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**SAFETY, CRIME, VULNERABILITY AND DESIGN: AN  
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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The Environment and Safety Group is a research group formed in 1994 bringing together a number of different academic perspectives on crime and perceptions of vulnerability. The group intends to further its intellectual interests by theoretical explorations informed by empirical research.

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## **SAFETY, CRIME, VULNERABILITY AND DESIGN - AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

### **INTRODUCTION.**

The Environment and Safety Group's paper *Safety, Crime, Vulnerability and Design - A Proposed Agenda of Study* (Departmental Working Paper No.53) set out an agenda for the study of the linkages between crime, safety and the environment.

This paper takes the form of an annotated bibliography covering relevant research in this area undertaken since 1980 (some seminal texts are included from before this date). It is primarily intended as a tool for academics wishing to undertake further research in the field, but may also be of interest to policy makers and to designers faced with the demand to "design out crime".

It is arranged into three sections which reflect the orientation and interests of researchers within the group, namely:

1. Urban Design and Crime. page 4
2. Landscapes, Fear of Crime and Vulnerability. page 18
3. Gender, Minority Groups, Crime and Vulnerability. page 28

Each section is preceded by a short summary of the main directions taken by researchers in the specific field, and where possible identifies useful avenues for further research.

## URBAN DESIGN AND CRIME

The last two decades have seen a rise of interest in environmental design as an instrument against crime. A line of widely known works, by Jane Jacobs, Oscar Newman, Alice Coleman, and others, criticised the modernist designs which had apparently generated alienation from the environment and were associated with crime and vandalism. With this these critics paved the way for a number of handbooks, often offering common sense advice on how to ensure safer environments (Cheetham, 1994; Clarke, 1992; Crowe, 1991; Fennelly, 1989; Noble, 1989).

A crime is considered to have four dimensions: an offender, a victim or a target, a legal dimension, and an environmental dimension which environmental criminology focuses upon (Bottoms, 1994; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1991). Different approaches to environmental design, e.g., crime prevention through urban design and situational crime prevention, are now a constituent part of environmental criminology.

Environmental design's advice on crime prevention has generated a variety of responses. While it has been widely used in the development of new, or the management of existing, environments, many have considered its focus as too narrow (Ekblom, 1995). The argument is that environmental design will have to see design as a wider process, combining a concern for both physical and social aspects of crime prevention.

In Britain environmental improvements to 'design out crime' have perhaps most notoriously been applied to large municipal housing estates. Criticism of the post war modernist designs of many of these estates has found popularity among politicians, who undoubtedly perceive housing as an easy target on which to blame social ills, and also among groups of tenants, fed up with badly maintained shoddy housing. Several estates are still undergoing re-design work through a project known as DICE, the Design Improvement Controlled Experiment, which commenced in 1990 under the guidance of Alice Coleman. Whilst it is perhaps too early to judge the success or failure of DICE, evidence from other sources is not encouraging. Foster, examining the Priority Estates Project in the 1980's, suggested crime reduction through security improvement and design improvement was only partial (Foster, 1993). Even more recently the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1995) declared there was little evidence to suggest that improvements to physical design could lead to a sustained reduction in crime unless they are matched by wider initiatives to tackle social problems.

To prevent crime, environmental design's advice can create conflict of interests, most notably between openness and safety, between freedom of choice and movement and security. Perhaps the first area of conflict is the definition of deviant behaviour, which affects the role of design. The author of the book *Crimes of Style*, for example, argues that graffiti is a manifestation of black urban culture and is an art form, rather than a form of vandalism (Ferrell, 1993). Where does urban design, with its concern for the promotion of art in public places, stand in relation to this claim?

