Strategy and it provides structural design principles that developers should take into account when designing safe and well-maintained urban space.

- **The South Yorkshire Police and Crime Plan (2016)**

The Police and Crime plan for South Yorkshire sets out the priorities for the South Yorkshire Police and communicates policing intentions to the public (South Yorkshire PCC, 2016). The plan encompasses the city of Sheffield which lies in the South Yorkshire area. The Police and Crime Commissioner, Alan Billings, composes the South Yorkshire Police and Crime Plan and therefore there is no Mayoral influence in the plan's development. The overall targets are to *'protect vulnerable people, tackle crime and anti-social behavior and treat people fairly'* (South Yorkshire PCC, 2017: 3). The plan states that priorities are written in conjunction with the police service and takes into account the concerns of the public; it is therefore tailored specifically to the South Yorkshire area. The crime plan was chosen due to its overall reflection of strategies for crime management within the city of Sheffield.

4.2.2. In depth-analysis of each policy plan

This section will provide an in-depth analysis for all the policy plans for Sheffield; this will be done according to the same format as the analysis of London above. The findings for Sheffield are displayed in the Appendices D, E and F.

4.2.2.1. Priorities of the Local Plans for Sheffield

The Core Strategy for Sheffield is an older plan (2009) which is currently being updated and is associated with the creation of the new Core Plan for Sheffield which will be unveiled in 2018 (Sheffield City Council, 2013). For the purpose of this research, it is the most influential urban governance plan that is currently in use and reflects a comparison to the London Plan for the case of Sheffield. The Core Strategy is a very detailed plan that outlines specific policy objectives for the spatial vision and overall development of infrastructure within Sheffield (Sheffield City Council, 2009). It is well set out and CPTED principles are present within the plan, however, as with the case in London, many are linked to CPTED indicators and are not always specifically stated as crime prevention methods. The Cities Policies and Sites Plan (CPS) accompanies the Core Strategy and informs the *'development management process'*,

providing guidelines and objectives for planning permission and spatial development of the urban environment (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 1). The overall conditions on development imply that land regenerated needs to be attractive and well-maintained in order to improve overall image: *'One of planning's main roles is to guide changes in Sheffield's physical appearance and to ensure that design across the city is of high quality. Achieving a well-designed arrangement of buildings and the proper definition of spaces contributes towards the Core Strategy objectives for attractive, inclusive and sustainable neighbourhoods'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 82). This is a clear reflection of the importance of an attractive and well-maintained living space. The Police and Crime plan for South Yorkshire sets out the priorities communicates policing intentions to the public. The overall targets are to *'protect vulnerable people, tackle crime and anti-social behavior and treat people fairly'* (South Yorkshire PCC, 2017: 3). It is further detailed that partnerships with organizations such as *'the Fire and Rescue Service'* are viewed an important source of cooperation in achieving goals in the current environment of budget cuts and reduction in police officers (South Yorkshire PCC, 2017: 3). Additionally, the PCC offers grants to voluntary and community services who help contribute to policing and public needs. New threats such as cyber-crime are highlighted and the importance of protection young children from exploitation is a key area of concern. Gun crime and gangs are said to be an area of concern in which *'police are pro- actively targeting'* (South Yorkshire PCC, 2016: 11). The plan is very focussed on approaches of social justice and managing the opportunities for crime through increased community policing and working in cooperation with partnerships to deliver improved justice for offenders and support for victims of crime (South Yorkshire PCC, 2016).

4.2.2.2. Political influence over agenda setting

It can be viewed that the City Council is the main governing body involved in the agenda-setting of policy objectives towards safety and security in Sheffield. The Mayor of Sheffield has no link to the creation of the Core Strategy for Sheffield or the CPS document, as both are the responsibility of the Sheffield City Council. The Police and Crime plan for South Yorkshire is created by the South Yorkshire PCC Alan Billings of the Labor constituency, who was appointed the PCC in 2014 and currently still holds the post (South Yorkshire PCC, 2016). Furthermore, the PCC for South Yorkshire writes the Police and Crime Plan and has his photograph and personal statements regarding policing in the front page of Police and Crime

Plan for South Yorkshire which suggest his personal attribution to policy objectives and that he is very much involved in agenda setting for security and crime. There is no association of the Mayor of Sheffield in the preparation and delivery of any of the analysed plans; as she holds a ceremonial role and is not involved in the agenda setting of policies regarding urban governance.

4.2.2.3. Elements of indicators of environmental design theory

All three of the policy plans for Sheffield were analysed to determine the presence of CPTED indicators found within stated policy objectives (refer to table 4), and the results are discussed below with reference to quotes from the policy plans.

1. Territorial Reinforcement

The Core Strategy does not specifically regard the principle of *Territorial Reinforcement* within policy objectives however the mention of '*improved landscaping, design and street furniture*' in policy CS61, suggests that physical entities such as benches are viewed as a feature in which can improve congregation within an area and therefore improve guardianship and surveillance (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 143). This is the only link to this CPTED principle and yet it is still not specific in detailing the exact methods by which areas could be territorially reinforced. Within the CPS Plan, *Territorial Reinforcement* is somewhat present in stated policy objectives regarding the '*clear distinctions between public and private spaces*' (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 87) The incidence of signs or barriers that distinguish an area for public or private use is a specific indicator of *Territorial Reinforcement*. This is the only policy that concerns this CPTED principle. The Crime plan has no supporting evidence for *Territorial Reinforcement* principle within its stated strategies for crime prevention.

2. Surveillance

The Core Strategy implies the establishment of mixed housing and developments through policy objectives such as CS 17 b) which states the introduction of areas with '*a richer mix of uses including residential, leisure and retail*' and a '*mixed business, residential and educational area*' (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 78). Additionally policy CS28 states '*a mix of uses including housing, services and employment will be promoted around the canal between*

Attercliffe and Darnall (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 97). It has been stated that *'a mix of dwellings can enable homes to be occupied throughout the day which gives increased opportunity for natural surveillance, community interaction and environmental control'* (ACPO, 2014: 11). Therefore it can be established that the presence of the CPTED principle *Natural Surveillance* is very much regarded through the provision of mixed developments that can act to reduce crime due to improved surveillance at different times of the day. No evidence of *Formal Surveillance* was found in the Core Strategy objectives. *Surveillance* is a CPTED principle that is within many of the stated policy objectives within the CPS Plan. *Natural Surveillance* is associated with design and positioning of buildings to face streets and public space: *'overlooking of streets, spaces and pedestrian routes through the arrangement and orientation of buildings and the location of entrances'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 87). Policy B1 maintains that an *'active street scene'* should be provided on *'well used pedestrian routes'* which is significant in provision of surveillance (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 23). Policy G11 further shows evidence for this principle: *'tall buildings should include an active ground floor with entrances on principal elevations that relate well to surrounding spaces, pedestrian routes and buildings'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 90). It is then specifically regarded that shop fronts have clear vision of the streets which is a prime indicator of *Natural Surveillance*; *'shop front design should have transparent glazing on all windows and doors of principal elevations including upper floors in use and shops along prominent routes should be designed to encourage movement and to help create a safe environment'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 92). The particulars even state *'roller shutters will not be accepted within the City Centre and District Centres'* which clearly indicates the presence of environmental design theories in the provision of safety within the urban area (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 92). Additionally the building of mixed developments is seen to be of importance in improving methods of natural surveillance of a public space (ACPO, 2014). Policy C1 and C4 both show evidence for this: *'larger-scale residential developments should be integrated with existing residential communities'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 33). *'Development management will support an appropriate balance of retail and other facilities in Centre's, taking account of the need to maintain vitality during both the day and the evening'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 40). Methods of *Formal Surveillance* are also precisely identified in the CPS Plan in regards to lighting. Policies D1 proposes *'all places of employment and developments that are accessible to the public should provide well designed,*

accessible and well-lit external pedestrian routes' (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 44). Policy E3 states that *to 'maximize the safety of users, particularly at night appropriate lighting is required'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 57). The South Yorkshire Crime plan has no mention of the *Surveillance* principle within its stated strategies.

