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Planning a Safe City
for
Women

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Abstract

The aims of this study are:

(i) To examine the Safe City concept from a gender perspective; and

(ii) To examine how planning can contribute to achieving Safe Cities for women in New Zealand.

The Safe City concept is aimed at reducing the opportunities for sexual and violent crime against women, by improving urban public space. This study draws much of its literature from Safe City initiatives in the City of Toronto, Canada, although similar programmes in Europe will also be examined. Initiatives from Toronto provide a good framework, within which to analyse the development of Safe Cities in New Zealand.

Women are specifically addressed in this research because of their particular fear of crime, and greater vulnerability to sexual assault in public spaces. Men have dominated the professions responsible for producing urban space. Subsequently, urban space reflects a male perception of what the urban environment ought to be like. As a result, women have been constrained in the way they operate in urban space. This is particularly evident at night due to their fear of sexual violence.

This study will address what urban planning and design can do to reduce the opportunities for violent and sexual crimes against women. Although the physical characteristics of the built environment do not cause crime, they can work to either promote or inhibit criminal activity. Planners have the opportunity to improve the urban environment by adopting Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design techniques.

This study concludes that for Safe City programmes to be fully effective in New Zealand, they require legislative status. The Resource Management Act 1991 provides an opportunity for planners to incorporate safety concerns into many aspects of their work. However, whether 'safety' will be recognised as 'safety from violent or sexual attack in urban public space' will depend on legislative interpretations of the Act.
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1

Introduction

On the evening of Saturday the 17th of September 1994, Anne-Maree Ellens visited the Paladium nightclub in Christchurch with friends. The 22 year old left the nightclub at around 1.30am, and became separated from her friends. Early Sunday morning Anne-Maree was found raped and brutally murdered in a Christchurch school-ground. She had been taken there by two men (Otago Daily Times, 21 September 1994, p.3).

1.1 Context

People continually question themselves to try and understand why some men assault women sexually. The seemingly random nature of the above rape and murder, emphasises to women that it could easily happen to them. The reasons behind such violent behaviour are complex, and well beyond the scope of this study. This study takes another approach to addressing violence against women. It asks what 'urban planning' can do to reduce the likelihood of women becoming victims of sexual or violent assaults in urban public space.

This study focuses on Western women in urban public space. Women are addressed because of their particular fear of crime and greater vulnerability to sexual assault in public spaces. Such fear makes women rigorously restrict their lives. It should be recognised, however, that programmes to prevent violence against women have resulted in a safer urban environment for everyone.

Feminist research has been heavily criticised in the past for focusing on women as a homogeneous social group. Women do not all live the same lives by virtue of being women, but have different life experiences due to their specific class, ethnic, or sexual identities. Although this research acknowledges this point, it has not attempted to consider the diverse experiences of women. This decision is guided by the fact that sexual assault is an experience to which all women are vulnerable, regardless of their class, ethnic, and sexual backgrounds. This study makes the assumption that all women
are vulnerable to sexual assault, and as Gooder (1993) has explained, it is enough simply to be female to experience the 'fear' of rape.

Although women are more likely to be raped in their own home by someone they know, this study addresses violence against women in urban public space. The main significance of violence in the public sphere is that it restricts women's ability to use their urban environment. This means that many women stay home at night, too afraid to utilise the facilities that the urban environment offers.

Although planning cannot prevent sexual violence against women, it can significantly reduce the opportunities for this violence to occur. While specific physical design or environmental characteristics of the built environment do not cause crime, they can work to either promote or inhibit criminal activity (McIndoe, 1993). Moreover, physical characteristics can serve to perpetuate and maintain women's fear of the likelihood of attack.

Initiatives that reduce the opportunities for crime in urban public space have been encompassed in the Safe City concept, both in New Zealand and overseas. This concept incorporates a number of crime prevention initiatives. However, the specific focus of this study is the potential of planning to reduce the opportunities for assault against women in urban public space.

In most Western countries, the planning profession has traditionally been male dominated (Greed, 1994). Male planners have projected on to urban society their own patriarchal perceptions of what the built environment ought to be like. Little reference has been made to the needs or concerns of women. As a result, women have been constrained in the way in which they operate in urban public space. This is particularly evident in the restrictions women experience at night due to their fear of sexual violence. This study defines violence against women as including both actual physical violence, and psychological violence, such as the fear many women experience in urban public spaces at night.

Planners have the opportunity to improve the urban environment in ways that reduce the likelihood of sexual and violent assaults against women. For example, they can carry out a safety audit which acts as a mechanism to identify and evaluate urban areas for their conduciveness to crime. From this, areas that are perceived as dangerous can be improved through design changes. Of course, increasing the number of lights, or reducing potential entrapment spots for women, will not stop sexual assault entirely. However, sexual assault by strangers is often a crime of opportunity. By evaluating and altering the environment, opportunities for attack can be significantly reduced.

It is essential that the meaning of 'safety' in this study is clarified. In this study, safety does not refer to pedestrian protection from traffic or footpath obstacles, it does not represent safety standards in buildings to withstand earthquakes, and nor does it encompass safety in the workplace whilst operating heavy machinery. Safety and the concept of the Safe City in this study relates explicitly to 'safety from violent or sexual attack
in urban public space'.

The likelihood of sexual attack is a common concern for women. Women's fear of being sexually assaulted effectively renders them second class citizens, by limiting their ability to use urban public space at night. This study describes what planners can do to give women both the confidence and real security to use urban space.

1.2 Study Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study is to examine the Safe City concept, and its practical application to the New Zealand planning context. This will involve reviewing overseas literature, and applying it to the New Zealand situation.

The aims of the study are twofold:

(i) to examine the Safe City concept from a gender perspective; and

(ii) to examine how planning can contribute to achieving Safe Cities for women in New Zealand.

Specifically the research questions are:

(i) What does the Safe City concept entail?

(ii) Why are women exclusively addressed in a number of Safe City programmes?

(iii) How has the patriarchal production of urban space restricted women's ability to utilise the city?

(iv) What can planners do to reduce the opportunity for violent or sexual assault against women?

(v) What options are available for planners in New Zealand to create Safe Cities under the Resource Management Act 1991?

1.3 Structure of the Report

This study comprises seven chapters. Chapter Two introduces and describes the Safe City concept. As is explained, Safe City initiatives are aimed at improving urban public space, by reducing the opportunities for violence against women, and subsequently reducing women's fear. Chapter Three explores why Safe City initiatives are necessary in urban communities, and examines why women have been exclusively addressed in a number of these programmes. Women's 'fear' of crime will be considered, to understand its restrictive effect on their behaviour.

Chapter Four examines how the production of urban space has been patriarchal, and how this has restricted women's ability to participate fully in
the urban environment. The role of planners will be examined because they have been part of the production of urban space. Chapter Five will take a more focused approach. It will identify specific areas within urban public space where women feel particularly fearful of crime, and will subsequently describe what planning and design can do to improve such locations. Chapter Six illustrates what is happening currently in New Zealand with regard to Safe City programmes, and identifies safety issues which planners in this country have to address under the Resource Management Act 1991. Chapter Seven will present the conclusion to this study.
2

The Safe City Concept

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and describe the Safe City concept. The Safe City concept is aimed at improving urban public space, by reducing the opportunities for violence against women. The chapter has five parts. The first, clarifies a number of points of contention which concern the Safe City concept. The second, describes the constitution of urban public space, and how women’s use of this space is restricted by violence. This description is important because the Safe City concept is targeted primarily at public space, and it is within this area that women feel most fearful of crime. However, this research project recognises that ironically it is in the private domain that most violence against women occurs. The third section describes how the Safe City concept has evolved, and how it became public policy in a number of Western cities. A brief consideration of the main themes of the Safe City will be addressed in the fourth section. These themes are derived from initiatives in the city of Toronto, Canada, however, other global initiatives will also be discussed. In the final section a consideration of the limitations to the Safe City concept will be made.

2.2 Background to the Safe City

Many Western cities have developed distinctive safety programmes which have been given various official names. In this research project these programmes will be referred to as ‘Safe City’ initiatives. The adoption of this specific term is intended to prevent confusion that may arise given that no single term is used globally or nationally to describe a set of very similar initiatives. The City of Toronto, Canada, uses the title ‘Safe City’ to describe its programmes; the Greater London Council and other groups in Britain, have termed their initiatives ‘Safer Cities’; while some New Zealand cities have adopted ‘Safer Community Councils’. These terms, however, are by no means universally adopted throughout these nations. This reflects the
absence of national policies on planning for urban safety in these countries. Unless specifically mentioning another project, this research will adopt the Toronto title of a ‘Safe City’, because most of the literature used in this discussion will be drawn from the Toronto initiatives.

A number of Safe City initiatives are gender neutral. This is particularly the case with New Zealand’s Safer Community Councils. The Community Councils reflect a partnership between central and local government, non-governmental agencies, and the community. These initiatives focus on crime prevention from an holistic perspective. For example, a Community Crime Prevention Scheme in Ashburton included community reading support programmes in schools, drug and alcohol help, and anger management for teenagers. The New Zealand Crime Prevention Action Group also embodies techniques such as preventing reoffending through adequate rehabilitation. Although these initiatives may reduce crime in the long term, this project will not address these types of crime prevention measures. This project will focus specifically on the prevention of violent and sexual crimes against women in urban public space. This project assumes that while specific detailed features of the built environment do not cause crime, they do provide the setting for its occurrence. By reducing the opportunities for criminal violence through design changes, urban space can promote or inhibit criminal activity.

All social groups experience fear and violence in their communities. This project concentrates on preventing violence against women, because women as a social group are especially vulnerable (Trench et al., 1992). The reasons for women’s particular vulnerability are examined in the following chapter. It should be recognised, however, that programmes to prevent violence against women have resulted in a safer environment for everyone. The City of Toronto Planning and Development Department (1990) recognised wider community benefits for Toronto which derive from programmes focused on one social group. For example:

a safe city for everyone means that all people, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, language, disabilities, age and sexual orientation, have an equal right to freedom from fear and violence in their city (1990: 1).

Literature on Safe City programmes focus almost entirely on initiatives in Western nations. This does not mean that Safe City schemes are not apparent in non-Western countries. However, this project will only draw from Western literature. The origins of the Safe City concept have not been identified. However, initiatives in North America, and Europe provide good illustrations of what Safe City programmes encompass. Although initiatives in both continents will be discussed, the City of Toronto, Canada, will be focused on for a number of reasons. First, Toronto Safe City initiatives have evolved from the 1970s, and culminated in the establishment of the Safe
City Committee in 1988 (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990). This provides a relatively long history with which to trace the evolution and development of Safe City programmes. Second, literature has accompanied the Toronto initiatives which is particularly aimed at the prevention of public violence against women through planning and design. This literature is particularly useful, as this study is concerned with what 'planners' can do to create Safe Cities.

Third, the emergence of Safe City programmes in Toronto was supported by a number of committed women; community groups, such as Women in/and Planning and WPT; and also Toronto City Council Departments (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990; Modlich, 1988; Safe City Committee, 1992; Whitzman, 1992). This provides the opportunity to assess the success of partnership-type approaches to crime prevention. This is significant because Safer Community Councils in New Zealand also represent a partnership, including central government, local councils, and the community. New Zealand's Community Councils will be examined in Chapter Six.

Finally, the Toronto experience has inspired other cities, groups and individuals around the world to campaign for a safer city. Toronto Safe City initiatives have been modelled throughout Europe, North America and Australia (Safe City Committee, 1992). The City of Toronto Planning and Development Department (1990) and Whitsman (1992) provide detailed discussion on recent projects in Toronto. Some New Zealand cities have also adopted Toronto Safe City programmes. Austin (1994) and Austin & Inglis (1993) provide a fuller discussion of the adoption of Toronto Safe City initiatives in New Zealand.

2.3 Urban Public Space and Women

The Safe City concept attempts to improve women’s safety by reducing the opportunities for violent crime against them in urban public space. Urban public space is defined by McIndoe (1993) as:

all places of free public assembly and thoroughfare within suburban commercial centres and the central and inner areas of the city (1993: 2).

McIndoe’s (1993) definition of urban public space corresponds with the public areas Valentine (1989) has identified as most fearful for women. These are:

(i) large open spaces which are frequently deserted; and

(ii) closed spaces with limited exits.
Large open spaces are feared because there is little informal surveillance of the area, and help is not close at hand. These include parklands, car parks, or wasteground associated with transport systems in the urban area. A young British woman has described her fear of this area in the following terms:

“I don’t like parks and woods because you just don’t know who will be there, and I think people tend to lurk round woods” (Valentine, 1990: 290).

Closed spaces are also feared because women feel that if they are approached by a stranger they have no means of escape. These are usually areas that are shielded on three sides by a barrier such as, stairways, lifts, and alleyways. Another young British woman explains:

“I hate public toilets and other closed places. I mean nine times out of ten the lights don’t work. It’s like subways and they’re most dubious, anybody could attack you there, and nobody would see” (Valentine, 1990: 291).

Large open spaces and closed spaces with limited exits constitute large areas of urban public space, and therefore can be very difficult for women to avoid. The Safe City concept is about improving these public places, so that it is more difficult for criminal activity to occur in them.

Urban public space is not just limited to publicly owned streets, buildings and parks. It also includes publicly accessible private property outside buildings, and private indoor facilities, such as car parking buildings, where a formal separation between public and private space is not apparent (McIndoe, 1993). Thus, an interface exists between the public and private spheres. This includes:

building entrances and exits, service areas, all of the accessible parts of building facades, [and] all landscaping that is located in privately owned but publicly accessible property (McIndoe, 1993: 2).

Addressing safety concerns within this interface can be plagued with difficulties. These areas can be owned by people unwilling to co-operate in safety design programmes, particularly if a pecuniary cost is incurred. Successfully implementing crime prevention schemes in this interface may require legislative initiatives. In addition, public space can be defined temporally. Valentine (1990: 299) states that:

public space is segregated through time according to gender and age, due to the different lifestyles and hence time-space routines of men and women.
This research is particularly interested in how urban public space is gendered through time. An analysis of the daily routines of men and women provides an understanding of how this space is gendered. During the day in towns and cities, public places such as streets, shops, parks, public transport, and town centres are numerically dominated by women (Valentine, 1989 & 1990). This includes full and part-time workers, housewives, mothers with young children, and the elderly. Urban public space is dominated by this group during the day because they have limited access to private transport, they often have more flexible time budgets, and frequently need to fulfil domestic tasks such as shopping (Valentine, 1989).

Valentine (1990) has recorded the attitudes of women towards urban public space, and how these attitudes change with time. During the day men are engaged in work activity, and appear predictable and controllable to women (Valentine, 1990). However, at night men dominate urban public space. This dominance occurs because men are:

freed from the confines of work and usually without the family responsibilities of most women, they have the time, energy and financial resources to go out in the pursuit of leisure (Valentine, 1990: 300).

Women are restricted from these types of activities because of their fear of all public space at night (Valentine, 1989). In particular women fear the unknown men who dominate this space during night hours. Night time reduces women's visibility and increases the opportunities for male offenders to attack. In addition, fewer people are around at night to assist someone in danger. The following descriptions were made in 1990 by women of Lower Earley and Whitley in Reading, England, and reported by Valentine (1990). These personal accounts typify the local women's fear of urban public space at night:

"I never go into town at night. If I go anywhere, or do anything it's always in the morning, or early afternoon, if its anything else we do it as a family".

"If I didn't have my car it would be alright in the morning because there's many people around ... all the Mums and kids going to [town], and people at the bus stop, but at night, well if I was leaving work late at night I'd get a lift" (Valentine, 1990: 299).

Domination of public space by males is exacerbated by assertive and aggressive behaviour which intimidates and embarrasses women (Valentine, 1989). Another young woman explains an intimidating experience:

"I was walking down round the town with my friend the other day, and this car just came along with about four blokes in and
they wound down the window and shouted ‘slags’ and drove off again. I mean, bloody hell, what’s that for. I mean I don’t know why people do that sort of thing. I mean women don’t, do they. It’s so embarrassing” (Valentine, 1990: 301).

Furthermore, men are perceived as physically larger and stronger by women, therefore women feel unable to control men who they perceive as threatening. This woman describes her feeling of vulnerability:

“I hate it when you sit on the train and you see them [men] stare at you because you know in the back of your mind that if they attack you there is nothing you can do because they’re so much bigger and stronger” (Valentine, 1990: 300).

These intimidating experiences discourage women from participating fully in their community. A woman explains how her leisure activities are constrained at night because of fear of attack:

“I like jogging. As soon as it starts getting dark you can’t do that on your own. You can’t jog in a park for fear of being jeered at, or that one particular bloke will do something. It’s wrong, we should be able to go out at night, we’re human beings as well” (Valentine, 1990: 301).

In this way men’s physical appearance is perceived by women as threatening. The likelihood of encountering men on the streets at night makes women feel too unsafe to go out alone, and thus reinforces their confinement to the home. This however, increases men’s domination of urban public space. Consequently male dominance of women, or patriarchy, is perpetuated through this cycle of fear. Johnson (1989) describes patriarchy as a structured system whereby men and women are positioned in superior and inferior roles respectively. This ensures male supremacy and female subordination. Women’s restricted use and occupation of urban public space is therefore a ‘spatial expression of patriarchy’ (Valentine, 1989: 389). The formation of the Safe City concept attempts to give some control over this public space back to women, thereby empowering them socially.

2.4 Historical Development of Safe Cities

The foundations of the Safe City concept were probably laid during the increase in feminist activity in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Governments around the world were lobbied to break down barriers to women’s equality by both individual women and feminist groups. Initially violence against women had a lower political priority than economic and health issues (Whitzman, 1992). The ‘Status of Women Taskforce in the City of Toronto’, which operated from 1973 to 1976, addressed such concerns as
equal pay for work of equal value, childcare, abortion, and venereal diseases. However, the Taskforce failed to consider sexual assault, or violence in the home (Whitzman, 1992). Nonetheless, during this time rape crisis centres recognised the increasing frequency of violence committed by men against women and children. In addition, it was argued that psychiatric services, the police, and legal, educational and medical experts were contributing to the violence, and were also guilty of downplaying its importance (Whitzman, 1992). In the mid 1970s, ‘Take Back the Night’ marches and ‘Women Against Rape’ groups incited women to fight back against male violence in their communities and advocate for judicial change (Austin & Inglis, 1993).

Eventually, a literature emerged that supported the concerns of these women’s groups. Susan Brownmiller’s *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (1975), introduced the notion that sexual violence by men kept women from reaching their full potential (Whitzman, 1992). Work by Enjeu and Save (1974) outlined how women’s fear of violent crime in public spaces impeded their access to city resources (Whitzman, 1992). The emergence of this literature paved the way for groups to develop and expand on these ideas.

Jane Jacobs’ *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) launched an attack on traditional city planning and design. Jacobs criticised the way:

> modern designs have undermined the ability of residents to observe public streets, and have broken down informal social control of criminal activity (Valentine, 1990: 288).

Jacobs asserted that post-war planning trends of strict land use zoning had been the cause of this breakdown in social control. She advocated the need for pavements and neighbourhoods to attract people, and therefore reduce fear and the opportunity for crime. People could establish interpersonal contacts, thus promoting natural surveillance and social cohesion (Valentine, 1990).

A decade after Jacobs’ work, Oscar Newman (1972) published *Defensible Space: People and Design in the Violent City*, based on his research on housing problems (Valentine, 1990). Newman proposed strategies to increase residents’ control over adjoining space and to reduce fear through design changes (Valentine, 1990). Newman advocated the concept of ‘defensible space’, which was a term for a range of mechanisms, including real and symbolic barriers, that strongly defined areas of control, and improved opportunities for natural surveillance (Newman, 1973). Defensible space impedes crime by creating an impression that the environment defends itself, and thus the criminal perceives the area as supervised, and not a worthwhile target.
Three strategies emerged within the defensible space concept:

(i) territoriality;
(ii) natural surveillance; and
(iii) location.

'Territoriality' encouraged residents to take proprietorial responsibility over their communities. 'Natural surveillance' promoted the positioning of windows to maximise residents' observation and therefore control of public areas. 'Location' involved facing residential projects on to areas perceived as safe, such as busy pedestrian paths (Valentine, 1990). These three features make criminal activities more difficult, and are called 'target hardening'. However, target hardening measures may vary between income levels (Newman, 1972). Lower income groups may rely solely on the police to protect them, while more affluent citizens may engage security guards and expensive alarm systems. Employing guards and alarms creates a secure private 'fortress', but the public area beyond remains as dangerous as ever. Newman recognised that aiming crime prevention measures at private space rather than urban public space would mean that 'the battle against crime is effectively lost' (Newman, 1973: 180). Successful crime prevention will require co-ordinated measures in both public and private spheres.

Newman (1972) discusses the concept of defensible space by comparing two high rise housing projects. He found that crime rates increased with building height and size, and therefore concluded that physical design can play a significant role in determining crime rates. Newman recognised that factors such as isolation and poor surveillance of territory would increase the likelihood of crime, as the area would appear uncontrolled. However, Newman's design strategies were primarily concerned with improving property rather than personal safety (Valentine, 1990). As Wekerle explains, "it's a mistake to put property before people" (The Dominion, 14 March 1994, p.7). Furthermore, Newman’s strategies conflict with designs aimed at improving women's sense of security. For example, symbolic barriers such as walls and hedges are encouraged at the public/private interface to deter intruders from invading private territory. However, for women out alone in public space, these features are threatening because they provide potential places for attackers to conceal themselves (Valentine, 1990).

During the 1970s senior levels of government in the United States became anxious about rising crime rates. As a result of this concern, crime prevention projects emerged based on Newman’s ideas. These projects were aimed at design improvements of public spaces and housing areas, and encouraged communities to fight local crime. However, a gender neutral crime prevention approach meant that sexual assault, the form of violence most feared by women, was not specifically addressed (Whitzman, 1992).

By the late 1970s, Toronto City policy indicated a modest move towards acknowledging safety as a concern in the community. The 1976 Official
Plan mentioned the subject of a safe city in section 8 of the Community Improvement Policies:

Section 8A.2: In improving the quality of life in the City for residents, workers and visitors, Council shall undertake community improvement programmes and activities in accordance with the following objectives;

a) to improve the amenity, appearance, safety and environmental quality of all areas of the city (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990: 7), (emphasis added).

However, the objective of 'safety' was not elaborated on in this Plan, or in the Part II Plan, and the potential for further development of the policy was temporarily forfeited. It is worth noting that the content of this legislation is remarkably similar to part II, section 5 of New Zealand's Resource Management Act 1991. The link between these will be explored in Chapter Six.

Another Toronto policy development appeared to encompass Newman's (1973) ideas of defensible space:

1.1(e)(ii) It is the policy of Council to encourage landscaping and screening where possible to protect the low density residence areas from other areas which might have an adverse affect on them (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990: 7).

As was the case with Newman's design strategies, this policy significantly reduced informal surveillance levels, and improved the opportunities for criminal activity.

In 1982, several widely publicised rape/murders in Toronto, and extensive lobbying by women's groups led to the formation of the Metro Task Force on Public Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC) (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990; Whitzman, 1992). METRAC established a network to enable police and planners to collect and analyse data from public sexual assault sites (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990). As a result safer urban design recommendations were implemented in areas such as subways, urban parks and parking complexes.

'Women in/and Planning', an informal support network for Toronto's feminist planners, was also concerned with violence in the public urban environment. In 1985, Women in/and Planning developed a research project called Women Plan Toronto (WPT). The aim of this project was to:

explore how women feel about their urban environments in which they live, work, raise children and grow old (Modlich, 1988: 120).
WPT was modelled after a similar group in the United Kingdom called Women Plan London (WPL). WPT held workshops with diverse women's groups, and safety proved to be a major focus of these women's comments and suggestions. Although Women in/and Planning eventually collapsed, this organisation during its existence, successfully encouraged local groups to tackle the problem of urban public violence against women (Whitzman, 1992).

The themes of 'public violence against women' and 'women's participation in urban planning' were investigated in a 1987 Toronto document entitled the Women in Safe Environments (WISE) Report (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990; Whitzman, 1992). The WISE Report was the result of various Toronto City workshops that specifically questioned women's groups about 'where they felt safe or unsafe, and why?' The results of this questioning helped locate areas of concern for women, and these included:

underground garages, public transport, and parks, as well as the factors which made these places seem unsafe: poor lighting, sense of isolation, the existence of 'hiding spots' along a path, [and] the presence of groups of men loitering (Whitzman, 1992: 173).