One of the earlier principles of Newman's defensible space (1972) was the idea of defining and protecting the boundaries of an environment, to keep strangers, and therefore the risk of crime, away. It was argued that clear demarcation of public and private areas would define a safer territory. This idea has now culminated in (and Newman himself is an advocate of) gated neighbourhoods (Engineering News Record, 1995), a development which potentially can subdivide the urban space into fragmented entities, promoting social segregation and exclusion. Fortress neighbourhoods which have now multiplied in the US (Mike Davis, 1992, "Fortress Los Angeles" in M.Sorkin, ed, *Variations on a Theme Park*, Hill & Wang, N.Y) and to a lesser extent in Britain and elsewhere, can indicate the disintegration of the city as we know it, through restriction of access, decline of public space, and campaigning against difference. Yet the city is a place of difference, of strangers. In Aristotle's words, "A city is composed of different men; similar people cannot bring a city into existence" (quoted in Sennett, 1994, *Flesh and Stone*, Faber and Faber, London.) It is through allowing an interface between the strangers and the inhabitants of an area that safety can be secured and not through segregation (Hillier and Hanson 1984).

The segregated environment reduces mobility and accessibility in urban space, allowing fewer choices of routes, and is less democratic. In the context of a locality, effective design may reduce vulnerability to crime. In a wider context, however, it could merely lead to a displacement of crime.

Another conflict that crime protection through environmental design creates is associated with surveillance. Again it was one of Newman's defensible space principles, to organise space in such a way that surveillance becomes possible. This principle has now, with the help of new technologies, developed into the wide use of closed circuit television cameras, an issue which has created concern for civil liberties (Honest & Charman, 1992). As Denis Wood (1991:95) argues, "It would be a dead world indeed without the shadowed spaces".

These conflicts show the crucial role of design, which can sometimes result in a permanent transformation of the environment into contested spaces. Despite its historical presence (according to the Guardian, 28 September 1995, p.16, "Good news: crime is really down") an average annual increase of five per cent since 1918) crime is a major contemporary concern, as exemplified by the political parties race to announce measures against it. To use design to disintegrate the civil society into medieval factions, however, cannot be the proper contribution of urban design. This contribution is still to be developed, a contribution which fights crime while promoting tolerance and social integration, rather than segregation and divide. The starting point for this development will be to see crime not as an isolated event but one in a wider socio-spatial context.

The books and papers introduced here offer a diversity of approaches to these issues, from texts which deal with the relationship of design and crime by offering practical advice to those which offer a critique of these attempts.

1. (1985). "Coleman's Utopia Goes on Trial." Architects Journal (Dec. 18 & 25): p8.

Report on 'designing out crime' improvements to Westminster City Council's Mozart Estate. The improvements recommended by Alice Coleman included splitting up large blocks into smaller units and creating individual gardens.

2. (1986). "Mozart Plan Out of Tune Says Report." Architects Journal : 18.

Report of an investigation undertaken by Bill Hillier and Alan Penn at the request of disillusioned tenants on the Mozart Estate, Westminster, into design 'improvements' at the estate. Hillier and Penn claim the improvements drawn up by Alice Coleman are inappropriate particularly in inhibiting pedestrian movement.

3. (1986). Tenant Revolt over Coleman Masterplan. Architects Journal: p34.

Report on the division of tenants on the Mozart Estate, Westminster, over plans for Coleman's design improvements to the estate. Some tenants claim the improvements are inappropriate and are simply easing the way for private ownership.

4. (1989). Safety and security in housing design, RIBA.

Publication aims to be a practical guide for architects on the physical security and design requirements of different types of housing. 6 case studies are looked at including new-build private and refurbishment of public sector housing. a number of conclusions from the case studies are set out and whilst the report does not aim to come out with a set of 'golden rules', it does have a number of specific principles of good practice.

5. (1990). "Colemanisation Goes On Trial." Architects Journal : pp9.

Report on 9 problem estates being 'Colemanised', in a £50m scheme entitled Design Improvement Controlled Experiment, DICE.

6. Allat, P. (1984). "Fear of Crime: The effect of improved residential security on a difficult to let estate." The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice. v23 pp 170-82  
23: 170-82.

Article looks at the effects on the fear of crime after intensive security enhancement on the Scotswood estate in Newcastle, aimed at reducing residential burglary. The conclusions of the study included the fact that women were more anxious about crime on the estate and less reassured by the security devices than men. Also whilst the increased security did appear to have a positive effect the evaluation was only carried out for one year and the evidence suggested that it after this time crime began to increase once more.

