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Examining the crime prevention claims of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design on System Trespassing Behaviors: A Randomized Experiment

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Abstract

Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) is a non-punitive method for reducing crime through the design of the built environment. The relevance of CPTED strategies however is less clear in the context of computing environments. Building upon prior research indicating that computing environments may change computer users' behaviors, this study tests the effectiveness of CPTED based approaches in mitigating system trespassing events. Findings from this randomized controlled field trial demonstrate that specific CPTED strategies can mitigate hacking events by: reducing the number of concurrent activities on the target computer, attenuating the number of commands typed in the attacked computer, and decreasing the likelihood of hackers returning to a previously hacked environment. Our findings suggest some novel and readily implemented strategies for reducing cybercrime.

Key Words: CPTED, Cybercrime, Hacking, Crime Prevention, Randomized Experiment

Conflict of Interest Statement: On behalf of all authors, the corresponding author states that there is no conflict of interest.

INTRODUCTION

For centuries, societies around the globe have developed design features to make crime harder to commit, limit criminal opportunities, and prevent crime (Kitchen and Schneider, 2007). It is now routine to design and build the physical environment to provide safer spaces for human interaction (Cozens and Love, 2015), as criminologists, planners, and architects create areas that are conducive to 'non-problematic' activity while simultaneously discouraging crime and disorderly behaviour under the banner of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) (Sutton, Cherney, and White, 2008:60). Drawing upon more than half a century of insights (see Jacobs, 1961), there is now "little doubt" that CPTED can influence offender decision-making (Armitage, Joyce, and Monchuk, 2018: 123). Numerous governments and the United Nations (2007) have shared this position, and have implemented CPTED techniques across North America, the Middle East, Europe, and Australasia (Ekblom et al., 2013; Cozens and Love 2015).

The relevance of CPTED strategies are less clear in the context of hacked computing environments however. Hacking or cracking is commonly defined as the unauthorized access of a computer system with criminal intention (Grabosky, 2016). Acknowledging the potential risks and damages these crimes pose to governmental, private, and business organizations, many official efforts have been devoted to the development of technical tools like anti-malware software, vulnerability scanners, firewalls, and Intrusion Detection/Prevention Systems (Bace and Mell, 2001). Sharing similarities with terrestrial impediments to crime, these interventions aim to identify and alert for vulnerabilities and prevent the development of cyber-attacks (Waldrop, 2016). Although these tools are designed to identify vulnerabilities and prevent their exploitation

by malicious actors, none of these tools allow complete prevention and rapid detection of these incidents as well as effective mitigation of the consequence of an attack. To this point, few prior studies have explored the way different configuration of an attacked computing environment influence the behaviours of illegitimate users of the system (see Testa et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2015; Maimon et al., 2014), with no prior research having investigated the effectiveness of CPTED approaches in preventing and mitigating the development of hacking events.

Utilizing recent advances in cybercrime research, we designed the present study to extend the experimental research on CPTED and to observe whether its benefits extend to online environments. Cyberspace is an ideal place to examine criminological theories that are unable to be tested in the terrestrial world as cybercrime seems to follow similar offending patterns which have been observed in offline environments (Leukfeldt and Yar, 2016; McGuire, 2007; Yar, 2005). As computer environments are able to be identically duplicated and are able to be manipulated for remote hackers (Farinholt et al 2017; Spitzner, 2003), this study leverages these previous insights to provide the cleanest conceptual test of CPTED that has been completed and tests four potential methods for reducing cybercrime. By randomly assigning offenders to identical environments and observing their behaviour within these environments over a period of 30 days, this study examines whether interventions modelled after the CPTED concepts of territoriality, surveillance, access control, and place management (Sohn, 2016; NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, 2001) were able to reduce hacking behaviours.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Crime Prevention through Environmental Design

CPTED rests upon the claim that "the proper design and effective use of the built environment can lead to a reduction in the fear and incidence of crime, and an improvement in quality of life" (Crowe, 2000: 46). Beginning with the seminal works of Jacobs (1961), Jeffery (1977), and Newman (1972), this multidisciplinary approach to crime prevention draws upon insights from criminology, environmental psychology, planning, and architecture to achieve these goals (Cozens, 2008). This approach to crime prevention hypothesizes that through changing a potential offender's perception of a place crime can be reduced (Brantingham, Brantingham, and Wong, 1991; Cozens, Saville, and Hiller, 2005). Recognizing that certain environmental designs unintentionally lead to the commission of crime and social decay (Giles-Conti et al., 2016; Haider and Iamtrakul, 2018; Gotham and Kennedy, 2019), the core of this approach to crime prevention is identifying what *does* work instead of what *ought* to work (Jacobs, 1961; Cherney and Sutton, 2007).

Empirically identifying what *does* work has however been "as difficult as untangling a spider's web" for both practical and theoretical reasons (Kitchen and Schneider, 2002: 158). CPTED is primarily rooted in rational choice theories of crime (Cozens, 2008). Beyond this underlying assumption, greater agreement in core concepts has proven more difficult. Driven in part by continued disciplinary disputes between planners, urban designers, police, and criminologists (Zahm, 2005), numerous typologies have emerged that identify anywhere from four to 21 principles of CPTED across one to

three strata. Moffat (1983) has suggested that there are six core CPTED domains,[1] whereas those such as Cozens (2014) have provided multi-level integrated models comprised of 21 principles across three strata.[2] While more theoretically plausible and encompassing, more complex CPTED theories have been attributed in part as leading to inconsistent applications and transferability issues across contexts (Gibson and Johnson, 2016; Ekblom, 2011). In practice, Sohn (2016) argues that the four key principles of CPTED that have emerged are: 1) territoriality, 2) surveillance, 3) place management and 4) access control. This more parsimonious approach has been embraced legislatively and employed routinely in numerous jurisdictions, including the Australian state of New South Wales since 2001 (Clancey, Fisher, and Yeung, 2016; NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, 2001), and provides an ideal place to begin developing the randomized experimental literature on CPTED.