3. Access Control

It is stated in the Secured By Design framework, which is based on CPTED theory, that crime and anti-social behavior are less likely to occur if there are presence of *'well-used routes with spaces provide for convenient movement'* (Association of Chief Police Officers, 2014: 4). Therefore it can be said that the presence of policies that specify design of improved transport routes are relevant within the principle of *Access Control*; whereby improved transport routes are associated with movement of people to safer spaces with enhanced surveillance and guardianship. In the Core Strategy, CS9 states that *'public transport links will be improved between these areas and the rest of the city, including surrounding neighbourhoods, to maximise accessibility* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 67). Policy CS 54 states that access routes to the city centre and other areas for pedestrians will be improved: *'the pedestrian environment will be improved, with priority being given to routes providing access to the City Centre'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 132). Policy CS 60 states that is important to *'help all users of the City Centre to understand and find their way round the City centre'*; this implies the use of signs and directions to support the safe movement of people around the city (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 141). In addition, the creation of physical space that allows the congregation of people can reduce the possibility of criminality and this is displayed in policy CS2, 3 and 5: *'established office areas can help to encourage the supporting uses that will attract workers, such as shops, leisure and culture, cafes, bars and restaurants'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 59). Many policies regarding the use of facilities to support gathering of people in areas are encompassed in this plan: Policy CS15 states that *'development of leisure and cultural facilities that serve the city and wider region will be located'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 76). Additionally, policy CS21 indicates that *'sports-related leisure will continue to be the principal land use in the Don Valley area'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 82). This all shows very strong supporting evidence for the presence of *Access Control* in the Core Strategy document. In the CPS plan, *Access Control* through the delivery of physical locations and amenities, whereby people can congregate is largely encompassed

in objectives. Policy B3 highlights that *'shopping and leisure development and community facilities should be located as close as possible to other such uses'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 29). Policy G4 specifies waterways as a feature for the gathering of users to an area; *'watercourses where appropriate, should also be protected and enhanced as opportunities for public access, recreation'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 72). Policy E3 even links car parking and social interaction: *'the street itself can be a useful and efficient space for car parking which can encourage more social interaction'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 57). The maintenance of safer routes can maintain the flow of people and allow for better use of areas which improves guardianship and enhanced safety of areas; this is embraced within the CPTED indicator of *Access Control*. Policy C1 shows evidence for this: *'key local services and community facilities should be readily accessible by walking routes that are safe, attractive and convenient'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 33). Additionally Policy E1 refers to the *'increase opportunities for walking and cycling, in ways that provide safe, convenient and viable travel to and from the development'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 49). The mention of safety clearly links this policy objective to CPTED indicator of *Access Control* and the use of better routes to improve security of an area. The Crime Plan for South Yorkshire has no mention of any indicators related to the *Access Control* Principle of CPTED.

4. Image Maintenance

The enhancement of an areas attractiveness is encompassed within the CPTED indicator *Image Maintenance*; which is largely related to policy objectives in the Core Strategy that imply development should support urban regeneration and provision of open spaces. It is viewed as important to increase the amount of greenspace in the city and as a means by which people can congregate as well as improving the overall attractiveness of a city which increases overall feelings of safety (Sheffield City Council, 2009). The mention of high quality urban space is therefore very much connected to reduction in crime in regards to increased sense of ownership and guardianship (Cozens & Love, 2015). The Core Strategy document includes a number of policies and strategies that specify the prominence of a well-maintained and attractive living space; *'enhanced character and distinctiveness of neighbourhoods'* and *'high-quality and inclusiveness in all aspects of the design of new buildings and the spaces around and between them'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 29). This accentuates the core principle of *Image Maintenance*. Additionally, policy CS71 posits that

the countryside and other open land around the existing built-up areas of the city will be *'safeguarded by maintaining the Green Belt'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 163). Policy CS74 entirely encompasses the significance of *Image Maintenance*: *'high-quality development will be expected, which would respect, take advantage of and enhance the distinctive features of the city and contribute towards creating attractive, sustainable and successful neighbourhoods'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 168). Furthermore, the document encompasses policies which aim to improve the provision of open space such as parks, allotments, play areas and sports amenities. Policy CS48 determines *'a network of informal, public open spaces in the City Centre will be provided and enhanced to cater for residents, workers, shoppers, tourists, students and other visitors'* (Sheffield City Council, 2009: 122). It can be stated that many of the policies in the CPS plan also surround the principle of *Image Maintenance* in which the preservation and enhancement of the environment is a prime focus; the plan devotes three chapters towards the maintenance of quality building spaces and natural environments. The plan implicitly states in policy B1, that the design principles for the city centre will *'promote high quality sustainable development'* and *'high quality innovative design of public spaces'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 23). There is specific mention of policies that encompass features such as advertisements, artwork, shop fronts and building design to ensure that the image of the city is well maintained; *'Advertisements: do not lead to an excessive, cluttered or uncoordinated display that would detract from the appearance of the building'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 87). Public art is also very much specified as a means to *'creating or reinforcing an identity for a development or area and neighborhood character'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 89). The plan further posits the specific areas, or *'quarters'*²⁰ in which specific improvements to the environment, architecture and infrastructure are stated (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 25). Policy D2 states that housing developments should include open space which *'should be safe, well designed, well integrated and, where appropriate, publicly accessible'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 46). Policy G1 and G4 clearly state the importance of the natural environment within the city scape: *'new development should: safeguard and enhance, wherever possible, existing natural*

²⁰ 'The City Centre Quarters each have their own distinctive character, identity and individual qualities including the architectural and heritage value of its buildings, its street pattern and grain and the overall degree of intervention required to make the Quarter successful' (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 33).

and semi-natural features and habitats such as trees, woodland, hedges, watercourses, lakes, ponds, reservoirs and dams and rock outcrops' (Sheffield City Council. 2013: 66). *'Watercourses, lakes, reservoirs, ponds and dams should be protected and enhanced as natural landforms, floodplains, wildlife habitats, sites of historic or archaeological evidence and landscape features'* (Sheffield City Council. 2013: 72). The specific mention of tree planting displays high regard for an attractive urban space; *'all new developments should include tree planting'* (Sheffield City Council. 2013: 71). It can be seen that the *Image Maintenance* indicator is largely reflected in both the Core Strategy and CPS. There is no specific mention of objectives reflecting *Image Maintenance* in the Police and Crime Plan for South Yorkshire.

5. Legitimate Activity Support

There was no evidence found of any link or specification of the *Legitimate Activity Support* indicator in any of the analysed plans.

6. Target Hardening

The indicator of *Target Hardening* was also not found in any of the plans for Sheffield.

4.2.2.4. Conclusions of Sheffield

All plans specified some level of CPTED indicators, although some principles were more present than others. Overall, in all plans, the principles of *Surveillance*, *Access Control* and *Image Maintenance* were the most signified in the policy objectives, with *Image Maintenance* being the most represented. Overall, there were 52 policy objectives that encompassed CPTED indicators within the Sheffield plans. The theory of CPTED is most emphasized within the CPS plan, than any other plan as objectives were most inextricably linked to CPTED indicators. An example is a policy objective regarding *Formal Surveillance* in regards to lighting: *'to maximize the safety of users, particularly at night, providing appropriate lighting'* (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 51). This is a direct link of providing safety through the presence of lighting and is an exact indicator of the *Surveillance* principle in CPTED theory. Moreover, the CPS clearly signifies the overall influence of CPTED in Policy G10 where it is indicated that design quality of developments will *'take into account national*

guidance such as Secured by Design and Designing out Crime' (Sheffield City Council, 2013: 89). The supplementary planning documents mentioned implicitly list structural methods by which to secure buildings and reduce the possibility of crime (ACPO, 2014). This reference to such frameworks signifies that environmental design theory is largely represented among the stated goals within this plan. It also suggests that supporting documents are important documents to refer to for developers of property and buildings. There is no mention of any of the CPTED indicators in the South Yorkshire Police and Crime Plan. The plan is concise and its emphasis is on the provision of better support services for victims of crime such as hate crime and vulnerable youth, establishment of partnerships in the community to improve services and the improvement of community policing to reduce anti-social behaviour and maintain public order (South Yorkshire PCC, 2016). The principle of *Target Hardening* and *Legitimate Activity Support* were not specifically stated in any of the policy plans for Sheffield. As indicated before, this could be that alternative programs that are linked to infrastructure planning which are more likely to state these indicators.

4.3. Conclusive comparison between London and Sheffield

Comparing both cities upon the research subject; more specifically the indicators of environmental design theory present in agenda setting within policy plans, it can be determined that both cities incorporate a certain amount of CPTED indicators to suggest the presence of environmental design theory. The overall conclusion is that there is significant divergence between both cases as London does show a larger number of environmental design theory indicators in its policy plans compared with Sheffield and London's Police and Crime Plan does show some level of CPTED indicators, whereas Sheffield's does not. However, there does exist some elements of convergence between the cases; even though the cities are most different, especially regarding constitutional position of the Mayor. Convergence can be understood as the two cities showing similar outcomes, such as the principle of *Target Hardening* not being present in any of the plans for both cities. These elements of divergence and convergence will be elaborated further in the underlying paragraphs. As Mayoral position between the cities differs and the Mayor is most involved in the policies of London, it can be regarded that political position may have some relevance in assumptions that environmental modification and design is an important strategy in supporting urban safety and as a means of crime prevention. However the elements of

convergence can signify that political position is not as significant as originally predicted in the hypothesis.