The results of the Wise Report made it possible to identify public places where women feel unsafe after dark (Figure 2.1). Design characteristics that contribute to women feeling unsafe in urban public space were also identified (Figure 2.2). Both Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2 provide a good base for urban design improvements because they pinpoint areas of concern for women, and identify why women fear these areas. These will be examined more closely in Chapter Five.

Inherent in WPT research projects was the assumption that women's experiences of fear should be adopted as a starting point for urban design change. Women's suggestions for improvements were taken at face value, instead of being modified into an existing crime prevention theory, such as Newman's (1973) defensible space concept.

Towards the end of the 1980s literature emerged on women and safety in the urban area. In Toronto in 1988 three Master's theses on this topic were submitted. These were:


(ii) Women and Public Urban Space: Women's Freedom of Movement in Toronto, by A. Grant, University of Toronto, Toronto; and

(iii) Women, Fear and Urban Neighbourhoods, by C. Whitzman, University of Toronto, Toronto (see Whitzman, 1992).

FIGURE 2.2: Design characteristics that contribute to women feeling unsafe (Source: Whitzman, 1992).
Whitzman (1992) asserted that the increasing profusion of research on women and safety in urban public spaces provided a theoretical background for critique of past urban design literature, and the opportunity for expansion of new research.

The emergence of grassroots organisations in the latter part of the 1980s saw a commitment to fighting violence against women in their own communities. These groups contributed research, resources, and energy to the campaign to make women's safety a planning issue (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990). Pressure by these organisations on a local Councillor, and support from the New Democratic Party, led to *The Safe City Report: Municipal Strategies for Preventing Public Violence Against Women* (Whitzman, 1992). This report made a number of general safe city recommendations on planning, community development, public transportation, and policing. In September of 1988, the Toronto City Council unanimously adopted this report, and the Safe City Committee was established (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990; Safe City Committee of Toronto, 1992; Whitzman, 1992). The Safe City Committee's mandate was to:

(i) monitor the implementation of the recommendations in the Safe City report; and

(ii) develop further policy to enhance the safety of women (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990).

This mandate gave the Safe City Committee considerable scope to develop a number of general initiatives. Recommendations aimed at the Planning and Development Department were more specific. The recommendations included:

(i) a review of policies on land use mix and open space planning with the perspective of reducing opportunities for public violence against women (Whitzman, 1992).

(ii) that City Council authorize the designation of a planner responsible for developing comprehensive safe design guidelines for developers; and

(iii) that City Council authorize the training of all planning staff to take security considerations into account with the public, with particular effort directed at getting input from women (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990: 10).

The Safe City Committee has achieved great success since its commencement, and has inspired a number of developments both nationally and internationally. The Committee was responsible for organising seminars on the design of city parks, self-education workshops for planning department staff, ensuring safety is a major design consideration in new developments,
and managing a CAN$500,000 grants programme for community groups endeavouring to prevent violence against women (Austin & Inglis, 1993).

In conjunction with the Toronto Planning and Development Department, and Professor Gerda Wekerle from the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, the Safe City Committee has produced *A Working Guide for Planning and Designing Safer Urban Environments* (1992). The Guide is intended to assist planning and design professionals to accommodate personal safety in their work (Safe City Committee, 1992).

The Toronto Safe City Committee (1992) believes the purpose of the guide is perhaps best explained by what it is not. The guide is not intended to be a final statement on Crime Prevention through Environmental Design in Toronto. It does not suggest that bad planning and design cause criminal acts, or that modifying urban environments will single-handedly prevent crime. Nor does the Guide intend to create a body of ‘experts’ on crime prevention, who know what is best for a neighbourhood. It does not constitute another level of bureaucracy aimed at stopping innovative developments.

The Safe City Committee describes the guide as a tool to help build safer cities (Safe City Committee, 1992). It provides recommendations on how to reduce the opportunities for crime in the urban environment. The Guide’s success is dependent on commitment from local government, the community, and the knowledge that successful urban design changes require an incremental process of problem recognition and subsequent environmental change. For the Guide to be effective, its recommendations must be understood and used as a tool, not as a final authority on environmental design.

The Working Guide also recommends a formal process for planning and designing safer urban environments. The Guide argues that consent applications should address safety concerns from the developer’s first draft to the final evaluation. These will include such stages as measures preceding the consent application, assessing of a consent application, consultation with the public, writing the report, and an evaluation stage. The Guide also provides a comprehensive explanation of the factors that enhance safety and security in public space, and identifies how to improve or avoid problematic places. (Safe City Committee, 1992). The Working Guide is an extremely valuable document for planning and designing safer urban environments. The Guide’s implementation will be considered further in Chapter Five when the characteristics of a Safe City for women are described.

The successful emergence of the Toronto Safe City Committee was largely the result of its official position within the City Council, its recognition in the Toronto Official Plan, and the support of METRAC and WPT (Austin & Inglis; Whitzman, 1992). These two groups organized ‘Stopping Rape’ forums, and quizzed candidates on election issues. By making safety in the community a primary political concern they ensured that the adoption of Safe City policies became a 1988 election issue. Politicians were made ‘well aware’ that their support of women’s safety issues would be rewarded through the ballot box (Whitzman, 1992).
Although credit for implementing Safe City programmes is largely attributed to the groups and organisations mentioned above, one individual deserves recognition for her contribution to Safe City initiatives. Professor Gerda Wekerle of the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University, Toronto, has greatly assisted the emergence of the Safe City. Since the mid 1970s, Professor Wekerle has pioneered work on gender change and urban change, contributing work on gender and housing, and women’s safety in the urban environment. She was the force behind the introduction of the ‘Designated Waiting Areas’ (DWA’s) in Toronto. DWA’s are safe, well-lit and supervised locations where travellers can wait for their trains without wondering when, or if, they will be attacked (The Dominion, 14 March 1994, p.7).

Professor Wekerle is a member of the Safe City Committee of the City of Toronto. She is also the co-author of the Working Guide mentioned previously. Professor Wekerle visited New Zealand in March 1994 to talk to planners and the Crime Prevention Unit about Safe City campaigns here. Professor Wekerle believes the Safe City campaign bridges the gap between the two main ideological approaches to crime: ‘the root cause’, and the ‘law and order’ approaches (The Dominion, 14 March 1994, p.7). The ‘root cause’ approach assumes that society must be changed to reduce crime, by lowering unemployment for example. The ‘law and order’ approach believes that society should be harder on criminals and increase prison sentences in order to prevent crime. Professor Wekerle believes that these approaches are either ineffective or can only have results in the long-term. By contrast the Safe City campaign takes a pragmatic, small scale approach. Professor Wekerle explains that Safe Cities are about:

making small physical changes which on their own are a drop in the bucket, but which energise people, restore their confidence and encourage them to look at wider issues’ (The Dominion, 14 March 1994, p.7).

Professor Wekerle believes small scale approaches, encompassing people and their needs in the planning and design process, can be very successful in reducing the opportunities for crime (The Dominion, 14 March 1994, p.7).

2.5 City of Toronto Safe City Themes

The Toronto Safe Cities approach operates under three main themes. The first acknowledges that public violence and fear of crime are not gender neutral, as assumed in most crime prevention literature. There is a recognition that women are far more likely to fear crime, causing them to restrict their lives, particularly in the urban public space. Women’s views on crime are therefore used to gain a better understanding of the problem. The planning process would be incomplete if it did not consider the expertise of those who
must use potential crime sites on a daily basis (Austin & Inglis, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992; Whitzman, 1992).

The second theme recognises that safety issues cannot be addressed entirely by outside 'experts', such as planners. It advocates that communities affected by public violence can and should identify the problem, and develop their own solutions, rather than relying on professional outsiders. Planner's skills should therefore be used to assist the process, not dictate it (Austin & Inglis, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992; Whitzman, 1992).

In the final theme the integration of both design improvements and community development is advocated. This co-ordinated approach allows planning to change the physical environment without appearing to disempower community groups. Planners and community groups can operate under the assumption that:

bad planning is seen to provide opportunities for crime, and
good planning is seen to reduce opportunities for crime and to provide opportunities for the potential victim to escape (Safe City Committee, 1992: 3).

It is up to both planners and community groups to work together and produce as much good planning as possible. This could be achieved when safety audits are carried out by planners or urban design experts. Safety audits involve assessing the physical environment usually at night, for its conduciveness to crime, and recommending suitable changes to improve a dangerous or perceived dangerous area. It is essential that design experts are accompanied by local women and men, so that locals can point out the community's particular areas of concern. Toronto has ensured effective community participation by making safety audits part of public policy. Physical design changes in Toronto will be illustrated in Chapter Five.

2.6 European Initiatives

In the mid 1980s European cities began to generate surveys and create guidelines on women's safety and security (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990). Powerful organisations such as the Greater London Council, the City of Manchester, and the Netherlands Ministry of Housing, Physical Planning and the Environment, were pressured by municipal women's committees and grassroots feminist groups to take account of women's safety in urban design. The initiatives that emerged have been taken as models by feminists in Toronto and North American cities (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990; Whitzman, 1992).

2.6.1 United Kingdom

Although Toronto has a number of unique safety concepts operating, it is part of an emerging global network of Safer Cities. Women Plan Toronto
gained ideas and modelled itself after the earlier established Women Plan London (WPL). WPL was part of a network of projects put forward by the Greater London Council (GLC) in the 1980s to take account of women’s changing roles and awareness in urban issues.

An entirely new agenda for local politics in Britain emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as left-wing Councillors took control of many large urban councils. Under this left-wing influence councils expanded and improved existing services, and branched into new areas, such as women’s issues (Brown, 1992). In the early 1980s women’s committees were set up in some British cities with the intention of:

making women’s needs visible in a local government system dominated by male councillors, male officers and male ways of organising and thinking (Taylor, in Brown, 1992: 57).

The committees were largely an attempt to counteract the underrepresentation of women in British local government (Brown, 1992). They were under the directorate of metropolitan councils in Britain, and in particular the GLC. The GLC undertook work to ensure women’s needs were recognised in all aspects of the Council’s work. This included; making grants available to women’s groups for projects, promoting equality for all women in the urban environment, acting as an information and campaigning resource for women’s groups, and working with other committees and departments to integrate women’s issues with other urban decisions (Brown, 1992). Although women’s safety issues were addressed, such as making funds available for safer public transport systems, projects were very general, and did not focus specifically on women’s safety.

Despite opposition, women’s issues were explicitly recognised in Councils, and the strategic plan for London contained a special chapter on ‘Women in London’ (Brown, 1992). However when the third Thatcher government came to power in 1987, the civil liberties and equal rights advocated by the Labour Party and left-wing councils were overturned. When central government applied measures to curtail local councils’ powers, the GLC collapsed, leading to the demise of women’s committees (Brown, 1992), and a temporary set-back for the emergence of specific women’s safety programmes.

Since this time a number of extensive local safety initiatives have emerged in the United Kingdom. These are partly the result of the central government’s Safer Cities Programme, designed to promote economic and social regeneration in the inner cities (Trench et al., 1992). Crime and the fear of crime are seen as major problems contributing to population loss, closure of businesses, and a declining community spirit in troubled urban areas (Trench et al., 1992). One of the objectives of the Programme is to create ‘safer cities where economic enterprise and community life can flourish’ (Trench et al., 1992: 282).

However, because ‘there is no national policy on planning for safety in the United Kingdom’ (Trench et al., 1992), the Programme is directed only
at areas with high rates of crime. This excludes urban communities with much lower crime rates, but who are equally concerned for their safety. It is also a gender neutral approach, failing to recognise that crime and fear of crime for women is widespread and requires attention in more than just economically depressed areas. Despite the fact that this central government project was focused on economic regeneration of commercial areas, rather than targeting safety in the urban environment, a number of local gender specific projects have emerged (Trench et al., 1992).

2.6.2 Amsterdam and other Netherlands Cities

The Netherlands Government has made crime prevention a national priority. The Ministry of Housing, Physical Planning and the Environment highlighted the importance of physical and social planning in its 1987 policy paper that considered ‘Society and Crime’ (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990), (emphasis added). Amsterdam has had great success in developing urban planning policies for public safety. The City has developed guidelines that recognise potential sexual assault sites, and a planning process which encourages women’s input on safety issues (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990).

Advertisements in newspapers placed by local government requested residents to point out ‘unsafe places’ in their local communities (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990). This is an inexpensive and effective means of identifying potential assault sites, and allows improvements to be undertaken by the council. Advertisements such as these target a large proportion of the population including both males and females. In the city of Eindhoven, it was found that sexual assault sites were prevalent along a major transportation route. With women’s help, the city improved lighting and visibility in that area. Almere, a smaller city, also identified areas where women felt unsafe. This led to changes in planning principles, such as allowing bicycles back on the street, rather than restricting them to isolated places (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990).

2.7 Limitations to the Safe City Concept

Is it really possible, as the Safe City concept implies, that a few planning and design changes will reduce our crime rates, and give women the freedom to participate in a safe urban environment? Such an assertion has been criticised by Merry (in Valentine, 1990) for its ‘environmental determinism’. Valentine (1990) acknowledges that although poor urban design facilitates crime, good design does not necessarily prevent it. Good design provides the preconditions for crime reduction, but such control will be limited in a number of situations. For example, windows overlooking potential trouble spots are ineffective if people are not looking out their windows, keep the
curtains pulled, or are not prepared to assist if a violent situation arises. Therefore regardless of the design, informal social control will not be exercised, and offenders will realise that the space is not actively defended. This will increase the opportunities for offending successfully.

Safe City designs are also limited if an offender is intent on committing a crime, rather than just making the most of an opportunity. An offender will probably select a location that offers the greatest chance of being successful, such as a poorly lit area, with little or no surveillance, and away from pedestrians. It is the role of Safe City programmes to reduce the prevalence of these locations.

Planning and design measures are also limited to the public sphere and the public/private interface (McIndoe, 1993). Beyond these areas safety considerations are at the discretion of the owner or developer of private space. However, public authorities can achieve some influence on safety standards in private space through planning controls. These may provide the opportunity to force a developer to address safety issues specifically to gain resource consent. Such planning controls will be considered in Chapter Six.

The Safe City concept has been criticised because of its focus on public violence, at the risk of ignoring domestic violence in the private sphere (Pain, 1991; Trench et al., 1992). Whitzman (1992) describes the Safe City concept as:

[concentrating] on the most visible tip (public violence against women and its relationship to urban design) of a largely invisible iceberg (male violence against women) (1992: 176).

The emphasis on urban design and planning reinforces the common and convenient misconception of a rapist as a stranger. The reality is that women are more likely to be attacked at home by someone they know (Pain, 1991; Stanko, 1990, Trench et al., 1992; Valentine, 1996 & 1992; Whitzman, 1992). However, violence against women on our streets should not be dismissed just because another problem of greater magnitude exists. As Stoks (1983) points out one-third to one-half of all reported incidents of murder, rape, assault and personal robbery in the United States, Great Britain, and most likely New Zealand take place within the urban public domain of cities. Such significant statistics cannot be ignored.

Statistics to support the Safe City concept as a crime prevention measure are limited because monitoring the results is extremely difficult. Paradoxically, Safe City initiatives can lead to an increase in reported crime, as people become more comfortable reporting offences (The Dominion, 14 March 1994, p.7). This gives the impression that although safety initiatives have been implemented, crime is actually increasing. Moreover, would a drop in crime reflect the success of the initiative or part of wider social changes, such as lowering unemployment? Regardless of whether statistics representing the incidence of crime are increasing or reducing, measuring improvements and
determining causes are very difficult. For example, it would be exceedingly
difficult to assess whether improved lighting, or a late night bus route re-
duced crime rates by reducing opportunities for offenders. Low frequency
of offences in a given area would hamper the indication of dramatic change.
Under-reporting of offences would further complicate this problem.

In spite of these limitations, the Safe City concept, and programmes for
reducing crime in urban public space can make a difference. Planning and
design improvements can lessen women’s fear, and reduce the opportunities
for criminal activity in urban public space. By creating a perception that
urban public space is controlled, women are encouraged to participate more
fully in their environment, and the intention of creating a safe city becomes
close to a reality.

2.8 Summary

This chapter introduced and described the Safe City concept. Three main
discussions have been presented. The first, defined urban public space, and
discussed women’s restricted use of this space because of their fear of men.
Women’s fear of men in urban public space and their restricted usage has
been exemplified with comments from women in Reading, England.

The second part examined what the Safe City concept entails, and traced
its evolution. It is recognised that the concept encompasses a number of
crime prevention initiatives. Although this project focuses primarily on
physical design improvements in the urban public space, the success of Safe
City initiatives would be limited if they were not combined with larger so-
cial changes, and supportive legislation. The Safe City concept is a multi-
dimensional programme that combines a number of facets to crime preven-
tion. These may include community programmes such as neighbourhood
watch, or wider social policy targeted at juvenile offenders for drug or poor
reading skills. However, this project will concentrate primarily on what plan-
ning and design can do to reduce opportunities for crime against women,
and lessen their fear of urban public space.

Whilst a number of initiatives have developed throughout the Western
world, this chapter has drawn extensively from the Safe City concept of
Toronto, Canada. Although Toronto initiatives are focused on in this re-
search, this does not mean that these are the ‘model’ Safe City concept.
Further European examples from England and the Netherlands were also
discussed.

Finally, the limitations of the Safe City concept have been outlined. It is
important to remember however, that design changes will not suddenly re-
duce crime rates. As Wekerle (The Dominion, 14 March 1994, p.7) explains,
it is subtle changes that reduce opportunistic crime. A determined criminal
will probably succeed regardless of any design changes. However, equally
important as reducing opportunities for crime, is reducing women’s fear of
crime. A controlled environment gives women a sense of security, and the
criminal the idea that the environment is defended. Although violence in the home is more prevalent than in the urban public space, the number of women attacked in public space is significant. The Safe City concept does not address domestic violence, but this does not mean its importance can be underestimated. Domestic violence is sourced in deep structures, such as patriarchy, and requires broad social solutions. The next chapter explores why a Safe City concept is necessary in urban communities, and examines why women have been exclusively addressed in these programmes.
3

The Safe City and Women

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the Safe City concept was introduced, and it was acknowledged that not all Safe City programmes concentrate specifically on women. This chapter aims to demonstrate why the Toronto Safe City and other Safe City initiatives focus specifically on women. An understanding of women's particular vulnerability and fear in the urban environment is an essential prerequisite for understanding the unique problems they encounter. Traditional urban designers such as Newman (1973) have recognised that everyone is vulnerable to crime in the urban environment, and thus have devised crime prevention strategies that are not gender specific. However, the Safe City concept asserts that women require special attention in the urban public environment because they are particularly vulnerable to violent and sexual crime, and have a greater fear of such crimes than men. Women's particular vulnerability and greater fear of crime will be examined in this chapter, and the discussion will be supported with sexual assault statistics from the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. A consideration of sexual assault data in these nations will illustrate the prevalence of rape in Western societies.

This chapter makes the assumption that violence against women both includes actual physical violence, and psychological violence, such as the fear many women experience in urban public space at night. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section recognises that, although women have a greater fear of crime, men are actually recorded in official statistics as experiencing higher victimisation rates (Department of Statistics & Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1990). This has been documented in the United Kingdom by Mahew (in Pain, 1991) and Stanko (1990), and in New Zealand in the Department of Statistics and Ministry of Women's Affairs (1990) joint document. It is therefore understandable that past crime prevention initiatives have not focused specifically on women because victimisation statistics have not demonstrated that women require special attention in urban space.
However, this chapter argues that, whilst men’s officially recorded victimisation rates are higher, crime against women is seriously underestimated in official statistics (Pain, 1991; Pawson & Banks, 1993; Valentine, 1989). Official statistics underestimate crime against women because:

(i) women adopt avoidance strategies because of fear of personal attack; and

(ii) women frequently do not report assaults against them (Stanko, 1990).

The second section will describe the notion of an avoidance strategy, and explain why women adopt practices that so rigorously restrict their lives. It will also discuss the common social misconception that women are usually raped by a stranger on the street. A woman is actually far more likely to be raped in her own home by someone she knows (Pain, 1991; Pawson & Banks, 1993; Stanko, 1990; Trench et al., 1992; Valentine, 1989, 1990 & 1992; Whitzman, 1992). This section will help explain why this research focuses on violence in the urban public space, rather than the private sphere. The final section aims to identify the extent of under-reporting of violence against women, and the reasons for this. Under-reporting dramatically reduces official female victimisation rates, and makes women’s fear of crime seem like groundless paranoia. Women’s refusal to report violence against them to the authorities, makes official statistics extremely limited as an indication of rape and sexual assault.

3.2 The Safe City and Women

Specific crime prevention strategies are needed for women, not because they are exclusively the victims of attack, but because they are especially vulnerable to sexual violence (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990; Trench et al., 1992; Valentine, 1989). Official statistics for attacks on women, however, do not always support this assertion. Women are officially reported as constituting only a minority group of crime victims. It therefore appears that men are much more likely to become victims of crime. This is documented in the 1980-81 New Zealand Social Indicators Survey, which stated that in the six months prior to their interview, 14 percent of men and 10 percent of women in the sample group had been the victim of crime (Department of Statistics, 1984). The 1987 Royal Commission on Social Policy Survey in New Zealand recorded similar findings. The Commission reported that 21 percent of men and 17 percent of women had been victims of crimes in the past year (Department of Statistics & Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 1990). More recently, the 1989-1990 Survey on Public Safety in New Zealand recorded that 24 percent of men and 20 percent of women had been victims of crime in the previous 12 months (Department of Statistics, 1993).
The same pattern has been identified overseas. In Britain, Stanko (1990) observed that, although women report levels of fear regarding personal safety at three times those of men, it is males who are the most common targets of violence. However, these statistics obscure the real picture of violence against women. Women's crime victim statistics are seriously underestimated because:

(i) women adopt avoidance strategies; and

(ii) women under-report crimes against them (Trench et al., 1992).

It is necessary to discuss the implications of avoidance strategies and under-reporting in order to understand women's unique fear and vulnerability to public violence. This discussion will also enable an understanding of why officially recorded male victimisation rates appear to exceed rates for women.

### 3.3 Avoidance Strategies

Women are far more likely than men to fear crime and thus restrict their lives by adopting 'protective' or 'precautionary' strategies. This involves avoiding 'dangerous places' at 'dangerous times' (Valentine, 1989). For example, Stanko (1990: 176) states that:

> most women don't simply walk down the street at night - the walk involves being aware of who is on the street, where others are and what their sex is; they assess alternative routes, carry grasped keys and act assertively.

Therefore, when women are out alone on the streets they are continually assessing their personal safety. Many women would rather remain at home than experience the fear associated with a journey alone at night. Trench et al., (1992) identified from surveys in a number of UK cities, that around two-thirds of women are afraid to go out alone at night. A comparative New Zealand study revealed that 60 percent of women expressed concern for their personal safety in public space at night (Department of Statistics, 1993).

The extent of women's fear can be appreciated through a comparison of the fear statistics of men and women. A study in Seattle, for example, revealed that seven times as many women as men do not go out alone at night (Warr, in Pain, 1991). Furthermore, a study in Toronto in 1985 revealed that 56 percent of women, but only 10 percent of men were 'afraid' or 'very afraid' walking alone in their neighbourhood at night (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1990).

Similar results were identified in a study in Christchurch, New Zealand, by Pawson and Banks (1993). In this study, women and men of various
age groups were asked if they felt unsafe in their own home at night due to outside influences. Two-thirds of women under 25 years of age, half of women aged between 25 and 40, and almost half the elderly confirmed that they were afraid. Although men in the older age ranges displayed similar results to women, younger men had significantly lower levels of fear (Figure 3.1). The study also asked men and women if they would walk alone at night in first, their neighbourhood, and second, the city centre. Women were much more likely than men to avoid walking in both these areas at night (Figure 3.2).