Despite enjoying widespread political support as a theoretically non-punitive crime prevention option (Fisher and Piracha 2012), CPTED's effectiveness at preventing crime has been questioned. While extensive, the current evidence base has been unable to isolate the impacts of design interventions on crime from idiosyncratic environmental factors (Cozens and Love, 2015; Taylor, 2002). CPTED has also proven to be difficult to implement effectively in practice. Driven by the vague definitions within the literature and divergence between its intended use and actual implementation, Ekblom (2011) presents that CPTED strategies have led to wasted time, resources, and effort (see also

[1] According to Moffat (1983) the six core 1st Generation CPTED domains are: territoriality, surveillance, target hardening, access control, image maintenance, and activity program support.
[2] The three strata are: 1st generation CPTED, 2nd Generation CPTED, and Surrounding Environment/Routine Activities. For a full description see Cozens (2014).

Minnery and Lim 2005; Parnaby 2006). CPTED thus requires careful and long-term coordination between numerous stakeholder groups to mitigate its risks to the public regardless of its potential crime prevention benefits (Clancey, Fisher, and Rutherford 2014). Spurred on by these observations and Zahm's (2005: 291) dictum that "without evaluation, it will never be clear when, where, and why such programs have been effective," recent studies have collected innovative data to address the empirical gap in the CPTED literature. These studies have produced supporting evidence that CPTED can reduce robberies and burglaries (Armitage, Joyce, and Monchuk, 2018; Casteel and Peek-Asa 2000; Peeters and Berken 2017), residential crime (Sohn 2016), and crime within schools (Vagi et al. 2018). While these studies represent a small fraction of the implementations of these principles globally, raising concerns regarding how indicative these experiences are, they do demonstrate that when implemented and maintained well CPTED initiatives can reduce crime across a wide range of locations.

Compounding previous criticisms, the empirical literature underpinning our understanding of the crime prevention benefits of CPTED is still underdeveloped. In examining whether one is able to link causally CPTED to crime reductions, Taylor (2002) neatly presents three major issues that have limited the inferences from previous studies and need to be overcome. Firstly, the majority of the empirical evidence testing CPTED has been cross-sectional due to the cost intensive nature of implementing CPTED interventions and measuring crime over time (Taylor, 2002). As crime is neither stable over time nor equal across places, such cross-sectional studies are unable to assess the temporal ordering of any relationships or any relative impacts on crime (Bowen and Wiersma, 1999). Connected to this point, Taylor (2002) also laments that the lack of

resources devoted to studying these impacts has rendered it difficult to gain the required statistical power to allow researchers to detect any impacts stemming from the implementation of any CPTED (see also Armitage and Monchuk, 2011). Finally, and most difficult to overcome, Taylor (2002: 416) presents that in gaining the statistical power capable of detecting any impacts, heterogeneity in treatment and "selection problems make it exceedingly difficult to separate qualities of locale from qualities of those drawn to the locale." Unlike the previous two issues, the inability to distinguish the effects of treatment from idiosyncratic factors in the terrestrial environment persist regardless of the sample size and the length of the observation period. Paradoxically, the larger the sample size and observation period the less likely any impacts will be able to be observed (Weisburd, Petrosino, and Mason, 1993; Sherman, 2007). This challenge thus cannot be solved through increased research resources, and instead alternative research methods are required to better identify the crime prevention benefits of CPTED.

To date, only two existing studies can be classified as level 3 studies (Crow and Bull 1975; Eck and Wartell 1996; see Cozens and Love, 2015) according to the Maryland Scale (Farrington et al. 2002). A level 3 study according to the Maryland scale includes a study design where a comparison is made between two or more comparable units of analysis, one with and one without the program or intervention. Drawing upon the assertions of Cook and Campbell (1979), Farrington et al. (2002: 17) state that this should be regarded "as the minimum design that is adequate for drawing conclusions about what works." Although studies that meet this standard are unable to account for selection effects, level 3 studies are able to account for maturation and trend influences (Farrington et al., 2002). Since the observations of Cozens and Love (2015) there have been some

key developments where linear regression methods and structural equation modelling have been used to enhance previous cross-sectional, case study, and before-and-after differences (see Armitage, Joyce, and Monchuk, 2018; Casteel and Peek-Asa 2000; Peeters and Berken 2017; Sohn 2016; Vagi et al. 2018). These methods have been better able to account for previously unmeasured contextual and individual factors, potentially yielding a Maryland Scale rating of 4 whereby they deal with selection and extraneous factors more adequately. Given the findings across these studies that support CPTED's crime reduction claims, there is growing evidence that CPTED is able to influence offender decisions (Armitage, Joyce, and Monchuk, 2018). However, the need to produce stronger evidence investigating its crime prevention tag remains.

On the Relevance of CPTED in the Design of Secure Cyber Environments

Cyber environments are important domains within which online criminal activity takes place. Originally designed for supporting efficient information exchange between remote individuals and organizations in cyberspace, these online environments now facilitate ground for the rise in the volume of cybercrime incidents around the world (Broadhurst, 2006), costing in excess of $600 billion globally in 2017 (Lewis, 2018). Indeed, the consequences of recent data breaches to several major financial, communication, and insurance companies computing environments have been broad and consequential for nations and thousands of people (Holt and Bossler, 2014). Many traditional criminal justice policies for reducing cybercrime have thus far proven ineffective, as sanction threats are unlikely on their own to influence offending behaviour (Mayer 2015; Kigerl 2016). Hackers are generally aware that it is unlikely that they will be identified due to their use of proxies (Geers, 2012), and even if they are identified,

many nations will not extradite their own citizens (Brenner, 2009). Coupled together, these factors display the futility of traditional criminal justice responses for incapacitating or deterring these offenders (Holt, 2017).