Table 5 below provides a visual of the comparison between both cases in the number of CPTED principles outlined in each policy plan.

Table 5: A visual comparison between London and Sheffield for each CPTED principle indicated in the policy plans

Comparison between London and Sheffield for each CPTED principle						
CPTED Principles	LONDON			SHEFFIELD		
	The London Plan	The SPG for London	The London Police and Crime Plan	The Core Strategy for Sheffield	The CPS for Sheffield	The South Yorkshire Police and Crime Plan
<i>1. Territorial Reinforcement</i>	4	1	-	1	1	-
<i>2.1 Natural Surveillance</i>	7	9	-	3	10	-
<i>2.2 Formal Surveillance</i>	3	1	3	-	2	-
<i>3. Access Control</i>	11	-	-	8	7	-
<i>4. Image Maintenance</i>	14	4	-	10	10	-
<i>5. Target Hardening</i>	-	-	3	-	-	-
<i>6. Legitimate Activity Support</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total for each policy plan	39	15	6	22	30	-
Total amount overall for each City	60			52		

Referring to the table, it can be seen that London represents more CPTED indicators overall (60) compared with Sheffield (52). The London Plan represents the most CPTED principles in London and the CPS embodies the most CPTED principles for Sheffield. The Police and Crime

plans include the least number of CPTED principles of all the plans analysed for each city and in the case of Sheffield the plan shows no evidence at all of environmental design theory. Therefore there is more of a diverse reflection of CPTED principles in the case of London. In regards to specific CPTED principles in the case of London and Sheffield, *Image Maintenance* (4) is the principle most highly regarded. Access Control (3) is regarded the second most significant principle in both cities and in the case of Sheffield this principle is present in policy objectives more commonly than in London. The third most significant principle is *Natural Surveillance* (2.1) for both cities. *Target Hardening* and *Legitimate Activity Support* were hardly represented in either of the cases; apart from the three indicators of *Target Hardening* in London's Police and Crime Plan. Other than this there is no other indication of these two principles in any of the other plans in the Cities and no indication of Legitimate Activity Support in any of the plans for both cities. Sheffield's Police and Crime Plan showed no indication of CPTED indicators whatsoever.

4.4. Explaining the convergence and divergence between the cities

In this section, firstly elements of convergence between the cities will be discussed and in the second case, elements of divergence will be discussed. This will provide an in-depth explanation towards these aspects and therefore answer the second sub-question '*How can the divergence or convergence between the two cases be explained?*' In both circumstances the explanations of convergence and divergence are based upon the researchers own reflections.

4.4.1. Elements of convergence between the cases

Both cities do have in common that much of the urban governance agenda covered in the policy documents contain objectives that aim to improve spatial development and environmental enhancement which reflect a certain amount of CPTED indicators. In both cities the importance of a clean, green, living environment and expansion of green infrastructure is stated in a number of policy goals and for both cities *Image Maintenance* was regarded the most substantial CPTED indicator. There was not a very strong association with attributing green infrastructure specifically to reduce the presence of crime, more so this was associated with improved quality of life. However, the constructs of environmental design theory lie within the expansion and improvement of the appearance of urban space

(Cozens & Love, 2015). As it has been regarded in prior research, the improvement of appearance of urban environments can enhance ownership and protection of that space by residents, as well as increase surveillance opportunities (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Clarke, 1997; Cozens, 2011). For both cities the Police and Crime plans mainly state the importance of social justice approaches for victims, reform of the criminal justice system, risk-management approaches to steer offender from crime and the importance of creating partnerships to support provision of safety and help with fiscal resources. This suggests that there was not a large amount of reflection of environmental design theory within Police and Crime plans; this was true for both cities. Both cities have a territorial police system, which includes the election of a PCC to manage specific areas in regards to policing strategies. Convergence within the crime plans such as low levels of CPTED and high reference to social justice approaches and the establishment of partnerships could be present due to security issues having been devolved to local governance actors who assume these issues to be of importance on the security agenda. Additionally, the mention of cooperation with other actors through partnerships, implies evidence for the pluralizing of governance over security to include many actors other than the state or solely law enforcement (Devroe, 2015; Devroe et al., 2017; Jones & Lister, 2015).

Overall, both cities have governance agendas that highlight main priorities and policy objectives regarding spatial and infrastructural development, housing provision and environmental management. Political assumptions thus are quite similar according to the overall layout and make-up of the plans and the overriding themes among the agendas. This can perhaps be explained through legislation within England. The Localism Act 2011 introduced more power to local governors over city planning, finance, infrastructure projects and housing (The Localism, Act, 2011, C.20). This implies that measures were taken to devolve powers to councils and local governance actors and to provide communities with greater power over decision-making in their area. Therefore both cities have to follow specific regulations in planning policies and so consequently agendas reflect similar temperaments. Furthermore, the UK Crime and Disorder Act 1998, refers to the importance of local representatives and communities in the management of crime and disorder and not law enforcement alone (The Crime and Disorder Act, 1998). This suggests why both cities refer to the need for cooperative partnerships with other organizations and highlights

pluralization of crime prevention to include a multitude of actors in their crime plans. Both cities encompass a level of environmental design theories within their policy objectives, however this is not always outwardly expressed; most policy objectives encompassed principles of CPTED in an concealed manner and did not apparently state explicit links to crime prevention. This shows that CPTED indicators were present in policy objectives, however the links were not always obvious. It could be that the reference to the Secured by Design framework in each of the cities plans may explain for this; as such a mention of exact regulations regarding CPTED principles, may seem relevant enough so that some policy objectives would therefore not directly state the obvious. In both of the cities there was no evidence of the CPTED principle of *Legitimate Activity Support*, which suggests both cities assume this as irrelevant to mention within their urban governance agendas or perhaps that this principle is more likely to be present in alternative policies that are specifically associated with sign specification.

4.4.2. Elements of divergences between the cases

It can be seen that there is a strong divergence between the two cities as it was found that London displayed many more and a broader range of CPTED indicators than did Sheffield. Upon the researchers reflection, divergence between the cases may be explained through the many contextual differences between the cities, the main one being the position of the Mayor upon development of policy objectives regarding security. In London the Mayor is very much involved in establishing the strategies and implementing the objectives related to the Police and Crime plan, whereas in Sheffield the Mayor has absolutely no involvement. Therefore in London the Mayor has direct association in policing mandates and due to this he is perhaps more inclined to be knowledgeable of concepts related to environmental design theories and therefore this is why CPTED principles are more present in the policy plans. Especially with the London plan, where specific policy goals are related to 'designing out crime' and in the Police and Crime Plan where CPTED methods are present, unlike in the Sheffield plan where they are not. Moreover, the Mayor of London has an involvement in all policy plans that were analysed and these are all interlinked as they are developed by the GLA which is inclusive of the Mayor. In Sheffield the City Council draws up the city plans and the PCC is responsible for the Police and Crime Plans, therefore there is a difference in the

governing bodies responsible for development of stated policy objectives. The Cities also differ according to specific Police structures as London contains its own police force the Metropolitan Police and Sheffield is policed by the regional force, the South Yorkshire Police. This divergence could suggest that specific actors regard objectives that differ from one another and so therefore governance agendas diverge. This is related to agenda setting theory which states that agendas will differ according to the coalitions in power and the specific ideals and beliefs of the actors formulating objectives on the agenda (Stone, 1989). Furthermore, the size of the cities differs, with London being the larger and Capital City with a population size that is a lot bigger than Sheffield. Additionally, the cultural composition within the cities is mixed, especially among the boroughs of London. Overall London may have more instances of crime due to more people present within the city and increased situations where victims and criminals converge and crime is thus more likely. Areas with large cultural mixes may induce differences in cultural perspectives and this could initiate crime and violence (Taylor & Harrell, 1996). Furthermore, security threats will differ, London is larger and is the centre for the economy and transport links; therefore terror threats, organised crime and violent crime may be more likely to occur. Each city is unique in its own context and therefore crime, security and the overall governing agendas will thus be different. It can also be regarded that London's policy agendas are more current than in the case of Sheffield. One of Sheffield's plans dates back to 2009 (The Core Strategy), whereas London plans are dated as 2016/2017. This could show that politics matters in regards to the timing of stated policy objectives being placed higher on the governance agenda, according to the political actor in power. As the Mayor in London holds a political position he is more likely to ensure his ideals are represented in a timely and effective manner to ensure community support for his policies. It can be seen in Sheffield's case that only the Police and Crime Plan for South Yorkshire is current for this year, and is provided by the PCC for South Yorkshire who is locally elected from the Labour constituency. Again this signifies it is important to have agendas that are up-to-date for election purposes to ensure reflection of competency of one's position. This further establishes the importance of personal attributes within agenda setting to increase the prospect of policy objectives being acknowledged and placed high on the political agenda (Stone, 1989). Overall, divergences between the cases can then be linked to political position which is seen to be of importance in regards to the nature of stated policy objectives and timing of agendas. It must be said that divergence can

also perhaps be attributed to researcher bias when analysing the plans as some CPTED indicators could have been missed in some plans, also, there could be elements of environmental design theory within alternative policy plans that were not analysed.

