

actual or perceived contamination has occurred in the concept of the territory. Many people who have been burgled report the depth with which these feelings can be experienced. The knowledge that someone unknown has been in the territory can even result in the owner feeling the need to move house, not for reasons of lack of security but simply because the place no longer feels theirs in the way it had prior to the contamination. The neighbour's dog that comes through the fence and defecates on your lawn is another example of contamination. My experience of this is that people are less offended by the event itself than by some perceived indifference displayed by the neighbours about the event!

Violation occurs when some actual harm is done by the invasion. If the burglars actually damage property during their illegal occupation, this can seriously heighten the sense of violation people may feel. The interruption to your sleep resulting from the noise of the neighbours' children having a late night party might be an example.

Finally, invasion is the attempt by others to take over a territory on a more or less permanent basis. Coming home from a very long holiday and finding squatters in your house might be an example. The rooms in the family house previously occupied by children who have left home are particularly problematic here! I remember the sense of invasion I felt when, after having left home, I went back to stay in my parents' house and found they had redecorated and totally rearranged 'my' room. Of course any sensible analysis would have told me this would happen. It was not actually the redecoration of course that offended, it was the realization that a territory I considered mine had now been taken over, even if entirely legitimately!

In his now seminal book *Defensible Space*, Oscar Newman discusses this problem in detail, supporting his thesis with empirical data (Newman 1973). His argument, though, goes further. Neutral space non-overlooked and indefensible not only goes undefended but also becomes more susceptible to crime. In a comparison of two housing developments of otherwise equivalent characteristics, he reveals higher levels of crime in the development that has higher rise. What these data show, however, is not necessarily a relationship between high rise and crime *per se*, but a relationship between the design of communal space and crime. In the lower rise scheme studied by Newman there is much less circulation space that is both internal and not overlooked than is the case in the higher rise scheme. The recorded crime figures from the police records show this is just where the increase in crime takes place.

In my adopted home city of Sheffield we have a series of deck access housing schemes all based on the same system made famous at Park Hill. Here the architects concentrated on giving people well-designed flats and maisonettes with well-lit south-facing prospects concentrated