Still**,** the virtual environment shares many similarities with the terrestrial world, especially with regard to criminality. Numerous studies have found that virtual and terrestrial criminality share numerous practical and theoretical components (Donner et al., 2014; Yar, 2005), supporting Grabosky's (2001: 243) claim that "virtual criminality is basically the same as the terrestrial crime with which we are familiar." Online environments also face many criminal challenges that are similar to public spaces. Businesses and public spaces in both realms seek to attract legitimate and law-abiding users while discouraging criminal behaviour (Atlas, 2008). Particularly with regard to cyber-trespassing, "crossing boundaries into other people's property and/or causing damage" (Yar, 2005: 410), the goals of crime prevention in both domains are practically identical.

In light of recent criminological interventions displaying the ability to reduce and mitigate cyber-trespassing (Testa et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2015; Maimon et al., 2014, Maimon and Louderback, 2019), the experiences of CPTED in preventing terrestrial trespassing holds promise for providing a range of techniques for producing cyber-security methods (Whitford, 2018). For example, Maimon and colleagues (2014) and Stockman and colleagues (2015), tested the effect of a warning banner in an attacked computer system on the progression, frequency, and duration of system trespassing events and found that the warning resulted in a shorter average duration of the system

trespassing incidents (interestingly, the effect of a warning message on the duration of repeated trespassing incidents was attenuated in computers with a large bandwidth capacity). Wilson and associates (2015), assessed the effect of a surveillance banner on the probability of commands being entered in the attacked computer system. They found that the presence of a surveillance banner in the attacked computer systems reduced the probability of commands being typed in the system during longer initial system trespassing incidents. Finally, Maimon and and Louderback (2019) investigated whether the level of ambiguity regarding the presence of surveillance in an attacked computer system influences system trespassers' likelihood to clean their tracks during the progression of an event. Their findings indicate that the presence of unambiguous signs of surveillance (i.e. the presence of both a surveillance banner and program in the attacked system) increases the probability of clean tracks commands being entered on the system.

Indeed, extensive research has revealed that prominent criminological theories have explanatory value for cybercrime. This evidence has been especially forthcoming when testing theories that have underlying assumptions of rational offenders including: self control (Donner et al., 2014; Holt, Bossler, and May, 2012; Holtfreter, Reisig, and Pratt, 2008), routine activities theory (Leukfeldt and Yar, 2016; Navarro and Jasinki, 2013; Ngo and Paternoster, 2011; Maimon et al., 2013), and restrictive deterrence (Testa et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2015; Maimon et al., 2014). Far from suggesting that cybercrime is discontinuous from the terrestrial world as Capeller (2001) argues, these studies demonstrate the value of criminological theories and suggest a range of policy alternatives that can address cybercrime beyond formal sanctioning. Employing

techniques derived from criminological approaches, scholars have revealed a growing number of policies that hold promise for reducing system trespassing incidents, including warning and surveillance banners, as well as surveillance software installed on an attacked system (Testa et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2015; Maimon et al., 2014). Taken together, there is a burgeoning evidence base that indicates that various configurations of computing environments may result in reduction of cybercrime events within targeted online environments**.** Still, only few studies have investigated the effectiveness of CPTED strategies in influencing hackers' online behaviours.

Present Study

In an effort to bridge this empirical gap, this study investigates the effect of four CPTED approaches- territoriality, surveillance, place management, and access control (Sohn, 2016; NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, 2001) on system trespassers' online behaviors during the progression of system trespassing event. Below we provide a brief conceptual overview of each of the four CPTED techniques that we are focusing on, and detail how each technique could shape the system trespassers' initiation of those activities while working with an attacked system.

Territoriality- The concept of territoriality stems from the observation that the physical design of a space can extend a sphere of influence over those in contact with it (Shah and Kesan, 2007). Territorial reinforcement helps approved users to develop a sense of proprietorship and ownership and can conversely discourages illegitimate users (Carter, Carter, and Dannenberg, 2003). Territoriality requires creating and maintaining spatial hierarchies, and ensuring that clear, well-recognized boundaries exist between public and private areas (Sutton, Cherney, and White, 2008). These barriers may include hedges and

walls between public and private areas, street signs, and vegetation or changes in surface that are used to indicate zones of transition from private to public space (Atlas, 2008). Through clearly indicating borders in the physical environment, it is easier for residents and other authorized people to legitimately challenge individuals who seem to be trespassing or misusing a space and also promotes a greater perception of risk by offenders (Crowe, 2000:37). In line with the concept of territoriality, branding, signposts, and other reminders are routinely used online to remind legitimate and illegitimate users of ownership and influence online behavior (van den Bos and Nell, 2006), we suspect that notifying hackers that they had entered into a protected online environment will instigate less activity on behalf of the trespassers during the progression of the event (i.e. lower number of concurrent open terminals and fewer commands typed), and reduce the likelihood of repeated system trespassing events.

Surveillance - Building upon on Jacobs' (1961) 'eyes on the street' principle, surveillance aims to increase the perceived risks associated with offending by increasing the perception that all actions in a space will be observed (Sutton, Cherney and White, 2008:63). Through perceptually increasing the potential for intervention, apprehension, and prosecution, rational offenders would thus be less inclined to break the law (Atlas, 2008). This may be achieved through informal means that utilize casual observation from the people that use a space, or through formal means that exist in the form of organized guardianship from people (civilians, security guards, and staff) and technology (CCTV) (Sutton, Cherney and White, 2008). The positions of paths, shops, and houses should be designed so that they can be seen by adjoining users, creating well-lit areas, and having activity generators and facilities that increase the use of outdoor spaces

(Geason and Wilson, 1989). Echoing signs that let people know that their actions are being observed by CCTV and being presented with monitors displaying the footage being captured, we suspect that providing hackers with evidence for the presence of surveillance on the attacked system will lead to less activity on behalf of the trespassers during the progression of the event (i.e. lower number of concurrent open terminals and fewer commands typed), and reduce the likelihood of repeated system trespassing events.