Chapter 5. Conclusion and Discussion

This chapter will firstly answer the main research question '*How can environmental design theories explain convergence or divergence in agenda setting in two Metropolises in the UK?*' In the second instance the possible shortcomings of the research will be discussed and lastly, reflections on possible future research. The Appendices are very specific in showing the outcomes for this study and were set out so that policy goals were transparent and replicable to this research.

5.1. Conclusions

In order to answer the main research question, a combination of the parts which responded upon each of the two sub-questions will be discussed. This will provide an overall answer to the main research question. In the second instance, the hypothesis will be explored in depth; more specifically, that the constitutional position of the Mayor matters to the outcome of the study.

The intention of this research was to view the presence of environmental design theory in London and Sheffield and how the convergence and divergences between the cases could be explained. Overall both cities showed indices of environmental design theories as a number of CPTED indicators were found in the policy objectives. It can be stated that the cities were largely divergent and that in the case of London, aspects of environmental design theory was more significantly present. This was due to a larger occurrence and diversity of CPTED indicators established in the London policy plans overall. It can also be stated that there were some convergences among the cases in regards to overall structure of the policy plans, the exclusion of certain CPTED principles (*Legitimate Activity Support*) and the fact that environmental design theory was found among many stated policy objectives in both cities, albeit sometimes in an indirect manner. It can be concluded that today, environmental

design theory, which is a classical theory developed in the 1960's and 1970's through the works of Jeffrey's' (1971) reduction of crime through environmental modification and Newman's (1972) defensible space theory, is still a very popular set of measures used today in modern urban agenda setting.

In regards to the hypothesis, elements of convergence between the cities suggests that the position of the Mayor does not play as much of a hugely significant role as previously thought when the hypothesis was presented. Convergence such as similarity in the overall structure of the plans and the focus on spatial and environmental development, could be attributed to overall legislative arrangements for the whole of England and therefore Mayoral position does not impact this. Furthermore, as environmental design theory was found in each of the cities' plans, it cannot be said that the presence of environmental design theories in agenda setting is overall significant upon political position. The Mayoral position must however, play some role in the divergence between the cities as he is responsible for the agenda setting of all the policy plans analysed in London, yet in Sheffield the Mayor has no role at all in the agenda setting of any of the policies. Additionally, the fact that the Mayor is the PCC for London could imply he is more aware of environmental design theories and their use in city governance over crime; therefore this is why CPTED principles are overall more present in London policy objectives. It has been stated through agenda setting theories, that the likelihood of a political actors' goals being placed higher on the political agenda, increases if coalitions ensure support from the community as well as encouraging financial stability and a range of expertise (Stone, 1989). In London the Mayor works together with the GLA to deliver city plans and policies as well as specific security plans and this coalition could explain the fact that policies in London are current and up-to-date and that there is improved understanding of the importance for a range of methods to reduce crime in the city context such as crime prevention through environmental design. As London plans are more current, it could also be likely that they reflect more environmental design theory elements as it may be beginning to be viewed as an effective strategy for crime reduction in cities. Sheffield's city plans were not as current and therefore are perhaps in the process of developing strategies that follow on from the success of others such as London. It has been stated that agendas are likely to follow and copy other agendas that are viewed to show success (Stone, 1989). It could be in the future that London as the main

capital city could influence the strategies and policy objectives of other UK cities. Additionally, the Mayor has an overall presence within all of the plans analysed for London as his photograph and a personal statement regarding his ambitions is present at the front of each plan. This could be a strategy to enhance his political agenda and is linked to the theory of Stone (1989) who suggests that personal attributes of policy actors and how they reveal their visions, can influence the way by which policy goals are accepted by the public (Stone, 1989). This could also be why London's plans were more current and suggests that Mayoral position matters in the case of delivering timely and relevant policy agendas. The only plans that were up-to-date in Sheffield was the Police and Crime Plan (2017) and this is written by the PCC for South Yorkshire. This suggests that the implementation of PCC's in England is relevant in the improvement of governance over crime and security issues as it is only the Police and Crime plans for Sheffield that are the most up-to-date out of all the policy plans. It can be viewed that diverse regimes exist within urban governance agendas and these differ according to the actors associated with development of policies and their ideals to combat certain issues (Devroe, Edwards & Ponsaers, 2017; Stone, 2005). Furthermore, that politics does have an impact upon the stated policy objectives on an agenda and in the case of this study, political position does have an influence upon the presence of environmental design theory within policy plans between the two cases.

5.2. Possible Shortcomings of this research

Possible shortcomings of this research are related to elements of the research design such as the units of analysis, the units observation, as well as other shortcoming to do with the political deviations within the governance of England amid the current Brexit.

5.2.1. Units of analysis

To further increase external validity and to ensure results were generalised towards the whole working population, the units of analysis could have been broadened to include more than two cities widely spread over the UK. Additionally, the study could have been conducted upon a most similar case study design to determine specific conclusions upon most similar cases. Furthermore, the use of cities within England could have been compared

to cities in Wales, Scotland and Ireland to make the study more generalizable to the wider population. However, due to feasibility issues only two cases were established in this study upon a most different case study design.

5.2.2. Units of Observation

Internal validity in regards to the analysis of policy plans in my opinion was high, as plans were studied in great depth, but indeed more plans for each city could have been studied. This could have allowed for more results and perhaps more evidence of elements of divergence in both cases. However, it was decided that the in-depth analysis of three of the same plans for each city would allow for valid enough results and feasibility issues were taken into account. Additionally, the study could be extended to include the analysis of local borough plans for each city of London and Sheffield which would add an extended localised level of analyses and to broaden the comparison, which would further increase internal validity. Again, due to feasibility reasons this was not achieved in this thesis. It must be stated that some documents analysed were older plans; such as in the case of Sheffield with the Core Strategy document being as old as 2009. This could have impacted upon the content of Sheffield's policy plans as these plans were not as current as London, however these were the only plans available that were applicable for a comparative analysis for each city.

5.2.3. Other Shortcomings

The significance of the Brexit vote by the UK to leave the European Union last year, will likely lead to governance changes within the UK (Edwards, Chambers, Fyfe and Henry, in Devroe, Edwards and Ponsaers, 2017). Therefore, this could lead to changes within the policy objectives regarded upon the governance agendas and so results shown in this study could eventually change in the future. These possible influences of Brexit were not taken into account in this research, however as the Brexit is still in process this was difficult to achieve; however this could be an avenue for future research. Furthermore, Mayoral changes will occur as locally elected Mayors (such as in the case of London), are elected every four years. This will further lead to deviations of policy objectives and the importance of these objectives placed upon agendas. Furthermore, there were no interviews or in-depth observations for each city completed in this research and therefore qualitative data is lacking and there could be possible influences that may not have been viewed. The collection of

background information would have offered more data regarding the process of agenda setting and policy making within the cities. For example, who participates in choosing the policy objectives and the process by which they are chosen to be placed on the agenda. Such information was not collected due to feasibility reasons. Researcher bias could be a shortcoming in relation to discourse analysis methods as these could be subjective to the researcher. However this bias was limited by working with another thesis student with which the documents were approached together.

5.3. Ideas for future research

Further research that would advance this study would be to gather more information concerning the development of policy objectives and the process by which policy agendas are established. This could be done by extending upon the methods of data gathering by providing interviews with experts and policy makers, who could provide further in-depth information regarding the process of agenda setting and chosen policy objectives within urban governance agendas. Further to this, the study could be developed to address external validity through the use of more cases represented across the UK by increasing the units of observation. Also, to address internal validity the analysis of a larger number and range of policy documents within each case could be completed. In regards to the Brexit, further study could be conducted in a few years to view the influence this may have upon the research and to establish whether such substantial political changes impact results. It has also been stated that later this year, more areas in the UK will be electing directly elected metro-mayors for the first time. A metro-mayor is a local figurehead who is elected by a combined number of authorities and who has the power to make decisions for a whole region (Clarke, 2017). This will allow for regions in the UK, to elect Mayors which hold more accountability and responsibility over policy making, the criminal justice system and control over public spending. This will perhaps lead to additional changes to the presence of certain objectives among agendas. As these changes were still in process at the time of this research they were not taken into account, however this would be an opportunity for future research in order to determine the variations that may occur upon governance agendas with the increasing accountability of metro-mayors.