These investigations clearly demonstrate that women’s fear of crime is greater than men’s. However, the result of this fear is that women are reluctant to go out at night. Trench et al. (1992) have argued that this means fewer women are ‘available for attack’. Less women going out at night gives the impression that rates of violence against them (compared to men) are low, and hides the fact that women are reducing the opportunities for violence by curtailing their own movements. However, fewer women venturing out at night will not decrease women’s vulnerability or fear, but rather increase these. Moreover, avoidance strategies decrease women’s ability to fully participate in the urban environment. By adopting defensive practices, women are forced into a restricted use and occupation of public space; a fact which denies them full participation in social life.

The restriction of access to public space consequently affects other aspects of women’s lives. Demands on women’s time as housewives, mothers and paid employees means that they make frequent journeys in public space. However, women’s limited access to private vehicles has meant a greater reliance on public systems (England, 1991; Trench, et al. 1992; Wekerle, 1984). Trench et al. (1992) have described how in Britain spending cuts on public transport has reduced staff numbers, and limited the frequency of transport operations. As a result there is little formal control exercised on transit systems, and women therefore feel extremely vulnerable (Trench et al., 1992; Valentine, 1989). This problem has been accentuated for women because the capitalist city and subsequent planning practice separated the home and work functions, but did not consider the difficulties associated with travelling between these areas for women (McDowell, 1993).

Fear also restricts women’s occupational and leisure choices (Pain, 1991). Many women work in the central city, but this is also an area reportedly much feared by women (Gordon & Riger, 1991: Valentine, 1989). Fear of working late, or leaving in the dark, can inhibit a woman’s career options. Women can also feel intimidated or fearful pursuing leisure activities. This can include the fear of attack while running at night (Valentine, 1989), or being physically intimidated by men while socialising at a pub (Valentine, 1989). In many situations, such conditions make women feel uncomfortable and discourages their further interaction in urban public space at night.

It is important to understand what motivates women to adopt rigorous strategies that restrict their lives. This will now be examined. Women have
FIGURE 3.1: Proportions of respondents feeling unsafe in their own homes at night, due to outside influences (Source: Pawson & Banks, 1993).

FIGURE 3.2: Proportions of respondents who were very reluctant to walk alone at night in (a) their neighbourhood, (b) the city centre (Source: Pawson & Banks, 1993)
developed an elaborate set of precautionary strategies in their daily lives because of their fear of personal violence (Gordon & Riger, 1991). Fear is generally described as:

[an] individual's diffuse sense of danger about being physically harmed by violence. It is associated with being outside the home, probably in an urban area, alone and potentially vulnerable to violent crime (Stanko, 1990: 174).

This definition could equally depict both male and female fear. However women's fear is quite distinct from male fear not only in its higher rate of occurrence, but in its very nature (Goode, 1993). Women are more fearful of crime than men due to the unique and severe threat of sexual violence (Department of Statistics & Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1990; Pain, 1991; Pawson, 1993; Stanko, 1990; Valentine, 1989 & 1992). Valentine (1989: 385) has attributed women's greater fear to their:

- sense of physical vulnerability to men, particularly to rape and sexual murder, and an awareness of the seriousness and horror of such an experience.

Rape has been described as the 'master offence' by Pawson and Banks (1993) and Smith (1987) because many women fear rape more than any other crime, and it is the threat of sexual violence that makes women's fear significantly different from that of men. Gordon and Riger (1991) have described rape as an act of aggression and domination by men against women which is intensified by the possibility of death. Longhurst (in Goode, 1993) has defined rape as not only non-consenting penis-vagina intercourse, but also included anal, oral and object violation. It was not until recently that New Zealand's Crimes Act (1961) was amended to take account of the wider definitions of rape (Goode, 1993). This reflects the extent that legislators in New Zealand are oblivious to women's feelings towards sexual violence.

Women's fear towards rape is accentuated by the knowledge that rape is a traumatic experience which has a severe impact on emotional and psychological well being (Goode, 1993). Although many women have not been sexual assault victims, most have heard the experiences of other women (Pain, 1991). Women will change their ways of operating in public space in order to decrease their chance of becoming a victim. By consequence, women's ability to participate fully in the public sphere is undermined.

Whilst rape is only one component of sexual violence against women, it nonetheless provides a good measure of what women fear, and why they adopt precautionary strategies. The New Zealand Police do not collect statistics on victims of crime, so there is no major official source of information on women as victims in New Zealand (Department of Statistics, 1993). Pain (1991) noted from various surveys during the 1980s that between 17
and 25 percent of sampled British women had been raped. A recent Australian documentary, 'Without Consent', which was broadcast on Television New Zealand reported that the likelihood of rape for women in Australia was one in four (Gooder, 1993).

Although rape is described as the 'master offence', including all forms of sexual assault against women can dramatically increase the victim statistics. However varying definitions of what constitutes rape in different nations, may complicate statistics on rape specifically, or sexual assault generally. Katz and Mazur (1979) concluded that sexual assault may include incest, sodomy, carnal knowledge, molestation, fondling and exhibitionism. Pain (1991) argues for the inclusion of sexual harassment as a form of intimidating sexual behaviour. Although sexual harassment is not as severe as rape, it can be seen as part of a continuum of violence against women because it reinforces women's perception of their own vulnerability to sexual attack (Pain, 1991).

A Canadian estimate in the early 1980s reported that one in four Canadian women would be sexually assaulted at some stage in their lives (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990). The Hall's London Women's Safety Survey in the early 1980s reported that 31 percent of women had experienced sexual assault, which can be as traumatic as rape (Pain, 1991). A 1988 British survey about personal safety found that in the past 12 months over 70 percent of surveyed women had encountered 'unwelcome approaches', almost 50 percent had experienced obscene phone calls, 45 percent noted 'threatening behaviour', 40 percent recollected being 'groped', and 10 percent had experienced a physical assault (Stanko, 1990).

Women's greater level of fear than men's should not be dismissed as exaggerated or irrational (Department of Statistics, 1990; Trench et al., 1992). As the above statistics show, women do in fact endure frequent sexual abuse. If urban planners and designers are to produce a safer urban public environment for women, it is essential that they are aware of the violent and sexual crime that takes place in this area. This would require consideration of the potential victim, the offender and particularly the attack location. The following sub-section will undertake this consideration.

3.3.1 The Victim

Although women are not exclusively the victims of rape, they are far more likely to be raped than men because they are more vulnerable to sexual violence (Katz & Mazur, 1979). Katz and Mazur (1979) have explained that women are generally physically smaller and weaker than their male counterparts, and this may allow them to be overpowered. Thus, women of every age group, race, socio-economic status, occupation, sexual orientation, marital status, intellectual capacity, and past experience of violence are vulnerable to rape (Gordon & Riger, 1991; Katz & Mazur, 1979). Although some women may be more vulnerable than others to rape, Gooder (1993: 6)
has explained that 'it is enough simply to be female to experience [the fear of rape]'. However Katz and Mazur (1979) have identified certain demographic characteristics in the United States that reveal specific groups of women to be at a higher risk from rapists. These include:

(i) younger women;

(ii) black women;

(iii) single rather than married females;

(iv) females from the lowest socio-economic status rather than those from middle and upper class families; and

(v) women from all occupations, but particularly students in College (Katz & Mazur, 1979: 44).

The applicability of this American research may be limited for New Zealand given the ethnic differences, and the fact that this country has proportionately fewer tertiary students. Categorising potential high risk rape victims can also undermine the fact that all women are vulnerable, and give statistically low potential rape victims a false sense of security. It also seems unlikely that rape within domestic relationships has been considered in this study. Literature on domestic violence indicates that women are more likely to be the victims of sexual violence if they are married than not (Pain, 1991).

Parental restrictions to young girls' lives are not generally deferred until they are mature enough to understand the unfairness but necessity of taking safety precautions. Although it is unwise to keep young girls uninformed about the threat of rape, women are treated as potential victims from a very early age (Pain, 1991). Valentine (1992) explains that up until approximately the age of 11, boys and girls are treated fairly equally, however beyond this age, parental restrictions on boys' activities are relaxed, and restrictions on girls' movements are intensified. Girls are constantly reminded of their vulnerability to sexual attack by parents who ensure that their daughters are chaperoned, encourage them to dress and behave in an unpromiscuous manner, and pressure them to avoid particular places (Pain, 1991; Valentine, 1992). Thus a sense of vulnerability in public space is engendered in girls at an early age, and this affects their behaviour and use of space from that time onwards.

This conditioning from an early age has meant that women are expected to take responsibility for their own personal safety. If a woman is attacked in an isolated public space away from the protection of others, then society tends to place a degree of blame on her (Stanko, 1990; Valentine, 1989). The police and media also imply that women are responsible for their own fate if they are attacked in a perceived high risk area (Valentine, 1989). Public impressions of violent crime are further influenced by the media. Sensationalised 'human interest' stories are likely to sell newspapers, and therefore
the media tend to exaggerate crimes against individuals such as rape and murder (Valentine, 1992). The media are widely regarded as the principal source of information that exacerbates women's fear (Pain, 1991; Smith, 1987; Valentine, 1992). In support of this, a 1987 Ministerial Committee in New Zealand concluded that the media invests exaggerated feelings of fear and anxiety in the hearts of law abiding citizens (Pawson & Banks, 1993). A conference in New Zealand in 1983 on sexual violence reported that the media's frequent reports of women attacked, has meant that women are developing a 'victim mentality' (Gooder, 1993). As a result women are made well aware that it is their responsibility to take precautions to protect themselves, and this serves to further restrict their movements in the urban public environment.

3.3.2 The Offender and the Attack Location

All men that are physically capable have the potential to rape, but this is not to suggest that all men are rapists. Katz and Mazur (1979) found in the United States that the rapist was primarily a single, young black from lower socio-economic status. This of course would only reflect convicted rapist statistics. Katz and Mazur's (1979) definition is severely limited because it serves only to create an impression of the 'typical' rapist. The result of this is that women fear only those men who fit this stereotypical image. Ironically, women are taught to fear the stranger on the street as the potential rapist, but a woman is more likely to be raped at home by someone she knows, than be attacked on a street by a stranger (Pain, 1991; Pawson & Banks, 1993; Stanko, 1990; Trench et al., 1992; Valentine, 1989, 1990 & 1992; Whitzman, 1992).

Nonetheless, research has demonstrated that women still perceive themselves to be in danger from strange men in urban public space (Valentine, 1992). Other studies have shown that women who are attacked by violent male partners still imagine offenders to be strangers who attack in public space (Valentine, 1992). The geography of violence and the geography of fear are therefore mismatched because the notion of sexual violence against women is constantly reinforced socially as a public offence. However, Pawson and Banks (1993) recognised that when considering public violence against women separately, actual violence did correlate with the areas that women feared. Therefore in this case a parallel exists between the geography of fear and the geography of violence.

The fact that women fear the public sphere more than the domestic domain, may be influenced by the fact that even young girls are told to fear the stranger on the street, rather than an uncle or baby-sitter, or a future husband. A British publication entitled the 'Personal Security Handbook' (1987) devotes some discussion to women's safety. The book acknowledges that over half of violent crimes against women are by men known to them, but the analysis nonetheless concentrates on advice for women to protect
themselves against ‘stranger danger’ (Stanko, 1990).

The perceived location of crime in public places is also influenced by the media. Pain (1991) suggests that the media uses stereotypical messages to shape women’s fear to certain areas of the urban public environment. In support of this Valentine (1992: 26) notes that:

by disproportionately publicising attacks committed in public places rather than domestic violence, the media place the dangers women fear into the public environment and link crimes with particular locations such as parks and railways.

Therefore, excessive publicising of attacks committed in public places gives women the false impression that the home is a haven from a hostile world. It also serves to exaggerate the fear women feel in the public environment. If violence against women is more prominent in the domestic setting and in need of urgent attention, why then does this research focus upon the urban public sphere? This question is now addressed.

3.3.3 Violence Against Women in Urban Public Space

Although domestic assault is more prevalent than public violence, this does not suggest that the public sphere is a safe place for women. Indeed, statistics indicate that violent public offences against women are quite significant, and this is exemplified in the experiences of Canada and the United States. Police statistics in Canada have shown that urban public space is the site of one fifth to one half of all rapes that are officially reported (Safe City Committee, 1992). A study in the United States revealed that among 143 women raped by strangers, almost half (49 percent) were forcibly seized or enticed from the streets. The rape abduction occurred in many situations, such as while the women waited for a bus, walked home, or halted for a traffic light in their cars (Katz & Mazur, 1979).

In New Zealand, Pawson and Banks (1993) assessed rape statistics in Christchurch using information gathered from:

(i) A Christchurch Newspaper Survey 1983-88;
(ii) The Department of Justice Court Indictments 1980-81; and
(iii) A Department of Justice Respondents’ Survey 1983.

Although these three sources were said to ‘lay to rest the myth that rape is a crime of public places’ (Pawson & Banks, 1993: 56), public violence still makes up a significant proportion of crime against women. The proportion of attacks against women in Christchurch public places was found to be significant (Figure 3.3).

Although domestic violence is more common than street assaults for women, fear of attack outside the home is nonetheless a major limitation
FIGURE 3.3: Proportion of reported rapes against women in public places in Christchurch (Source: Pawson & Banks, 1993).

on their lives. Women limit their lives by adopting self-imposed restrictions such as staying at home at night, not walking alone and avoiding certain areas of town. As a result women's personal freedom is constrained and their general quality of life diminishes (Pain, 1991).

The City of Toronto Planning and Development Department (1990: 3) also recognised this, stating that:

women have a right to use the city when and how they choose.

Fewer women out at night means that they are less secure and have their rights to use the city undermined.

A reduction in the possibility of attack will reduce women's fear, and increase their ability to participate both in their urban environment, and in society generally. Whilst planning and design are not responsible for restricting women's activities, a recognition of the role of environmental factors in influencing patterns of gender violence could do much to create safer cities for women (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990).

Regardless of whether women are being attacked at home or in public, both forms of violence are described by feminist writers as a social control over women. Pain (1991) explains that by constraining women through fear,
sexual violence acts as a means for men to control women’s lives. Brownmiller (in Pain, 1991: 425) points out that sexual violence is:

a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear.

The threat of male sexual violence controls women’s use of public and private space. Brownmiller (in Pain, 1991) asserts that rape helps maintain the patriarchal status quo. Brownmiller also argues that society has not demonstrated that it finds rape unacceptable, and as a result this form of violence continues as the main way in which women are controlled by men (Pain, 1991). Although this project focuses on public violence against women, domestic violence is a component of the control of women through such violence. Although the threat of male sexual violence is apparent in both public and private domains, Western societies’ obsession with crime by strangers in the former setting, has encouraged women to:

(i) seek protection from one man; and
(ii) reinforce confinement to the home.

As a result there is more sexual violence in the private sphere, and men who are guilty of assault remain unpenalised, whilst the common notions of sexual violence in the public sphere go unchallenged (Pain, 1991). Although violence against women in the private sphere is more prevalent than public violence, both may be seen as points on a continuum of violent control of women by men, and thus each require separate attention.

### 3.4 Under-reporting of Crime Against Women

Women’s fear of crime is often described as unrealistic, and simply a case of paranoia, particularly because men do not harbour such fears and are the victims of more reported attacks (Pain, 1991). However, women’s fears cannot be dismissed as irrational paranoia because violence against them is extensively ‘under-reported’ (Department of Statistics & Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 1990; Katz & Mazur, 1979; Pain, 1991; Pawson & Banks, 1993; Stanko, 1990). A New Zealand Ministerial Committee in 1987 found that rape and attempted rape had risen by 350 percent in the twenty years to 1985 (Pawson & Banks, 1993). The Department of Statistics (1993) noted that 172 rapes were reported in 1970, 396 in 1981, however by 1992 the number of reported sexual violations reached 1,207. This represents a seven-fold increase in 22 years. Although these represent a substantial increase in either rapes committed or rapes reported, they are likely to represent only a small proportion of actual rapes. This is because women typically hide experiences of sexual violence from the police and official bodies (Pain, 1991; Pawson & Banks, 1993; Stanko, 1990).
A New Zealand Justice Department report concluded that 75 to 80 per cent of victims were not reporting violent attacks (Pawson & Banks, 1993). British research found that police violent crime statistics are now generally accepted to represent only a fraction of the real extent; in the case of rape, perhaps as little as 10 percent of actual cases are reported (Pain, 1991). Although sexual assault reporting rates are improving in New Zealand (Department of Statistics, 1993), official statistics are still very limited as an indication of the extent of rape. So why do women have a disinclination to report rape? The following is a list of reasons why women under-report sexual violence against them:

(i) rape is extremely embarrassing and shameful;
(ii) many victims believe themselves to be responsible for the rape;
(iii) a stigma is attached to rape victims by society;
(iv) fear of newspaper publicity and loss of anonymity;
(v) expectations of insensitive and unfair treatment by the police, the hospital, and the courts;
(vi) fear of reprisals by the offender;
(vii) inconvenience or the desire to forget it;
(viii) married women may have kept silent for fear of rejection by their partners; and
(ix) a daughter's fear of her parents due to engaging in a parentally forbidden activity (Katz & Mazur, 1979; Pain, 1991).

Katz and Mazur (1979) noted that domestic violence is even less likely to be reported because victims usually protect the offender. This is because the victim is likely to know their attacker, and is thus less inclined to report the offence (Department of Statistics, 1993). A woman may feel that her own actions caused the rape, and she may be deterred by the fear of the offender (husband, father, relative) being imprisoned (Department of Statistics, 1993).

3.5 Summary

This chapter has explained the need for Safe City programmes which focus specifically on women. It has done this by describing how women are particularly vulnerable to violent sexual assault, and as a result, how they experience greater fear in the urban public environment than men. Women's greater vulnerability is partly sourced in their physical make-up, as many women simply do not have the strength to fight off an often larger and
stronger male attacker. This recognition is not new to women; they have been ‘groomed’ as potential victims of sexual assault since a very early age (Pain, 1991). This has engendered a sense of vulnerability and fear in them that affects their behaviour and use of urban public space.

It is likely that some people consider women to be paranoid of crime against them, particularly because men have greater crime victimisation rates. This chapter, however, has demonstrated that violence against women is seriously underestimated in official statistics, due to women adopting avoidance strategies in the urban environment, and under-reporting of crimes against them. Women adopt avoidance strategies because of their extreme fear of sexual violence. Avoidance strategies restrict the ability of women to participate in the urban environment at night. The Safe City concept aims to restore women’s rights to use the city in an unrestricted manner. Under-reporting of violent crime against women is widespread and significant. It dramatically reduces women’s victim statistics, and gives the impression that women are rarely the victims of violent or sexual crimes. Because women typically hide their experiences from the authorities, official statistics are extremely limited as an indication of rape and sexual violence, and provide little impetus for change to occur in the urban environment.

A common misconception exists in society that women are usually raped by a stranger on the street. Studies have shown that women are more likely to be raped in their own home by someone they know (Pain, 1991; Stanko, 1990). Although domestic violence is more prevalent than public violence, women’s safety in the urban public sphere is nonetheless a critical issue for government and society.

Women have been taught and have learned to be fearful of the urban environment at night. But this has engendered a sense of vulnerability into them that affects their behaviour and use of urban public space. Planning and urban form obviously do not create these problems, but urban design often aids the success of criminal offences. The production of urban space has in the past been a patriarchal enterprise. This has meant that urban space has been produced from a male perspective, and has not adequately considered women’s greater fear and greater vulnerability to sexual and violent crime in this space. A recognition of the environmental influences on gender violence by those responsible for the production of urban space could do much to create safer urban areas for women.
4

The Production of Urban Space

4.1 Introduction

The Safe City concept is targeted at urban public space, because it is within this arena that women are most fearful of crime. This chapter examines how the production of urban space has been patriarchal, and how this has constrained women’s ability to participate fully in the urban environment. Patriarchy is a form of organisation by which men and women are positioned in superior and inferior social positions respectively (Johnson, 1989b). Men have dominated urban production professions, and through their inadequate knowledge of the needs and behaviour of women, they have produced ineffective and restrictive urban areas for women. Although a number of professions and disciplines influence the production of urban space, this chapter will focus on the role of planners in this process. It will address why planning has rarely taken women’s needs into account, and how this fact has caused great difficulty for women who must combine employment, childcare, and housework duties.

It is the aim of this chapter to illustrate firstly, that men have dominated urban production professions, and secondly, to explain how and why women have been marginalised. Chapter Five will be inextricably linked to this, but will take a more specific approach. It will identify areas within urban public space that women feel particularly fearful of crime, and will then describe what planning and design can do to improve such locations.

The chapter has seven sections. The first describes the spatial development of the capitalist city, and how this has been a patriarchal enterprise. The discussion illustrates how men gained domination of urban public space, and how this has led to their subsequent control over the production of all urban space. The second section examines the development of suburbs. A boom in suburbanisation was created by the development of mass transport in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Rapid expansion
in the suburbs was also apparent after World War Two. Suburbanisation compounded the separation between men at work in the public sphere, and women at home in the private domain. The concept of suburban living in Western societies is implicitly grounded in the notion of the 'traditional nuclear family'. The nuclear family emerged during the late nineteenth century, and captured popular imagination as the ideal family form. However, it also served to reinforce women's role as wife and mother, and restrict their activity in the public sphere.

Land use zoning is examined in the third section. Planning practice that has adopted strict single-use zoning has created major economic problems for city centres, and has also seriously disadvantaged women attempting to utilise these areas. The fourth section acknowledges that women's traditional role as wife and mother has been made more difficult because land use zoning has segregated essential services (such as grocery shops and health clinics) from the home. However, with the dramatic change in women's roles in the 1960s, the urban environment has become even more dysfunctional. The city has been traditionally planned to take account of women's single role as homemaker. However, growing numbers of women in paid employment, and the increasing breakdown of the nuclear family, has highlighted the inadequacy of this form of city for women. As an example of women's restrictions in the urban environment, the issue of transportation needs is examined in section five.

The sixth section considers the urban planning and design profession. It examines why planners have rarely addressed women's needs in the planning process with regard to producing urban space. To demonstrate this, the numerical dominance of male planners will be considered. Men's different interpretation and experience within urban space is examined in an attempt to understand why they do not appreciate many of women's concerns. This section also encompasses a consideration of the quantity of women in planning schools, and analyses patriarchal planning texts used in planning courses. The final section of this chapter considers the participation and impact of women in the production of urban space, who are not employed in planning professions. This is to determine the ease with which such women can articulate their views and concerns within the planning process.

4.2 Spatial Development of the Capitalist City

The spatial development of the capitalist city has largely been a patriarchal enterprise. Disciplines and professions which shape the production of urban space, such as planning and architecture are dominated by white male professionals (Johnson, 1989a). Wekerle (1981b & 1984) asserts that Canadian cities are planned by men for men. In support of this, the feminist architectural collective Matrix (in Johnson, 1989a: 34) concluded:
women play almost no part in making decisions about or in creating the environment. It is a man-made environment.

It is necessary to understand the historical processes which have left women with little input or control over the production of urban space. The processes by which the home became physically separated from the workplace, contributed to the gendered roles of men in the public sphere, and women at home in the private domain (Boys, 1990). Feminist geographers and social scientists, such as England (1991), Harman (1988) and McDowell (1993), have located the origins of gendered roles in urban space, in the rise of industrialisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This period saw the site of paid productive work move out of the home into the factory, and the home became the arena of unpaid reproductive work (Monk, 1992). In the preceding period, the medieval household, while still patriarchal, had no real spatial separation between productive and reproductive functions. The family operated as a neighbourhood unit as much as a household, in which domestic, productive and political activities were all represented. Marriage was a partnership in which men and women had clearly defined and distinct economic spheres (Valentine, 1992). Although women played an active part in the production of goods, considerable variation occurred between cities and classes (Harman, 1988).

The development of capitalist industrial production brought an end to an economy based on family labour, and a separation of sites of production and reproduction. This accentuated the gulf between the roles and appropriate spaces of men and women (Valentine, 1992). The expansion of capitalist production saw the number of working hours increase, leading to an increase in the number of women and children working (Brown, 1992). The fixed working hours and location of the factory meant that work could not be adequately combined with childcare and domestic duties. Therefore, it was necessary to establish a clear division of labour, where the home was confined to the private sphere, and the workplace remained in the public sphere (Brown, 1992).