Place Management - Also known as activity, how legitimate activities within the built environment are managed and overseen is important to establishing pride and safety (Sutton, Cherney and White, 2008). Drawing on reasoning similar to Wilson and Kelling's (1982) Broken Windows Theory, the management and maintenance of the physical environment sends cues to those who use a space (Maynard, 2004:9). Public places that are broken down, dirty, vandalized, full of rubbish and generally 'looking unloved' are less likely to encourage active legitimate use by most groups, let alone a sense of pride and ownership by the community (Sutton, Cherney and White, 2008). Conversely, well-maintained spaces that are well used and well supervised also send out messages to would-be wrongdoers that the community cares (McCamley, 2001). These messages are different from surveillance as; while the presence of CCTV or recording one's actions through other electronic means should reduce criminal behavior through increasing the perceived likelihood of observation (surveillance), direct or indirect evidence that there is ownership over the space and someone to take action would be considered place management. Consistent with this, we suspect that presenting trespassers with a banner indicating that the infiltrated infrastructure is cared for and supervised by administrator, will reduce trespassers' activity during the progression of

the event through increasing the perceived likelihood of corrective action by the owner of the space (i.e. lower number of concurrent open terminals and fewer commands typed), and reduce the likelihood of repeated system trespassing events.

Access Control - Access control strategies aim to encourage, restrict, and channel activities while denying access to with those who have the potential to commit a crime (Sutton, Cherney and White, 2008). Like surveillance, access control can involve formal, informal or mechanical techniques to reach these goals (Sutton, Cherney and White, 2008). Informal strategies incorporate natural features that change the spatial definition of locations (including gardens and marked entrances that signify moving from public to private areas) (Sutton, Cherney and White, 2008). Formal access control is more purposeful and is carried out by individuals (security guards and receptionists) or technology (password or key controlled access points) that can prevent unauthorized access to specific offline or online areas (Atlas, 2008). We suspect that requiring users to provide with the login password on random occasions during their work with the system (and after they have logged in), will reduce trespassers' activity during the progression of the event (i.e. lower number of concurrent open terminals and fewer commands typed), and reduce the likelihood of repeated system trespassing events.

Table 1 below provides a brief summary of the discussion above and example of these four CPTED concepts for ease of reference.

Table 1: CPTED Definitions and Illustrative Examples

CPTED Concept	Definition	Illustrative Examples

Territoriality	Environmental elements that influence users, helping proprietorship for approved users and discouraging illegitimate or criminal actions.	Branding, signposts, edges and walls between public and private areas, street signs, vegetation, and changes in surface.
Surveillance	Environmental elements that increase the perceived risks associated of offending by increasing the perception that all actions in the environment will be observed and/or recorded.	Either casual observation from the people that use a space, and/or formal forms of organized guardianship from people (security guards and staff) and technology (CCTV).
Place Management	How legitimate activities within an environment are managed and overseen whereby the management and maintenance of the physical environment sends cues to those using the space.	Public activity coordination, site cleanliness, rapid repair of vandalism and graffiti, the replacement of burned out pedestrian and car park lighting, and the removal or refurbishment of decayed parts of the environment.
Access Control	Environmental elements that encourage, restrict, and channel activities while denying access to with those who have the potential to commit crime.	Security guards and receptionists or technology (password or key controlled access points) that can prevent unauthorized access to specific offline or online areas.

DATA AND METHODS

To test whether these interventions could reduce illicit online behavior, we collected unique data that were gathered by a large set of target-computers, also known as honeypots (Stoll, 1989; Spitzner, 2003), built for the sole purpose of being attacked, and deployed on the computer network of a Chinese academic institute. A honeypot is a security resource whose primary value is in being compromised by online offenders in order to allow the collection of data on a hacker's actions with the target of attack (Spitzner, 2003). Honeypots provide a number of advantages for ascertain the value of various computing configurations in influencing intruders' behaviors. Firstly, they can be

designed to allow all potential attackers to gain access to the system, which is not guaranteed in practice and reduces sample selection bias (Stoll 1989). Secondly, any system trespassers can also be randomly assigned to an experimental condition, allowing groups receiving different experimental conditions to be directly comparable in expectation. Through removing the idiosyncratic differences between environments and in the application of treatments, cyber environments can be tailored in honeypot experiments to enable criminological theories to be tested (Maimon and Louderback, 2019). Indeed Farrington et al. (2002: 17) in their discussion of level 5 studies argue that random assignment to experimental conditions deals with selection effects and provides "the highest possible internal validity." While Berk (2005) and Sampson (2010) note that random experimental designs still suffer from attrition and implementation issues, employing random assignment to experimental conditions provides the opportunity to limit the potential influences stemming from selection effects and, importantly for CPTED, differences in individual treatment conditions.

Although commonly used by both criminologists (Maimon et al., 2014; Wilson et al., 2015) and computer scientists (Brown et al., 2017) to study online crimes, honeypots do not overcome all methodological challenges, and Holt (2017) raises a number of important considerations and limitations to these methods. While these simulated environments are indistinguishable from normal computers for less sophisticated hackers, fingerprinting[3] techniques can be used by hackers to distinguish between regular online

[3] According to Aguirre-Anaya et al. (2014: 850) fingerprinting in this context shares similar function to a "biometric fingerprint, where a specific pattern is extracted and compared against a database, the identification of systems is possible due to the different implementations of communication protocols, network services or specific environments. These different features are collected and then a fingerprint is generated, which include enough features to unequivocally identify a specific system of a set of different systems."

environments and honeypots (Mohammadzadeh, Mansoori, and Welch, 2013).[4] In addition, honeypots are able to measure explicit actions but are unable to measure the fundamental attitudes, beliefs, and capabilities of intruders who interact with the honeypot (Holt, 2017). Concordantly, while differences between experimental groups are detectable, attributing these differences to unobserved individual-level factors is not possible. Finally, honeypots are also unable to detect communications such as warnings and recommendations between hackers that may alter behavior within a honeypot. As both legal and malicious actors inform one another of weaknesses in computer hardware and software that can be used to harm a system (Holt, 2017), the behavior exhibited within a honeypot is not limited to be influenced only by the honeypot itself. As a result, it can be difficult to isolate the mechanisms influencing the actions of hackers within even a completely controlled network.

