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Model (my) neighbourhood – a bottom-up collective approach for crime-prevention in Portugal and Lithuania

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to respond to the need for comparative studies on methodologies for implementing Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning (CP-UDP) at the local level, particularly in peripheral Europe where CP-UDP's top-down standards have poor dissemination and acceptance. This paper debates how local partnerships can help reduce crime and how a CP-UDP-based model can be introduced into municipal planning.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper discusses the challenge of CP-UDP in the framework of a post-crisis Europe and Europe 2020. Because there is a large gap between theory and practice, lack of a shared holistic approach, and scepticism, or lack of knowledge, of public authorities, at local-level planning professionals and the police have devised bottom-up initiatives based on interdisciplinary partnerships with the community. The paper describes, discusses and compares the implementation of such approaches in Lisbon (Portugal) and Vilnius (Lithuania).

Findings – The paper addresses the processes and challenges of establishing synergies and working relationships between police officers, public officials and the community, and it discusses six main causes for its (un)success. When these conditions were met, crime and social constraints reduced.

Practical implications – Lessons learned are deemed crucial to disseminate knowledge and best practices, paving the way for proper top-down policies and planning legislations in these and other countries.

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Originality/value – This paper analyses the potentialities and shortcomings of local-level implementation of CP-UDP strategies as an alternative to failed top-down strategies in two realities mostly unknown of the international scientific community. The case study material is previously unpublished internationally.

Keywords Bottom-up strategies, Community-based, Community-policing, Crime prevention through urban design, Participatory planning, Safer neighbourhoods

Paper type Research paper

1. Introduction – Crime-prevention 2020

Currently, the strategy for Europe 2020 (Walsh, 2012) urges for new forms of governance, spatial planning and policy development that can promote smart, sustainable and inclusive growth, and therefore the themes of social reform, social inclusion and social cohesion are at the forefront of emerging research agendas in planning (Blanco *et al.*, 2009). Within this context, social crime prevention has been a major topic of debate, as the reality of crime and fear of crime are still a major concern in modern-day societies.

Recent data from Eurostat (2014) report that the total number of recorded crimes in the EU-28 has been steadily decreasing since 2003, but this can be misleading. First, because statistics include drug-related and violent crimes. Considering just small-scale crimes, the percentage actually increases (e.g. domestic burglary increased 14 per cent from 2007 to 2012). And second, because the decrease in crime statistics is not true for all EU Member States. Ten countries, mostly outside Central Europe (including Portugal and Lithuania) have witnessed an overall increase (Eurostat, 2014).

In the past decade, the EU has officially recognized Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED), most recently known as Crime Prevention through Urban Design and Planning (CP-UDP) as a "useful, effective, very concrete and feasible strategy to prevent crime and feelings of insecurity" (EUCPN, 2002), a "pro-active crime prevention philosophy" and an "important first step" in solving the crime issue (CEU, 2011). Several authors have also discussed how CP-UDP relates with behavioural geography, the urban setting and the development of sustainable communities (Cozens, 2008; Cozens *et al.*, 2005; Johnson *et al.*, 2014).

The original term CPTED was coined by Jeffery (1971), building on previous work by Jacobs (1961), and later it was popularized by Crowe (1991). The basic principle was that crime prevention should be less focused on social causes and more on the design, planning, management and control of the built environment. If crime became more difficult, more risky and less rewarding, then offenders were less likely to perpetrate it. This was achieved through a design promoting natural surveillance, movement and a clear distinction between public and private space, among other elements, for reducing *opportunities*, as discussed by authors such as Mayhew *et al.* (1976), Brantingham and Brantingham (1981) or Clarke (1997). Newman's work (1972, 1976, 1980, 1996) was the next milestone, promoting the concept of "defensible space" based on four principles: territoriality, natural surveillance, image and environment.

Over the decades, CP-UDP principles have been debated and reworked by authors such as Gardiner (1978), Moffatt (1983), Crowe (1991), Cozens *et al.* (2005) or Armitage (2013). Saraiva and Pinho (2011) have synthesized the many iterations of the past four decades into nine principles:

(1) natural/passive surveillance;
(2) access control/target-hardening measures;
(3) territoriality;
(4) hierarchy of spaces;
(5) hiding places;
(6) environment and activity support;
(7) image/maintenance;
(8) extensive approach; and
(9) collaborative approach.

The last two principles are related to "second-generation CPTED", which introduced a social component. Concepts like "employee surveillance" (Mayhew *et al.*, 1979), "social surveillance" (Murray *et al.*, 1980), "self-manageable space" (Perlgut, 1981, 1982), "neighbourhood watch" (Murray, 1983), "situational crime prevention" (Clarke, 1997) or "routine activity approach" (Cohen and Felson, 1979), started to perceive the community as an intrinsic and active part of the design/crime prevention process. Community intervention has been explored by Saville (1994), Cleveland and Saville (1998, 2003), Plaster Carter (2002) or Sarkissian *et al.* (1994, 1997, 2003). Further technological advances have also increased the applicability of CP-UDP, as the use of GIS (Ceccato and Snickars, 2000; Curtis, 2012; Matijošaitienė and Hushen, 2015), Space Syntax (Hillier and Sahbaz, 2009; Matijošaitienė and Zaleckis, 2014) or CCTV (whose bottom-up use is debated by Webster and Leleux, 2014).