Harman (1988) argues that under these conditions women were forced into taking on most, if not all, domestic responsibilities. Urbanisation also meant that women no longer had the kinship supports for childcare and household duties that were apparent in rural communities. Thus, women gradually began to withdraw from the paid labourforce into the home to perform the role of full-time wife, mother, and household manager (England, 1991). The withdrawal to the home by women was not without personal costs. Women lost relative authority and power, because value in the market system is expressed in terms of exchange and wage income, not reproductive and domestic capabilities (Harman, 1988). The loss was particularly significant because women’s communication networks and political skills had developed in these communal spaces. However, when women became isolated in the home, these skills and networks were forfeited (Wekerle,
Gender ideologies that emerged during the capitalist industrial era, supported the removal of women from public life to the home. England (1991) recognised this as the ‘cult of true womanhood’, Fincher (1990) has described it as the ‘ideology of domesticity’, and Pawson (1987) made reference to it as the ‘cult of domesticity’. Although not strictly the same, these concepts were designed to reinforce women’s primary role as wives and mothers, and consolidate men’s primary role as workers outside the home (Fincher, 1990). For the middle class to have a non-working wife became the hallmark of a stable family life and respectability (Valentine, 1992). Such values filtered down to the working class. Although it was financially more difficult for the working class to survive on one income, they placed a high value on a man earning enough to ensure his wife and children would not have to work (Valentine, 1992). However, regardless of class, this ideology of the man as the breadwinner, strengthened women’s economic dependence on men (Pawson, 1987). England (1991: 137) believed that the ‘cult of true womanhood’ acted as a means to:

reconfirm men’s domination of public space, by reinforcing the notion that women were frail and delicate, uniquely endowed with the emotional abilities required to maintain the domestic sphere and protect society’s moral fabric from the corrupting influences of capitalism.

Women’s ‘special’ abilities in the domestic sphere developed into a belief that a nurturing full-time mother was necessary for the healthy functioning of a family and should be every woman’s priority (England, 1991). Since the industrial period, distinct gender ideologies have had profound impacts on the social production of urban space. Urban planning and design professions have long reinforced women’s traditional association with the home (Pawson, 1987).

Women’s association with the private domestic sphere has also been reinforced with the development of dichotomous categories (Harman, 1988; Johnson, 1989b). Such categories have been used to describe the organisation of urban space, and explain how patriarchy is embedded in the production of this space (Harman, 1988). Although dichotomous categories exist within a theoretical framework, if planners view the world in terms of polar opposites, then this will influence the nature of urban planning, and women’s place within the city (Greed, 1994).

The categories include: men/women, masculine/feminine, public/private, work/home, productive/unproductive, paid/unpaid, production/reproduction and masculine cities/feminine suburbs (Boys, 1990; England, 1991; Harman, 1988; Johnson, 1989b). In each of these dichotomies there is an identification of the former term with the masculine and the hierarchisation of the male over the female (Johnson, 1989b). Within the dichotomous
structure of thinking and valuing, women are reduced to the 'lesser' or the 'other' category.

The use of dichotomous categories to describe the way in which cities divide men and women helps to maintain and perpetuate such divisions (Harman, 1988). Saegert (in Harman, 1988) asserts that dichotomies guide our thinking of the city and our personal lives in terms of polar opposites. As a result, the traditional segregation of men in the public sphere and women in the home is reinforced. In addition, social scientists have tended to ignore the sphere associated with women's work, and concentrated on the male activities in public places or production centres (England, 1991). Thus, a vital component necessary for a thorough understanding of capitalist society is missing. Urban space is therefore produced in capitalist societies by male-dominated professions that rarely acknowledge women's needs.

In reality, the lives of women cannot be easily located on the spectrum between the private and public spheres (Harman, 1988). Although the categories have been useful for researchers, they are restrictive because they limit the conception of women's lives to the 'other' of the dichotomy. As a result, urban planning and design reflects the patriarchal capitalist assumption that women are associated only with the private domestic sphere. Ironically, even though women numerically dominate the domestic realm, planners and designers have failed to provide an environment conducive to their needs.

4.3 Development of the Suburbs

The emergence of mass transport (rail and train) in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, compounded the separation of home and work, and led to a subsequent boom in suburbanisation (Harman, 1988). Suburban development was made possible because transportation allowed for men to commute to work in the city, while housing their wives and children in the countryside (England, 1991). As a result, the distinction between the suburban home as the female domain and the urban workplace as male territory was intensified (Monk, 1992).

4.3.1 The Nuclear Family

The concept of suburban residencies on the distant fringes of the city is implicitly grounded in the social construction of the 'traditional nuclear family' (England, 1991). The nuclear family emerged during the late nineteenth century and captured popular imagination as the 'ideal' family form (England, 1991). Valentine (1992) contends that the nuclear family was based on a heterosexual married couple and their dependent children. In New Zealand, as in other Western nations, the role of the nuclear family was seen as both a source of political and social stability, and as the means of reproducing labour (Pawson, 1987).
Through the design of suburban homes and neighbourhoods traditional gender roles were reinforced, and the maintenance of the nuclear family encouraged (Brown, 1992). Suburbs became the feminised centres for homelife, families, domestic activities, social reproduction and consumption (Harman, 1988). State intervention has tended to enforce the patriarchal character of the contemporary form of gender relations, and has embraced explicitly the concept of the traditional nuclear family (England, 1991).

4.3.2 Greenbelt Towns

The gender politics underlying suburbanisation in the twentieth century, is clearly expressed in the documents promoting the construction of Greenbelt Towns in the USA in the 1930s (Monk, 1992). Promotional pamphlets described that while husbands commuted to the city, women were expected to remain in the greenbelt towns where they could carry out their shopping and other daily routines (England, 1991). By the middle of the twentieth century the popularity of the suburban way of life had rapidly expanded. Women as well as men shared the ‘American Dream’ of owning a home in the suburbs (England, 1991). To be able to move to the suburbs, families had only to satisfy management agencies that they were ‘normal, home-loving and self-respecting’ (Monk, 1992: 131).

However, as suburbs were built further and further from the central city, the commuting times grew longer for men, decreasing both the amount of time they spent with their wives and families, and their input into domestic labour. As a result, women’s isolation and loneliness increased, compounded because male partners usually took the family car to work. England (1991) has described the boredom and loneliness women experience in isolated suburbs:

> even with a car, (the suburban woman) was restricted because shopping and car pooling consumed much of her day. Suburban housewives have been called the ‘new servant class’ spending endless hours chauffeuring children to lessons, appointments, and friends’ homes. To many women, intellectual stagnation became a problem. Whereas the urban woman could easily obtain stimulation in the museums and theatres of the city, the suburban women could only attend such events with difficulty. Daytime TV offered pallid substitutes (1991: 39).

Women’s dissatisfaction with their suburban life arose out of frustration at trying to operate within an environment that had never specifically considered their needs. Planning and designing an environment for women as housewives and mothers had failed because it only considered a patriarchal perception of appropriate urban space. Land use zoning also exacerbated women’s feelings of frustration and isolation in suburbia.
4.4 Land Use Zoning

Land use zoning was advocated in the nineteenth century to keep housing away from industrial areas, primarily for public health reasons, but arguably also to separate the ‘public male’ and ‘private female’ spheres in the city (Greed, 1994). Greed (1994) argues that it has continued into the twentieth century under the pretext of creating greater efficiency, convenience, and health. Wekerle (1981b) adds that land use zoning has also been promoted as a means to protect the property values of home owners through segregation of land uses. Regardless of the factors influencing zoning, the effects of zoning on women’s lives have been ignored.

Modern planning after World War Two was mainly based on the principles of ‘functionalism’, which clearly segregated work, home and leisure through rigorous zoning (Trench et al., 1992). The roots of functionalism can be found in the Garden Cities movement in Britain, and later in the Greenbelt Towns in the United States (Trench et al., 1992). These urban developments encouraged the suburbanisation of middle income families so they could enjoy much better living conditions.

At the conclusion of the Second World War, British cities began cleansing their city centres of uses considered incompatible with the desired image of industrial centres (Trench et al., 1992). Britain wanted its new industrial cities to look prosperous, confident and aggressive. The pilot scheme for the post-war city centre was Coventry. Devastated by widespread bomb damage in World War Two, Coventry provided the opportunity to redesign and rebuild the urban centre completely.

In North American cities at this time, rising central business district land values, coupled with transport developments, resulted in a similar erosion of the activities which encourage people to utilise their city centre at night (Trench et al., 1992). These inner city areas became islands of activity, alive only between the trading hours of 9.00am and 5.00pm. A common joke in the United States in the 1960s and the early 1970s was that ‘even muggers in the city centres after dark went in threes’ (Trench et al., 1992).

Western nations’ past planning practice of single-use zoning is emerging as a major economic problem for city centres, and creates serious disadvantages for women. The Commission of the European Communities stated that:

- functional separation may sometimes be useful when applied, for example, to industry. In other areas however...the practice of strict zoning ignores the patrimony and geographical reality of the city (in Trench et al., 1992: 286).

The excessive use of functional exactness in city planning has destroyed the flexibility of the city, its buildings, and the ability of people to operate successfully within it (Trench et al., 1992). Problems created by functionalism in planning have been widely discussed by urban designers. Jane Jacobs
(1961) provides a fuller discussion of this debate. The detrimental impact of zoning on the city centre, and on women will now be discussed.

4.4.1 The Impact of Zoning on the City Centre

The desire to make the city centre a 9.00am to 5.00pm activity area through strict land use zoning, has had significant detrimental economic impacts. Because the city centre is deserted after business hours, these areas are perceived to be dangerous, and are either deserted or given over to gangs of partygoers and drunkards after dark (Trench et al., 1992). This not only denies large numbers of men and women the use of their city centre at night because of fear of crime, but also has significant economic and employment costs (Trench et al., 1992).

A study of community safety in Nottingham in the UK assessed the costs of avoidance of the commercial centre. Nottingham employs 50,000 people in its city centre, and is a major location for tourism and trade (Nottingham City Council, 1990). The study concluded that because of fear of crime people avoided the urban centre. This has meant an annual loss to city centre retailing and tourism activities of 24 million pounds (NZ$65 million) in turnover, lost profit of 0.84 million pounds (NZ$2.275 million) and 652 lost job opportunities (Austin, 1994; Nottingham City Council, 1990; Trench et al., 1992). This British data indicates that crime has a direct effect on the economic viability of city centres. Fear of crime deters potential users of such areas, and significantly reduces the quantity of money spent. It is a cumulative process because if people avoid the city centre through fear, then these areas become more isolated and more fearful, and subsequently more people avoid them. Reducing the opportunities for crime in city centres, and people's fear of attack through Safe City initiatives, can do much to improve economic conditions.

4.4.2 The Impact of Zoning on Women

The impact of land use zoning in the city has been felt the hardest by women (Brown, 1992). The division between home and work makes it increasingly difficult for women to combine outside work and activities within the home in a flexible manner. This has been exacerbated by the growing distances between zones, requiring the use of a motorcar (Greed, 1994). Sarkissian (n.d.: 9) describes this situation through reference to the actual experiences of a young mother living in the suburb of Brown Hills, Australia:

> there are no stores, no schools (several are planned), no child-minding centres, kindergartens, clinics, doctors, dentists, movie theatres, community halls, or established playgrounds within its boundaries. No internal bus system serves the area. The nearest hospital is six miles away.
However, when women’s traditional roles began to change in the post-war years, the restrictive nature of zoning on women became even more apparent.

4.5 Change in Women’s Roles

While the lives of many women have changed radically, the urban environment in which they live has not (Wekerle, 1984). Harman (1988) argues that the traditional role of woman as both a wife and mother for a nuclear family, is an increasingly dubious norm. However, by assessing the design and organisation of houses, neighbourhoods and transport systems, Wekerle (1981b) explains that:

they are still planned as if most women were in the home full-time and the man is a full-time wage earner, and as if the predominant family were the nuclear family. These assumptions do not reflect present day reality (1981b: 8).

The traditional nuclear family with a homemaker wife has been declining in significance in the United States since the 1950s (England, 1991). At this time almost 60 percent of all households conformed to the image of a nuclear family, however by 1987 only 25 percent did (England, 1991). This trend has also been apparent in New Zealand. By 1991 families with both parents working full-time, outnumbered the traditional model of a father in full-time employment and a mother at home (Statistics New Zealand, 1994). The traditional nuclear family had decreased from 35 percent of all families in 1986, to only 28 percent in 1991 (Statistics New Zealand, 1994). Statistics have illustrated that this reduction in nuclear families is a constant downward trend.

No longer the predominant family type, the traditional nuclear family now co-exists with increasing numbers of household forms for which the dichotomous city is dysfunctional (England, 1991). The city based on dichotomous spheres has not only become dysfunctional for suburban women with multiple roles, but is equally restrictive for households of single people, single parents, two earner couples, and aged people (Beall & Levy, 1994; England, 1991; McFarlane, 1994).

Single parent households headed by women are an increasing phenomena. Harman (1988) reported in 1988 that 10 percent of Australian households were headed by females. Wekerle (1981b) also concluded that one in ten Canadian families were headed by women. The 1991 census in New Zealand reported that 17 percent of families were headed by a single parent (Statistics New Zealand, 1994). Within these families, sole-mothers continued to outnumber sole-fathers by more than four to one (Statistics New Zealand, 1994). The rise of women headed families has meant that for a women coping with her job, childcare and housework alone, the urban environment has become even more difficult to operate within.
Since World War Two, the number of Western women in paid employment has grown steadily (Brown, 1992). During the 1960s there was growing dissatisfaction with the role of full-time homemaker, particularly amongst younger women who had not yet committed themselves to full-time domestic roles. At the same time there was an increased emphasis on equal opportunities and educational achievements which raised women’s aspirations and expectations (England, 1991). For many women dissatisfaction with their current lives, and the opportunity for their own income, was enough inspiration to make the transition from full time mother and wife, to paid worker. Little et al. (1988) identified that only four percent of the total workforce in Britain were married women in 1931, however by 1981 this had risen to 26 percent. In Australia, Harman (1988) noted that by the mid 1980s, 45 percent of women were in paid work, including 42 percent of married women.

However, it is generally accepted that women in paid work have not replaced their domestic responsibilities with employment, but carry a ‘dual role’ (Harman, 1988). Typically, it is still women who do the domestic duties such as housework, grocery shopping and childcare, with little or no assistance from their male spouse or partner (England, 1991). The spatial separation of different functions within the city imposes severe constraints on the lives of women performing dual roles (Little et al., 1988). For example, women experience:

- difficulty in moving between home, job and shops; limited public transport, particularly to the suburbs; transport schedules designed primarily for the trip to and from work; services (such as medical facilities, housing authority offices, social security), the schedules of which are based on the assumption that consumers and clients will be available during the working day; and limited availability of, and access to child care (Mcfarlane, 1994).

The geographical separation of home and work thus acts together with restricted choice in transport to limit women’s accessibility to essential urban services (Mcfarlane, 1994). The increasing numbers of women joining the paid workforce, and trying to perform multiple roles, has highlighted the inadequacy of present urban structures. The changes in women’s roles are simply not reflected in the way cities are planned. As a result, women are increasingly experiencing a ‘lack of fit’ between the requirements of their daily lives and present urban policies (Weckerle, 1981b).

4.6 Women and Transport

Although women are disadvantaged in a number of areas, they are particularly constrained by their limited access to private cars, and by the way public transportation systems are currently organized. Women’s difficulties with both forms of transport will now be examined.
4.6.1 Women’s Access to Private Transport

Planners have assumed that people have a choice between the private car and public transit (Wekerle, 1981b). England (1991) for example, reports that men are two or three times more likely to have access to a car in Canada than women. Wekerle (1981b) notes that of all licensed drivers in Ontario, only 40 percent are women, and not all of those have access to a car. A 1972 study by Foley (in Wekerle, 1984) in San Francisco found that 43 percent of all women 16 years and over lacked personal access to a car. The corresponding figure for males was only 19 percent. When Foley considered all persons 16 years and over who lacked access to private cars, more than 70 percent were found to be female (in Wekerle, 1984). A New Zealand study in Dunedin, which considered women’s access to public space, found that 17 out of 25 women interviewed did not have the use of a car (Gooder, 1993).

For those women with access to private vehicles, their personal mobility may still be restricted because of their fear of using underground and multi-storey carparks. The provision of such carparks has been common in Western cities, but women have rarely been consulted about the design or layout of the carparking facility. Due to the isolation and low informal surveillance, carparks are perceived by women as prime locations for sexual and violent assaults. Women either feel extremely fearful utilising such carparks, or they avoid them completely. Recommendations to improve carparking facilities will be examined in the following chapter.

4.6.2 Women’s Dependence on Public Transport

As a result of limited access to private car use, women are heavily dependent on public forms of transportation. Public transport systems in capitalist cities are generally constructed for the movement of commuters in peak periods (Crawford & Cole, 1981; Greed, 1994). Systems are designed to serve the conventional home-to-work trip, keeping the cost in time and money to a minimum. However, the diversity of women’s needs have been invisible to planners of public transportation, as the conventional work trip is designed to serve full-time, male, city workers (Monk, 1992). This constrains women’s ability to take paid work, and therefore the extent of their potential job search area. Women in the paid labour force operate under extreme time constraints because they are also responsible for housework and childcare.

The inability of urban transport planners to take account of women’s needs, has meant that women are further constrained by their fear of using urban transport at night. Transit stops have been commonly located in isolated areas, with bus shelters being poorly lit and not visible from the road. Moreover, transport routes often only link major road networks, thus making the journey from the bus stop to a residential home a fearful excursion.

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4.7 Responsibility of Urban Planners

The preceding part of this chapter has described how women encounter enormous difficulties whilst trying to operate within urban public space. It will now be examined why planners have produced such restrictive environments for women.

4.8 Planning and Patriarchy

Planners play a significant role in the design and structure of urban environments. However, most of these planners are men (Bowlby, 1990; Greed, 1994; Johnson, 1989a & 1989b; Pawson, 1987). Johnson (1989b) reports that planning in Britain and the United States has been completely male dominated. Although the number of women entering the planning profession is slowly increasing in Western nations (Leavitt, 1980), their numbers have historically been much lower than men. The 1978 New Zealand Planning Institute membership list illustrates that of 177 full Institute members, only 14 (8 percent) were women (Brown, 1992). By 1987 Institute membership reached 360, however only 55 (15 percent) were women (Pawson, 1987). Women’s lower representation in the planning profession is also demonstrated in Memon’s (1981) research on urban and regional planners in New Zealand. Memon (1981) illustrated that of 251 urban and regional planners, only 35 (13.9 percent) were women (Memon, 1981).

Thus, the production of urban space is embedded in patriarchy. This constitutes a problem as women’s experience of the urban environment is substantially different from men’s (Wekerle, 1981a). Gender socialisation has led women and men to experience the landscape in different ways and attach different meanings to it (Monk, 1992). Monk (1992) describes how most urban monuments and statues celebrate male achievements, but few recognise the valuable contribution of women to society. Gender socialisation has meant that women and men experience power inequalities on a daily basis. It is not surprising that their respective approaches to planning will be different.

The males who make general decisions about urban development and the allocation of resources arrange matters for their own convenience (Crawford & Cole, 1981). In turn, the city supports and perpetuates the beliefs about the gender that generated it (England, 1991). Hence:

the location of residential areas, work-places, transportation networks, and the overall layout of cities in general reflect a patriarchal capitalist society’s expectations of what types of activities take place, where, when and by whom (England, 1991: 136).

However, because women and men perceive and use their environments differently, urban environments are being produced that take no account of
women’s particular experiences or needs. Male designers are often designing for tasks of which they are completely ignorant (Bowlby, 1990). In addition, Harman (1988) recognised that urban planners are a long way from realising that a gender problem in city development even exists. A survey for example, by Young in 1975 (in Harman, 1988) found that most planners in Australia did not differentiate between men and women in the city.

The male dominated architectural profession also reflects this lack of regard for women’s needs in urban design (Pain, 1991). Traditionally, planning and architecture have conceptualised and planned for the world of men (Johnson, 1989a). Crawford and Cole (1981) describe how architecture illustrates man’s (sic) ‘technical wizardry’, but fails to consider fundamental design issues such as access for women.

Planning, architecture and urban design appear to discriminate against women’s needs. However, it seems more likely that they have blatantly failed to account for the breakdown of the nuclear family, and the difficulties women with multiple roles encounter. Although it is easy to attribute blame to male planners and designers, it must be remembered that because they interpret and experience the urban environment differently, their perceptions of what constitutes good planning is significantly different to a women’s perception. This is not to suggest that planners can continue to influence the production of urban environments from a solely male perspective. It does, however, provide some understanding of why urban environments reflect male concerns. Educating male planners on women’s needs may lead to urban environments that reflect greater equality. It is imperative that this education includes a thorough consideration of women’s fear and vulnerability to sexual violence in urban public space at night.

4.8.1 Women Planners

The expansion of planning in the 1950s did not lead to an entry of women into the profession, or a sensitising of the profession to issues affecting women. Leavitt (1980) explained that few women were entering the planning profession because they were taking on work that least interfered with home and family roles, and were adopting jobs that were considered ‘feminine’. In addition, there were few women role models in planning to encourage females into the profession (Leavitt, 1980).

The poor proportion of women historically in the planning profession has meant that issues specific to women have rarely been addressed. However, even with increasing numbers of women planners (Leavitt, 1980), it could be very difficult to advocate women’s perceptions and needs within the city. Harman (1988) and Pawson (1987) argue that increasing the numbers of women in the planning profession, would not necessarily increase the consideration of women’s issues, if the planning profession does not support these concerns. If women are a token or minority in an agency, then they may find it very difficult to alter traditional planning views, and integrate
issues about women in their planning practice (Leavitt, 1980). For women planners to advocate successfully for women's issues will require support from the wider planning profession (Leavitt, 1980).

4.8.2 Academic Influence

The dominance of men in the planning profession are a direct result of the male dominated academic institutions and planning schools. This is evident in planning schools in New Zealand. In 1978 Biss (in Brown, 1992) showed that men proportionately dominated enrolment numbers in the Town Planning Department of the University of Auckland. In 1971, only five percent of students were female, by 1974 there were 29 percent women students. However, by 1977 women still only represented 27 percent of planning students in the course. This shows that during the 1970s, women's enrolment numbers remained constantly low. Although 1992 statistics in the Auckland Planning Department revealed that women comprised 42 percent of students (Brown, 1992), past enrolment patterns will ensure male domination of planning practice for some time to come.

Johnson (1987) states that in the academic hierarchy women tend to be concentrated in the lowest status, lowest paid and least secure positions doing the so-called 'least skilled work'. As a result, women received fewer research grants, and generate fewer publications. Consequently, academic publications reflect the concerns and interests of men (Johnson, 1987). Because men dominate the production of knowledge in academia, their ideas and their ways of viewing the world have become 'encoded' in knowledge and are presented as the truth (Spender in Little et al., 1988). When planners begin practising they only recognise male realities because other groups have rarely been acknowledged (Crawford & Cole, 1981). This means that issues specific to women are not generally addressed by the planning profession.

4.8.3 Planning Texts

Johnson (1989b) argues that a number of planning texts used in New Zealand planning courses today reaffirm dominant patriarchal systems and structures, and thus discriminate against women's experiences and needs. Johnson (1989b: 85) evaluated a number of standard planning texts and concluded that they 'affirm the male view of the world and male power in the world'. Her analysis of planning texts focused primarily on A.S.Mather's (1986) book entitled Land Use. Johnson (1989b) has used Mather's book as an example of texts in New Zealand planning courses that are sexist, patriarchal and phallocentric. Johnson (1989b) links the oppression of women in these texts to actual situations of discrimination against women in planning professions.

'Sexism' in planning is frequently seen as a form of open discrimination against women either in their absence or poor representation in the planning
professions (Johnson, 1989b). This notion is supported by gender statistics in the profession which were reviewed above.

Johnson (1989b) has described patriarchy as a regulated system by which men and women are positioned in superior and inferior social positions respectively. Women's inferiority is demonstrated in Mather's book by the total absence of any reference to the word 'woman'. This point is of enormous importance to future planners, for women inhabit quite different worlds to men, and they have different priorities and conceptions of what is useful for them. Johnson (1989b: 87) therefore concluded that:

if [women's] specific worlds, needs and spaces are not addressed explicitly in a book on land use, then they remain invisible, unacknowledged and beyond the caring of those empowered to allocate resources, shape neighbourhoods and transport systems.