Still, the usefulness of honeypots in understanding trespassers behaviors persist even after accounting for these limitations. Indeed, a growing body of research suggests that restrictive deterrence and situational prevention techniques are able to influence and in some cases reduce criminal behavior on specific networks (Leukfeldt and Yar, 2016; Navarro and Jasinki, 2013; Ngo and Paternoster, 2011; Holt and Bossler, 2009; Testa et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2015; Maimon et al., 2014). Although these techniques may thus not be able to reduce the total amount of cybercrime on their own, they can thus be used to prevent crime in targeted places. If the goal of an intervention is total protection of a

[4] Aguirre-Anaya et al. (2014) also explain several ways that low interaction honeypots could be identified. Huang et al. (2019) also suggest that mid interaction honeypots could be identified by hackers. However, identifying a high interaction honeypots is difficult since all of the function available in a regular computer are available and functionable for attackers to use. Therefore, with high interaction honeypots there is less risk of identifying the honeypots, and concordantly, high interaction honeypots were used in this study.

specific location, the ubiquity of opportunities is an asset as even the slightest inconvenience or crime prevention initiative may be enough to demonstrate that other online places are likely to yield results that are more beneficial for crime. While additional challenges can increase the desire to hack these environments (Steinmetz, 2015; Holt, 2007; Taylor, 1999), other prevention techniques that do not increase hacking challenges may still yield crime prevention promise. It is for these situations that crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) is specifically tailored.

Experimental Research Design

Unlike common experimental designs that require active subject recruitment, we did not recruit subjects to participate in our experiment. Instead, we deployed our honeypots (which hear forth will be called target computers) on the computer network of a Chinese University between November 6th 2015 and February 24th 2016, and waited for system trespassers to find our systems and employ special software cracking tools to break into them. 100 Public Internet Protocol (IP) addresses were used for the deployment. To simulate a genuine environment, the target computers had a Ubuntu-Linux based operating system installed on, and were modified to reject the login attempts by system trespassers on its public IP addresses until a predefined number of attempts (150 + N number) or once a commonly used password which is commonly used by a legitimate user was entered (see https://haveibeenpwned.com/Passwords for a list of most commonly used and pwned passwords). Once access to our target computer had been granted, system trespassers were randomly assigned to either the control group or one of the four experiment groups (i.e. a 1x5 factorial design). In the first experimental group, *territoriality*, a banner notifying the trespasser that the device infiltrated is owned by the university was presented. In the

second experimental condition, *surveillance*, a banner notifying for the presence of surveillance measures on the attacked system was presented to the system trespassers. This banner included also the list of previous (how many) activities that were performed by the trespasses in the system. In the third experimental group, *place management,* a banner indicating that the device was cared for by an administrative person was presented to the system trespasser. Finally, in the last experimental group, access Control, the trespasser was requested to provide the legitimate login credentials in order to escalate privileges on the attacked system. To allow the collection of meaningful data on system trespassing incidents, we monitored the different components of the system trespassing incident using specialized software that records the system trespassing events for later analysis. The collected logs from the servers included all the commands that were entered by the hackers on our servers, as well as the software they downloaded.

Outcome Measures

The main unit of analysis for this study is the system trespassing event. As such, all variables and subsequent analyses are designed to examine how the behavior exhibited by users of each IP address[5] observed on the target computer during a system trespassing event varies across the CPTED condition that they were exposed to (or the control). To test our hypotheses we constructed three outcome measures to examine whether each treatment was able to reduce engagement with the target computers (two measures), and reduce the likelihood of subsequent system trespassing events (one measure). For each of these three outcomes, if the CPTED treatments are successful then we would expect

[5] An IP address is a unique numeric label (e.g. 131.87.17.67) that identifies specific devices that are connected to a computer network and uses an Internet Protocol (IP) to communicate with other devices (Ruiz-Sánchez, Biersack, and Dabbous, 2001).

decreases in each measure relative to the control group. Our first outcome measures the number of concurrent Secure Shell (SSH) sessions/open terminals per unique IP address during a system trespassing event. All in all, Linux users can control the computer they work with as administrators remotely through a secure shall. Once connected to a computer through SSH, the user can transfer files between the two machines and execute commands on the remote machine. Running concurrent SSH sessions implies increased user activities as more operations could be conducted on the remote computer simultaneously. In line with this rationale, this measure was coded as a count variable, with (1) indicating a single SSH session originated in a given IP address during a system trespassing event, and higher numbers represent higher number of concurrent sessions.

Our second dependent variable is the number of commands that were entered in the target computer during the system trespassing incident.[6] This measure was coded as a count variable, with (0) indicating that no commands were entered from a given IP address after gaining access to the target computers. Finally, our third dependent variable measured as a binary outcome that differentiates between unique IP addresses with more than one recorded trespassing event (1) and IP addresses with only one recorded trespassing incident (0).

RESULTS

[6] It should be noted that a very efficient hacker will be able to obtain their goals with fewer commands. However, to accomplish these goals, the hacker will first need to understand the system they are working within. System configuration and the computing environment may influence the progression of the criminal event and the volume of engagement with the system (see Wilson et al. 2015). As such, one would expect if the treatment had its desired impact then we would see fewer commands, but if it is not effective then it would likely lead to more in order to navigate the additional elements compared to the control group.