The comprehensive review of the evolution of CP-UDP theories and practices, of the physical design solutions adopted, and of the long-lasting debate concerning their effectiveness, is out of range of this paper, as recent literature has given it extensive attention; Soomeren (1987, 2014), Cozens *et al.* (2005), Saraiva and Pinho (2011), Hollis-Peel *et al.* (2011), Michael *et al.* (2012) Gibson and Johnson (2013), Johnson *et al.* (2014), Grönlund (2014). Indeed, according to the EU:

> […] best practices regarding CP-UDP should be collected, evaluated and made accessible for stakeholders. This process should utilise a common framework of concepts and processes, and transferable principles should be identified (EUCPN, 2002).

However, there appears to be a lack of a shared holistic framework, and the terminology used is often conflicting (Ekblom, 2011; Gibson and Johnson, 2013; Grönlund, 2014; Johnson *et al.*, 2014), which translates into transferability issues and inconsistencies. Three main causes have been identified.

First, the introduction of CP-UDP into each country's planning practices has occurred at different time frames. Grönlund (2014) identifies four stages; the UK, The Netherlands and Denmark in the 1980s (Stummvoll, 2012, calls these the "pioneer countries"), Central Europe in the 1990s, Southern Europe in the 2000s and Eastern Europe only in the twenty-first century.

Second, there has always been a lack of a single, straightforward, CP-UDP theory, which has led specialists and officials in each country to make local re-interpretations and develop their own schools of thought, guidelines or policy documents. The result is an overlapping of principles, manuals and best practices in the past two decades (City of

Los Angeles, 1997; Government of South Australia, 2004; Oakland Police Department, 1994; Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2004; Saraiva, 2008; Stollard, 1991; The City of Edmonton, 1995; Wellington City Council, 2006; Singapore National Crime Prevention Council, 2003), displaying large differences in terms of terminology, principles used and solutions offered (Saraiva and Pinho, 2011), as these may not always be applicable or necessary in different settings (Stummvoll, 2012). This makes CP-UDP a vague and confused concept (Gibson and Johnson, 2013) at the same time as there is scepticism in proving empirically its effectiveness (although Foster *et al.*, 2010; Hedayati Marzbali *et al.*, 2012a, 2012b, Minnery and Lim, 2005, have to some extent done so). The lack of synthesis, geographical coherence and straightforward proof hinder widespread replication of principles, and intervention and investment by central governments (Cozens *et al.*, 2005).

Third, there is a large gap between research and practice. Most European countries possess CP-UDP manuals, either from academic or government sources, but very few possess top-down policy documents that enable safety criteria design to be mandatory in urban planning and development projects (Grönlund, 2014). Exceptions occur in Central European countries such as France, The Netherlands or the UK, which have introduced mandatory crime impact assessment studies or "seals of approval" for projects. Examples of the former are France's *L'étude de sûreté et de sécurité publique* (DRIEA, 2015), required for new developments in cities over 100,000 inhabitants; Manchester's Crime Impact Statement, mandatory for major planning projects and which should include crime statistics, a police assessment report and recommendations to mitigate risks (Leanne, 2011); and Dutch's Safety Effect Report, that maps out possible risks and suggests safety measures, and may or not be compulsory according to each local authority (Soomeren, 2014). Examples of the latter are UK's Secured by Design label, provided by Crime Prevention Design Advisors located within each local police force (Leanne, 2011), and the Dutch Police Label Secure Housing, which induced a drop of 95 per cent in burglary to dwellings of new estates, and of 80 per cent in existing neighbourhoods (Jongejan and Woldendorp, 2013; Nauta, 2004). Despite perceived advantages, this diversity around Europe also contributes to the lack of coherence discussed in the previous paragraph.

For the EU, the development of a common framework for CP-UDP is hindered by lack of knowledge, resistance to change, perception of panacea, cost and economic influence and lack of legislative and practical support (CEU, 2011). Thus, it has been keen to promote creative stakeholder involvement, support projects/partnerships such as "AGIS Action – Crime Opportunity Profiling of Streets" (Jurisson *et al.*, 2005) or "COST Action TU1203 – Crime Prevention Through Urban Design and Planning" and, most importantly, enable the publication of a European Standard on "Prevention of crime – Urban planning and building design" (CEN/TR 14383-2:2007) (discussed in Cardia, 2013; Grönlund *et al.*, 2014; Stummvoll, 2012) and respective Handbook (Labqus - Politecnico di Milano, 2008). But this has not, at least so far, been enough. According to Grönlund *et al.* (2014), European dissemination and acceptance of the Standard is weak at best, and Stummvoll (2012) justifies it by saying that the Standard was published as a "Technical Report", not as a European Norm, which has led to re-interpretation in divergent ways by national bodies that better fit their administrative, economic, social, political and geographic conditions.

Nonetheless, if "the top-down approach to the development of a common European implementation strategy has failed" (Stummvoll, 2012) due to these reasons, at local level, ground-breaking bottom-up collective methodologies of participatory planning and community policing have started to be developed, applying the principles of CP-UDP with positive results, because they can be much more sensitive to the local contexts. Responding to the need for comparative studies on such bottom-up training and co-operation strategies at the European level, the main purpose of this paper is to describe and compare the methodology of implementation of two approaches in Lisbon (Portugal) and Vilnius (Lithuania). The intention is to focus less on the planning and design solutions adopted to achieve successful CP-UDP interventions (papers and manuals above cited have done so extensively), but to reflect on the processes and challenges of introducing a CP-UDP-based model into municipal planning, that have been discussed much more rarely. First, a review is made of community and police involvement on crime prevention, and of the CP-UDP background in Portugal and Lithuania. The two case studies are then presented and discussed.