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Appendices

Appendix A: CPTED Analysis of The London Plan (2016)

CPTED Principle	Detailed description of indicator	Specific description of the policy objective	Traffic light indicator
Territorial Reinforcement	Barriers to unauthorized areas and signs can reduce the opportunity for criminal behaviour. The congregating of groups can act as natural guardians; physical entities such as benches and seating can allow for this.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Barriers to distinguish authorised areas of entry for example: fences, gates, bollards. Signs that distinguish an area is for public or private use Positioning of benches in public spaces (bus stops, parks and shopping areas). 	<p>Policy 6.1 Strategic Approach (p. 25)²¹ B) Where appropriate, a corridor-based approach should be taken to ensure the needs of street users and improvements to the public realm are co-ordinated.</p> <p>Policy 7.3 Designing out crime (p.298) Bb) There should be a clear indication of whether a space is private, semi-public or public, with natural surveillance of publicly.</p> <p>Be) places, buildings and structures should incorporate appropriately designed security features.</p> <p>Policy 7.5 Public Realm (p.300) C) Development should incorporate local social infrastructure such as public toilets, drinking water fountains and seating, where appropriate.</p>	4 policy objectives related to indicator

²¹ Shaping the pattern of development and influencing the location, scale, density, design and mix of land uses, can help reduce the need to travel and the length of journeys, and make it safer and easier for people to access jobs, shopping, leisure facilities and services by public transport, walking, and cycling.

Surveillance	Increased surveillance by individuals or technology, can reduce the opportunity for crime as potential offenders resist due to the possibility of being caught.		
Natural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open pathways with no blind corners • Visible entries to buildings from the streets • Windows facing streets • Landscapes with no obstructions of views for surveillance • Mixed dwellings 	<p>Policy 7.7 Location and Design of Tall and Large Buildings (p.293) C) Tall and Large buildings should: d) improve the legibility of an area by emphasising a point of civic or visual significance where appropriate f) have ground floor activities that provide a positive relationship to the surrounding streets h) incorporate publicly accessible areas on the upper floors, where appropriate D) Tall buildings should not impact on local or strategic views adversely</p> <p>Policy 3.5 Quality and Design of Housing Developments (p. 113) B) The design of all new housing developments should enhance the quality of local places, taking into account physical context; local character; density; tenure and land use mix</p> <p>Policy 3.8 Housing Choice (p. 119) Ba) new developments offer a range of housing choices, in terms of the mix of housing sizes and types</p> <p>Policy 3.9 Mixed and Balanced Communities (p. 127) A) Communities mixed and balanced by tenure and household income should be promoted across London through incremental small scale as well as larger scale developments which foster social diversity, redress social exclusion and strengthen communities' sense of responsibility for, and identity with, their neighbourhoods.</p>	7 policy objectives related to indicator
Formal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lighting in public areas (pathways, parks, car parks) • CCTV • Security patrols 	<p>Policy 7.5 Public Realm (p.289). 7.19 The lighting of the public realm also needs careful consideration to ensure places and spaces are appropriately lit, and there is an appropriate balance between issues of safety and security, and reducing light pollution</p> <p>Policy 2.8 Outer London: Transport p. 65 d) improving the quality, lighting and security of stations to agreed quality standards.</p> <p>Policy 6.9 Cycling (p.270) 6.36 The Mayor wants to improve the cycling network and improving the safety of, priority for and access to cycling. This includes reducing bicycle theft, a major</p>	3 policy objectives related to indicator

		deterrent to cycling. Locating cycle parking as close as possible to building entrances can encourage passive surveillance, as can lighting.	
Access Control	The use of signs and physical barriers can direct individuals to safer spaces where there are higher levels of surveillance available.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical or natural barriers (trees, shrubs) that deter individuals from unauthorized areas Use of signs or landmarks to assist direction of movement for individuals Creating physical locations where individuals can congregate and surveillance is available 	<p>Policy 7.5 Public Realm (p.289) B) Development should make the public realm comprehensible at a human scale, using gateways, focal points and landmarks as appropriate to help people find their way. Street furniture should be of the highest quality, have a clear purpose, maintain uncluttered spaces and should contribute to the easy movement of people through the space.</p> <p>Policy 2.4 The 2012 Games (p.41) g) support the on-going, accessible use of the new permanent facilities and venues within the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park to meet London’s elite and recreational sports needs</p> <p>Policy 2.7 Outer London h) identifying and bringing forward capacity in and around town centres with good public transport accessibility to accommodate leisure, retail and civic needs and especially higher density housing,</p> <p>Policy 2.15 Town Centres (p. 70) Ce) promote access by public transport, walking and cycling</p> <p>Policy 3.9 Sports Facilities (p. 148) Wherever possible, multi-use public facilities for sport and recreational activity should be encouraged. The provision of sports lighting should be supported in areas where there is an identified need for sports facilities to increase sports participation opportunities.</p> <p>Policy 6.10 Walking (p.274) B) B Development proposals should ensure high quality pedestrian environments</p>	11 policy objectives related to indicator

		<p>and emphasise the quality of the pedestrian and street space.</p> <p>Ce) encourage a higher quality pedestrian and street environment, including the use of shared space principles, such as simplified streetscape, decluttering, and access for all.</p> <p>Cc) promote the 'Legible London'²² programme to improve pedestrian wayfinding (use of signs to steer pedestrians in safe directions).</p> <p>6.37 By providing safe and attractive routes that are easy to navigate, people will be encouraged to walk more, which will have safety.</p> <p>Policy 7.3 Designing out crime (p.298)</p> <p>Bc) design should encourage a level of human activity that is appropriate to the location, incorporating a mix of uses where appropriate, to maximize activity throughout the day and night, creating a reduced risk of crime and a sense of safety at all times.</p> <p>Policy 7.5 Public Realm (p.300)</p> <p>B) Development should make the public realm comprehensible at a human scale, using gateways, focal points and landmarks as appropriate to help people find their way.</p> <p>Policy 7.17 Metropolitan Open Land</p> <p>Db) Development of open land must include open air facilities, especially for leisure, recreation, sport, the arts and cultural activities.</p>	
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²² Legible London is a pedestrian wayfinding system, developed by Transport for London (TfL), to support walking journeys around the capital. By providing clear, comprehensive and consistent information the system gives pedestrians. The system uses map-based information, presented in a range of formats including on-street signs. The signs have been designed to enhance the urban realm and sit comfortably in a range of London settings.

Image maintenance	An attractive environment can create a sense of pride in a community; this in turn encourages guardianship over public space. A well maintained space induces a sense of safety and removes fear of crime.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhancing an areas attractiveness through establishment of both infrastructure and green infrastructure (parks, gardens, lakes, ponds, flowers, artwork). Removal of vandalism and perishing structures Use of shrubbery on walls or building materials to reduce possibility of vandalism 	<p>Policy 2.18 Green Infrastructure (p. 81). B) The mayor will protect, expand and manage the extent and quality of green infrastructure to benefit biodiversity, a sense of place and community well-being. F) Boroughs should:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) set out strategies for green infrastructure to manage and design areas of green open space. (2) Green infrastructure needs are planned and to support the delivery of the widest range of linked environmental and social benefits. (3) In London’s urban fringe: create and protect valued recreational landscapes of well-connected and accessible countryside around London for both people and wildlife <p>Policy 2.4 The 2012 Games (p.41) Be) promote the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, its venues and surrounding attractors as international visitor destinations for sport, recreation and tourism</p> <p>Policy 2.11 Central Activities Zone (p. 71) F) extend the offer and enhance the environment of strategic cultural areas along the South Bank,</p> <p>Policy 2.13 Opportunity Areas and Intensification areas (p. 65) Be) support wider regeneration (including in particular improvements to environmental quality) and integrate development proposals</p> <p>Policy 2.15 Town Centres (p. 70)²³ Cf) promote safety, security and lifetime neighbourhoods</p>	14 policy objectives related to indicator

²³ 2.72A Particular care should be taken in the location, design and management of housing, especially in relation to night time activities. Agglomeration of activities in town centres will make them more economically sustainable, attractive for investors and consumers and more resilient to challenges from existing out of centre retail locations. Finally, strong emphasis should be placed on improvements to the public realm and security to enhance their attractiveness and reinforce their identities. In all cases, there will be a premium on creating high quality environments attractive to the changing mix of uses. This will require innovative design solutions which should take into account the policies in Chapter 5 and 7. It will also mean that the redevelopment process must be closely integrated with investment in supporting social, environmental and physical infrastructure.