Over the 90-day observation period, there were 3,268 IP addresses that instigated 9,061 system trespassing incidents across the 100 target computers. Over the experimental period, all target computers were successfully compromised and experienced a minimum of six system trespassing events from a minimum of four unique IP addresses. Table 2 provides descriptive statistics of our sample. As can be seen in Table 2, the vast majority of IP addresses used to access these target computers came from China (84.70%), with the second most common country of origin being Ukraine (4.53%). Further indicating that there was meaningful variation across the treatment conditions, the number of sessions recorded in each condition ranged from a minimum of 1,554 (surveillance) to a maximum of 2,192 (territorial reinforcement).

Table 2: Sample Descriptive Statistics

Condition	Target Computers	Unique IP Addresses	Open Terminal/ SSH Sessions	Commands	China	Ukraine
Control	18	594	1,802	994	0.86	0.05
Place Management	22	737	1,807	824	0.83	0.05
Surveillance	21	561	1,554	855	0.83	0.04
Territorial Reinforcement	21	766	2,192	1,215	0.87	0.04
Access Control	18	610	1,705	941	0.84	0.05
Total	**100**	**3,268**	**9,061**	**4,829**	**0.85**	**0.05**

Number of Concurrent SSH Sessions

The findings from this experiment indicated that all experimental conditions experienced numerically fewer average SSH sessions per IP address compared to the control group ($F=1.97$, $p=0.105$). As can be seen in Figure 1, the control group experienced an average of 3.07 concurrent SSH sessions per IP address during the observation window. While the reduction in average number of concurrent SSH sessions was marginally statistically significant for territoriality ($t=-1.407$, $p=0.087$), it was

statistically significant for the place management (t=-4.471, p<0.001), surveillance (t=-3.127, p=0.003), and access control conditions (t=-1.848, p=0.042). These findings suggest that all four CPTED interventions have the potential to reduce the number of concurrent SSH sessions in an online environment even after a computer has been illegally accessed.

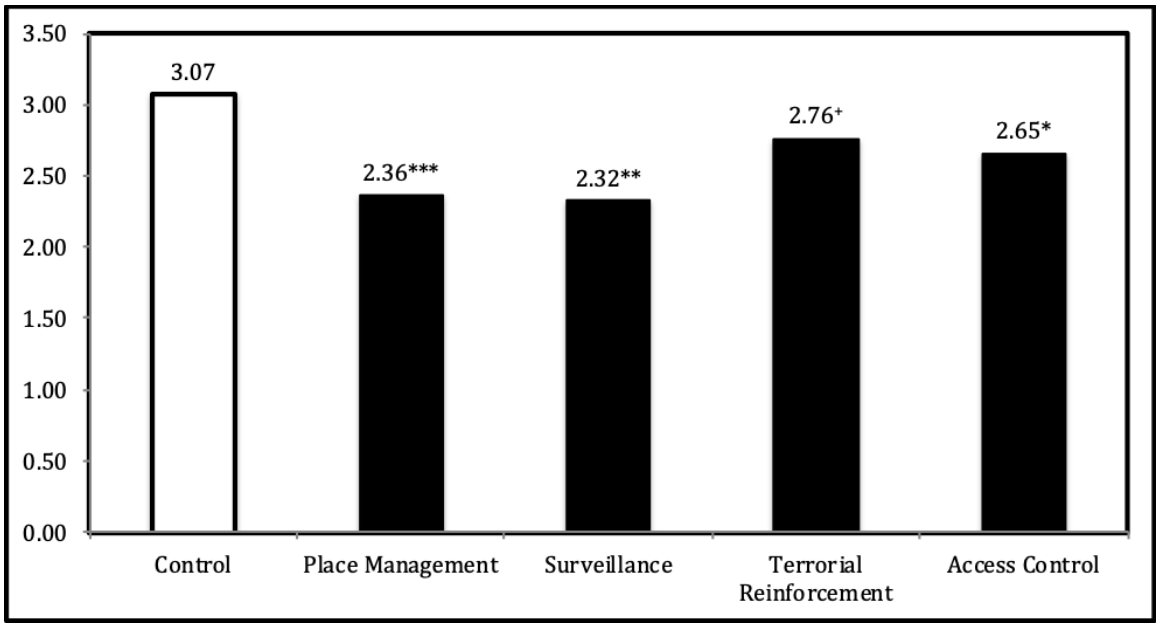

Figure 1: Average Number of concurrent open terminals (SSH sessions) per Unique IP Address (p<0.1 $^{+}$, p<0.05 *, P<0.01 **, p<0.001 *)

Command Usage

Across the entire sample, the number of commands that were used after gaining access the system was 1.48, and a maximum number of 71 commands were observed for a single IP address across 78 sessions. The highest number of commands that were used within a single SSH session was seven, with 2,517 sessions elapsing without a single command being entered. The control group (0.80) and the place management condition (0.81) had the highest proportion of SSH sessions without a command, with the access control (t= 2.748, p=0.006) and territoriality conditions (t= 2.322, p=0.02) having statistically significant more SSH sessions with at least one command. When the average

number of commands in each experimental condition was examined, both the access control and territoriality conditions were statistically indistinguishable from the control group however (see Figure 2). The place management ($t= -4.765$, $p<0.001$) and surveillance ($t= -2.593$, $p=0.008$) conditions did however yield reductions in the average number of commands that were used compared to the control group. Taken to together these findings suggest that despite some interventions making it more that a system trespasser would input a command, the net impact on the number of commands was either null (territoriality and access control) or resulted in reductions in the average number of commands that were used.