7. Allat, P. (1984). "Residential Security: containment and displacement of burglary." Howard Journal of Criminal Justice. 23: 99-116.

Article looks at the effects on residential burglary and attempted burglary on a difficult to let estate in Newcastle, (Scotswood) after intensive security enhancement. The study also looked at adjoining areas in an attempt to measure crime displacement. The article states that upgrading security did have a positive effect on crime rates, especially through the first year, though crime rates began to increase after the initial improvement. The conclusion was that the scheme was partially successful, but there was a need for continuing maintenance and monitoring to increase the effectiveness of future schemes.

8. Anson, B. (1986). "Don't Shoot the Graffiti Man." Architects Journal. (July 2): p16.

This article claims that modernist architecture is being used as an 'inanimate scapegoat' for wider social problems. Architectural determinism, including the work of Alice Coleman is criticised for attacking symptoms of social problems rather than their cause. Anson argues that design 'improvements' make only a small dent in the frustrations of life and calls for a greater understanding of peoples needs.

9. Anson, B. (1986). "Removing walkways is not nearly enough." Town and Country Planning 55(June): 174-175.

This article is a vehement attack on environmental determinism and the concept that isolated changes to urban design will eradicate vandalism and graffiti. Anson argues that these incivilities are manifestations of deeper social malaise created by unemployment, racism and police harassment. In the face of poor attention to these issues, changes to design are an irrelevancy. Anson sets environmental determinism in right wing politics which seeks out scapegoats.

10. Birenbaum, R. (1983). "Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design." Habitat. 23: 2-8.

Work from Canada where the author uses case studies to explain 'defensive space', a residential environment in which the building design and site layout allows residents to control their security.

11. Blyth, A. (1994). "Profile: Fighting Crime with Design." Architects Journal (Feb. 9): pp20.

Profile on Ray Catesbury, the first police architectural liaison officer, with RIBA qualification. In the article he talks of the strain between the architectural profession and the police. He also argues for 'psychological' deterrents to be designed into housing schemes.

12. Bottoms, A., R. I. Mawby, et al. (1989). A Tale of Two Estates. Crime and the City. Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Discusses evidence of criminality in two adjacent Sheffield council estates (research conducted in the seventies). the authors suggest that in order to understand the criminality of such areas it is vital to consider who lives there; how they came to live there; what kind of social life the residents have created and why they remain in the area and have not moved. The authors state that the allocation process may be the key to understanding the social processes on the estates.

13. Bottoms, A. E. and P. Xanthos (1982). Housing policy and crime in the British public sector (Sheffield) California, Sage.

This work looks at two pre-war council estates in Sheffield with two similar demographic profiles, but with different offender and offence rates, many due to a criminal sub-culture that has developed on one of the estates which is seen as many as a 'sink' estate somewhere only for the desperate. The work stresses the importance of housing allocation in the development of the estates problems. Two post-war high rise estates are also looked at, again which display different crime and vandalism rates. Again allocation policy is seen a of great importance, with flat allocations on one estate leading to a transitory population and fewer social control mechanisms.

14. Brantingham, P.J. and Brantingham P.L. (1991). Notes on the geometry of crime. Environmental Criminology. Prospect Heights, Illinois, Waveland Press. 27-54.

The paper argues that, "crime occurrence is not the direct result of motivation, but is mediated by perceived opportunity. This in turn is influenced by the actual distribution of opportunities, urban form, and mobility. It has been argued that criminals are not random in their behaviour and that by exploring urban structure, it should be possible to predict the spatial distribution of crime and explain some of the variation in volume of crime between urban areas and between cities" (p.54).

The book is a collection of papers originally published in 1981, revised and reissued in 1991. "Full crime analysis has four dimensions: a legal dimension, an offender dimension, a victim or target dimension, and a spatio-temporal or locational dimension". As the interest of environmental criminology is in the fourth dimension, the position of the book is that "concentration on the locational dimension of crime is likely to be both extremely fruitful and necessary to the construction of any multidimensional synthesis for understanding crime".