2. Community and crime prevention

A model of local governance where citizens or community organizations participate in planning and place-making processes is not new and has been widely discussed in the literature. Even so, two decades ago, Forester (1999) stated that we knew very little about the actual role of citizens in these processes. Traditional models of participation (discussed in Innes and Booher, 2000; Sulaiman *et al.*, 2012) were not very inclusive or meaningful, because citizens served mainly to provide information (Michels and De Graaf, 2010). As these models "do not work" (Innes and Booher, 2000), new paradigms were required, focusing less on the role of politicians and administrators and more on the management and citizen-involvement perspective. Thus, authors urge for more creative participatory processes, able to attract stakeholders, enhance their interest and their willingness to participate and where the definition of the role/level of involvement of each is made clear (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014; Michels and De Graaf, 2010). Disadvantages are that often not all relevant groups are represented and that the next step, "people-managed places" (Gower, 2008), can only function as a bottom-up approach, because they are developed through use, not by function, and although they may begin with leadership from local authorities, they can only be sustained through self-management by the community.

Local police forces constantly search for new ways to promote and develop safer communities. Therefore, the perceived advantages of prevention and community involvement over law enforcement led to the re-interpretation of the concept of "community policing". More precisely, as police forces became more aware of CP-UDP (Book and Schneider, 2010; Macdonald and Kitteringham, 2004; McCauley and Opie, 2007; Feltes, 2013) and as CP-UDP increasingly included a community intervention component (Cleveland and Saville, 2003, Plaster Carter, 2002; Sarkissian *et al.*, 2003), it became apparent that strategic local partnerships could be effective in identifying main public safety concerns, setting integrated strategic priorities and ultimately reducing crime. As Feltes (2013) points out, this is not a new policing method, rather a new philosophy of how policing should be carried out.

For Skogan (2004), community policing has three defining characteristics: decentralization, citizen involvement and problem-solving. Community involvement may be as simple as the hotspot identification of crime locations (Liebermann and Coulson, 2004), with or without the use of technology such as GIS (Ghose, 2003). But place managers can exponentially improve their services by harnessing the power of stakeholder feedback (Morgan, 2008) and the same reasoning can be applied to police work. In the USA, this resulted in increased patrols for certain routes and the creation of zoning districts to encourage area redevelopment based on CPTED principles (Plaster Carter *et al.*, 2003). In Greece, Local Crime Prevention Councils were established, encouraging community participation (Zarafonitou, 2003). In the UK, the Youth Design Against Crime programme (Davey *et al.*, 2012) included a major component of interaction of youth with "police mentors". Feltes (2013) thus identifies two common results of community policing models:

(1) the links between police, communities and citizens are exacerbated, therefore bettering law enforcement, citizen satisfaction and quality of life; and

(2) the police's ability to systematically identify and analyse problems in the community is improved, thus producing a better judgement of who is most able to deal with them, and how.

Nevertheless, authors also criticize some aspects of community involvement. Crawford (1994) discussed the redrawing of the cost of policing; the focus on specific types of crime; the shifts in the attribution of responsibilities for failures; and the rise of new forms of governance that put into question the regulation of social relations, conflict resolution and social justice. Webster and Leleux (2014) ask many of the same questions when discussing self-use of CCTV by communities. Looking at the reality of South America, Marquardt (2012) asks whether participation can ever be fully inclusive and equal, because imbalanced and exclusionary geographies of participation do not respond to the needs of marginalized urban residents and socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This tendency towards exclusion, that can create a stigmatised reality allegedly legitimised by the community, was also denounced by Dammert (2006), and Feltes (2013) in the European context. According to Crawford (1994), participation should promote social cohesion which fosters social solidarities yet preserves a cosmopolitan acceptance of cultural and social differences.

3. Crime prevention through urban design and planning in Portugal and Lithuania

Portugal and Lithuania are on opposite sides of Europe (Figure 1), but their background in CP-UDP has been somewhat similar. In both countries, the knowledge and application of situational crime prevention has existed for decades in regular police procedures, but the interest in CP-UDP together with an active involvement from the community is relatively new with few best-practice examples. The academia has been responsible for the first works on CP-UDP in the early 2000s, and it so remained for a decade. Both quality control national bodies officially adopted the European Standard when it was published, but as Grönlund *et al.* (2014) stress, it was neither sold nor used, because it was neither promoted nor made mandatory. Fortunately, the EU Council resolution of 2011 (CEU, 2011), as well as the greater dissemination of success stories of CP-UDP projects worldwide, rekindled the interest of government and local authorities of

Figure 1.
Lisbon (Portugal) and Vilnius (Lithuania) in the map of Europe

Source: Authors

Portugal and Lithuania in the past few years, through the re-encouragement of police and practitioners to apply CP-UDP principles.

In Portugal, the earliest discourses on CP-UDP date back to Heitor (2001, 2007). The author analyzed the spatial factors that contribute to bring negligence, incivilities and insecurity to Lisbon urban spaces, and in the latter work, a keen interest was taken in natural surveillance. In the same year, a national study on the ecology of crimes, based on national crimes statistics, related crime with the physical and social contexts (Machado *et al.*, 2007), whereas a small review of CP-UDP theory was published in a book on urban safety (Fernandes, 2007). As well, the first annual security strategy, including situational prevention, was approved (Tulumello, 2014). In the following year, Saraiva (2008) wrote the first major comprehensive review of CP-UDP theories and principles, as well as the first "best-practice manual" in the Portuguese language. He also tested several locations in Oporto against CP-UDP principles (Saraiva, 2008, Saraiva and Pinho, 2011). Some authors have attributed this growing concern for urban security in 2007-2008 with an unexpected wave of crime (especially in Lisbon) which lead to unprecedented feelings of fear and a media frenzy (Machado and Santos, 2009; Tulumello, 2014).