The influence of 'patriarchy' is also demonstrated through the different treatments men and women receive in the planning profession. Johnson (1989b) describes how men frequently get job promotions over women regardless of whether their work is of the same standard.

'Phallocentrism' is a discursive strategy that unites the two autonomous sexes into the singular term 'man'. Johnson (1989b) describes how Mather constantly refers to 'he', 'his' and 'man' in his book. Although these terms supposedly include females, Johnson (1989b) acknowledges that there is a lot of evidence to suggest that people think 'male' when they use the term 'man'. Therefore:

by promoting the use of the symbol man at the expense of women, it is clear that the visibility and primacy of males is supported (Johnson, 1989b: 87).

The structures of sexism, patriarchy and phallocentrism evident in this planning text, seem to reinforce women's subordinate status. For planning to be anything other than patriarchal, it must incorporate women, and women's needs and interests. While women remain absent and marginalised, planners who are influencing the shape of urban environments, are not taking account of half the affected population.

Dichotomous categories were also evident in Mather's (1986) book. These categories extend beyond just distinguishing between home and work. Johnson (1989b) illustrates how certain categories representing specific characteristics or qualities have been attributed to men and women. The dichotomies Johnson (1989b) saw as essential in the discussion of land use and planning were: rational/irrational, and visible/invisible. If men's and women's qualities are so diverse, it appears likely that when male planners design and plan urban environments, they will only take men's categories into account.
Boys (1990) argues that design proposals by architects and planners do not deal with gender explicitly, but focus on ideals of rationality and objectivity. This has enormous implications for women because they are associated with the 'irrational'. The ideal of rationality in land use and planning is therefore a male ideal built on the exclusion of what are designated as female characteristics, such as emotion and subjectivity (Johnson, 1989b).

However, feminists have stressed the importance of subjectivity in the production and validation of knowledge (Crawford & Cole, 1981). In contrast to men's rational and objective approach, women tend to approach planning through involvement and participation. Crawford and Cole (1981) see involvement as leading to the development of a perspective on planning which is personal but which also takes account of wider issues.

The male planner also tends to focus upon the 'scopic' environment. This excludes those things which do not leave visible marks on the landscape, such as social relations connected with non-economic exchanges and the private sphere. However, the masculine economy excludes from its 'gaze' the unpaid work of women in the home and the difficulties they encounter with their economically unrecognised roles (Johnson, 1989b).

4.9 Women's Participation in the Production of Urban Space

The participation of women as citizens, not professionals, in the production of urban space is addressed in this section. Brown (1992) has stated that the problems women face in today's urban environments can be attributed to the planning decision making process, past and present. Participation and practice in the planning process requires knowledge of how it functions and operates within the political framework. Foulsham (in Brown, 1992) explains that the planning system and the role of planners has always been something of a mystery to many, including women. Women experience a sense of alienation from the planning process and from the decisions made about urban issues that affect their lives. This is because many women lack not only information, but also confidence in their own concerns, ideas and strengths to interact in the planning process (Modlich, 1988). The use of technical language and planning jargon inhibits people, including women, in understanding the planning process (Brown, 1992). Because women feel out of their depth in the planning system they generally adopt an apathetic approach. Those people who do respond publicly to planning issues are often considered as the only representative and valid form of public consultation. Unfortunately this consultation rarely represents women's concerns about violence in urban space, and so these issues remain unacknowledged (Modlich, 1988).
4.10 Summary

This chapter has described how the production of urban space has been a patriarchal enterprise. It has suggested that because the planning system is dominated by male planners and thus reflects male perceptions, the production of urban space has not addressed women's needs and concerns, or their greater fear of urban space at night. As a result, this has restricted and constrained women's ability to utilise the urban area.

Male domination of public space has been historically explained by the separation of home and work functions. Industrial capitalism contributed to the separation of these functions, and consequently women's roles became entrenched within the domestic private sphere. This was later maintained with the promotion of the 'ideal' nuclear family, and the development of the suburbs. Women's removal from the public sphere has made it very difficult for them to get their needs and concerns addressed with respect to urban issues. The male domination of urban management professions has exacerbated this problem. Professions such as planning, have made no allowance for the fact that women and men perceive and experience their environments differently. Therefore, urban space has been produced that takes no account of women's particular experiences or needs.

Urban planners and designers have also failed to recognise women's sense of vulnerability and fear of personal attack within urban public space. Some planning and design techniques implemented in the urban environment, have actually increased the opportunities for crime against women, and dramatically intensified women's fear of these areas. The following chapter will identify these planning inadequacies, and suggest what can be done to remove or alleviate them.
5

Planning a Safe City for Women

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter argued that the production of urban space has been patriarchal. As a result, women’s needs and concerns have not been addressed by those who influence the production of such space. This chapter will focus on safety within the urban environment, which is of particular concern for women. The urban planning profession has been dominated by men, who are trained to see things from a male perspective. Subsequently, urban amenities and services have been produced with little or no consultation with women, or consideration of their needs in the urban environment. Because of this, women have a greater fear of urban public areas, and this restricts their ability to use such areas. In some cases, urban planning and design techniques have actually increased the opportunities for crime against women (McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992). Examples of urban space that increase the opportunities for successful crime will be examined later in this chapter.

The general intention of this chapter is to identify what planners can do to reduce the opportunity for crime against people. However, as explained in Chapter Three, women are far more likely to fear personal crime than men, and are more vulnerable to sexual attack. Hence, recommendations made in this chapter will aim to reduce the opportunities for crime against both men and women. However, they will be targeted at concerns and issues raised by women, because of their increased perception of fear.

The chapter has six parts. The first recommends that urban planners and designers should be made aware of the positive role they can play in reducing the opportunities for crime in public space. This awareness can be achieved through interactive workshops that point out that safety in the urban environment cannot be reduced merely to traffic safety or accident prevention. The second section recommends that planners design urban
environments which take account of women's greater fear and vulnerability to sexual crime. It is imperative that planners include women in the planning process, and recognise some urban issues as specifically women's issues.

The third section illustrates that physical design and environmental characteristics can promote or inhibit criminal activity. By making certain physical design changes planners can reduce the opportunities for crime against people. Such techniques are called Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). The fourth section illustrates how adopting environmental design techniques can enhance safety and security in urban public space. Such techniques are used in the fifth section to identify and improve places that are commonly considered unsafe by women. The final section suggests a mechanism that planners or the community can use to identify urban areas that are perceived as dangerous. This evaluation of the urban environment is called a safety audit.

### 5.2 Awareness of Safe City Initiatives in Planning Practice

In order to plan and design a safe city it is essential that planners understand the positive role they can play in reducing opportunities for crime in public space (Austin, 1994). This understanding is necessary, as urban planners have mostly not considered the interrelationship between crime and urban design. Wekerle explains that few planner have considered planning against crime, because their training was usually aimed at accident prevention, such as keeping people safe from traffic (*The Press*, 11 March 1994: 4).

The Toronto Safe City Committee ensured that city planners were made well aware of safe city planning. The Committee recommended the City Council authorise the designation of a planner responsible for developing comprehensive safe design guidelines (*City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990*). These were made available to urban planners, architects and developers, so that they could incorporate safe design in their development projects. To gain resource consent from the Toronto City Council, applicants had to satisfy planning staff that design guidelines were effectively incorporated. Chapter Six discusses the option of making safety design guidelines mandatory for resource consent in New Zealand.

To educate planners on safety issues in New Zealand, councils such as Manukau City, have experimented with Safe City workshops. These are interactive sessions designed to educate council staff, private sector developers, the police and concerned members of the public on what can be done to improve urban safety (Austin, 1994). A review of policies on land mix and zoning should also be undertaken by planners. This is to encourage mixed use zones which generate activity and informal surveillance, and reduce the opportunities for public violence against women.
5.3 Inclusion of Women in the Planning Process

If planners are to identify urban areas that increase women's perception of vulnerability to attack, then they must include women in the planning process. The need for greater integration of women in the planning process was recognised at the 1994 Gender, Urbanization and Environment Seminar in Nairobi, Kenya. A paper by Beall and Levy (1994) presented at the seminar, discussed the importance of gender integration in urban policy, planning and management. Beall and Levy (1994) introduced three important approaches. The first recommended providing planning practitioners with the tools to integrate gender perspectives into their activities. The second encouraged a more accountable, participatory and empowering urban development practice. To achieve this, the way public, private and community organisations are constructed and interact must be sensitised to gender issues. Finally, a gender integrated approach was recommended that would ensure both women and men have equal access to and control over the resources and opportunities associated with urban development.

Beall and Levy (1994) argued that the integration of a gender perspective into urban policy, planning and management, would make urban development more effective. This is because it helps ensure that the needs of both women and men are addressed, and it facilitates the active involvement of women and men at all stages in the development process (Beall & Levy, 1994). Beall and Levy (1994) stressed that a gender approach to urban planning and management is not something 'extra' for practitioners to consider, but should be a regular part of good practice. If New Zealand planning authorities could adopt recommendations of this nature, then planning and design would move towards producing urban environments that were sensitive to gender issues.

To achieve these aims planning authorities could address urban issues of great concern to women as separate women’s issues (Fair, 1994; Wekerle, 1981b). This would be beneficial in understanding women’s fear of particular urban areas. Wekerle (1981b) recommends that women’s groups become involved in various planning committees. This would allow women to present a gender perspective on proposed development, plan changes and zoning changes, and evaluate their impact on women. They could formulate alternative proposals, and ensure social impact assessments and community consultation adequately represent women’s concerns.

In addition, Wekerle (1981b) believes more women must be appointed to public office, planning boards and other commissions which make decisions about the form and structure of the city. She explains that ‘too frequently there is not one woman on these bodies’ (Wekerle, 1981a: 9). However, as described in Chapter Four, simply getting one woman on a planning committee will not lead to a greater consideration of women’s issues if she is not supported by planning structures. Greed (1994) argues that the nature and organisation of the planning system renders women powerless to advocate
gender issues unless they are supported by women in senior decision making positions.

5.4 Adoption of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design Techniques

Planners can reduce the opportunity for crime by adopting Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) techniques. While specific detailed features of the built environment do not cause crime, they do provide the setting for its occurrence. There is evidence that a number of specific physical design or environmental characteristics can promote or inhibit criminal activity (McIndoe, 1993). CPTED is about reducing the opportunities for crime against people by making physical design changes. McIndoe (1993) argues that physical design characteristics can:

(i) increase the offenders perceived and real risk of apprehension;
(ii) increase the technical difficult of committing a crime;
(iii) increase the perception of safety and security and reduce the fear of crime; and
(iv) reduce both attempted and successful crimes (1993: 1).

McIndoe (1993) has identified a number of concepts that can assist with crime prevention. These are designed to:

(i) encourage proprietorship or territoriality;
(ii) consider the visual environmental quality;
(iii) encourage 'eyes on the street', or surveillance;
(iv) encourage the community to take responsibility or intervene in observed crime; and
(v) implement monitoring or target hardening hardware to make it technically more difficult to commit crime or to escape undetected (1993: 1).

These concepts are achieved by implementing specific design recommendations. The Toronto Working Guide for Planning and Designing Safer Urban Environments (Safe City Committee, 1992), has also identified factors that enhance safety and security in public space. These will now be considered.
5.5 Using Design Factors to Enhance Urban Safety and Security

The purpose of this section is to introduce and explain the design factors that enhance safety and security in urban public space. Each factor is introduced by a statement illustrating its importance in crime prevention. It is then followed by a series of recommendations, designed to give an idea of how each design factor might be achieved. Recommendations on improving urban design will be drawn from work by McIndoe (1993) and the Safe City Committee's (1992) Working Guide. This will be supported with design recommendations developed from work in Britain (Comedia, 1992; Trench et al., 1992).

5.5.1 Lighting

Sufficient lighting after dark is essential so that people can see and be seen. Improving lighting can have a substantial impact on reducing fear of crime, and when combined with other measures, it can also prevent crime (Safe City Committee, 1992; Trench et al., 1992). By increasing visibility, lighting:

(i) makes possible the formal and informal surveillance of urban public space and buildings;

(ii) reduces the opportunities for criminals to conceal themselves; and

(iii) encourages people to use places rather than keep away from them (McIndoe, 1993).

A study conducted in Edmonton, Britain in 1988 found that after improved lighting was installed in a badly-lit street and tunnel, 62 percent of residents felt safer and the number of criminal incidents were dramatically reduced (Safe City Committee, 1992). Comedia (1992) concluded that experiments in Britain and America had demonstrated that improved and brighter lighting can reduce crime by as much as 50 percent. Unfortunately Comedia (1992) does not support these statistics with any clear evidence. Trench et al., (1992) recognised that crime rates fell in areas where the opportunistic criminal could be recognised.

Lighting levels have been criticised in Britain and Canada because they have been designed for motorists and not pedestrians (Comedia, 1992). This level of illumination means that objects are often only seen in silhouette. For safety purposes, the level of lighting in public spaces must be bright enough to have a good look at another person when they are at least 15 metres away (Safe City Committee, 1992). Any less than 15 metres, and it would be very difficult to make an escape if necessary.

Consistency in the level of lighting is also important (Safe City Committee, 1992). An extensively lit area along a dark street can have a blinding
effect whilst walking past. This can make it very difficult to see a person approaching. Inappropriate lighting can also cause problems. For example, lighting the first part of a path leading to wilderness may give a false impression that the path is well-used and safe at night.

The replacement of incandescent lighting with high pressure sodium lighting is occurring in several North American and European cities (Safe City Committee, 1992). This dramatically improves lighting levels and produces significant energy savings. However, improved lighting has some drawbacks. It can provoke graffiti and vandalism when other controls are not in place.

**Recommendations**

(i) Provide lighting to building entries and exits, and the paths and spaces leading to these;

(ii) Emphasise lighting for pedestrian safety and security rather than vehicular lighting levels;

(iii) Illuminate potential night time entrapment spaces, and avoid creating shadows which may be used for concealment;

(iv) Where possible design lighting within facilities that light up the public space in and around them;

(v) Avoid over-lighting and glare;

(vi) Do not light paths or spaces not intended for night time use, to avoid creating a false impression of security or frequent use;

(vii) Locate light fittings where they will not be obscured by growing trees and other impediments;

(viii) Select light fittings of a type and robustness appropriate to their exposure to vandalism, and the ease of access for maintenance;

(ix) Ensure that recommended lighting standards are met (Canadian Standard of 0.4 footcandles); and

(x) Encourage citizens to report defective lighting (City of Toronto, 1990; Comedia, 1992; McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992; Trench et al., 1992).

5.5.2 Sightlines

The inability to see what is ahead along a route is a serious impediment to feeling and being safe. The ability to see what is ahead and around a person is known as ‘visual permeability’ (Safe City Committee, 1992). Visual
permeability or a person's sightlines can be impaired by sharp corners, large pillars, tall privacy fences, overgrown bushes and trees, recesses into walls, and other thick barriers adjacent to pedestrian paths which could shield an attacker (McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992). By improving visibility, a reduction in the opportunity for concealment may allow people to avoid potential offenders, observe offenders, witness crime, and stop or report crime (McIndoe, 1993).

Recommendations

(i) Detail the fronts of buildings to minimise or eliminate places that may offer the opportunity for concealment, such as pillars;

(ii) Reduce opportunities for concealment on commonly used routes in parks;

(iii) Select shrubs and trees whose main foliage is either visually permeable or lower than 0.6 metres or above 2.0 metres in height;

(iv) Use fencing materials or boundary markers that allow users to see and be seen, such as wrought-iron or chain-link fences, transparent reinforced glass or plastic, lawn or flower beds, and benches and lamp-posts;

(v) Select tree and bush types that will not provide concealment and entrapment opportunities for attackers as they mature; and

(vi) Install security mirrors so that sightlines are possible on sharp or blind corners (McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.5.3 Movement Predictors

If a pedestrian is on a predictable or unchangeable route, then an assailant can predict the movement of the victim (Safe City Committee, 1992). The ability to foresee where a victim is travelling, is known as a 'movement predictor'. Examples include streets, footpaths, public pathways, stairways, pedestrian bridges and tunnels. Movement predictors are not necessarily dangerous on their own, but are of particular concern when they are isolated or when they lead directly to entrapment spots. An offender in this situation can use both their knowledge of the entrapment spot, and the predictable movement of the potential victim, to plan a successful criminal act (McIndoe, 1993).
**Recommendations**

(i) Eliminate all potential entrapment areas that are on frequently used pedestrian routes, particularly those which the movements of pedestrians can be predicted by an offender;

(ii) Avoid building pedestrian underpasses, overpasses and tunnels if possible;

(iii) Install full-length stainless steel mirrors at blind corner;

(iv) Ensure adequate lighting;

(v) Install security hardware such as emergency telephones and video cameras along movement predictor routes; and

(vi) Provide alternative, well-lit and frequently travelled routes (McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992).

### 5.5.4 Entrapment Spots

Entrapment spots are small confined areas, shielded on three sides by a barrier that may be used by offenders to trap potential victims (McIndoe, 1993). Examples include lifts, storerooms, fire stairs, and dark recessed entrances that may be locked at night. These areas are often selected as sites for violent crimes against people. The physical enclosure of an entrapment spot is generally used by the offender to control the victim, and constrains the victim’s opportunity for escape. Such areas provide criminals with good opportunities for success because they are usually characterised by poor visibility. The perception that an area is under surveillance may deter a potential offender from using an area for entrapment. The removal of both physical and visual barriers will reduce the entrapment potential of a problem area and increase its informal supervision.

**Recommendations**

(i) Provide multiple exit points from any enclosed area in which people might become trapped;

(ii) Strictly control access to storerooms and service areas adjacent to pedestrian routes;

(iii) Remove physical barriers or small enclosed spaces when these offer the potential for entrapment; and

(iv) Reduce the potential for concealment and likelihood of entrapment, with enhanced lighting and removal of visual barriers (McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992; Wellington City Council, 1994).
5.5.5 Informal Surveillance

In order for people to both feel and be safe, it is essential that they know other people are ‘keeping an eye on them’ (Safe City Committee, 1992). A site is likely to be avoided if it appears deserted, and if people judge that signs of distress, like yelling for help, will not be responded to. This, in turn, will make the place seem and be more unsafe. McIndoe (1994: 4) has described informal surveillance as:

\[
\text{the casual observation of activities and people in public and semi-public spaces by other people engaged in legitimate activity.}
\]

Whether informal observation comes from inside or outside buildings, an increase in ‘eyes on the street’ will raise the likelihood that crime will be observed. Assuming that people are willing to report or intervene directly in suspicious behaviour, then informal surveillance can reduce the incidence of crime. If surveillance also increases the offender’s perceived and real risk of apprehension, then the incidence of crime will be further reduced. Publicly accessible and relevant private facilities should be extended out into public space where possible. This encourages not only ‘eyes on the street’ but also responsibility for the territory occupied. Examples of these uses could include pubs and restaurants with terraces, display areas for shops, and residential balconies (Comedia, 1992; McIndoe, 1993).

Recommendations

(i) Building entrances and exits should face the street or be overlooked from occupied public space or adjacent buildings;

(ii) Locate windows in buildings to look over public space and pedestrian routes wherever possible;

(iii) Ensure barriers along the street edge have sufficient visual permeability to allow views over the street while still satisfying requirements of privacy or physical security for the occupants of the building;

(iv) Wherever appropriate, extend publicly accessible and relevant private facilities out into public space; and

(v) Locate public telephones, toilets and automatic teller machines so that they are clearly visible from well used public spaces (McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.5.6 Formal Surveillance

Formal surveillance is the organised or systematic supervision of a building or public space and the people using it, by persons whose prime task is
maintaining security (McIndoe, 1993). Examples of such people include caretakers, receptionists and the police or private security firms. Police and other security personnel provide formal surveillance, but cannot possibly observe all places at all times. Thus, formal surveillance may also include hardware such as video cameras, audio monitors and alarms. The intention of formal surveillance is generally to deter and detect crimes against people, and to address the incidence of crimes against property.

Effective surveillance of an area will increase the probability that a crime will be observed, and the likelihood that security personnel can intervene. Criminals may be inhibited from carrying out a crime if they are aware that effective formal surveillance is in place, thus increasing their likelihood of being apprehended. However, it is important not to over-rely on formal surveillance hardware. A video monitor will only help if it is being observed on a 24 hour basis, and if the attendant knows what to do in a dangerous situation. The Safe City Committee (1992) reported that one person can be expected to monitor up to 40 screens at once. It is unlikely that a security officer could effectively observe this quantity of monitors.

Women who participated in safety workshops in England in the late 1980s made it quite clear that they definitely did not feel more secure in the knowledge that someone elsewhere is ‘supposed’ to be watching them (Trench et al., 1992). Women claimed that video cameras did not provide immediate help if they were in trouble. However, an episode of ‘Beyond 2000’, screened in June 1994, on Television New Zealand, highlighted the success of video monitors in identifying crime in Britain. Local police monitored urban areas, and quickly attended criminal activity observed on the monitor.

**Recommendations**

(i) Video camera and monitor systems must be observed continuously, particularly if people are relying on them for their safety;

(ii) Ensure that wherever possible, building entrances and exits face the street or other well used, accessible public space;

(iii) Ensure that the existence of formal surveillance is well advertised to deter potential criminals;

(iv) Install surveillance hardware that would provide some resistance to vandalism;

(v) Provide appropriate lighting for formal surveillance; and

(vi) Minimise opportunities for concealment from security videos (McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992; Trench et al., 1992).
5.5.7 Land Use Mix

Planning controls that separate different land uses from each other create public streets which are unused at particular times of the day and night. Streets and areas without public activity are generally high crime areas, and are greatly feared by many people. An example of how land use separation contributes to fear of crime is evident on a bus transportation system in Toronto (Safe City Committee, 1992). The bus stops along an arterial road, with shops and high-rise apartments set back far from the street, and deserted parking lots in the forefront. In order to reach the residential area, the transit user has to travel through the parking lot bounded by planting and fences, or take an equally isolated route with poor street lighting. This is hardly a model of planning for safety (Safe City Committee, 1992).

To make city centres safer, planners need to reconsider zoning policies, and encourage mixed land uses. Residential areas in the city centre are an effective way of creating well-used streets and providing natural surveillance (Trench et al., 1992). A project in downtown Chicago in the late 1970s attracted 20,000 residents to live in the inner city. This was accompanied by activity generators, such as leisure pursuits, and staggered and extended opening hours of retail and services (Trench et al., 1992).

Recommendations

(i) Adopt mixed land use principles rather than segregated zoning policies to encourage informal surveillance;

(ii) Encourage activity generators in the spaces between land uses such as, transport systems and residential blocks; and

(iii) Encourage inner city residential areas and extend the trading hours of retailers to create an active night atmosphere (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.5.8 Activity Generators

The idea of surveillance through a mix of land uses works more effectively when combined with activity generators (Safe City Committee, 1992). Activity generators are land uses that create activity in urban public space. They include increasing recreational facilities in a park, placing housing in a previously commercial area, and adding an outdoor cafe to an office building. Such facilities encourage activity so that people feel safe within crowded and well-used streets. The process of generating activity would, for example, locate food vendors in a park, beside a playground with public toilets.
nearby, not isolated in a far corner (The Press, 11 March 1994, p.4).

Recommendations

(i) Encourage more activities into low activity areas, to provide surveillance; and

(ii) Combine a mixture of activities in single use areas, such as an integrated laundromat and video shop (Safe City Committee, 1993; The Press, 11 March 1994, p.4).

5.5.9 Maintenance

The public perception of urban spaces and buildings is influenced by their state of repair and cleanliness. The perception of order and maintenance within an urban area will influence the extent of its use. An area that is neglected and in a state of disorder provides the conditions to motivate people to commit crime against property and other people (McIndoe, 1993). Derelict buildings, poorly maintained vacant areas and other generally unused but accessible spaces, indicate abandonment and lack of ownership (McIndoe, 1993). This signals their availability for claiming by criminals and they may provide convenient locations for anti-social or criminal behaviour. A combination of poor lighting and landscaping could, for example, provide opportunities for concealment and entrapment in which violent crime against the person is more likely to occur and succeed. Neglect and disorder will increase the public's fear of crime and may discourage people from using an area. Comedia (1992) noted that urban environments characterised by vandalism, graffiti and litter were particularly intimidating for women.