		<p>Cg) contribute towards an enhanced environment, urban greening, public realm and links to green infrastructure</p> <p>Dd) support and encourage community engagement, town centre management, partnerships and strategies including business improvement districts to promote safety, security, environmental quality and town centre renewal.</p> <p>Policy 2.18 Green Infrastructure (p.92)</p> <p>A) The Mayor will work with all relevant strategic partners to protect, promote, expand and manage the extent and quality of, and access to, London’s network of green infrastructure.</p> <p>Policy 3.5 Quality and Design of Housing Developments²⁴</p> <p>A) Housing developments should be of the highest quality internally, externally and in relation to their context and to the wider environment, taking account of strategic policies in this Plan to protect and enhance London’s residential environment and attractiveness as a place to live.</p> <p>Policy 5.10 Urban greening (p. 208).</p> <p>C) Development proposals should integrate green infrastructure from the beginning of the design process to contribute to urban greening, including the public realm. Elements that can contribute to this include tree planting, green roofs and walls, and soft landscaping.</p> <p>Policy 7.1 Lifetime Neighbourhoods (p.294)²⁵</p> <p>C) Development should enable people to live healthy, active lives; should maximize the opportunity for community diversity, inclusion and cohesion; and should contribute to people’s sense of place, safety and security.</p> <p>Policy 7.4 Local character (p.299)</p> <p>Bc) Buildings, streets and open spaces should provide a high quality design response that: is human in scale, ensuring buildings create a positive relationship with street level activity and people feel comfortable with their surroundings</p>	
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²⁴ 3.32 Securing new housing of the highest quality and protecting and enhancing residential neighbourhoods are key Mayoral priorities. The number of new homes needed to 2036 will create new challenges for private developers and affordable homes providers, but also brings unique opportunities for new housing which will be remembered as attractive, spacious, safe and green and which help to shape sustainable neighbourhoods with distinct and positive identities.

²⁵ 7.4 People should be able to live and work in a safe, healthy, supportive and inclusive neighbourhood with which they are proud to identify (The London Plan, 2016: 294).

Legitimate activity support	The placing of signs can deter certain disruptive behaviours or warn individuals of possible criminal activity		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signs that promote appropriate behaviour in a public space • Placement of cash machines in an area with surveillance opportunity • Signs that warn the public of possible criminal occurrences 		
Target Hardening	The use of security hardware can act as a prevention against criminal behaviour.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercoms and codes at building entrances • Well-lit areas • Lockable gates to building front back and side entrances • Walls or fences to secure an area • Security cameras • Security patrols 		

Overall: 39 Policy objectives covering CPTED

Appendix B: CPTED analysis of the London Supplementary Housing Planning Guidance

CPTED Principle	Detailed description of indicator	Specific description of the policy objective	Traffic light indicator
Territorial Reinforcement	Barriers to unauthorized areas and signs can reduce the opportunity for criminal behaviour. The congregating of groups can act as natural guardians; physical entities such as benches and seating can allow for this.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barriers to distinguish authorised areas of entry for example: fences, gates, bollards. • Signs that distinguish an area is for public or private use • Positioning of benches in public spaces (bus stops, parks and shopping areas). 	2.2.4 (p. 67). The objective should be to develop or enhance the public realm surrounding or directly related to the site in question. Routes and spaces should be legible with a clear understanding of whether they are public, semi-public or private (Link to Policy 7.3 Designing out Crime, London Plan, 2016).	1 policy objective related to indicator
Surveillance	Increased surveillance by individuals or technology, can reduce the opportunity for crime as potential offenders resist due to the possibility of being caught.		

<p>Natural</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open pathways with no blind corners • Visible entries to buildings from the streets • Windows facing streets • Landscapes with no obstructions of views for surveillance • Mixed Dwellings 	<p>2.2.7 (p. 67). Blank and inactive frontages at ground level should be minimised and natural surveillance should be provided from the ground floor of buildings where possible</p> <p>2.2.8 (p. 68) De-cluttering the streetscape by removing unnecessary obstacles and de-cluttering the area from excessive street signage and furniture.</p> <p>Standard 4 - Where communal open space is provided, development proposals should demonstrate that the space: is overlooked by surrounding development;</p> <p>Standard 8: All main entrances to houses, ground floor flats and communal entrance lobbies should be visible, clearly identifiable, and directly accessible from the public realm.</p> <p>Standard 10: Active frontages should be maximised and inactive frontages minimised on the ground floor of buildings facing publically accessible space, in order to provide natural surveillance and activity (associated with policy 7.3 London Plan).</p> <p>2.3.7 (p. 74) In terms of generating street activity, it is preferable for ground floor residential units to have their main entrances (including individual doorbells and post boxes) fronting the street, rather than be accessed from internal corridors</p> <p>5.1.17 Re-design of estates (p. 139). The redesign of estates should maximise active frontages and minimise inactive frontages where buildings face publically accessible space in order to increase natural surveillance and activity (Standard 10).</p> <p>7.4 Housing Policies: 7.3.10 (p. 156) Housing-led mixed use redevelopment should support the regeneration of town centres and high streets</p>	<p>9 policy objectives related to indicator</p>
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		7.4.2 (p. 156) Housing intensification within town centres should reflect the Plan's emphasis for mixed use development in these locations	
Formal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lighting in public areas (pathways, parks, car parks) • CCTV • Security patrols 	Standard 19 (p . 77). Careful consideration should be given to the siting and organisation of car parking within an overall design for open space so that car parking does not negatively affect the use and appearance of open spaces.	1 policy objective related to indicator
Access Control	The use of signs and physical barriers can direct individuals to safer spaces where there are higher levels of surveillance available.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical or natural barriers (trees, shrubs) that deter individuals from unauthorized areas • Use of signs or landmarks to assist direction of movement for individuals • Creating physical locations where individuals can congregate and surveillance is available 		

Image maintenance	An attractive environment can create a sense of pride in a community; this in turn encourages guardianship over public space. A well maintained space induces a sense of safety and removes fear of crime.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhancing areas attractiveness through establishment of both infrastructure and green infrastructure (parks, gardens, lakes, ponds, flowers, artwork). Removal of vandalism and perishing structures Use of shrubbery on walls or building materials to reduce possibility of vandalism 	<p>1.3.44 (p. 52) As recognised in the London Plan, there should be scope for well-designed new development to positively enhance and reinforce the future character and legibility of an area.</p> <p>1.3.51 (p. 54) The need for development to achieve high quality design in terms of liveability, public realm, residential and environmental quality.</p> <p>2.2.11 (p. 69) Open space, whether for public or private communal use should be designed to be safe, accessible, inviting and well used, without the fear of crime. It should encourage an appropriate sense of ownership and should be managed to ensure that it remains useful and welcoming to all users.</p> <p>2.2.10. (p. 69) Large residential developments should be supported by an open space and landscape strategy which considers the full range of possible provision, including outdoor sport and play facilities, local parks and other public spaces.</p>	4 policy objectives related to indicator
Legitimate activity support	The placing of signs can deter certain disruptive behaviours or warn individuals of possible criminal activity		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Signs that promote appropriate behaviour in a public space Placement of cash machines in an area with surveillance opportunity Signs that warn the public of possible criminal occurrences 		

Target Hardening	The use of security hardware can act as a prevention against criminal behaviour.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercoms and codes at building entrances • Well-lit areas • Lockable gates to building front back and side entrances • Walls or fences to secure an area • Security cameras • Security patrols 		

15 Policy objectives relate to CPTED theory

Appendix C: CPTED Analysis of London Police and Crime Plan:

CPTED Principle	Detailed description of indicator	Specific description of the policy objective	Traffic light indicator
Territorial Reinforcement	Barriers to unauthorized areas and signs can reduce the opportunity for criminal behaviour. The congregating of groups can act as natural guardians; physical entities such as benches and seating can allow for this.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barriers to distinguish authorised areas of entry for example: fences, gates, bollards. • Signs that distinguish an area is for public or private use • Positioning of benches in public spaces (bus stops, parks and shopping areas). 		
Surveillance	Increased surveillance by individuals or technology, can reduce the opportunity for crime as potential offenders resist due to the possibility of being caught.		
Natural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open pathways with no blind corners • Visible entries to buildings from the streets • Windows facing streets • Landscapes with no obstructions of views for surveillance • Mixed Dwellings 		

Formal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lighting in public areas (pathways, parks, car parks) • CCTV • Security patrols 	<p>P. 25: Deliver policing where and when today's Londoners need it – in their communities, on the move, online, at night and at work.</p> <p>P. 26: In order to address the particular challenges that our most vulnerable wards face, we will go beyond this minimum level of coverage, enabling those wards to have more Dedicated Ward Officers (DWOs).</p> <p>P. 31: The Mayor, through TfL, has provided £3.4 million of additional funding for the British Transport Police (BTP) to protect Londoners using Night Tube services on the London Underground. Part of this investment is being used to provide 100 officers to police the Night Tube and patrol the 144 stations that will be open throughout the night each weekend.</p>	3 policy objectives related to indicator
Access Control	The use of signs and physical barriers can direct individuals to safer spaces where there are higher levels of surveillance available.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical or natural barriers (trees, shrubs) that deter individuals from unauthorized areas • Use of signs or landmarks to assist direction of movement for individuals • Creating physical locations where individuals can congregate and surveillance is available 		