15. Brantingham, P. J. and P. L. Brantingham (1991). Introduction: The dimensions of crime. Environmental Criminology. Prospect Heights, Illinois, Waveland Press. 7-26.

The paper reviews the development of environmental criminology, arguing that it focuses on the fourth dimension of crime, the locational dimension. Shifts in perspective, levels of analysis, patterns of crime, measurement problems, crime sites

and criminal areas, housing policy and crime, and micro/meso environmental criminology are the subjects of discussion.

16. Cheetham, D. W. (1994). Dealing with Vandalism: a guide to the control of vandalism. London, Construction Industry Research and Information Association, Thomas Telford Services.

In prevention of vandalism, the wilful damage of property, what is needed is good design and technical systems coupled with a coherent management of buildings, urban facilities and spaces. Along social and demographic factors, Oscar Newman's concept of defensible space has been used in the discussion of design. Both management and design issues are discussed and good practice principles introduced. Typical problems of housing estates, schools and community buildings, external urban environment, shopping areas, transportation installations, and construction sites are dealt with in some detail.

17. Clark, M. (1989). "No go Britain." Town and Country Planning 58(July/August): 213-215.

Discusses that our response to crime has been to erode our personal freedom through security guards, CCTV and limiting access. This stems from the view that the population is something to be manipulated and treated as a threat. Clark argues that we need different solutions which will create places that we can live in not a system of fortresses that we rush between. He argues that we need to listen to local views and take on board locally determined solutions.

18. Clarke, R. V. G. (1992). Situational Crime Prevention: successful case studies. New York, Harrow and Heston.

This book contains a series of papers looking at practical ways to reduce the opportunities for crime. It includes a short study of reducing burglary on a British public housing estate near Rochdale, Lancashire.

19. Coleman, A. (1989). "Quality in the Built Environment." Open House International : pp1-3.

Author expands on her ideas of what constitutes quality and the 16 defects she considers present in Modernist housing. Article also contains report on setting up Design Improvement Controlled Experiment, DICE.

20. Coleman, A. (1990). Utopia On Trial: Vision and reality in planned housing. London, Hilary Shipman.

Coleman's controversial work, in which she attempts to link what she terms defects in housing design with various form of 'social malaise', litter, vandalism and other forms of social breakdown. The work which concerned flatted estates in Southwark and Tower Hamlets, though not universally accepted, can be seen as bringing the discussion of links between crime and design to the forefront of architectural debate in the 1980's.

21. Cornish, D. B. and R. V. Clarke (1986). Situational Crime Prevention. London, HMSO.

Situational prevention, displacement of crime and rational choice theory.

22. Crowe, T. D. (1991). Crime Prevention through Environmental Design: applications of architectural design and space management concepts. Boston, Butterworth-Heinemann.

This book is a practical guide to the use of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). Rather than prescribing how to design buildings or what decisions to make, it intends to offer the builder, planner, architect, or police and security consultant some concepts and a variety of examples. Three overlapping strategies are identified in CPTED: natural access control; natural surveillance; territorial reinforcement. To make these strategies more understandable and more widely accessible, the author introduces a Three-D approach: Designation ("All human space has some designated purpose"); Definition (All human space has social, cultural, legal, or physical definitions that prescribe the desired and acceptable behaviours"); and Design ("All human space is designed to support and control the desired behaviours"). The environmental settings that the book addresses include major event facilities, small retail establishments, city centre streets, residential areas, and playgrounds.

23. Dawson, G. and J. Parker (1986). "Need for guidelines to tackle local crime." Town and Country Planning 55(55): 146-147.

The article discusses the need for national policy guide-lines on crime prevention and public security which could be translated at the local level so that a concern for crime prevention becomes common practice for planners. There are good practice examples from London underground and many local planning authorities. The paper discusses ways in which planners can increase their formal links with the police to educate themselves on the critical problem of crime and crime prevention through sensitive design.