In 2011, the Portuguese public authorities became officially concerned with CP-UDP. The General Direction for Territorial Management and Urban Development published a special issue on "Public Safety and Urban Development", introducing CP-UDP and discussing the literature time-line, the general concepts, international case-studies and the role of the police (DGOTDU, 2011). Concomitantly, Fernandes (2011), Commissioner of Police, wrote a shorter article in similar terms, officializing a growing interest of the Lisbon police force (Mendes, 2009). More recently, the General Board of Internal Administration formed a partnership with the Crime Prevention Council of Singapore to

publish a Portuguese translation of their CP-UDP Guidebook (Singapore National Crime Prevention Council, 2003). The result is the first official Guidebook/Best-Practice Manual published by a Portuguese authority, and a great breakthrough for introducing and promoting CP-UDP at the municipal level (DGAI, 2013).

Currently, CP-UDP continues to appear in research projects on security and fear of crime (Tulumello, 2014), and occasionally be the object of thesis (Freitas, 2011; Neves, 2012). Portuguese experts from the academia and the police are part of European-funded projects, but within the country, CP-UDP is still mostly an unknown subject, constantly absent of planning practices and of the approval of new developments/requalification projects. One notable exception is the project of proximity patrolling carried out by the Lisbon Municipal Police, which started around 2006 (Durão, 2012), and which has since seen major improvements, discussed in the next section.

In Lithuania, the first analysis on the influence of design elements and community involvement on safety also appeared in the early 2000s. Paulikas (2001) analyses the effect of social environment of criminality in rural areas. Šakočius (2002) highlights the role of the community in helping the police and in taking care of their own safety. Finally, Kalesnykas and Mečkauskas (2002) wrote a critical review of CCTV usage in Lithuania.

According to Lithuania's policy priorities, crime reduction is still much dependent on social strategies. Furthermore, there is a lack of integration to work towards safer cities. On the one hand, there is still much scepticism from the community regarding governmental institutions. On the other, neither police representatives nor crime prevention specialists participate actively in the discussion and implementation of development plans. This is a paradox because, although mandatory construction regulations require the description of security measures against vandalism, violence or theft in building projects (LRAM, 2004, LRAM, 2010), there are no security experts in municipal committees to correctly evaluate them. As Pocienė (2009) stated, safety and CP-UDP were not a priority in Lithuanian's urban planning processes. The same author was the first to discuss the classic CP-UDP theories in a Lithuanian publication (Pocienė, 2009), namely, defensible space, situational crime prevention, environmental criminology and the importance of place and social organization. Later, she discussed the problems of ensuring safety in Lithuanian cities (Pocienė *et al.*, 2010).

In 2011, the Lithuanian Government took a major step by adopting the resolution "On The Approval of the Concept of Safe Municipality" (Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybė, 2011). According to it, municipalities are evaluated by two sets of criteria: the ones describing the municipality's capacity for strengthening residents' safety and the ones actually assessing it. The Ministry of the Interior is responsible for the implementation, monitoring and assistance to municipalities, and to fulfil these goals, the figure of the "community officer" was created. The officer, an appointed police official, is meant to work directly with the communities, stimulating involvement in CP-UDP initiatives, promoting safety measures, convincing residents to work more closely with the police and promoting the "Safe Neighbourhood groups", an initiative whose success is still to be determined (see Section 5).

From then onwards, CP-UDP has been steadily appearing in publications by Lithuanian authors. Michailovic (2012) discusses fear of crime and introduced the "theory of broken windows" in the Lithuanian language. Matijošaitienė (2013) applied CP-UDP principles to propose guidelines for the design of roadside rest areas,

surrounding environment areas and small architectural objects. The author also worked in the city of Kaunas, using spatial analysis techniques to identify urban planning and design elements that could cause high crime rates (Matijošaitienė, 2015, Matijošaitienė and Hushen, 2015). Bielinskas *et al.* (2014) established relationships between homogeneity and heterogeneity of land use and the varying territorial crime patterns in the mono-functional zones of Vilnius. Vilnius Police has actively pursued the involvement of citizens, for example, by developing the mobile app "Tvarkau Vilnių" (literally "Police Vilnius"), a social platform that allows citizens to report existing problems in specific areas and in real time. Section 5 provides a case study in this city.

4. Safer *Alta de Lisboa* – the experience of Lisbon, Portugal

In 2009, the Lisbon Municipal Police (LMP) decided to implement a community policing strategy. It stemmed from an urgent need to address security problems in *Alta de Lisboa*, a 1980's neighbourhood north of the city centre and west of the airport (see http://sgal.altadelisboa.com/en/altadelisboa/theproject/). Following success stories worldwide, a preventive model was tested, based on strategic partnerships and citizen's participation. As a preamble, the LMP asked to become a member of the pre-existing GCAL, the neighbourhood's Community Group, and from this integration the project "Safer *Alta de Lisboa*" was developed, a pilot-experience in Portugal.