Image maintenance	An attractive environment can create a sense of pride in a community; this in turn encourages guardianship over public space. A well maintained space induces a sense of safety and removes fear of crime.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhancing an areas attractiveness through establishment of both infrastructure and green infrastructure (parks, gardens, lakes, ponds, flowers, artwork). Removal of vandalism and perishing structures Use of shrubbery on walls or building materials to reduce possibility of vandalism 		
Legitimate activity support	The placing of signs can deter certain disruptive behaviours or warn individuals of possible criminal activity		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Signs that promote appropriate behaviour in a public space Placement of cash machines in an area with surveillance opportunity Signs that warn the public of possible criminal occurrences 		
Target Hardening	The use of security hardware can act as a prevention against criminal behaviour.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intercoms and codes at building entrances Well-lit areas Lockable gates to building front back and side entrances Walls or fences to secure an area Security cameras Security patrols 	<p>P. 33: More than 2,000 businesses in London have been provided with digital radios, alerts and key crime prevention messages (additional target hardening method)</p> <p>P. 47: We will complete the roll-out of 22,000 BWV cameras to frontline officers in 2017</p> <p>P. 123: Operation Dauntless: using a range of methods including panic alarms, mobile phones, covert/ overt cameras</p>	3 policy objectives related to indicator

6 Policy Objectives relate to CPTED theory

Appendix D: CPTED Analysis of Sheffield Core Strategy (2009)

CPTED Principle	Detailed description of indicator	Specific description of the policy objective	Traffic light indicator
Territorial Reinforcement	Barriers to unauthorized areas and signs can reduce the opportunity for criminal behaviour. The congregating of groups can act as natural guardians; physical entities such as benches and seating can allow for this.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barriers to distinguish authorised areas of entry for example: fences, gates, bollards. • Signs that distinguish an area is for public or private use • Positioning of benches in public spaces (bus stops, parks and shopping areas). 	10.34 The priority for improvements is in areas used by visitors, new residential areas and parts of the University of Sheffield campus. It is expected to include 20 mph zones and improved landscaping, design, materials and street furniture .	1 policy objective related to indicator
Surveillance	Increased surveillance by individuals or technology, can reduce the opportunity for crime as potential offenders resist due to the possibility of being caught.		

<p>Natural</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open pathways with no blind corners • Visible entries to buildings from the streets • Windows facing streets • Landscapes with no obstructions of views for surveillance • Mixed dwellings 	<p>CS 27 (p. 96) Further expansion of City Centre living, with a mix of tenures.</p> <p>CS 28 (p. 97) A mix of uses including housing, services and employment will be promoted around the canal between Attercliffe and Darnall.</p> <p>CS 41 (p.114) Mixed communities will be promoted by encouraging development of housing to meet a range of housing needs including a mix of prices, sizes, types and tenures</p>	<p>3 policy objectives related to indicator</p>
<p>Formal</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lighting in public areas (pathways, parks, car parks) • CCTV • Security patrols 		
<p>Access Control</p>	<p>The use of signs and physical barriers can direct individuals to safer spaces where there are higher levels of surveillance available.</p>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical or natural barriers (trees, shrubs) that deter individuals from unauthorized areas • Use of signs or landmarks to assist direction of 	<p>CS2 and CS3 and CS5, Business, Office Development and Manufacturing Businesses (p. 59): Established office areas can help to encourage the supporting uses that will attract workers, such as shops, leisure and culture, cafes, bars and restaurants.</p>	<p>8 policy objectives related to indicator</p>

	<p>movement for individuals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating physical locations where individuals can congregate and surveillance is available 	<p>CS9 Public transport links (p. 67) will be improved between these areas and the rest of the city, including surrounding neighbourhoods, to maximise accessibility</p> <p>CS 12 (p. 69) Manufacturing, distribution and non-office business uses will continue be located within the existing business and industry areas of the Blackburn Valley. Environmental improvements to enhance walking and cycling access, biodiversity and physical attractiveness of the Valley will be emphasised.</p> <p>CS15 (p.76) Development of leisure and cultural facilities that serve the city and wider region will be located in, or at the edge of, the City Centre where possible.</p> <p>CS 19 (p. 81) The retention of arts and cultural facilities will be supported and new uses that relate to cultural activity will be encouraged, particularly in the Cultural Hub area around Tudor Square.</p> <p>CS 21 (p. 82) In the area around the Don Valley Stadium, sports-related leisure will continue to be the principal land use.</p>	
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		<p>CS 48 (p. 122)</p> <p>A network of informal, public open spaces in the City Centre will be provided and enhanced to cater for residents, workers, shoppers, tourists, students and other visitors. (9.27: There is a need to increase the amount of green space in the City Centre, reflecting the environmental objectives of the strategy, reinforcing the distinctive character of the city at its centre, encouraging wildlife and creating an agreeable place for the increased number of workers, visitors and residents to pause or relax).</p> <p>CS 61 (p. 143) The development of a Pedestrian Priority Zone in which a high-quality environment will allow priority for the safe, convenient and comfortable movement of pedestrians within and through the area.</p>	
<p>Image maintenance</p>	<p>An attractive environment can create a sense of pride in a community; this in turn encourages guardianship over public space. A well maintained space induces a sense of safety and removes fear of crime.</p>		

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing an areas attractiveness through establishment of infrastructure or green infrastructure (parks, gardens, lakes, ponds, flowers, artwork). • Removal of vandalism and perishing structures • Use of shrubbery on walls or building materials to reduce possibility of vandalism 	<p>CS 23 (p. 91) New housing development will be concentrated where it would support urban regeneration and make efficient use of land and infrastructure.</p> <p>CS 45 (p. 117) Safeguarding and improvement of open space will take priority over creation of new areas. Improvements will be achieved through design and the provision of facilities, supported by associated management measures aspiring to nationally recognised quality standards</p> <p>CS 46. (p. 120). Creation of Open space in areas where it is needed</p> <p>CS 48 (p. 122) A network of informal, public open spaces in the City Centre will be provided and enhanced to cater for residents, workers, shoppers, tourists, students and other visitors.</p> <p>CS 71 (p.163)Protecting the Green Belt: Countryside and other open land around the existing built-up areas of the city will be safeguarded by maintaining the Green Belt.</p> <p>CS 71 Protecting countryside (p. 163) The green, open and rural character of areas on the edge of the built-up areas but not in the Green Belt will be safeguarded through protection as open countryside.</p> <p>CS 73 (p. 165) Creation of Green corridors in specific locations, complimented by Green links</p> <p>CS 74 (p.168) High-quality development will be expected, which would respect, take advantage of and enhance the distinctive features of the city, its districts and neighbourhoods</p>	<p>10 policy objectives related to indicator</p>
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		<p>Development should also:</p> <p>e. contribute to place-making, be of a high quality, that contributes to a healthy, safe and sustainable environment, that promotes the city's transformation;</p> <p>f. help to transform the character of physical environments that have become run down and are lacking in distinctiveness;</p> <p>h. contribute towards creating attractive, sustainable and successful neighbourhoods.</p>	
Legitimate activity support	The placing of signs can deter certain disruptive behaviours or warn individuals of possible criminal activity		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signs that promote appropriate behaviour in a public space • Placement of cash machines in an area with surveillance opportunity • Signs that warn the public of possible criminal occurrences 		

Target Hardening	The use of security hardware can act as a prevention against criminal behaviour.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercoms and codes at building entrances • Well-lit areas • Lockable gates to building front back and side entrances • Walls or fences to secure an area • Security cameras • Security patrols 		

24 Policy Objectives related to CPTED theory

Appendix E: CPTED Analysis of the Sheffield City Policies and Sites Pre-submission Framework (2013)

CPTED Principle	Detailed description of indicator	Specific description of the policy objective	Traffic light indicator
Territorial Reinforcement	<p>Barriers to unauthorized areas and signs can reduce the opportunity for criminal behaviour. The congregating of groups can act as natural guardians; physical entities such as benches and seating can allow for this.</p>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barriers to distinguish authorised areas of entry for example: fences, gates, bollards. • Signs that distinguish an area is for public or private use • Positioning of benches in public spaces (bus stops, parks and shopping areas). 	G 10(p. 94). Create clear distinctions between public and private spaces	1 policy objective related to indicator
Surveillance	<p>Increased surveillance by individuals or technology, can reduce the opportunity for crime as potential offenders resist due to the possibility of being caught.</p>		