24. Dickens, P. (1988). "Architecture, the individual and social change." Housing Studies 3(4): 259-262.

The article explores the relationship between physical space, individual behaviour and social life. The author briefly reviews the literature of the previous four years and discusses criticisms of Coleman's and Hillier's work which state that they have over emphasised the social significance of space while neglecting social relations. Dickens argues that their work is important in putting the relationship between space and behaviour back on the research agenda. Turning to social psychology Dickens argues that space has a role to play in the process of identity construction. Taking arguments from socio-biology he considers the drive to "instinctive territoriality". He concludes by stating that man is programmed to act in certain ways. The work of Coleman and Hillier helps us to explore the role of space and place in that process.

25. Ekblom, P. (1995). "Less Crime, by Design." Annals, AAPSS 539: 114-129.

"After a review of contemporary schools of design, some of which can be criticised for narrowness and an uncertain empirical base, a broader definition of prevention is proposed that allows less restricted exploration of how different types of prevention employ design. The article then considers the process of preventing crime through design, discussing the special difficulties of designing when offenders can fight back. A wider-ranging look, from an ecological perspective, reveals interesting parallels between design against crime and other fields" (p.114).

26. Fennelly, L., Ed. (1989). Handbook of Loss Prevention and Crime Prevention. Boston, Butterworths.

The book is a single-volume reference offering practical information on a large range of topics in relation to crime prevention and loss prevention. The materials of the collection are both reprints and new articles on the subject. These are structured into six parts encompassing crime/loss prevention's history, principles, and methods, security operations and equipment, security and crime prevention applications, and loss and crime prevention management.

27. Ferrell, J. (1993). Crimes of Style: Urban graffiti and the politics of criminality. New York, Garland.

From the viewpoint of anarchist criminology, and against a US and international background, the book inquires into hip hop graffiti and the local response to it in Denver, Colorado. Hip hop graffiti, as produced by "writers" and "taggers", is the dominant form of graffiti and has originated in black urban culture. It invented, along with forms of music and dance, "a new vocabulary of street imagery and visual style". As a response to this, now international, phenomenon, political and corporate communities have formed anti-graffiti campaigns, exemplified by Keep Denver Beautiful, to suppress and criminalize it. The author sees graffiti as "a form of anarchist resistance to political and economic authority", clashing with its aesthetics. He concludes that "Graffiti writing survives as a creative, playful response to a prefabricated culture ... as a public art outside the control of public officials, an alternative style outside the circle of corporate style and consumption".

28. Foster, J. (1993). Housing, Community and Crime: the impact of the Priority Estates Project (No. Home Office Research and Planning Unit Report No.131.), Home Office Research and Planning Unit.

Report sponsored in 1987 to look at two estates covered by the Priority Estates project, over a period of three years. One estate in Tower Hamlets, London the other in Hull. Both were similar in design and social make up. A number of crime reductions were found to have occurred on the experimental estates, though successes were only partial. In particular two obstacles are perceived to the process, the quality of implementation and the instability of residential communities. One factor that is

stressed is the need to specifically address the causes of youth crime and the 'subterranean culture' which sustains it on stressed estates.

29. Gomez, M. A. (1993). "The writing on our walls: finding solutions through distinguishing graffiti art from graffiti vandalism." University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform, 26(3 (Spring)): 633-707.

On the basis of an investigation into the motives of graffiti writers, this paper seeks to draw a distinction between graffiti art and graffiti vandalism. What distinguishes the artist from the vandal is whether the writer creates for the thrill of breaking the law or for the joy of creative expression. The author argues that most measures taken against graffiti, including criminal prosecution, civil action, action against writers' parents, and various prophylactic measures have not succeeded. She suggests that the way forward is to legitimise graffiti with permission, while condemning graffiti without permission. Legal spaces for graffiti art should be provided and mural works should be commissioned. At the same time, custodial sentences for graffiti writers (U.S.) should be replaced by more appropriate forms of sentencing, such as making the perpetrators clean up their own work. More youth programmes are needed.