The *Alta de Lisboa* is a mix housing area with severe security problems. According to the population census (INE, 2001, 2011), it is one of the areas in Lisbon with the greatest number of residents bellow the age of 15 years, and one which has most increased its number of houses. After a social relocation programme in 1997, various families from other problematic neighbourhoods moved there (PML, 2010). This caused social tensions and rivalries. Anti-social behaviours, criminality, drug use and school abandonment at an early age were common. From 2004 to 2008, the number of thefts actually decreased (criminals usually do not rob in their own neighbourhood) but vandalism, gun-fighting and bodily offenses all increased considerably (PML, 2010). Nevertheless, a survey during this period showed that residents were more concerned with lack of security due to absence of policing (15 per cent), the bad relations with the neighbours (7 per cent) or the degradation of the physical environment (6 per cent), than they were with, for example, drug traffic (4 per cent) (PML, 2010).

The "Safer *Alta de Lisboa*" project was built upon five principles:

(1) transferability of responsibilities from the police to the community, expected to take a proactive role for achieving security;

(2) development of a trusting relationship between police and citizens;

(3) engagement of the local community in the planning, implementation and evaluation of policing strategies, not only to identify hotspots and community problems but also to discuss and understand why they occur systematically and to mobilize community resources to mitigate and prevent them;

(4) a both prevention- and problem-solving-oriented approach; and

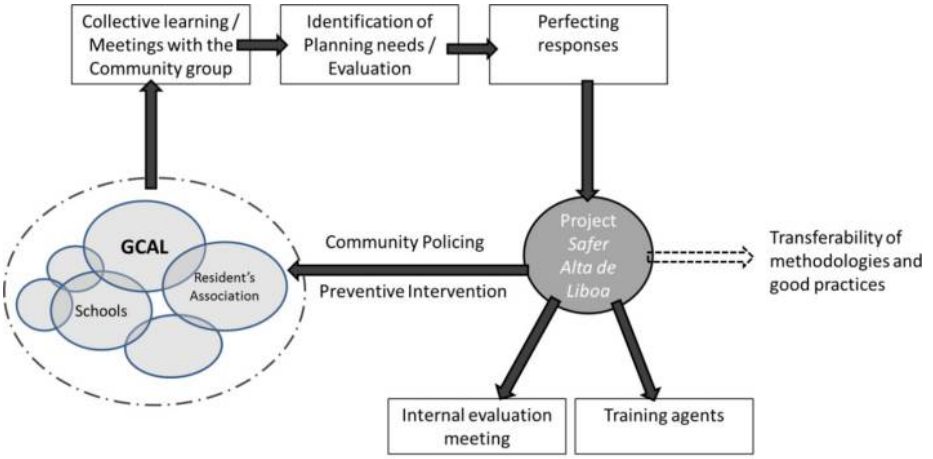
(5) openness by the police to change and adapt their methods to more efficiently and sustainably respond to local security needs as prioritized by the community group.

It was deemed important to test whether this model could improve police–citizen relationship *on the street*, how it could affect crime statistics and anti-social behaviour and if it avoided social exclusion on participatory processes.

Figure 2 presents the strategic model adopted. The first step was, within GCAL, to introduce the LMP to public, civil society and residents' associations operating in the territory. The goal was to start building a neighbourhood task force but also confidence towards the police. The LMP was thus able to learn about the security concerns of local organizations and the local initiatives that they had already promoted. This process was denominated "building commitment" and took place during 2009. It culminated with awareness-raising activities targeting vulnerable groups (such as elderly and children) on prevention and safety measures. For example, police officers visited local schools and the youngsters visited the premises of the municipal police (see PML, 2010, for a full description of workshops and activities promoted during this period). Active participation of the whole neighbourhood was encouraged, and a culture of active citizenship was developed, breaking the barriers between the population and the police.

At the beginning of 2010, an official partnership, the "Security Group", was established. Thirteen entities joined, including residents associations, schools and parents associations, sports associations, social service agencies (local health centre and youth and elderly care centres), charity associations working in the neighbourhood and finally various municipal companies and services (maintenance, housing management and so on).

Between March 2010 and July 2011, the Security Group met monthly. Work followed three main guidelines: identification of main security problems to be addressed by community policing; identification of priority areas to start on-foot proximity patrolling; and definition of the profile and training needs of police officers to be selected for the patrol. Thus, an individual selection of police officers was made; the first time in Portugal that such a selection incorporated important input and feedback from private citizens. A specific training programme for officers was designed and carried out, focusing on five main areas:



Source: Adapted from PML (2010)

Figure 2.
Community policing strategic model of "Safer *Alta de Lisboa*"

(1) theoretical models of community and problem-oriented policing;
(2) interpersonal relationship skills;
(3) intercultural competences;
(4) territorial knowledge; and
(5) conflict resolution techniques.

In July 2011, CP-UDP, and its importance to community safety, was added to the training programme, when the LMP organized a workshop targeting officers and municipality planning professionals (Plate 1).

In November 2011, daily foot patrol started. Concomitantly, public space interventions, following CP-UDP principles, were made in the hotspots signalled by the Security Group. An abandoned well inside the school grounds was properly sealed. Poorly treated high shrubbery areas where drug traffic and use were common were cleared and gardened. In one of these places, a small square was erected. Public lighting was improved. Abandoned vehicles were removed from the street. A campaign for up-keeping public space was carried out with the residents' support, including overall cleaning, the repair of damaged street furniture and the removal of debris and garbage from common areas of social housing buildings. Work on crime prevention and awareness activities also continued with residents, particularly with vulnerable groups, including, for example, thematic workshops on the protection of building entrances, on elderly-oriented safety or on bullying prevention, taught in schools.

Today, the Security Group continues to meet monthly, identifying new problems and debating the efficiency of implemented solutions. It is also open to new members, the most recent being the local parish. The two municipal police officers selected for daily patrol, still do so and have a close relationship with the residents. They meet monthly with supervisors from the LMP, and actively participate in follow-up meetings with local partners and the Security Group, giving first-hand accounts of the neighbourhood status.