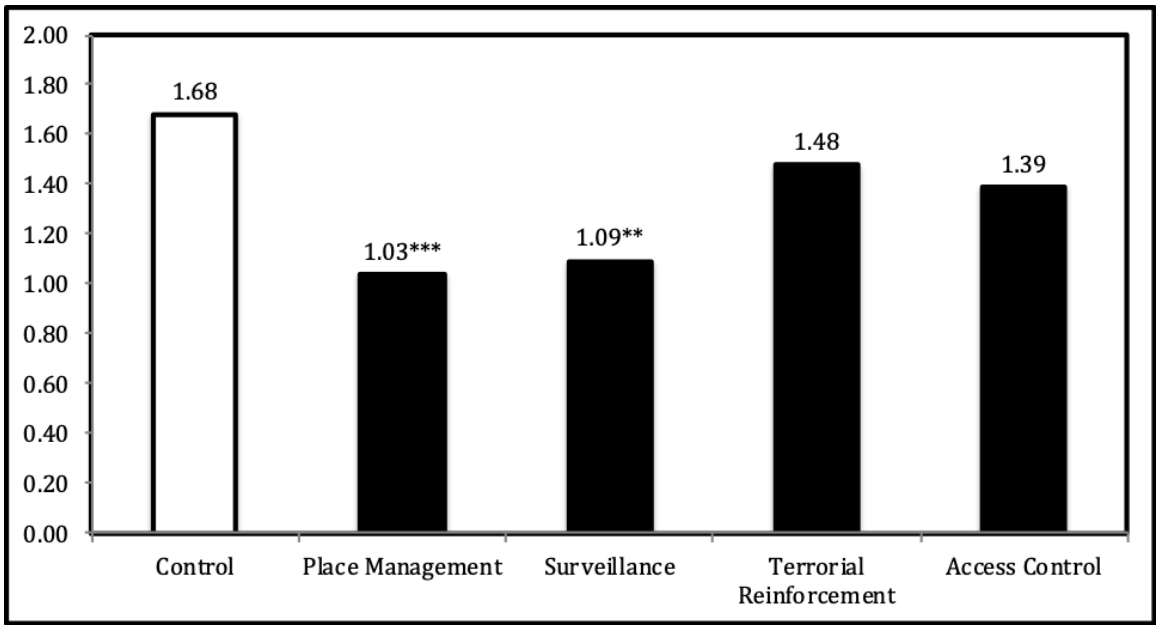

Figure 2: Average Number of Commands entered per Unique IP Address ($p<0.1$ +, $p<0.05$ *, $P<0.01$ **, $p<0.001$ ***)

The most frequently used command was *wget*, which was used 4,472 times across the experiment. This command is used to retrieve content from a server, and was used an average of 1.56 times per unique IP address within the control group. This average dropped to 1.045 for the place management condition ($t = -18.87$, $p<0.001$), 1.40 for the place management condition ($t = -5.22$, $p<0.001$), 1.47 for the place management

condition (t = -2.97, p=0.003), and 1.42 for the place management condition (t = -4.68, p<0.001). The next most frequently used commands were *ps* (f=53) and *kill* (f=43), which display the currently running processes and stop currently running processes respectively. Place management was the only experimental condition that saw a reduction in the use of the *ps* command, which was only used by 0.7% of unique IP addresses (t=-9.52, p<0.001). Opposite to predictions however, the surveillance, territorial reinforcement and access control groups had numerically more uses of the *kill* command than the control group. However, IP addresses exposed to the place management command did see less use of the *kill* command (t =-9.52, p<0.001).

Likelihood of Returning

Our last hypothesis that this study examined was whether any of the treatment conditions made system trespassers less likely to return to the target computer. Across the entire sample, 35.01% (f=200) of unique IPs returned to the target computer after concluding their first SSH session in a different time. Contrary to expectation, the territoriality and access control groups produced a numerically greater proportion of unique IPs that returned to a target computer compared to the control group. These differences were not found to be statistically significant using one or two-tailed hypothesis tests however. The only statistically significant difference that was detected was for the place management condition (t=-1.652, p=0.049). While the proportion for the surveillance group (0.3224) was nearly identical to the place management group (.3213), this difference coupled with the slightly smaller sample size was sufficient to yield a statistically null difference (p=0.176).