30. Guest, P. (1990). "Utopia Goes on Trial." Building (Nov. 23): pp 20-22.

Interview with Alice Coleman on the Design Improvement Controlled Experiment, DICE. Includes case study examination of the Rogers Estate, Tower Hamlets.

31. Guest, P. (1992). "Alice Proves Wonders of Looking Through Glass." Building (July 30): pp18.

Reviews Alice Coleman's ideas, cites case study examples of where her design alterations are claimed to have improved peoples lives.

32. Herbert, D. T. (1993). "Neighbourhood incivilities and the study of crime in place." Area 25: pp 45-54.

This study aims to examine the links between neighbourhood 'incivilities' such as litter, graffiti and signs of vandalism which may suggest social disorder' or a declining quality of life within urban neighbourhoods with the quality of life of residents in local authority estates in Swansea. The study examine the relationship between neighbourhood incivility and crime victimisation, fear of crime and neighbourhood satisfaction. Set on local authority estates in Swansea, the hypothesis is that an increase in perceived incivilities may be linked to a cycle of neighbourhood decline.

33. Hillier, B. and J. Hanson (1984). The Social Logic of Space. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

A book on the morphology of space and its relation with society. Although not related to crime prevention, the authors criticise the defensible space: "It is extraordinary that unplanned growth should produce a better global order than planned redevelopment, but it seems undeniable. The inference seems unavoidable that traditional systems work because they produce a global order that responds to the requirements of the

dual (inhabitants and strangers) interface, while modern systems do not work because they fail to produce it. The principle of urban safety and liveliness is a product of the way both sets of relations are constructed by space. Strangers are not excluded but are controlled. As Jane Jacobs noted many years ago, it is the controlled throughput of strangers and the direct interface with inhabitants that creates urban safety. We should state this even more definitely: it is the controlled presence of passing strangers that polices space; while the directly interfacing inhabitants police the strangers. For this reason, 'defensible space', based on exclusion of strangers and only on surveillance of spaces by inhabitants can never work" (p.140).

34. Honess, T. and E. Charman (1992). Closed Circuit Television in Public Places (No. Paper 35), Home Office, Police Research Group, Crime Prevention Unit Series.

The results of a 1991 Home Office commissioned research into public attitudes towards CCTV. It concludes that: "Currently, CCTV has a broadly positive reception from members of the general public. Levels of concern are not high and CCTV is assumed to be effective in crime control. However, public acceptance is based on limited, and partly inaccurate knowledge of the functions and capabilities of CCTV systems in public places. There may be a need for guidelines that will make possible an informed public acceptance of CCTV through fuller consultation and the provision of information. There is also a need to encourage operational procedures that will maximise the effectiveness of CCTV and minimise any threat to civil liberties which may arise from either sloppy practice or the deliberate misuse of such systems. Any guidelines must anticipate future problems due to the proliferation of CCTV systems, and the pace of technological development which allows increasingly powerful forms of surveillance."

35. Hope, T. and J. Foster (1992). "Conflicting Forces: changing the dynamics of crime and community on a 'problem' estate." British Journal of Criminology Vol. 32. Number 4.

Article discusses the difficulty between the cause and effect linkages of bad design, unpopularity and high crime rates on certain local authority estates. It claims that though there is research into this area it is of variable quality and displays inconsistent views. The article stressed that improvements in physical design must be combined with improvements in estate management to alter the internal culture of an estate.

36. Hough, J. M., R. V. G. Clarke, et al. (1980). Designing Out Crime. London, HMSO.

A series of papers on various topics related to target hardening, including car theft, damage on buses, CCTV, security campaigns etc.

37. Marsh, P. (1986). "Awareness must not breed fear." Town and Country Planning 55(May): p149.

Throws doubt upon the value of official statistics about crime. The article asks for a calm response to the problems reminding us that for the most part crime is opportunist

and can be reduced by simple target hardening. It suggest that the level of protection must be in proportion to the real risk of being a victim which remains for most of us, small.

38. Nee, C. and M. Taylor (1988). "Residential Burglary in the Republic of Ireland: A situational perspective." The Howard Journal 27: 99105-16.