Conversely, an area that is in good repair is more likely to be inhabited by legitimate users rather than criminals (McIndoe, 1993). If an area is well maintained and orderly, an offender's perception of the risk of apprehension may be maximised. When this image is supported by a community that is prepared to respond to disorder, the risk of attack and the fear of crime may be reduced. For example, prompt repair of damage or vandalised property signals to the general community and offenders that an area is being looked after.

Recommendations

(i) Specify design and materials that have both cost and ease of maintenance in mind;

(ii) Set maintenance procedures in place to ensure that repair is properly and promptly carried out; and
(iii) Design the fronts of buildings and adjacent public space to encourage users to take a proprietorial interest in and responsibility for its maintenance (McIndoe, 1993).

5.5.10 Sense of Ownership

Sense of ownership, or territoriality, is often considered a vital factor in determining the safety of an area (Safe City Committee, 1992). The level of proprietorial interest in public space is significant, and may affect the willingness of people to act in response to crime. People are more likely to observe and take responsibility for an area and persons within it, when they perceive it to be formally under their control or influence (McIndoe, 1993). However, if residents feel that the area outside their door does not belong to them, they will feel less safe, and be less likely to intervene in a dangerous situation. Not knowing who has formal ownership can be an important contributor to insecurity, because problems such as broken door-locks or threatening behaviour cannot be reported to maintenance or security staff.

Recommendations

(i) Encourage ownership over public areas by creating for example, communal gardens so that people feel compelled to respond to crime; and

(ii) Maintain public space to a clean and tidy standard, so that it appears to be under control (McIndoe, 1993; Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.5.11 Robustness

The physical robustness of public space, such as building fronts, hard and soft landscaping and street furniture, will determine their susceptibility to damage (McIndoe, 1993). This susceptibility will influence the public image of a building or area, and effect the level of use by legitimate users. The elements that form urban space should be sufficiently robust to resist willful damage, and accommodate general daily use.

Recommendations

(i) Use design measures to reduce damage should it occur, without limiting the range of legitimate activity that can take place in any space;

(ii) In areas expected to suffer damage, materials and components should either be vandal resistant, or inexpensive and easy to replace; and

(iii) Integrate any necessary security features into buildings or public space by designing them to be intrinsic, unobtrusive or a positive decorative feature (McIndoe, 1993).
5.5.12 Signage

Knowing where one is and which path to follow contributes to a feeling of security (Safe City Committee, 1992). Public signage in such places as parks and multi-storey carparks, is often inadequate, both in terms of amount and quality. Commercial advertising is usually much easier to see and to understand in public space. The establishment of public signs needs to take into account that a number of people may have difficulty reading or understanding maps. Graffiti and vandalism also impedes the ability of signs to communicate.

Recommendations

(i) Design large and easy to read signs;
(ii) Locate signs at all entrances to activities;
(iii) Indicate on signs where there are emergency telephones and toilets, and where help is likely to be located;
(iv) Signs should show main routes as well as routes that lead to isolated places; and
(v) Exits that are closed after hours should also be noted (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6 Identifying and Improving Problematic Urban Areas

The following section will identify places that are commonly considered unsafe by women. It will use the design techniques introduced in the previous section to suggest improvements to these places. Such areas include transportation systems and the associated infrastructure, residential neighbourhoods, and the central business district. Recommendations to improve problematic urban areas are again substantially drawn from the Working Guide (Safe City Committee, 1992), but supported by initiatives developed in Britain (Trench et al., 1992).

5.6.1 Underground and Multi-Storey Carparks

In terms of crime, parking garages are one of the most problematic kinds of urban space according to studies done in Toronto, Manchester, London and Amsterdam (Safe City Committee, 1992). Combining a single land use activity such as carparking, with isolation, noise, and visual barriers leads to complexes being perceived as prime locations for sexual and violent assaults. Carparks are normally unstaffed, and poorly maintained. The lifts
and stairs are not visible by traffic inside or outside the carpark, and this restricts informal surveillance.

To reduce the fear and likelihood of attack against women in carparks, women-only sections near the attendant have been developed (Trench et al., 1992). These have proved very successful in German cities; however, women in Britain have stated that they would much rather use on-street carparking (Trench et al., 1992). These women said they would be more willing to come into city centres at night if they could park on the street close to the leisure or entertainment activities.

Recommendations

(i) Encourage supervised carparking buildings;

(ii) Ensure attendants are located in a good position for sightlines, and know how to respond to emergencies;

(iii) Ensure lighting is at least to a minimum standard, and lighting fixtures are protected from breakage;

(iv) Maintain the carpark so that it is clean and free of graffiti and litter;

(v) Locate stairwells and lifts where they can be easily viewed by outside pedestrians and carparking users;

(vi) Encourage formal surveillance through regular patrols, or video cameras;

(vii) Ensure emergency telephones are on each parking level and clearly visible through signage and illumination;

(viii) Make sure that video monitors are being watched at all times;

(ix) Provide regular carparks near the attendant for people who work late, especially female workers; and

(x) Organise an escort service to assist people to their cars after hours (Comedia, 1992; Safe City Committee, 1992; Trench et al., 1992).

5.6.2 Surface Parking Lots

While underground and multi-level parking garages have received much attention from women in Britain and Canada, surface parking lots have rarely been considered as potential sexual assault locations. Parking lots that are
particularly large and relatively isolated may require additional safety precautions. This can be financially achievable through charging users parking rental.

Recommendations

(i) Ensure lighting is adequate to see inside a car’s backseat before entering the car;

(ii) Lighting should be consistent to avoid shadowing;

(iii) Sightlines should be maximised through the elimination of dense bush, solid fences, advertisements or isolated buildings;

(iv) Vehicle entry should be monitored by an attendant at one entry/exit point;

(v) If no attendant is present, ensure there are several well-lit exits to avoid entrapment spots;

(vi) Encourage informal surveillance through placement of windows in new buildings so that they overlook the lot, and placement of lots so that they are overlooked by shops and residences;

(vii) Ensure emergence telephones are clearly visible;

(viii) Encourage the use of reserved parking and escort services for people who work late; and

(ix) Allow parking on yellow lines and pedestrianised areas at night so that users can be closer to activities and can avoid isolated parking lots (Comedia, 1992; Safe City Committee, 1992; Trench et al., 1992).

5.6.3 Cycle Routes

A system of safe cycle routes is essential to allow increased cycle commuting, and help reduce traffic congestion and emissions. Too often cycle routes have been planned for recreational use in relatively isolated places. For commuting cyclists, most transport systems have been planned to accommodate vehicles, and as a result have created routes that are isolated and poorly lit. Women in several Netherlands cities complained about the isolation of cycle paths. Traffic planning in the Netherlands now ensures cycles stay on the streets (City of Toronto Planning & Development: Department, 1990).
Recommendations

(i) Develop a system of cycle routes on city streets that are physically but not visually separated by barriers;

(ii) Cycle route safety should be given preferential consideration over convenience of location by urban planners;

(iii) Avoid creating routes that go through deserted areas at night;

(iv) Make sure cycle routes have clearly marked exits;

(v) Ensure routes are well-lit, well-signed, and avoid underground crossings;

(vi) Avoid establishing dense bush immediately adjacent to the cycle route; and

(vii) Locate cycle parking in well-lit areas where informal surveillance is likely (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990; Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.4 Pedestrian Tunnels and Overpasses

Pedestrian subways and barriers to stop people crossing at street level were typical features of Western cities traffic management policies in the 1960s (Trench et al., 1992). These policies valued motorists' time and pedestrians' safety from motor vehicles, but did not consider the personal security of women having to use tunnels and overpasses with poor informal surveillance. In recent years, safety concerns have led to a review of policy that has removed pedestrians from the streets (Trench et al., 1992). While the rationale for building tunnels varies, the end result is that opportunities for natural surveillance are diminished. Underground malls also share some of these problems, because they drain life from downtown streets. While informal surveillance in underground malls is possible during hours of trading, they can be very intimidating places after hours (Safe City Committee, 1992).

Trench et al., (1992) have described pedestrian subways as the most disliked transport facility by women. This is because they combine a lack of clear visibility, insufficient lighting, inadequate natural surveillance, and enclosure by narrow constraining walls. Such environmental features accentuate women's fear in these locations, and make the avoidance of confrontational situations very difficult. They are also poorly maintained, leading to dirty, smelly conditions, with a lot of graffiti and litter (Trench et al., 1992). Environmental conditions within tunnels and subways can easily be
improved with good lighting and by encouraging activity generators. However, like the multi-storey and underground carparks, women’s safety discussion groups in Britain preferred that no more subways be built, rather than identifying improved design features (Trench et al., 1992).

Recommendations

(i) Consider other pedestrian alternatives rather than building underpasses, tunnels and overpasses;

(ii) If a tunnel must be built, ensure there is more than one exit, and clear signs exist to identify exit points;

(iii) Close tunnels after trading hours if they do not lead to places which are open at night;

(iv) Ensure lighting is adequate and well maintained;

(v) Keep the tunnel clean and free of graffiti;

(vi) If the tunnel has blind corners, install full-length aluminium mirrors;

(vii) If the tunnel is reasonably long (35 metres or more), an emergency telephone should be installed;

(viii) If the tunnel is quite long and frequently used encourage activity generators; and

(ix) Ensure the entrance and exit of the tunnel is clearly visible to neighbouring uses (Safe City Committee, 1992; Trench et al., 1992).

5.6.5 Transit Stops

The design and location of new surface transit stops should be given considerable thought. Stops and stations in industrial and commercial areas are often isolated after office hours. Surface transit stops in neighbourhoods are also sometimes located in isolated spots, or sites where entrapment is possible.

Recommendations

(i) Ensure the area adjacent to transit stops is well-lit, but not over-lit to make for example, a bus shelter look like a fish bowl;

(ii) Use clear building materials in transit stops so that commuters are clearly visible from streets and adjacent buildings;
(iii) Include more than one exit point in the shelter to avoid entrapment;
(iv) Regular maintenance and rubbish disposal should be performed;
(v) Avoid locating a transit stop near vacant land, alleyways, parking lots or buildings set back from the street;
(vi) Provide informational signs giving routes and transit times to passengers, so as to avoid unnecessary long waits; and
(vii) Consider formal surveillance in transit stops, and educate drivers on how to respond to an emergency (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.6 Residential Streets

Some residential streets are considered very unsafe by neighbourhood residents. Of particular concern are streets with land uses that are deserted at night. These areas such as school yards, parking lots, construction sites, derelict buildings, or unfenced properties provide additional security risks. To minimise the likelihood of crime against residents, many people have created 'fortress style' neighbourhoods. Although these provide relatively good security within the neighbourhood, beyond this area crime prevention is not addressed (Minton, 1993).

Recommendations

(i) Ensure adequate lighting so that a person can be seen approaching from a distance of 15 metres;
(ii) Trees and bushes should be trimmed to avoid shading;
(iii) Entrances to alleyways should be well-lit and clearly visible from the street;
(iv) Residential design should encourage informal surveillance (front porches) and activity generators (convenience stores) on residential streets; and
(v) Encourage mixed land uses, such as public transit, shops, community services, and on-street parking (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.7 Commercial Streets in Neighbourhoods

Commercial streets in neighbourhoods are often used in the evening and night-time. It is on these streets that convenience stores and transit stops are most often located. Some main street developments have often eroded the traditional pattern of housing above shops. This has severely reduced the opportunities for informal surveillance of commercial streets. While
loitering on the local street corner is neither illegal nor antisocial, it can be perceived as threatening or intimidating by women. A safe street would require a variety of users with no criminal intentions.

Recommendations

(i) Encourage housing above shops, with balconies and windows for informal surveillance;

(ii) Ensure telephone and toilet locations are on the main street with good informal surveillance;

(iii) Encourage activity generators such as street entertainers and cafes;

(iv) Encourage a mix of commercial activities at night, with staggered closing hours;

(v) Avoid creating entrapment spots such as alleyways, or ensure they are well-lit and visible from the street; and

(vi) Put automatic banking machines on the street, with adequate lighting and visibility (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.8 Parkland and Open Space

Park environments are utilised more by men than women due to women’s fear of attack, particularly at night (Safe City Committee, 1992). The problem with parks is that generally they are isolated. However, eradicating isolation entirely is not recommended because it is important for urban dwellers to be able to escape the city environment. Therefore, design improvements will only target areas surrounding commonly used paths. Other areas should have optional safety provisions to allow for users’ privacy.

Recommendations

(i) Light areas of high use, but not routes that lead to dead ends;

(ii) Develop pathways that have good sightlines, and do not lead to entrapment spots;

(iii) Make sure landscaping does not block sightlines from the street;

(iv) Locate office and residential buildings adjacent to parks, so that informal surveillance is possible;

(v) Make sure signage indicates the location of telephones, toilets, and where help is likely to be located;
(vi) Encourage activity generators to locate near toilets and playgrounds;
(vii) Encourage night time use, with suitable facilities and activities; and
(viii) Discourage solid fencing that decreases visibility (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.9 High-Rise Residential Areas

High-rise residential areas tend to have a high percentage of empty or largely unused space. Land use is segregated into exclusive zones for driving, walking, parking, shopping, or recreation. Because these areas are clearly segregated, and are relatively isolated, their use is associated with a strong sense of fear. These problems are often exacerbated in lower income areas, where maintenance is uncommon and formal surveillance limited. Like pedestrian tunnels and underground car parking, high rise housing is particularly unpopular with women (Safe City Committee, 1992).

Recommendations

(i) Ensure lighting is consistent along pedestrian pathways;
(ii) Provide safe, visible routes around the residential area and to transit areas and shopping centres;
(iii) Fill in empty space with community projects, such as a garden;
(iv) Encourage a sense of ownership over communal space; and
(v) Install formal surveillance systems (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.10 Interior Spaces in High-Rise Housing

Stairways, laundry rooms, lifts, and entrances to buildings are often cited by residents as frequent sites of assaults (Safe City Committee, 1992). These places are usually isolated, have poor sightlines, and low maintenance. Tenants should be included in identifying security concerns, and implementing security design recommendations. Actors, such as architects, developers, and planners need to encourage community participation in the design process.

Recommendations

(i) Ensure adequate lighting in all common areas;
(ii) Ensure sightlines exist on key routes such as from laundry rooms to lifts;
(iii) Encourage informal surveillance of areas such as laundry rooms and children’s playgrounds; and

(iv) Employ a building manager to oversee maintenance and security measures (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.11 Central Business District

The concentration of business in downtown areas and the subsequent loss of low level housing and commercial functions has been a feature of North American and European cities in the late twentieth century (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1992). Although New Zealand cities are substantially smaller, many inner city areas are also devoid of functions that attract evening activity. While very busy during the working day, the Central Business District often becomes deserted after dark. This has security implications, not only for night workers such as cleaners and hospital workers, but for many office employees who work overtime, and people enjoying entertainment functions found near the Central Business District at night.

Making the Central Business District more secure is a formidable proposition. Adding a few isolated residential buildings would only serve to make their inhabitants less secure. The large scale apartment developments favoured in North America are also of limited value, because the informal surveillance potential of someone living on the twentieth floor is particularly low. And like residential areas, these projects only fortify themselves from the surrounding area. Women’s groups have recommended mixed-income medium density low-rise housing in the Central Business District. Although this may put more ‘eyes on the street’, it may not be financially viable to locate mixed income housing in expensive real estate areas.

Recommendations

(i) Encourage informal surveillance by generating street-related evening activity;

(ii) Encourage commercial developments with glass fronts at street level to ensure informal surveillance;

(iii) Encourage mixed land uses in the Central Business District, and provide safe and well located transit systems for night workers (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990; Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.12 Alleyways

Alleyways are often isolated spots, poorly lit and maintained. Women do not feel comfortable walking past alleyways at night, and certainly avoid parking
in them. Alleyways that lead off busy streets make ideal entrapment spots.

Recommendations

(i) Provide lighting in alleyways that is consistent with street lighting;
(ii) Keep alleyways straight, to avoid creating hiding spots;
(iii) Provide more than one exit in an alleyway if possible to avoid entrapment;
(iv) Maintain alleyways so that unnecessary rubbish and objects are not left lying around; and
(v) Attempt to make alleyways into pedestrian streets or linear parks (Safe City Committee, 1992).

5.6.13 Toilets

Like most other public buildings, public toilets have rarely, if ever been designed in consultation with women (Cavanagh & Ware, 1990). Their location and layout has been determined by economic factors, and cultural conceptions of morality, rather than consideration of users. As a result, public toilets are often located in inconvenient and isolated locations, are poorly lit and signed, and are avoided by large numbers of women because of safety concerns.

Recommendations

(i) Locate toilets near other activities such as food vendors and children’s play areas, not isolated by themselves;
(ii) Ensure outside doors cannot be locked to prevent entrapment in the toilet facility;
(iii) Locate toilet entrances in clearly visible and well-lit areas, so that sightlines are possible;
(iv) Landscaping should aim to look attractive, rather than screen toilet entrances;
(v) Toilets in large commercial developments should not be positioned around the back of the building, so that the only access is through an isolated corridor; and
(vi) Regular maintenance of the area to remove graffiti and rubbish is essential (Cavanagh & Ware, 1990; Safe City Committee, 1992).
5.7 Safety Audits

A safety audit acts as a mechanism to identify and evaluate areas for their conduciveness to crime. A women's safety audit is designed to improve the physical environment in ways that reduce the opportunities for sexual and violent assaults against women (METRAC, 1989). Of course, increasing the number of lights and reducing potential entrapment spots, is not going to stop sexual assault. However, sexual assault by strangers is often a crime of opportunity, and by evaluating and altering the environment, assault opportunities can be significantly reduced (METRAC, 1989). Urban designers and planners can either take part in local safety audits, or encourage community groups to undertake them. If planners rely on the community to undertake a safety audit, it is important that these evaluations are considered seriously in policy formulation and implementation.

A safety audit is an evaluation of places that concern women, and involves noting down the reasons for their concern (Austin, 1992a; METRAC, 1989). Places of concern can easily be identified if questions are used to provoke thought. For example, can I easily see someone approaching? Would anyone hear me scream? How far away is the nearest emergency phone? Many women are extremely fearful of their urban environments. The safety audit has been designed for women who feel unsafe in the city, and who want to do something about it. The locations that can be audited are unlimited because METRAC (1989: 1) has described suitable areas as ‘anywhere that the hair rises on the back of your neck’.

5.7.1 Who Do You Perform a Safety Audit With?

METRAC (1989) has stressed the importance of using women as experts when assessing the urban environment. METRAC (1989) argues that architects, urban planners and the police are still usually men who are trained to see things from a male perspective. However, such a male perspective does not provide any insight on what it is like to be a woman, alone late at night, waiting for a bus or walking past a dark alley (Austin, 1992a; METRAC, 1989). As a result Austin (1992a: 1) argues that everyone can participate in a safety audit, but ‘women’s perceptions and experiences are what counts’. METRAC (1989) states that safety audits can make cities safer for women, but also points out that improvements will benefit everyone.

Audits do not have to involve a lot of people. An audit can be performed alone, however places to be assessed often feel very unsafe. In the interests of security therefore, METRAC (1989) recommended the ideal size for an audit team to be between three and seven people. This size provides various perspectives and insights, but is still small enough to permit valuable conversation during the process. Having one member of the audit team who has some previous experience is useful, although not essential.

A joint audit team is a possibility if an area is particularly problematic.
(City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990). This was the case in the City of Toronto's subway stations. As a result, METRAC worked with the Toronto Transit Commission and Metro Police to make the transport system safer for women.

Safety audit teams will not be able to incorporate all women’s perspectives. They should try, however, to consider the urban area from the perspective of women who are:

(i) using a wheelchair;
(ii) visually or hearing impaired;
(iii) mentally and physically disabled;
(iv) local residents;
(v) very young;
(vi) elderly;
(vii) living alone;
(viii) non-English speaking;
(ix) illiterate;
(x) poor;
(xi) with young children; and
(xii) carrying parcels (Austin, 1992b; METRAC, 1989).

Although focusing specifically on all these groups would be extremely difficult, it is important nonetheless that an attempt is made to recognise the diversity of women’s experience.

5.7.2 What is a Safety Audit Checklist?

METRAC (1989) noted in early safety audits that a checklist of ideas is very helpful whilst out auditing. A checklist identifies certain characteristics within an urban environment that require safety consideration. These characteristics have been identified in the Working Guide discussed previously. For example, a safety audit checklist may recognise ‘lighting’ as an essential element to create a safe urban environment. A checklist will have a series of questions that will enable a thorough audit of the lighting quality. For example:

(i) Is the level of lighting good enough to identify a face 15 metres away?
(ii) Is the level of lighting consistent?
(iii) How many of the lights that can be seen are out, or not turned on?
(iv) Is the lighting obscured by trees or bushes? (Austin, 1992c; METRAC, 1989).

Sightlines is also likely to be assessed in a safety audit. For example:

(i) Can you clearly see what is ahead?
(ii) Are there places someone could be hiding?
(iii) Should there be security mirrors to let you see around blind corners? (Austin, 1992c; METRAC, 1989).

METRAC has been responsible for much of the pioneering work carried out on women’s safety audits. Manukau Safer Community Council which was established in 1990, adopted a number of METRAC’s recommendations for their safety audit checklist. Manukau’s checklist is shown in Appendix A, and includes the elements of lighting and sightlines previously discussed. METRAC’s lengthy experience with safety audits has encouraged them to consider every item on the checklist. The checklist can therefore operate as a prescriptive document, which minimises the likelihood of people rushing past an area, and failing to recognise particular safety concerns.

5.7.3 When Do You Perform a Safety Audit?

Austin (1992a) and METRAC (1989) recommend that safety audits are performed after dark, because this is the only way to know if an area has a lighting problem. Night time is also when women feel most fearful and vulnerable to crime. A site may need revisiting a number of times to get an idea of its level of use, and to understand the change in perception of the area at different times of the day.

5.7.4 Note Taking During a Safety Audit

It is unlikely that people will remember everything that they considered important on the safety audit. Therefore, it is essential that ideas, suggestions, questions and concerns are noted down. Because writing notes at night may be very difficult, METRAC (1989) has recommended the use of a camera and tape recorder. While an urban area is being assessed, women utilising the area should be made aware of the safety audit process, and encouraged to contribute personal insight (METRAC, 1989).

5.7.5 After a Safety Audit

After the safety audit, considerable information will have been generated on how to improve urban areas of concern for women. It is then important
to make the local council or urban planner aware of what changes need to be made to the urban environment. In 1988 a group of local women in Toronto, called the Pinsett Audit Team made their safety audit concerns known through a letter to the local Council (METRAC, 1989). The letter expressed the women’s concerns and suggested improvements the Council could undertake. This letter is an excellent example of strategies which could be used in New Zealand to inform councils of urban design concerns. The letter is shown in Appendix B.

Some safety audits will extend beyond public space to encompass residential streets and private property. A form has been developed by METRAC (1989) to inform private property owners that their property is in need of some alteration to improve public safety. This form is displayed in Appendix C. These types of initiatives have been extremely successful in the late 1980s and early 1990s in Toronto. The group, Women Plan Toronto sent a letter to a private property owner identifying poor lighting at a rear entrance. The recommended lighting was installed by the property owner one week after the audit was performed (METRAC, 1989). However, such a prompt and positive response from a property owner may not always be the case. If an owner does not wish to comply to the recommended changes, then an audit team may be powerless to force any change. Appendix D demonstrates the letter to the property owner.

5.8 Summary

This chapter has described what planners can do to reduce the opportunity for crime against people generally, and women specifically. It has made a number of recommendations to urban planners and designers on how to produce a safe urban environment. It suggests that planners must recognise that the planning profession can play a key role in reducing the opportunities for crime in public space. However, it is imperative that planners acknowledge the importance of women in the planning process, if they are to identify urban areas that increase women’s fear and vulnerability of attack in urban public space.