Focusing on first- and second-generation CP-UDP, namely, public space interventions and the improvement of police–citizen relations, this project was able to diminish neighbourhood incivilities and non-criminal anti-social behaviour, and to increase the sense of safety and well-being. It was favourable for the LMP, as it allowed a clearer understanding of not only territorial and social vulnerabilities but also of potentialities that could be channelled into effective crime prevention planning and integrated responses. But it was also favourable for the community that expressed more

Plate 1.
Awareness initiatives (left); Security Group discussions (middle); On-foot patrolling (right)

Source: Authors

confidence and welcomed more knowledge about police work. In this framework, time was deemed as the most crucial aspect. It takes time to trust and work with the police and to develop a participatory culture. Community engagement and support is thus paramount, and representatives from all social spheres, including minorities, should be included. To integrate police patrollers, their profile and training had to have the approval of the residents, a mandatory step to build trust. For that reason, the officers are always the same ones, and all decisions go through the Security Group.

Even so, CP-UDP and community policing can only go so far, and integration with other areas of expertise needs to be constant. Therefore, the LMP aims to involve other police officers and municipal workers in regular CP-UDP training in a short- to medium-term period. In 2013, the Lisbon Municipality Training Department promoted a new training course on CP-UDP, targeting community policing teams and other municipal services, such as those related to planning, social housing, rehabilitation or maintenance. The goal is to bridge the gap between the police and urban planning professionals, and to build CP-UDP technical expertise when planning urban projects of municipal responsibility. In the follow-up of projects such as "Safer *Alta de Lisboa*" or when starting new projects, these new bridges can promote even more successful approaches to crime prevention.

5. *The Safe Neighbourhoods project* – the experience of Vilnius, Lithuania

In 1997, a "Stop Crime" movement emerged first in Vilnius, and later in other Lithuanian cities. Although CP-UDP was never mentioned (it was still a foreign concept at this stage; see Section 3), "Stop Crime" can be considered as the first CP-UDP-based project in Lithuania. Its main goals were to:

- develop and implement measures for the prevention of offences;
- organize education sessions for residents;
- potentiate the collaboration of citizens with the police and other institutions;
- implement prevention practices among youths;
- encourage the reporting of committed offenses;
- assist the police in maintaining public safety;
- provide urgent help to persons aggrieved by an offence;
- organize consulting activities on crime prevention; and
- responding to the previous items, organize "Safe Neighbourhood" groups, i.e. groups of residents working with local authorities to promote safety practices in their neighbourhoods (VAVPKV, 2008).

For the first decade however, this pilot experience was only a mild success. By 2007, only 18 "Safe Neighbourhood" groups had been established in Lithuania. But suddenly, with the growing interest of planning research and local authorities on CP-UDP practices, this number exponentially increased to 1602 in 2014 (Mažinte, 2015). To this, the adoption of the resolution "On The Approval of the Concept of Safe Municipality" in 2011 and the introduction of a "community officer", an appointed police official, as described in Section 3, much contributed. After a trial experience in Šiauliai and Molėtai

counties, the activity of the community officer has continued in the whole of Lithuania since 2014.

Nevertheless, there are still not many documented cases of crime reduction in these neighbourhoods. After the agreement signing between the neighbourhood representatives and the police officers, many neighbourhoods "go on as before", and no particular activities are promoted for reducing crime or fear of crime. One of the main reasons for this may lie in the cultural and historical background of Lithuania, part of the Soviet Union until 1990. Indeed, in the Vilnius case study, police officers noted that the community was innately passive and alienated, displaying weak social relations, lack of trust in authorities and unwillingness to take responsibilities. Another key issue seems to be the lack of CP-UDP knowledge and experience of community officers. These operatives have never received formal CP-UDP training and mostly rely on their own previous experiences working as police officers. Moreover, there were no guidelines or checklists in which to base their assessments. Only at the beginning of 2015 did the first CP-UDP-based survey for assessing neighbourhood safety conditions appear, developed within the Vilnius County Police Headquarters (VAVPKV, 2015). The survey has two parts. In the first, 11 questions identify the neighbourhood's most critical crime problems. In the second, 22 questions create a territorial assessment of safety conditions, by asking if elements such as lighting, CCTV or abandoned buildings exist in the intervention area. Residents have to classify each criteria based on the 0-4 scale (from 0, "very bad or non-existing" to 4, "perfect") (Table I).

This survey has however been open to criticism. Some of the criteria can hardly be assessed using a 0-4 scale, and residents lack support in interpreting many questions, for example those related to the "CPTED method", that many may be unaware of. Questions are also grouped in a way that may create ambiguity. For example, sidewalks may be in excellent conditions and cycle paths inexistent, but respondents need to answer a common "safety for pedestrians and cyclists" criteria. This may be the reason why the Vilnius Police has subsequently introduced other initiatives that go beyond assessment to prevention. A nine-step programme with comprehensive advice for crime prevention is now being lectured to "Safe Neighbourhood" groups. These meetings also promote exchange of contacts between neighbours, lectures on how to keep the

Table I.
Extract from the questionnaire for the safety assessment of the "Safe Neighbourhood" territory, prepared and adopted by the Vilnius County police headquarters