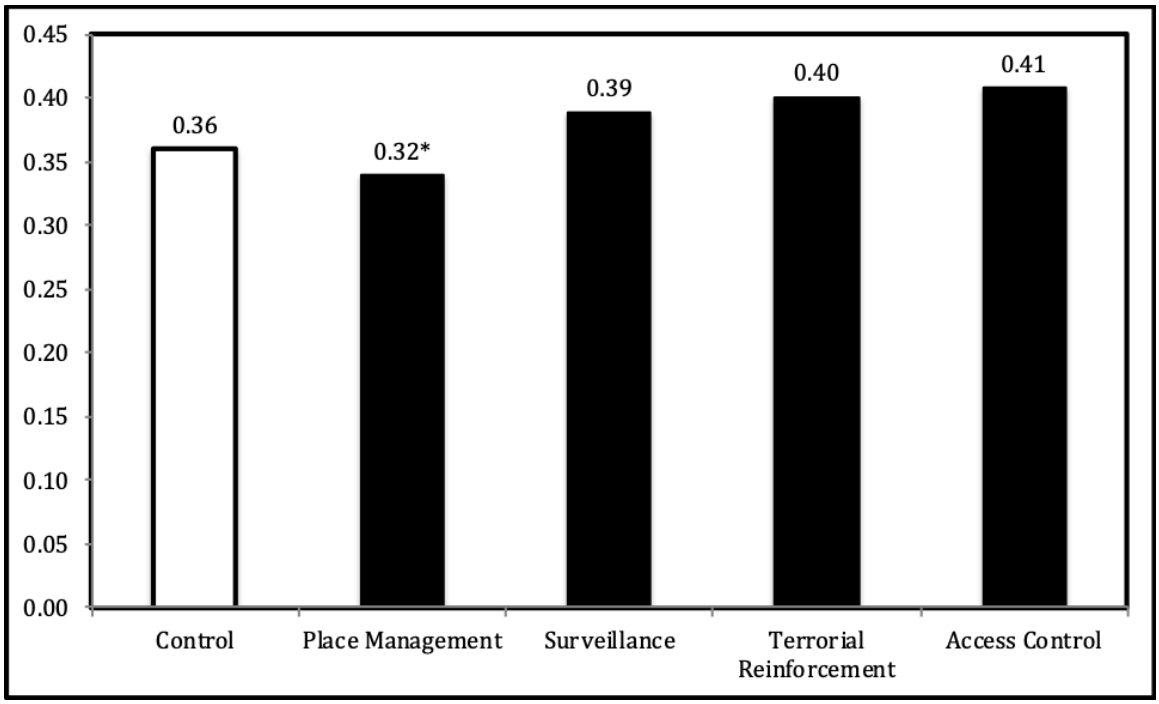

Figure 3: Proportion of Unique IP Addresses that returned for more than one session ($p<0.05$ *)

DISCUSSION

CPTED offers a range of non-punitive methods for reducing crime through the purposeful design of environments, and the findings from this study suggest that this is not limited solely to terrestrial environments. This study sought to examine whether a range of techniques driven by the CPTED principals from the longest continuously used guidelines from Australia (Clancey, Fisher, and Yeung, 2016) were able to mitigate system trespassing behavior in an experimental setting. Across all three outcomes, the findings from this study displayed that CPTED techniques were able to alter behavior of system trespassers in an online environment. These findings provide further credence that the impacts of CPTED are not just limited to establishing "fortress-like structures" (see Currie, 1993), and can be leveraged in broader and more social settings (Reynald, 2011). Particularly as human action and crime becomes increasingly prevalent within online environments (Chen, Baeudoin, and Hong, 2017), these findings suggest that the benefits

of this approach to crime prevention extend into online domains as well. Extending the previous empirical literature on CPTED, these findings also demonstrate that the four interventions examined were able to reduce offending behavior within an experimental setting. Specifically, this addresses the issue in previous studies that were unable to isolate the impacts of design interventions on crime from idiosyncratic environmental factors (see Cozens and Love, 2015; Taylor, 2002). While this remains to be replicated within a terrestrial study, this study does provide support to the evidence base that previously observed crime prevention benefits exist regardless of idiosyncratic differences across treatments.

Consistent with previous studies (see Testa et al., 2017; Wilson et al., 2015; Maimon et al., 2014, 2019) and boarder experiences with CPTED (Fisher and Piracha, 2012; Cozens and Love, 2015; Clancey, Fisher, and Yeung, 2016), none of the interventions were able to stymie all illegal actions and achieve absolute prevention. While this is unsurprising given that the interventions were only introduced after the initial crime of system trespassing, these techniques were able to mitigate the actions of hackers within compromised computer systems. It should be noted that the impacts were limited and did not extend to all experimental conditions. Across all three outcomes, both the place management and surveillance interventions performed better than territoriality and access control conditions. Further, other indicators including the likelihood of returning for additional system trespassing session suggested that these two conditions had the potential to perform worse than even the control group. The only condition that reduced the likelihood of returning was place management. Particularly as this was the only condition that indicated active human engagement, this study highlights that future

research focus upon other CPTED interventions that rely more upon potential human presence than upon technological presence. Particularly as all other experimental groups either had automated processes or were passive in nature, this marks a key departure for this CPTED technique from the others that were observed.

Despite these strengths, this study highlights the need for replication. As discussed above, there is a need to examine different CPTED interventions. While this study focused upon the four core techniques highlighted by the NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning (2001), many additional techniques beyond these warrant their own examination. In addition, the interventions themselves only represent one method for designing a crime prevention strategy in line with these principles. As such, this study highlights that other techniques may have additional value within the domains explored in this study and beyond. In addition, as this study was unable to observe the interpretation of these cues, it would be of great empirical benefit for subsequent studies (especially qualitative studies) to further examine the mechanisms underlying the impacts of these experimental conditions compared to the control group. Although this study was conducted online and theoretically limited the impact of the physical world, as the study was conducted at a Chinese institution and the majority of system trespassers did use a Chinese IP address, this study highlights the need for replication in other nations to better evaluate the generalizability of these findings. Finally, as this study was limited an observation period of 30 days, this study highlights the need for future studies to examine whether the impacts observed here persist over time, spread, or potentially decay (see Sherman, 1990; Nagin, 1998; Sorg et al., 2017).

Taking these limitations into consideration, we hope that our findings may support existing contemporary cybersecurity efforts which are aimed at mitigating attackers' actions while exploiting vulnerabilities and working with an attacked platform in a more efficient way. Acknowledging the potential risks posed by cyber-dependent crimes to governments, businesses, and individual Internet users, cyber security experts have devoted considerable attention to developing tools and policies that are designed to prevent system trespassing from developing (Waldrop 2016). Unfortunately, only negligent number of tools support effective mitigation of the consequence of an attack. One major reason for the deficiency of these tools in accomplishing these goals is their failure to integrate knowledge about online attackers' behaviors in response to different configuration of the attacked computer system during the progression of the system trespassing event. This study brings context embedded experimental evidence regarding computing environments that entice attackers to behave in a predictable manner, which in turn, may result in less severe consequences to the attacked system.

Conclusions

Findings from this study demonstrate that specific CPTED strategies can prevent crime after removing the influence of idiosyncratic differences. These findings thus not only provide evidence for the value of this crime prevention perspective, but also demonstrate that it has value beyond the physical built environment. In addition, the techniques used in this experiment provide an easily implement means for minimizing illegal online behavior by reducing the number of hacking sessions, the number of commands typed in the attacked computer, and the likelihood of hackers returning to a previously hacked environment.

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