This chapter has introduced an extensive range of urban design features, that can substantially enhance safety from crime in urban public space. Reducing the likelihood of violent or sexual crimes in this space through design changes, is known as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). CPTED techniques operate under the principle that physical design and environmental characteristics can promote or inhibit criminal activity. By making physical design improvements, the opportunity for criminal activity is made more difficult. This chapter has illustrated how such design techniques can improve places that are commonly considered unsafe by women. A mechanism with which to identify and evaluate problematic urban areas has also been discussed. This evaluation of the urban environment is called a safety audit. The possibility of recognising design guidelines
and safety audits in urban planning in New Zealand will be addressed in the following chapter.
6

Safe Cities in New Zealand
and The Resource Management Act

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated with overseas literature, what the planning profession can do to make New Zealand cities safer. This chapter will describe what Safe City initiatives New Zealand planners have achieved, and whether the Safe City idea can be incorporated within the policy regime of the Resource Management Act 1991 (henceforth the Resource Management Act or the Act).

This chapter has two parts. The first outlines current crime prevention initiatives in New Zealand that stress the importance of reducing crime in urban public space. The second considers what opportunities are available under the Resource Management Act to assist in creating safer communities. Part II, section 5 of the Act will be closely examined to determine whether the 'safety' of people and communities can be provided for under this legislation.

6.2 Safe Cities in New Zealand

This section will illustrate the current state of Safe City programmes in New Zealand. Local authorities and planners in New Zealand have not considered planning for safety from violent and sexual attack in the past, but now a number of authorities are adopting Safe City initiatives (Austin pers.comm., 1994). Although Safe City developments in New Zealand are at elementary stages compared to Canada, Britain, and Australia, it is nonetheless important to understand what has been achieved here. Identifying current
initiatives in New Zealand provides the opportunity to evaluate their success, and recommend further Safe City programmes.

The section will examine the development of Safer Community Councils in New Zealand in 1990, and describe what one of the four pilot councils, Manukau City, has achieved. The establishment of the Ministerial Crime Prevention Action Group (CPAG) in 1992 will also be examined. The Action Group recognises that design in the physical environment can reduce the likelihood of crime occurring. However, the Group do not actively involve themselves in Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) programmes. Finally, Wellington City Council's CityPriority survey will be discussed. The results of this survey will demonstrate why the City Council has included an urban design guide in their proposed district plan.

6.2.1 Safer Community Councils

In 1990, the Prime Minister of the time, Geoffrey Palmer, launched a Community Crime Prevention scheme under the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (Austin & Inglis, 1993). This led to the establishment of Safer Community Councils. These Councils were designed to implement and run local crime prevention initiatives, and assist community groups concerned with crime prevention. Pilot Community Councils were established in Manukau, Wairoa, Christchurch, and Ashburton at this time (Austin & Inglis, 1993). The formation and ongoing support of the pilot Community Council's was shared between central and local government. Central government provided a contribution to the general project funds, and the salary of each Community Council co-ordinator, while local government provided accommodation, transport and administration support (Austin & Inglis, 1993).

Each Safer Community Council was chaired by the local mayor, with business, government, and community representatives all having an input into safety and crime prevention (Austin & Inglis, 1993). The Community Councils were responsible for carrying out a comprehensive community safety profile, and subsequently developing a strategic crime prevention plan based on these assessments (Crime Prevention Unit, 1994). From this profile, the Community Councils prepared their own agendas and focused on enhancing community safety. Safer Community Councils also encompass crime prevention projects that provide reading support in schools, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, and anger management for teenagers. However, these programmes address the social causes of crime, while this project is concerned with what planning and design can do to assist crime prevention.

The Safer Community Councils represent a partnership between different levels of government and the community. The Ministry for the Environment (1994) has recognised the importance of partnerships to achieve community sustainability and wellbeing. The significance of the partnership approach has also been recognised by Austin and Inglis (1993). They describe how
planning is often viewed as a relatively obscure government function by most members of the public. However, by encouraging a partnership approach to community safety through planning and design, members of the community can become actively involved in the planning process with their local council (Austin & Inglis, 1993).

At the completion of the pilot phase, a Prime Ministerial Safer Community Council of key cabinet ministers and the four mayors met to discuss the outcomes of the pilot schemes. Through this forum information was generated, policy recommendations made, and future issues concerning community safety were discussed (Austin & Inglis, 1993). The success of the partnership approach was also discussed at the forum, as it had provided communities with a direct input into local government policy and planning, and also contributed ideas to the Prime Ministerial Safer Community Council (Austin & Inglis, 1993).

In January 1994 there were seven Safer Community Council’s operating in New Zealand, while many other local authorities were expressing strong interest in establishing similar bodies (Crime Prevention Unit, 1994). Manukau Safer Community Council (MSCC) began as a pilot scheme in 1990, under the control of the Manukau City Council. However, at the completion of the pilot phase the MSCC established its own identity, and now contracts the safer community service to the City Council. This was so that the community would identify the Safer Community Council as independent of the City Council, and the City Council would have a cost-effective service established outside its organisation that would assist its goal of achieving community safety (Austin & Inglis, 1993).

The partnership between the Manukau City Council and the Community Council has generated a number of successful crime prevention initiatives. Safety audits have been performed around the local area, and the City Council has implemented the design recommendations made. For example, a safety audit in the Papatoetoe ward recommended design changes to the Council. The Council subsequently improved the lighting, altered structures, and trimmed the vegetation in the recommended areas. In June 1992, Manukau City Council ran a seminar ‘Safer Places: City Spaces’ for architects, planners, developers, business owners, surveyors, and community organisations (Austin & Inglis, 1993). This seminar introduced groups to CPTED techniques. A working party was established from the seminar to consider developing design guidelines for inclusion in the district plan. The recommendations were received favourably by Council, and the Director of Planning guaranteed the inclusion of design guidelines in the new district plan (Austin & Inglis, 1993). Although the Safer Community Councils are controlled by their respective local Council and community, they are now co-ordinated by the Crime Prevention Unit.
6.2.2 Crime Prevention Unit

Crime and the fear of crime have become major social issues in New Zealand. Government responses to crime are usually made within the criminal justice system, and focus on apprehending, prosecuting and punishing criminals (Crime Prevention Action Group, n.d.). Up until April 1992, no coordinated or systematic approach to crime prevention existed on a national scale, nor did any single agency of government have responsibility for crime prevention in its broadest sense (Crime Prevention Action Group, n.d.). Duplication of crime prevention initiatives between agencies occurred frequently, and tension was also apparent between organisations with conflicting objectives, such as rehabilitation and punishment. Essentially, responses to crime had failed to stem the rising crime rate, the growing economic and fiscal costs of crime to government, and the fears and concerns about crime in the community (Crime Prevention Action Group, n.d.). Clearly a better approach was required, and so in 1992 the Prime Minister established the Crime Prevention Action Group.

The Crime Prevention Action Group developed a national crime prevention strategy. The mission statement of the strategy was ‘to enhance safety and security through crime prevention’ (Crime Prevention Action Group, n.d.: 3). This was to be achieved by:

(i) the Government taking the lead in developing a strategic, co-ordinated and managed approach to the problems of crime; and

(ii) greater community involvement in crime prevention and the criminal justice system (Crime Prevention Action Group, n.d.: 3).

The Crime Prevention Action Group has recently been renamed as the Crime Prevention Unit. However, the key roles of the Unit that stem from the mission statement have remained the same. They are:

(i) to be principle advisor to the Government on crime prevention strategies;

(ii) to carry out the planning, co-ordination, monitoring and advisory functions related to implementing and maintaining the crime prevention strategy; and

(iii) to ensure a co-ordinated and co-operative approach between central Government, government departments, Iwi, local government, Pacific Island and other community groups that will allow the development of, and support for specific crime prevention initiatives (Crime Prevention Unit, 1994).

However, like a number of the Safer Community Council projects the Crime Prevention Unit focuses primarily on the social causes of crime rather
than preventing opportunistic crime in urban public space (Brash pers. comm., 1994). Although the Unit acknowledges that urban design techniques can reduce the likelihood of crime occurring, they believe that it does not address the underlying factors which contribute to the occurrence of crime (Crime Prevention Action Group, 1992). In view of this, the Crime Unit recommends that opportunistic crime prevention initiatives, such as safety audits and design guidelines, should be the responsibility of local councils, Community Councils, or community groups (Crime Prevention Action Group, 1992). The Crime Unit support these initiatives indirectly, by co-ordinating the Safer Community Councils.

### 6.2.3 Wellington City Council

The importance of planning and designing a safer urban environment has been recognised by the Wellington City Council. A public opinion survey undertaken for the City Council in 1992 found that safety is currently a matter of great community concern (Austin, 1994). The City Priorities survey was designed to find out what residents wanted from the city and the Council, and how satisfied they were with the services they were currently receiving. The results of this survey are of particular significance for this project, and will now be discussed.

Wellington residents were asked to describe what they identified as important city qualities, and whether they were satisfied with the standard of these attributes. Residents rated a safe city as the most 'important' city quality; however, it was also rated as the least 'satisfied' of the city qualities surveyed (Figure 6.1).

The disparity was significant because three quarters of residents rated a safe city as very important, and almost all other people rated it as important. However, only one quarter of residents were able to rate the standard of a safe city in Wellington as any better than adequate (Figure 6.2). In summary, most Wellington residents appear to value public safety highly, but are not satisfied that their city is safe.

Because this project focuses on women's fear and vulnerability in urban public space, it is essential that the Wellington data be considered separately for women and men. It was found that women rate city safety as more important than men. Some 82 percent of women rated city safety as very important, compared to only 70 percent of men (Figure 6.3). The satisfaction of city safety results demonstrated that men rate city safety more favourably then women. For example, 31 percent of women thought that city safety was poor, compared to only 23 percent of men. By contrast, only 18 percent of women thought city safety was good, compared to 26 percent of men (Figure 6.4). These results demonstrate that in Wellington, women are less satisfied with city safety than men, but rate the issue as more important. This reflects women's greater fear and vulnerability to violent sexual attack.
Suggestions for improvements were also made by residents in the survey. These included, improved building design, more inner city residents, and better street lighting. Such improvements could be partially achieved through planning and design practice. The Wellington police are also joining planners and designers in an attempt to create a crime-free city (Sunday Star Times, 3 July 1994: A6). With the support of the Council, the police are approaching construction and design firms and asking them to include crime prevention techniques in their developments. Wellington Acting Area Controller, Inspector Nick Perry commented that:

"anything we can do to stop crime isn’t only of advantage to the police, it’s an advantage to Wellington as a whole" (Sunday Star Times, 3 July 1994: A6).

Police architects who are familiar with design techniques that reduce the opportunities for crime, can also assist in creating safer urban environments. It is essential that police make their design expertise publicly available, and that council’s and urban developers utilise these expertise.

The recognition that Wellington residents are very concerned about their personal safety in the city has led to a response from the Wellington City Council’s Urban Design Unit. The Unit has developed guidelines on CPTED which are to be included in the proposed district plan. The implications of
### Things about Wellington

#### Rating of Importance

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(Note: %s add to 100% reading across each row of figures)

FIGURE 6.2: Comparison between safe city importance and safe city quality by residents (Source: Wellington City Council, 1993).

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including urban design guidelines in a district plan will be explored in the following section.

6.3 Safe Cities and the Resource Management Act

The previous section has illustrated the present state of Safe City programmes in New Zealand. This section examines the options planners in New Zealand have to address safety issues under the Resource Management Act. The concept of sustainability as defined in the Act, will be considered to determine whether ‘sustainable management’ encompasses social considerations. Part II, section 5 of the Act will also be considered to determine whether the definition of ‘sustainability’ offers equal considerations to anthropocentric and biophysical concerns. The ‘safety’ of people and communities is an integral part of section 5. An interpretation of the meaning of ‘safety’ will be made to determine whether the Act can include safety from violent and sexual crimes in urban public space. The section will also consider how planners might take safety issues into account under the Act. The options of including safe urban design guidelines in the district plan, and as a mandatory part of the resource consent procedure, will be examined. Finally, the transition from zoning of land use activities to managing the effects of activities under the Act will be considered.

6.3.1 The Concept of Sustainability

In the early 1980s the United Nations sponsored a report to study the issues raised by humankind’s unsustainable use of the world’s resources (Milne, 1992). The Brundtland Commission was charged with providing an outline of how the world could continue to develop sustainably (Milne, 1992). A report entitled ‘Our Common Future’ was produced which advocated the concept of ‘sustainable development’. Sustainable development was defined in this report as:

\[ \text{development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Milne, 1992: 39).} \]

To achieve sustainable development the actions of the current generation should not substantially limit the options available to future generations (Memon, 1993). Within the resource management context, planners should ensure that the actions of a particular developer or group should not limit the options available to future individuals or groups. Therefore, although sustainable development grew out of a concern for the world’s resources, social considerations are implicit in its interpretation.
In the late 1980s, New Zealand’s Prime Minister and Minister for the Environment, Geoffrey Palmer, initiated steps to recognise sustainability in the country’s environmental laws. After three years of research and debate, the Town and Country Planning Act 1977 was repealed and the Resource Management Act was enacted (Milne, 1992). However, unlike the Brundtland Report, the Act advocated ‘sustainable management’ rather than ‘sustainable development’. Memon (1993) has described sustainable management as having a more limited focus than the Brundtland Report. Dewe (1993) argues that sustainable management focuses solely on environmental policies, whereas sustainable development also includes economic and social policy issues. If this was the case, then the opportunity for addressing the safety of people and communities under the Act would be precluded. However, this chapter will argue that the wording in the purpose of the Act, is capable of encompassing social concerns, such as the safety of people and communities. This will now be examined.

6.3.2 Interpreting the Purpose of the Resource Management Act

The purpose of the Act is described in Part II, section 5. The intent of this section is somewhat unclear. Memon (1993) has argued that the interpretation of the Act is likely to be subject to considerable discussion and litigation. It will be argued, however, that the wording is capable of a wide interpretation, encompassing social and economic concerns as well as biophysical. The inclusion of social objectives in the Act is essential if the ‘safety’ of people and communities is to be recognised under the legislation. Grundy (1994: 75) has argued that:

socio-economic issues are not only a legitimate and necessary concern of resource management (and hence regional and district planning), but are obligatory constituents for a meaningful definition of sustainable management as proposed in the Resource Management Act 1991.

To determine whether the purpose of the Act encompasses social concerns, it is necessary to consider the intent of legislators in section 5. The former Town and Country Planning Act 1977 encompassed wide socio-economic objectives. However, while the Resource Management Bill was being debated, socio-economic concerns were viewed by Government as unnecessary and undesirable fiscal costs (Grundy, 1994). The Government’s aim to limit its social and economic responsibilities is evident in the Act. Vossler (1991) argues that the Act distinguishes itself from the Town and Country Planning Act because its scope is confined principally to the management of natural and physical resources. The Act therefore does not have the capability to be as wide-ranging, in social terms, as the Town and Country Planning Act. In
support of this, Lindsay Gow, Deputy Secretary for the Environment stated in 1991 that:

the Act accepts that social and economic and health and safety objectives can be achieved, but it is not necessarily the role of central or local government to plan for them (Grundy, 1994: 76).

In 1991 the Hon. Simon Upton, then Minister for the Environment, also described the Act as a means to promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources, and not as a comprehensive social planning statute (Grundy, 1994). In the same year the Ministry for the Environment (MFE) stated:

the Act is not designed to cater for social...or economic issues, except within the context of sustainable management (Grundy, 1994: 76).

However, Grundy (1994) notes that the MFE has recently changed their stance on what exactly the Act encompasses. MFE now recognise that it is quite legitimate for councils to have social and economic aspirations, provided they pay explicit attention to biophysical issues (Grundy, 1994).

It appears that the intent of the resource management legislators was primarily to limit intervention in resource allocation decisions, and curtail the role of regional and district planning (Grundy, 1994; Memon, 1993). However, ironically, by specifying sustainability as the guiding statutory purpose for resource use, legislators have possibly justified the need for increased intervention and more comprehensive planning (Grundy, 1994). Grundy (1994) argues that intervention will be necessary because the free market has no means of ensuring ecological sustainability is met (Grundy, 1994).

Recent international events, such as the release of the Brundtland Report in 1987, and the Agenda 21 Conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, have recognised that the environmental effects of resource use cannot be separated from social and economic factors (Grundy, 1994). Both these documents have been adopted by the New Zealand Government. However, Grundy (1994) argues that major contradictions exist in the adoption of these reports because they advocate social and economic issues, yet New Zealand's resource management legislation focuses on biophysical concerns. Grundy (1994: 78) asserts that:

to refer to sustainable management as encompassing only the ecological aspect of sustainable development, as both politicians and government officials have done in the past, is nonsensical.

Grundy (1994) argues that the concept of sustainable development grew out of a realisation that biophysical concerns and anthropocentric concerns
are inseparable. The imprecise nature of the statutory definition of sustainable management leaves the way open for a wide ranging interpretation of the desired intent of the Act. Whilst the expressed intent of sustainable management is to limit adverse effects of activities on the environment, the legislative wording is capable of encompassing socio-economic concerns.

Milne (1992) has described section 5 as being of utmost importance, because it sets the ground rules for interpreting the Act. The purpose of the Act is to:

promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources.

However, the definition of sustainable management implies more than just concern for natural and physical resources. In the Act, sustainable management means:

managing the use, development and protection of natural and physical resources in a way, or at a rate, which enables people and communities to provide for their social, economic, and cultural wellbeing and for their health and safety while -

(a) Sustaining the potential of natural and physical resources (excluding minerals) to meet the reasonably foreseeable needs of future generations; and

(b) Safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of air, water, soil and ecosystems; and

(c) Avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment (emphasis added).

A closer examination of the definition of sustainable management clearly demonstrates anthropocentric concerns as well as biophysical values. For instance, the definition of 'natural and physical resources' includes 'all structures'. Structures has been defined in the Act as 'any building, equipment, device or other facility made by people and which is fixed to the land'. This is obviously a reference to the urban environment as well as the natural and physical environment. This is significant for this study because Safe City programmes are set in the urban environment.

Enabling 'people and communities to provide for their social, economic and cultural wellbeing and for their health and safety' is clearly another anthropocentric factor within the Act's leading principle. However, the intended relative weight given to the anthropocentric and the ecological functions of the Act are not clear at all, and may be interpreted in a number of ways (Fisher, 1991; Grundy, 1994; Memon, 1993; Milne, 1992). Fisher (1991) has stated that understanding the definition of sustainable management, hinges on the interpretation of the conjunction 'while'. 'While' links
the 'management' function and the 'ecological' function in section 5, and its interpretation is critical in determining which of these considerations holds the greater weight. The management function encompasses the concept of social wellbeing, which is essential if the safety of people and communities is to be achieved.

If 'while' is a subordinating conjunction, which is similar to 'if' and 'although', then the management function is weaker than the ecological function. This would mean that human values could be addressed if the ecological functions had been satisfied (Fisher, 1991). However, if 'while' is a co-ordinating conjunction, similar to 'and' or 'at the same time as', then the management and ecological functions are treated equally. Therefore, human values would be managed in accord with ecological values (Fisher, 1991). Fisher (1991) argues that the grammatically correct interpretation of 'while' affords the ecological function a degree of priority over the management function. However, Milligan (in Grundy, 1994) favours the co-ordinating conjunction which gives both functions equal status. A judicial ruling will be required in order to decide the relative weighting of section 5.

Regardless of the balance in section 5, anthropocentric concerns are implicit in even the ecological function. For example, under section 5(2)(b) the ecological function advocates safeguarding the life-supporting capacity of ecosystems. While section 5(2)(c) recommends avoiding, remedying, or mitigating any adverse effects of activities on the environment. Although ecosystems are not defined in the Act, they are a component of the environment definition. The definition of the environment is laced with anthropocentric concerns. Environment in the Act includes:

(a) **Ecosystems** and their constituent parts, including people and communities, and

(b) All natural and physical resources, and

(c) **Amenity Values**, and

(d) The social, economic, aesthetic and cultural conditions which affect the matters stated in paragraphs (a) to (c) of this definition or which are affected by those matters.

This definition demonstrates that 'ecosystems' include people and communities. The natural and physical resources include structures in the built environment, obviously created by humans, while amenity values represent the natural or physical qualities of an area that contribute to people's appreciation. Social, economic, aesthetic, and cultural conditions are also recognised under the definition of environment. It could therefore be argued that even if the ecological function held a greater weight than the management function, the ecological concerns embody anthropocentric considerations. Given this analysis of section 5, considering the safety of people and
communities under the Act is an achievable option. However, the meaning of 'safety' in the Act is unclear. This will now be examined.

6.3.3 Interpretation of Safety in Section 5

Part II, section 5(2) of the Act provides an excellent opportunity to address the 'safety' of people and communities. This study's definition of safety constitutes: 'safety from violent or sexual attack in urban public space'. The Official Plan in Toronto has recognised safety from personal attack directly in their policies since the late 1970s (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990). Safety is mentioned in the Community Improvements Policy, which aimed to:

improve the amenity, appearance, safety, and environmental quality of all areas of the city (City of Toronto Planning & Development Department, 1990) (emphasis added).

Although this has a stronger socio-economic focus than the Resource Management Act, this interpretation of 'safety' from attack, could be adopted by the judiciary in New Zealand. As yet there has been no guidance from case law in the Act to give any indication of the correct interpretation of safety (Salmon, 1994). Therefore the meaning of safety from case law in the Town and Country Planning Act 1977 could be considered. The Town and Country Planning Act interpreted safety in the sense that: 'a land use should not cause harm or unreasonable danger to others'. If a developer creates an urban environment that increases the opportunity for violent or sexual attack, then surely that land use is causing harm or unreasonable danger to others. However, case law on safety under the Town and Country Planning Act included:

(i) the safe handling of dangerous goods (Duncan v Thames Coromandel District, 1980);

(ii) safety on a rifle range (Eder v Palmerston North City, 1984); and

(iii) public safety from earthquake danger (MWD v Wellington City, 1986).

These cases preclude the consideration of safety as relating to freedom from personal crime.

However, because the Act is concerned with the wellbeing of people and communities, it could be argued that safety should be interpreted as crime prevention, not just accident prevention, or hazards control. Interpreting safety as, 'safety from crime', will not require an amendment to the Act only a reinterpretation of the legislation's intent. Given the various interpretations of section 5, and the extended definition of sustainable management, it is not beyond the scope of the Act to embody safety in this sense.
6.3.4 Planning Safe Cities Under the Resource Management Act

If a council has decided to give attention to the issue of safety, what steps can it's planners take? Grundy (1994) has argued that a positive interpretation of the Act provides planners with wide scope for the inclusion of socio-economic considerations in their statutory functions. This gives councils and planners an ideal opportunity to:

- recognise the effects of development on their communities, to
- integrate safety considerations into the planning process, and
- contribute towards creating safer communities (Austin, 1994).

Safety issues are more likely to be dealt with by territorial authorities rather than regional authorities. This is because territorial authorities usually deal with ‘land use’ and ‘subdivision’ consents associated with urban development and urban design. An option therefore exists for planners to integrate safety issues into the district planning process. Under section 74(1) a territorial authority shall prepare its district plan in accordance with the provisions of Part II. Therefore a council should consider the safety of people and communities when preparing its district plan.

Under section 75(1) a district plan shall make provision for the matters set out in Part II of the Second Schedule. The Second Schedule lists matters that may be provided for in policy statements and plans, relating to districts. This includes 1.(d) the subdivision of land, and 2.(a) the community or any group within the community (including minorities, children, and disabled people). Therefore, when a council prepares its district plan it has the authority to ensure that safe design guidelines are mandatory in subdivision development. It can also take account of special groups within the community. Although women are not specifically mentioned, the scope of this section would suggest that council’s could consider women as a special group because of their particular vulnerability and fear of sexual violence in urban public space.

Some local authorities are already addressing their responsibilities for community safety as outlined in section 5 in their district plans (Brash pers.comm., 1994). Wellington City Council has incorporated CPTED guidelines as part of their proposed district plan. The design guide is intended to reduce the opportunity for crime in urban public space, thus reducing people's fear of crime (Wellington City Council, 1994). This will be achieved by applying the established principles of CPTED to the design of:

(i) relevant parts of all new developments; and

(ii) alterations to existing buildings or public space (Wellington City Council, 1994).
Incorporating safe design techniques in urban developments may be most successful if included as rules in the district plan. In order for a territorial authority to carry out its functions under the Act, and to achieve the objectives and policies of the plan, an authority may include in its district plan rules which prohibit, regulate or allow activities. Depending on the effects of an activity, the rules in the district plan will probably require a person to gain resource consent for the activity. This matter will now be addressed.