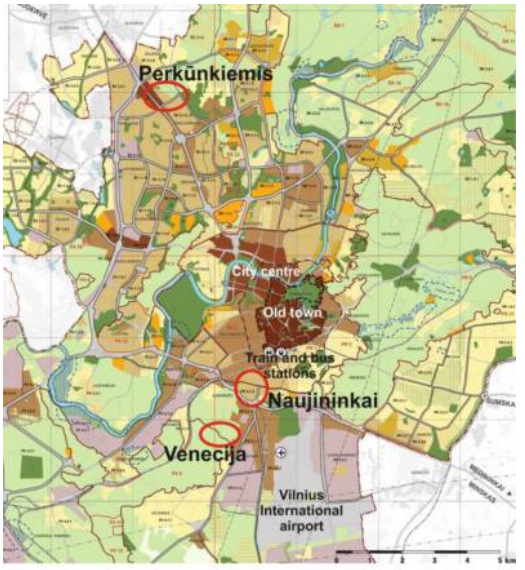
Criterion	Assessment (0 – very bad or non-existing, 1 – bad, 2 – satisfactorily, 3 – good or 4 – perfect)	Remarks
Water resources (exist, non-existing, access, visibility)		
Safety of pedestrians and bicyclists (pedestrian paths, cycle paths, sidewalks and pedestrian crossings)		
Assessment of environment according to CPTED method (bushes, trees, visibility of objects etc.)		

Source: VAVPKV (2015)

neighbourhood well-kept and an open stand where important crime-prevention information is on display (VAVPKV, 2015). Furthermore, an EU-funded partnership between Lithuania, Estonia, Finland and Latvia named "Development of existing urban design, planning and crime prevention methods and introduction of new ones to improve living environment safety" (EUCPN, 2015), has helped to increase the expertise of Lithuanian Police officers and develop cooperation networks.

Figure 3 displays the location of three "Safe Neighbourhoods" in Vilnius; Naujininkai, Perkūnkiemis and Venecija, which are succinctly described in the following paragraphs. It should be noted, however, that the local condition assessments made jointly by the police and community groups are very recent (2014-2015), and many of the design solutions proposed by the Safety Group to the municipality are not yet implemented. Therefore, it is still too soon to properly judge the success of the "Safe Neighbourhoods" initiative.

Naujininkai (Plate 2) has been known as the location of various types of crimes, especially thefts, drunkenness and disorder in public spaces, drug abuse and social conflicts. The Vilnius County Police, in partnership with the Safe Neighbourhood Group, officially proposed the following recommendations to Vilnius Municipality in late 2014: prune back or remove trees and bushes so as to increase visibility, install CCTV cameras, improve lighting, reconstruct the entrances of multi-flat buildings, install shelters on transport hubs and replace old trading kiosks for more modern structures. These interventions are currently under way, e.g. plants to be cut have been marked and Supermarket Maxima, a great commercial hub, has agreed to install more CCTVs and improve lighting fixtures on its surroundings. Concomitantly, CP-UDP



Source: Adapted from the Vilnius Master plan, www.vilnius.lt/lit/Bendrasis_planas_iki_2015_m/1796539

Figure 3.
Map of Vilnius and location of the Naujininkai, Perkūnkiemis and Venecija neighbourhoods

training for community officers started in November 2014, by initiative of the Vilnius County Police (LPDUMI, 2015).

Perkūnkiemis (Plate 3) is a new residential neighbourhood, erected in a high intensity development area, according to Vilnius Masterplan. Construction started in 2005, and it is still ongoing. Presently, it occupies 15 ha, contains 33 residential high-rises (7-9 stories high), and houses 10,000 residents and 2,500 parking spaces. Most common offenses include crimes against property, thefts and robberies. The Safety Group analysis established that there were only half the parking spaces there should be according to construction norms. Unsurprisingly, cars were parked in unauthorized locations and in the surrounding fields, making them good targets for theft or vandalism. Furthermore, the high density of urbanization was also deemed an issue, leading to social isolation, and a loss of the sense of territoriality and neighbourliness. Access control and territorial reinforcement strategies were also deemed as not working. The Safety Group thus proposed to the Municipality further CP-UDP measures, as a lower intensity of urbanization for the areas left to be developed (e.g. maximum height of four stories), a status change in the Masterplan (from high- to medium-intensity development area) and an increase in the promotion of social activities (LPDUMI, 2015).

Finally, Venecija (Plate 4) is also a recent neighbourhood, finished in 2012. It contains 18 residential medium-rise houses (four stories high), occupying a 4 ha area and where 500 residents live. Venecija is located in a problematic area of the city, standing between Naujininkai and the neighbourhood where the biggest drug market is located. Nevertheless, despite its surroundings, Venecija is a success story, a safe area with only

Plate 2.
Naujininkai neighbourhood. Buildings and their entrances are unmaintained (left); Evidence of graffiti and vandalism is very frequent (centre); Old kiosks don't look aesthetic and create a sense of disorder (right)

Source: Authors

Plate 3.
Perkūnkiemis neighbourhood. Not enough equipped parking areas force people to park their automobiles in fields (left); High density of urbanization leads to social isolation (right)

Source: Authors

two types of crime reported in 2014: domestic violence and property damage. The Safety group attributed this to successful planning design features as low-density urbanization, well-installed security tools, good lighting, adequate fencing and a clear definition of private and public zones. Furthermore, the neighbourhood has a strong community sense and it integrates well with police forces.

6. Discussion and conclusions

The overall decline of crime in Europe can be misleading. Not only have small-scale crimes increased, but also ten EU countries have witnessed a steady rise in crime statistics (Eurostat, 2014). Yet although the EU has addressed the crime issue with legislative and practical support, and by acknowledging CP-UDP's effectiveness, CP-UDP norms have had poor dissemination and acceptance, unlike other building and safety regulations. Authors have identified a large gap between theory and practice, a lack of a shared holistic approach and a deep scepticism of public authorities and professionals in accepting, at least to some extent, CP-UDP.