<p>Natural</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open pathways with no blind corners • Visible entries to buildings from the streets • Windows facing streets • Landscapes with no obstructions of views for surveillance • Mixed Dwellings 	<p>Policy B1 (p. 30) Ensuring an active street-scene with well-designed ground floor environments, particularly on strategic and well used pedestrian routes and around key public transport hubs</p> <p>Policy C1 (p. 40). Medium and larger-scale residential developments should be integrated with existing residential communities</p> <p>C4 (p. 47). Development management will support an appropriate balance of retail and other facilities in Centre's, taking account of the need to maintain vitality during both the day and the evening (associated with CS41 Core Policy).</p> <p>D1 (p. 51) Access to existing environments, buildings and their surroundings should be improved as opportunities arise to enable all users to move around with equal ease.</p> <p>E3 (p. 64). Ensuring that, wherever possible, pedestrian and cycle routes are well overlooked</p> <p>G10 Design Quality (p. 94). Ensure overlooking of streets, spaces and pedestrian routes through the arrangement and orientation of buildings and the location of entrances</p> <p>G10 (p. 94). Provide clear and obvious connections to the surrounding street and pedestrian network G 11 (p. 97). Tall buildings should: include an active ground floor with entrances on principal elevations that relate well to surrounding spaces, pedestrian routes and buildings</p> <p>G13(p. 99) Shop Front Design should have transparent glazing on all windows and doors of principal elevations including upper floors in use. Roller shutters will not be accepted within the City Centre and District Centres or along defined priority pedestrian routes within the city</p>	<p>10 policy objectives related to indicator</p>
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Formal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lighting in public areas (pathways, parks, car parks) • CCTV • Security patrols 	<p>Policy D1 (p. 51) All places of employment and developments that are accessible to the public should provide well designed, accessible and well-lit external pedestrian routes</p> <p>Policy E3 (p. 64). Maximize the safety of users, particularly at night, providing appropriate lighting</p>	2 policy objectives related to indicator
Access Control	The use of signs and physical barriers can direct individuals to safer spaces where there are higher levels of surveillance available.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical or natural barriers (trees, shrubs) that deter individuals from unauthorized areas • Use of signs or landmarks to assist direction of movement for individuals • Creating physical locations where individuals can congregate and surveillance is available 	<p>Policy B3 (p.36)</p> <p>Shopping and leisure development and community facilities should be located as close as possible to other such uses and where they would be most accessible for local users of public transport, and for pedestrians and cyclists.</p> <p>Policy C1 (p. 40) most of the new homes in the development should be located where public transport, a convenience shop and at least five other key local services and community facilities would be readily accessible by walking routes that are safe, attractive and convenient</p> <p>Policy D1 (p. 51). All places of employment and developments that are accessible to the public should provide a high standard of inclusive design and safe and convenient access for all and should be: designed to ensure that the development is accessible to all users from the surrounding area, within the site, and into buildings.</p> <p>Policy E1 (p. 56) Increase opportunities for walking and cycling, in ways that provide</p>	7 policy objectives related to indicator

safe, convenient and viable travel to and from the development

Policy E3 (p. 64). Roads, pedestrian routes and areas, cycleways and public spaces should provide safe and attractive travel choices and make way-finding easy for everyone.

Policy E3 (p. 64) Ensure that sufficient and well-designed car parking is provided that is integrated into the development and street scene in safe and easy-to-use layouts. The street itself can be a useful and efficient space for car parking (see also policy E2), which can encourage more social interaction

E3 (p. 63). Include places for meeting or relaxing if located in areas where people live, visit or work

<p>Image maintenance</p>	<p>An attractive environment can create a sense of pride in a community; this in turn encourages guardianship over public space. A well maintained space induces a sense of safety and removes fear of crime.</p>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing an areas attractiveness through establishment of both infrastructure and green infrastructure (parks, gardens, lakes, ponds, flowers, artwork). • Removal of vandalism and perishing structures • Use of shrubbery on walls or building materials to reduce possibility of vandalism 	<p>Policy B1 (p. 30) The following design principles will be adopted throughout the City Centre:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. promoting high quality, sustainable development that reflects the distinctive role of the City Centre within the city region, and with exemplary design at strategically important or other prominent sites; b. ensuring high quality, innovative design of public spaces and streets <p>Policy C4 (p. 47). Development in District and Neighbourhood Centres: the change of use would significantly increase the vitality and viability of the Centre.</p> <p>Policy D2 (p. 53). Housing developments of four or more hectares should include a proportion of the site as open space where there is an identified quantitative shortage of open space. On-site open space should be of the appropriate type to help remedy the identified shortage. It should be safe, well designed, well integrated and, where appropriate, publicly accessible (associated with CS47 in Core Policy).</p> <p>Policy G1 (p. 73). New development should: safeguard and enhance, wherever possible, existing natural and semi-natural features and habitats such as trees, woodland, hedges, watercourses, lakes, ponds, reservoirs and dams and rock outcrops that contribute to the biodiversity of the site and neighbouring areas;</p>	<p>10 policy objectives related to indicator</p>

Policy G2 (p. 76) The Green Network should maintain or increase its continuity and green and open character

G3 (p. 78) All new developments should include tree planting, unless not practicable, with priority being given to sites next to roads, footpaths, open spaces and the Green Belt.

Policy G4 (p. 79). Watercourses, lakes, reservoirs, ponds and dams should be protected and enhanced as natural landforms, floodplains, wildlife habitats, sites of historic or archaeological evidence and landscape features. Where appropriate they should also be protected and enhanced as opportunities for public access, recreation (8.18: They are distinctive and attractive landscape features, with a calming effect on urban living, p. 80)

G5 (p. 82). Development should respond to, take advantage of and where appropriate, conserve the architectural, historic and landscape character of the site, its surroundings and the wider neighbourhood (This can improve inclusivity and feeling of belonging)

G7 (p.88). Protection and, where appropriate, restoration and repair of features of heritage significance,

G14 (p. 101) Advertisements: do not lead to an excessive, cluttered or uncoordinated display that would detract from the appearance of the building, site or locality

Legitimate activity support	The placing of signs can deter certain disruptive behaviours or warn individuals of possible criminal activity		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signs that promote appropriate behaviour in a public space • Placement of cash machines in an area with surveillance opportunity • Signs that warn the public of possible criminal occurrences 		

Target Hardening	The use of security hardware can act as a prevention against criminal behaviour.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercoms and codes at building entrances • Well-lit areas • Lockable gates to building front back and side entrances • Walls or fences to secure an area • Security cameras • Security patrols 		

31 Policy Objectives related to CPTED theory

Appendix F: CPTED analysis of the South Yorkshire Police and Crime Plan:

CPTED Principle	Detailed description of indicator	Specific description of the policy objective	Traffic light indicator
Territorial Reinforcement	<p>Barriers to unauthorized areas and signs can reduce the opportunity for criminal behaviour.</p> <p>The congregating of groups can act as natural guardians; physical entities such as benches and seating can allow for this.</p>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barriers to distinguish authorised areas of entry for example: fences, gates, bollards. • Signs that distinguish an area is for public or private use • Positioning of benches in public spaces (bus stops, parks and shopping areas). 		
Surveillance	<p>Increased surveillance by individuals or technology, can reduce the opportunity for crime as potential offenders resist due to the possibility of being caught.</p>		

Natural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open pathways with no blind corners • Visible entries to buildings from the streets • Windows facing streets • Landscapes with no obstructions of views for surveillance • Mixed Dwellings 		
Formal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lighting in public areas (pathways, parks, car parks) • CCTV • Security patrols 		
Access Control	<p>The use of signs and physical barriers can direct individuals to safer spaces where there are higher levels of surveillance available.</p>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical or natural barriers (trees, shrubs) that deter individuals from unauthorized areas • Use of signs or landmarks to assist direction of movement for individuals • Creating physical locations where individuals can congregate and surveillance is available 		

<p>Image maintenance</p>	<p>An attractive environment can create a sense of pride in a community; this in turn encourages guardianship over public space. A well maintained space induces a sense of safety and removes fear of crime.</p>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing an areas attractiveness through establishment of green infrastructure (parks, gardens, lakes, ponds, flowers, artwork). • Removal of vandalism and perishing structures • Use of shrubbery on walls or building materials to reduce possibility of vandalism 		
<p>Legitimate activity support</p>	<p>The placing of signs can deter certain disruptive behaviours or warn individuals of possible criminal activity</p>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signs that promote appropriate behaviour in a public space • Placement of cash machines in an area with surveillance opportunity • Signs that warn the public of possible criminal occurrences 		

Target Hardening	The use of security hardware can act as a prevention against criminal behaviour.		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercoms and codes at building entrances • Well-lit areas • Lockable gates to building front back and side entrances • Walls or fences to secure an area • Security cameras • Security patrols 		

0 Policy Objectives related to CPTED theory