6.3.5 Resource Consents

Safety issues can also be considered in the application for resource consent. A consent is a permission to do something that would otherwise be prohibited (Milne, 1992). The Act has five possible types of consent. These are:

(i) land use consent;
(ii) subdivision consent;
(iii) coastal permit;
(iv) water permit; and
(v) discharge permit (Ministry for the Environment, 1994).

Within these broad divisions the Act classifies activities into categories for the purpose of consents. These are; permitted, controlled, discretionary, non-complying, and prohibited activities. The classification of activities is largely designed to ensure that the effects of an activity are reflected in the consent-issuing process (Milne, 1992). Safe urban design criteria would only probably be relevant under land use and subdivision consents.

To ensure that safety guidelines are incorporated into urban development, a consent proposal that has adverse effects on urban safety could be classified as a 'discretionary' activity. A discretionary activity is provided for by a rule in a plan, and may impose certain standards or terms on the activity. A resource consent would be required for the activity under section 88. This section requires that an assessment of the effects of the proposal on the environment (environment including people and communities) be provided with every application, along with ways in which any adverse effects may be mitigated. Guidance about the matters to be included in an assessment is provided in the Fourth Schedule to the Act. Clause 1 of the Fourth Schedule lists matters that should be included in an assessment of effects on the environment. A safety audit of the proposed development could be included here, accompanied by design recommendations to mitigate against adverse effects. For example:

1. Matters that should be included in an assessment of effects on the environment-
(a) An environmental assessment of the safety and security aspects of the development. Identifying:

(i) actual and potential areas of concern for safety and security;

and

(ii) design recommendations to remove or alleviate these concerns.

Assuming that an environmental assessment of safety aspects in a development was the norm, McIndoe (1993) has listed what applications should contain in order to gain resource consent. These are:

1. A site plan to a scale of not less than 1:200 showing the proposed development and its immediate surroundings. The site plan will show:

   (i) the fronts of properties opposite and adjacent to the development;

   (ii) all entrances to private property;

   (iii) pedestrian and vehicle pathways;

   (iv) position of existing and proposed lighting;

   (v) vegetation and the species, or a three-dimensional depiction of the vegetation; and

   (vi) topography, fences and any other relevant elements that define the public user spaces of the proposed development.

2. A crime potential assessment of the immediate area. This assessment will consider:

   (i) the location of a development relative to other buildings or activity centres;

   (ii) the pattern of use and activity in the area, for example, frequency and duration of pedestrian use;

   (iii) the physical characteristics of the area as they relate to the potential for surveillance, concealment, and entrapment; and

   (iv) the general image and milieu, for example, the level of maintenance and amenity of the area.

3. A description of the design response to areas identified in the crime assessment as problematic. This will outline guidelines to be followed and their application to the particular project.

4. A description of the management systems in the proposed development indicating:

   (i) how it will be formally supervised, at what times and by whom; and
(ii) what will ensure the continuity of supervision (McIndoe, 1993).

The Toronto Safe City Committee (1992) considers that informal meetings between the urban planner and the developer preceding a consent application are very important. This is the best time to introduce the issue of urban design safety. Although a safety audit may be mandatory for a developer gaining resource consent, the planner should explain the process of a safety audit, and provide the developer with safe urban design guidelines. This enables safety measures to be designed into a development from its inception (Trench et al., 1992). It also allows for the planner and developer to become partners in a process of crime prevention.

Another criterion for gaining resource consent could be mandatory consultation with women's groups. This would ensure a woman's appreciation of fear and sexual violence is engendered in the urban development process. This could be an option under clause 1.(h) of the Fourth Schedule, where people identified as interested in or affected by a proposal will be consulted. However, current legislation does not refuse an application if a developer has failed to consult such interested or affected people (Milne, 1992). Alternatively, if applications were notified under section 93, then the submission process would allow women to comment on urban design proposals. However, the attempts of councils to speed up consent procedures and reduce the financial costs associated with delays, would be undermined if safety considerations led to the public notification of all relevant resource consents. Therefore, it may be more effective to include women in the early safety audit stage. This could easily be achieved by ensuring at least one woman was on every safety audit team, and involved in formulating the design improvements.

When a planner is considering a consent application, they should compare the application with detailed urban design guidelines, such as those described in Chapter Five of this project. Under the Resource Management Act, application for resource consent must be considered by council under section 104. This section is subject to Part II of the Act, which provides for the safety of people and communities, and must also have regard to the district plan. A planner's recommendation to the Hearings Committee must therefore reflect whether the consent application satisfies the function of Part II and the district plan and rules.

6.3.6 Zoning and the Resource Management Act

A key feature of the legal regime established by the Resource Management Act is the focus placed upon the effects of activities rather than the activities themselves (Milne, 1992). An application for a consent to mine or dam a river is dealt with through exactly the same process as an application for a subdivision or a new commercial development. This precludes the former approach to development control based upon strict land use zoning,
which separated different activities because of the nature of the activity. The new regime will allow a greater number of mixed land uses, provided their adverse effects are minimised. This could encourage more inner city residential development. Some past zoning has excluded residences in solely commercial zones, however under the Act, if the effects of inner city living are minor, they are likely to become permitted activities. Subsequently, more activity will be generated in the city centres at night, leading to greater informal surveillance, and the reduction of opportunistic crime.

6.4 Summary

This chapter comprised two parts. The first gave an outline of current crime prevention initiatives in New Zealand that recognise the importance of reducing the opportunities for crime in urban public space. The development of Safer Community Councils in New Zealand was considered. An examination of the Manukau Safer Community Council identified that safety audits had been performed in the area, with subsequent design improvements, and safer urban design guidelines were to be included in the new district plan. The establishment of the Ministerial Crime Prevention Action Group was also examined. It was found that although the Action Group recognised that urban design techniques could reduce the likelihood of crime occurring, the Group concentrated their efforts on the social causes of crime. Finally, Wellington City Council's City Priority survey was discussed. The results of this survey demonstrated that safety is currently a matter of great community concern. As a result the Council has included urban design guidelines in their proposed district plan.

The second section, addressed the options which planners in New Zealand have in considering safety issues under the Resource Management Act. This section considered the concept of sustainability. This was to determine whether 'sustainable management' encompasses social considerations. Part II, section 5 of the Act was also considered, to identify whether the definition of sustainability offers equal consideration to anthropocentric and biophysical concerns. The 'safety' of people and communities is an integral part of section 5. It was argued that 'safety' could include 'safety from violent and sexual crime in urban public space', given the potential scope of section 5.

Also considered were the potential ways in which planners could use the provisions of the Act to plan for safe cities. Possible options included; urban safety design guidelines in the district plan, and making safety issues a mandatory part of a resource consent application. Finally, the transition from land use zoning to the effects of activities zoning under the Act was considered. This suggested that a greater land use mix may generate more urban activity at night, and reduce the opportunities for sexual and violent crime.
Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to examine the Safe City concept, and its practical application to the New Zealand planning context. This involved reviewing overseas literature, and applying it to the New Zealand situation.

Each chapter within the study had one primary research question. The research questions were:

(i) What does the Safe City concept entail?

(ii) Why are women exclusively addressed in a number of Safe City programmes?

(iii) How has the patriarchal production of urban space restricted women's ability to utilise the city?

(iv) What can planners do to reduce the opportunity for violent or sexual assault against women?

(v) What options are available for planners in New Zealand to create Safe Cities under the Resource Management Act?

Chapter Two introduced the Safe City concept, to provide a framework within which to base the forthcoming chapters. Safe City programmes are aimed at improving urban public space, so that the opportunity for sexual or violent assault is significantly reduced. It was recognised that the Safe City concept encompassed a number of crime prevention initiatives. However, this study focused primarily on what urban planning and design can do to reduce crime opportunities.

The third chapter examined why women were exclusively addressed in a number of Safe City programmes. It was found that women had a greater fear for their personal safety in urban public space at night, than men. This led women to rigorously constrain their activities at night. The study concluded that women's self-imposed restrictions stemmed from their extreme fear of sexual violence.
The patriarchal production of urban space was examined in Chapter Four. It was found that because men had traditionally dominated urban production professions, such as planning, women's particular needs and concerns in urban space had not been addressed. Urban planning that had segregated land uses, permitted suburbs with no support facilities, and structured public transport to suit primarily male users, has meant that combining multiple roles for women is extremely difficult. Moreover, men have not considered women's fear of urban public space at night. Therefore, urban structures, spaces, and transport systems, are designed with no consideration of women's fear and vulnerability to sexual violence.

Chapter Five identified what planners can do to reduce the opportunity for violent or sexual assault against women. Although planning and design recommendations targeted concerns and issues raised by women, urban design improvements actually reduce the opportunities for crime against everyone. The Chapter concluded that it was imperative the planning profession recognise the key roles they can play in reducing opportunities for crime. Planners must encompass women's perspectives in every aspect of their work on urban crime prevention. This would require women to be part of safety audit teams, and to be essential sources of information when recommending urban design improvements.

Chapter Six was concerned with the options planners in New Zealand had to create Safe Cities under the Resource Management Act. The Chapter found that although the 'safety' of people and communities was implicit in the purpose of the Act, whether safety from violent or sexual crime would be recognised was unclear. This was unclear for two main reasons. First, the Act is designed to 'promote the sustainable management of natural and physical resources'. Dewe (1993) argued that sustainable management is a narrow concept that focuses only on environmental policies. If this is the case, then recognising social concerns such as safety, may be beyond the scope of the Act. However, it was argued in this chapter that the wide legislative wording in Part II, section 5, is capable of encompassing socio-economic concerns.

Second, there has been no guidance from case law in the Act to give any indication of the correct interpretation of safety. Whereas, the Town and Country Planning Act 1977 considered safety as; safety from dangerous goods, safety on a rifle range, and public safety from earthquake damage. These cases preclude the consideration of safety as relating to freedom from personal crime. However, because the Act is concerned with the well-being of people and communities, it was argued that 'safety' should also be interpreted as safety from violent or sexual attack.

The assumptions that the Resource Management Act can encompass social concerns, and that safety can be defined as 'safety from violence in urban public space', will be decided through the legal system. Although the Act provides the opportunity for both of these assumptions to become a reality, it will ultimately depend on judicial interpretation.
The legislative interpretation of section 5, will have wide-ranging implications for planners in New Zealand. Under the Act, councils and planners have an ideal opportunity to recognise the effects of development on their communities, and to integrate safety considerations into the planning process. Both Wellington and Manukau City Councils have developed Safe City policies under the Act. Within both their district plans, safer urban design guidelines have been incorporated. This provides the opportunity to ensure urban developers adhere to such guidelines in order to gain resource consent.

Assessing resource consent applications that take account of urban safety would be extremely valuable. Analysis could include comparisons between resource consents within a city, or comparisons between different urban centres. Such analysis would give an indication of the overall quality of consent applications with regard to urban safety.

This study considered women as one social group, who are vulnerable to, and fearful of, sexual violence in urban public space. Further research would be valuable to determine the different extents of fear various women experience in the urban environment. This would allow district plans to incorporate not only universal design guidelines, but urban improvements targeted at, for example, elderly women, women with disabilities, and women with children.

Planning a Safe City must be a priority for councils and planners in New Zealand. Under the Resource Management Act planners have an opportunity to reduce the prevalence of violent assaults in urban public space. Developing Safe City programmes therefore requires a commitment on the part of local councils.

Many planners are men, and because of their different conception of fear to women, some may still not recognise the importance of preventing sexual violence against women. It is essential that planners think carefully about what it would be like if their partner, mother, daughter, or friend was raped in public space. Particularly if her attempts to escape were hindered because no emergency telephones were available in an underground carpark, she was followed and trapped in an isolated public toilet, or because lighting was so poor she could not see an attacker approaching.

The success of Safe Cities is dependent on a personal commitment from women, backed up by the support of men, to reduce the opportunities for sexual violence against half the population. Pawson and Banks (1993), and Valentine (1989) have argued that violence in public space is a male responsibility. However, because patriarchy is largely defined by the subordination of women, persuading men to take some responsibility for women’s safety may present difficulties.
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Appendix A

Manukau Safer Community Council - Safety Audit Checklist
MANUKAU SAFER COMMUNITY COUNCIL

SAFETY AUDIT CHECKLIST

GENERAL AREA: ____________________________

SPECIFIC LOCATION: ____________________________

DATE: ____________________________
DAY: ____________________________
TIME: ____________________________

AUDITED BY: ____________________________

NOTE: In the checklist, some of the questions are helpful when auditing outdoor areas, others are more helpful when auditing indoor areas. Use the questions for your area.

1. GENERAL IMPRESSIONS

Does this location feel like a safe place?

☐ safe
☐ neutral
☐ unsafe

What 5 words best describe the place?

________________________________________________________

2. LIGHTING

Impression of lighting:

☐ very poor ☐ too dark
☐ poor ☐ too bright
☐ satisfactory
☐ good
☐ very good

Is the lighting even?

☐ yes ☐ no

How many of the lights you can see are out or not yet turned on? ____________________________

What proportion of lights are out?

(e.g. Maybe only two lights in the street are not working, but, if there are only three lights to start with, then two thirds of the lights are out).
Are you able to identify a face 25 metres (75 feet) away?
☐ yes  ☐ no

Is the lighting obscured by trees or bushes?
☐ yes  ☐ no

How well does the lighting illuminate pedestrian walkways and footpaths?
☐ very poorly  ☐ poorly  ☐ satisfactorily  ☐ well  ☐ very well

How clearly does the lighting illuminate street names or directional signs?
☐ very poorly  ☐ poorly  ☐ satisfactorily  ☐ well  ☐ very well

3. SIGNAGE

Is there a sign (i.e. building name or street sign) identifying where you are?
☐ yes  ☐ no

If no, are there directional signs or maps nearby which can help you identify where you are?
☐ yes  ☐ no

Are there signs which show you where the nearest telephone is?
☐ yes  ☐ no

Are there signs which direct you to wheelchair access?
☐ yes  ☐ no

Indoors: Do exit doors identify where they exit to?
☐ yes  ☐ no

Indoors: Is there information posted describing the hours the building is open?
☐ yes  ☐ no

Impression of overall signage:
☐ very poor  ☐ poor  ☐ satisfactory  ☐ good  ☐ very good
What signs should be added? 

4. **SIGHTLINES**

Can you clearly see what's up ahead?  
☐ yes  ☐ no

If not, why not? 

Indoors:  
☐ sharp corners  
☐ walls  
☐ pillars

Outdoors:  
☐ buildings  
☐ bushes  
☐ fences  
☐ hill  
☐ other

Are there places someone could be hiding?  
☐ yes  ☐ no

If yes, where? 

What would make it easier to see?  
  e.g.  
☐ transparent materials like glass  
☐ angled corners  
☐ security mirrors  
☐ trimmed bushes  
☐ vehicles moved

Other comments?

5. **ISOLATION - EAR DISTANCE**

How far away is the nearest person to hear a call for help?  
☐ don't know

How far away is the nearest emergency service such as an alarm, security personnel, telephone?  
☐ don't know
6. **ISOLATION - EYE DISTANCE**

At the time of your audit, does the area feel isolated?

- **yes**
- **no**

To answer the next question you will have to use your group's local knowledge or check back over the next day or two.

How many people are likely to be around?

- During the day:
  - **none**
  - **a few**
  - **several**
  - **many**

- In the evening:
  - **none**
  - **a few**
  - **several**
  - **many**

- Late at night (after 10 pm):
  - **none**
  - **a few**
  - **several**
  - **many**

Is it easy to predict when people will be around?

- **yes**
- **no**

Other comments?

---

7. **MOVEMENT PREDICTORS**

(a predictable or unchangeable route or path)

How easy is it to predict a person's movements?
(e.g. the path the person is taking)?

- **very easy**
- **somewhat obvious**
- **no way of knowing**

Is there an alternative well-lit and frequently travelled route or path available?

- **yes**
- **no**
- **don't know**

If on a footpath, is it easy to cross the road to avoid someone?

- **yes**
- **no**
Can you tell what is at the other end of the path, or walkway?
☑ yes ☐ no

Are there corners, alcoves, or bushes where someone could hide and wait for you?
☑ yes ☐ no

Other comments?
__________________________________________________________________________

8 BUS STOPS

If there is a bus stop in your audit area, check the following

What is the lighting level at the bus stop?
☑ very poor
☑ poor
☑ satisfactory
☑ good
☑ very good

Is there a bus timetable posted at the stop?
☑ yes ☐ no

If there is a shelter, is the lighting level in the shelter?
☑ too dark?
☑ too bright?

Can you see out of the shelter:
Across the road? ☑ yes ☐ no
Along the footpath? ☑ yes ☐ no
Into the surrounding area? ☑ yes ☐ no

If you are waiting in the shelter, can you be seen:
From across the road? ☑ yes ☐ no
From the nearest building? ☑ yes ☐ no

Is the shelter well maintained?
☑ yes ☐ no

Does the shelter have more than one entrance or exit?
☑ yes ☐ no

What would make it easier to see or be seen at the bus stop?
__________________________________________________________________________
9   POSSIBLE ENTRAPMENT SITES
(spaces were someone could be attacked without others observing).

Indoors:
Are there empty rooms that should be locked?
☐ yes ☐ no
Are there small, well-defined areas?
e.g. ☐ stairwells
    ☐ recessed doorways or
    ☐ locker or unlocked cupboard
    ☐ lift

Outdoors:
Are there small, confined areas where you would be hidden from view?
e.g. ☐ servicing area for building
    ☐ unlocked equipment or utility shed
    ☐ alley or walkway
    ☐ recessed doorway
    ☐ construction site

Other: ________________________________

10. ESCAPE ROUTES
How easy would it be for an offender to disappear?
☐ very easy
☐ quite easy
☐ not very easy

Is there more than one exit from the area?
☐ yes
☐ no
☐ don't know

11. FACTORS THAT MAKE THE PLACE MORE HUMAN
Does the place feel cared for?
☐ yes ☐ no
Does the place feel abandoned?
☐ yes ☐ no
Why?
______________________________
______________________________
Is there graffiti on the walls?
☐ yes ☐ no
In your opinion are there racist or sexist slogans/signs/images on the walls?
☐ yes ☐ no
Are there signs of vandalism?
☐ yes ☐ no

12. OVERALL DESIGN

Impressions of overall design:
☐ very poor
☐ poor
☐ satisfactory
☐ good
☐ very good

If you weren't familiar with the place, would it be easy to find your way around?
☐ yes ☐ no

Does the place "make sense"?
☐ yes ☐ no

Is the place too spread out?
☐ yes ☐ no

Other comments?
________________________________________________________________________

13. NEARBY LAND USES

What is the surrounding or nearby land used for?
☐ shops
☐ offices
☐ restaurants
☐ factories
☐ residential houses & streets
☐ busy traffic street
☐ park or reserve
☐ car park
☐ school buildings
☐ don't know
☐ other

Can you identify who owns or maintains nearby land?
☐ yes ☐ no
14. IMPROVEMENTS

What improvements would you like to see?

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

Do you have any specific recommendations?

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

Other comments?

________________________________________

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Contact Chris Inglis, Co-ordinator, Manukau Safer Community Council
Private Bag Manukau City phone: 263 7100

In preparing this checklist I must acknowledge the pioneering work of METRAC (Toronto Canada) and their Women’s Safety Audit Guide 1992 from which some of this material has been adapted.

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Appendix B

Safety Audit Letter to Council
SAMPLE FOLLOW-UP LETTER

The Pinsett Audit Team
45 Pinsett Street
Toronto M6K 1Y2

August 14, 1989

Councillor
Councillors' Office
City Hall
Toronto, Ontario M5H 2N2

Dear Councillor,

We are a group of women concerned about public safety and especially the safety of women in the Pinsett neighbourhood in your ward. All of us live in this area, and we are all afraid to walk there at night because of the possibility of being sexually assaulted and harassed. Most of us don't have cars, and two of us work evenings, and therefore have no choice but to walk down Pinsett Street from the bus stop at Pinsett and McRoy.

Because we are so concerned, we have done a safety audit of the area. That is, a few of us went out after dark for several evenings to look at lighting, sightlines, and . We would now like your help to get something done about the problems we have found and the changes we would like to see.

The main problem is with lighting. There is no street light at the bus stop mentioned above, making it a very dark place at night. The lighting on Jacoby Drive and Pinsett, Myrtle and Strom Streets is poor because the street lights are too far apart, and because the trees block so much of the light in summer. Several lights have also not been repaired quickly enough.

The lighting on the alley between Pinsett Street and Jacoby Drive has been vandalized. None of us would ever choose to use the alley because it is too unsafe, but we are concerned that the garages on the alley are places where a woman could easily be assaulted because there are no houses nearby and it is quite isolated. Better lighting would make this less likely.

Our other main concern is with the sightlines at Pinsett Park. This park is surrounded by bushes that are two metres high. The bushes are very beautiful, but they make it impossible to see into most of the park. The park is not lit at night, and there are often groups of young men dealing in drugs. We have also heard that one woman was mugged near there two months ago.

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We would like to see the following improvements made:

- The installation of a new street light at the bus stop;
- More street lights on Jacoby Drive and Pinsett, Myrtle and Strom Streets;
- Trimming of the trees around the street lights on the above streets;
- Installation of vandal-proof light fixtures on the alley between Pinsett Street and Jacoby Drive;
- Installation of lights in Pinsett Park;
- Replacement of the bushes around Pinsett Park with small trees (or low-to-the-ground vegetation) that don't block sightlines; and
- A telephone near the bus stop.

We will be happy to meet with you to discuss our concerns. We would also be happy to go with you one evening for a walk around the area if you would like to see for yourself the places we're concerned about. We can be contacted at the above address, and we would like to hear back from you by the end of the month. We look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours truly,

on behalf of the Pinsett Audit Team
Appendix C

Recommended Property Alteration Form
We are a group who are doing a Women's Safety Audit of this neighbourhood.

When our audit team was out ___________________________(date and time).

We noted at ____________________________ (address), the following:

[ ] Thank you for providing adequate lighting and other safety features which might discourage this property's use as a sexual assault site.

[ ] Lights burned out or not turned on on your property:

[ ] Insufficient lighting:

[ ] General maintenance makes area seem uncared for.

[ ] There are specific areas we would be concerned about:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

We trust that you will share our concern about these matters. We hope that you will undertake to correct any problems identified above.

Thank you.

For further information on Women's Safety Audits for your neighbourhood, workplace, etc., please contact: METRAC (Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children), 158 Spadina Rd., Toronto, Ontario M5R 2T8, (416) 392-3135.
Appendix D

Successful Letter to Private Property Owner
Sept. 15, 1989

Re: SOUTH ENTRANCE OF BATHURST ST.

Dear

Sept. 15, 1989, We spoke on the phone about our concern regarding the dark passage leading to the south entrance of your property on Bathurst St. We appreciated your openness, understanding and willingness to look further into the matter.

We are a group of women concerned about public safety and especially the safety of women. The growing number of sexual assaults and harassment in Toronto requires cooperation and support at all levels of our community. Many of us work and/or come to meetings in the area. We are also aware that many women of ethnic minority groups live in the area. These women have been shown to be especially at risk.

On Sept. 13, 1989, 9:30 pm, we conducted a safety audit, based on the recently published Safety Audit Kit prepared by the Metro Action Committee on Public Safety for Women and Children. We covered the Bathurst St., Herrick St, and Lennox Ave. area.

The deeply set-back south entrance of your property is potentially dangerous after dark since it is impossible to see what goes on there; someone can easily hide in the passage waiting to assault a victim who passes by on Bathurst St. Either a gate along your Bathurst St. property line or light which would illuminate the area would render the passage and therefore the public sidewalk along Bathurst St. safer.

We trust you appreciate our concern and would be glad to discuss the matter further should you so wish.

Sincerely yours,

Reggie Modlich, M.E.S., M.C.I.P.
Planning Co-ordinator

c. B. Kane, Metrac,
Councillor M. Silva
C. Whitzman, Safe City Committee, City of Toronto