This failure of a "top-down approach to the development of a common European implementation strategy" had to be counteracted by "more traditional ways of promoting CP-UDP on a local level" (Stummvoll, 2012). This is precisely what happened in smaller European countries such as Portugal and Lithuania, where bottom-up collective approaches started to be developed in the past decade. Although these concepts are not new, they have become, as Feltes (2013) points out, new philosophies of how policing and crime prevention should be carried out. At the same time, they also appear as fresh to the previously uneducated community, keen to take a part in shaping and managing their neighbourhood. And it is precisely in the way community and officials meet, that the secret for a successful implementation of a community–crime prevention strategy may lie.

This paper has purposely focused less on the debate of the physical design and planning measures adopted (many studies over the last decade have done so), and has looked instead to the partnerships themselves, and to what makes them work. The

Source: Authors

Plate 4.
Venecija neighbourhood. Interaction between neighbours is encouraged by common use areas, benches and activity support (left); Pedestrian scale lighting is used to help people recognize potential threats at night and parking areas are properly installed and fenced (right)

case studies are different in a sense that the "Safe Neighbourhoods" in Vilnius are on early development stages, and many of the design solutions proposed will only be implemented in the near future, unlike the "*Safer Alta de Lisboa*" initiative, that is already reaping the benefits of successful interventions. But the important aspect is that, although in different countries with different contexts, the two partnerships have similar goals and have been established based on the same CP-UDP principles. Thus, the processes and challenges of implementing these CP-UDP partnerships have been analyzed at the local level, leading to six major recommendations for successful implementation:

(1) First, public officials need imperatively to have formal CP-UDP training, so as to be sufficiently prepared to address the challenges of re-designing public spaces and mediating between the municipality and the community. In Lisbon, specific training was administered, whereas in Vilnius, this did not initially occur.

(2) Second, public officials need to be an active part of local neighbourhood groups. In Lisbon, the local police became part of an already existing community group, a major step towards acceptance. In Vilnius, instead, most groups were formed by initiative from the local police, thus more work and time are needed for inclusion and community involvement.

(3) Third, the participation of public officials in these groups must be based on integration and dialogue, not on forcing their views. The community must be made aware of their important role in crime prevention and be engaged and incited to take an active part in decision-making. In Lisbon, the community went as far as to select patrolling police officers. In Vilnius, the greater (Venecija) or lower (Perkūnkiemis, Naujininkai) success of these projects has to depend more on design decisions because the relationship between residents and public officials is poorer. Nonetheless, it may not be by chance that the community sense is strongest in Venecija, the safest neighbourhood.

(4) Fourth, this relationship needs to go beyond signalling hotspots and proposing quick design solutions, by digging deeper into the reasons behind the problems, be them social, economic or otherwise, and residents need to be made aware of how the concepts behind CP-UDP work. A survey to pinpoint problems in the street can only go so far, and even be detrimental if residents do not understand what they need to answer.

(5) Fifth, to really "build commitment", partnerships must contain a wide range of groups, from residents to other public and private institutions working in the neighbourhood. If residents are left to themselves after the partnership is formed they may be tempted to act for their individual interests, exclusion of vulnerable groups may occur and common prevention activities may cease to be promoted. But this works both ways. The participation of municipal personnel in these meetings should also go beyond the presence of police officers to include planners, builders or maintenance services.

(6) Last, this commitment needs to be long-term. Constant monitoring is needed to accompany the implementation of decided solutions, and to become immediately aware of the presence, or imminence, of new problems. The key word, after all, is "prevention".

In both case studies, when these conditions were met, the relationships between the citizens and the police improved, the community was much more engaged in crime prevention, many social constraints of vulnerable groups were overcome and, more importantly, crime was reduced in the neighbourhood. This substantiates the results of previous community policing projects (Feltes, 2013). Furthermore, time is seen as a crucial aspect. There was time in Lisbon to consolidate partnerships and to turn commitment into neighbourhood routine. There was no time yet in Vilnius, as the community-based approach is still very fresh, but officials have overcome their initial mishaps, and the community is slowly opening up to new forms of governance. Inevitably, the local development of CP-UDP is more than a question of the right "design". It may be a "useful, effective, very concrete and feasible strategy" (EUCPN, 2002), but there is (still) a large gap between the strategies decided in these partnerships and their effective implementation, and between their implementation and consequent success. Therefore, to be successful, efficient working partnerships must be established between relevant stakeholders, planning professionals, the police and the community. Atlas (2013) wrote "people should care about what they see". It might be added that they should also care about what they know. And awareness is the first step towards prevention; awareness of the community, for sure, but also awareness of local authorities. Stummvoll (2012) concludes:

> In the future proponents of CP-UDP will have to take the issue of negotiated implementation into account. CP-UDP has to allow for variety in terms of local problem definition, political economy and administrative infrastructure in urban planning and policing.

By building community-based projects from the bottom up, initiatives as those described for Lisbon and Vilnius, much more is done than raising awareness and disseminating knowledge and best practice in countries with poor CP-UDP tradition in their planning systems. The way is being paved for the development of local/municipal planning policies and specific design proposals that may ensure a more inclusive urban safety strategy and ultimately promote changes to the planning legislations in these countries. And then we will not just be modelling neighbourhoods through design. We will actually be creating model neighbourhoods.

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