The article describes interviews with 50 convicted residential burglars, imprisoned in the Republic of Ireland. The interviews were structured to establish the characteristics of the burglaries which they committed. Results confirm the importance of residential cues in the selection of property, but attention is also drawn to the probable role of multiple cues and cue salience.

39. Newman, O. (1972). Defensible Space: Crime prevention through urban design. New York, Macmillan.

This book has been of such a paramount importance that it has to be included in any bibliography on the subject. It is the result of research into "the effects of the physical layout of residential environments on the criminal vulnerability of inhabitants". Newman argues that in the anonymous space of metropolitan areas, what is needed is a medium density, defensible space, where residents are in control and hence prevent criminal behaviour. By use of mechanisms such as real and symbolic barriers, strongly defined areas of influence, and improved opportunities for surveillance, the design of the residential environments can be effective in crime prevention. Four elements of physical design are then identified which contribute to the creation of secure environments: territorial definition of space through subdividing it into zones, where private, semi-private, semi-public, and public space are clearly identified and are under the residents influence; positioning of windows to allow surveillance; use of building forms which are not stigmatised; and careful location within urban area. Newman was aware of the criticisms against the notion "that crime, born of a poverty of means, opportunity, education, and representation, could be prevented architecturally" (p.11), but argues that environment has an undeniable effect on behaviour.

40. Noble, J. (1989). Safety and Security in Private Sector Housing Schemes: a study of layout design considerations, The Housing Research Foundation.

A research report investigating "safety from traffic and security from crime and vandalism in private sector housing estates which had been designed before and after the publication of Design Bulletin 32 'Residential roads and footpaths layout considerations'". A number of housing estates on the outskirts of Wokingham, Berkshire, are studied and recommendations made in relation to the findings.

41. Oc, T. (1992). "Planning natural surveillance back into city centres." Town and Country Planning 60(September): 237 - 239.

Discusses the problems created by zoning. Oc states that bringing housing into city centres would be an effective way of creating well used streets and providing natural surveillance. Library and shop opening hours could also be staggered to the same effect. Bringing back mixed land use could only be achieved in the medium term but

in the short term planners could create activity corridors on well used streets. It is essential that the facilities which have longer opening hours in our city centres are those which more people want to use: at present the only facilities are pubs and fast food which is used by only a small group.

42. Osborne, S. and H. Shaftoe (1995). Safer Neighbourhoods? Successes and Failures in Crime Prevention., Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Based on 15 years experience of crime prevention policy and practice in Britain, the report examines the successes and failures of a range of different crime prevention initiatives. These include legal remedies, youth projects, pre-school education schemes, CCTV, multi-focused schemes and, of particular interest to architects and urban designers, changes to physical design. The report examines a case study of each particular approach. The estate examined that had undergone design changes was the notorious Mozart Estate in Westminster. Here, under a scheme supervised by Alice Coleman, protagonist of the "designing out crime" approach, various improvements were made, including defensible space measures and the removal of overhead walkways. The conclusion of the study was, however, that there had not been a significant reduction in crime. The need for social and economic regeneration is highlighted. Overall the report calls for crime prevention to be soundly based on community reconstruction.

43. Power, A. and A. Coleman (1988). "Home is Home." Architects Journal (Oct.28): pp30-31.

The two authors review 'Rehumanising Housing', (Teymur, N et al, 1988). Power sees the dominant theme of the text is the interaction between buildings and people. The idea that houses matter as much for what they do as for what they are. She sees that recognition of this should lead to more personal and less prescriptive policies in the future. Alice Coleman defends her own standpoint and criticises 'Rehumanising Housing' as being too narrow.

44. Poyner, B. and B. Webb (1991). Crime Free Housing, Butterworth Architecture.

Using examples drawn from a traditional UK suburb, Harrow and new town corporation housing, in Northampton, this book investigate some of the questions associated with crime and dwelling houses. It claims to show that by careful thought during design and layout stages of planning a new development 'crime free' housing is a possibility. The book does not, however, only deal with burglary, it also looks a crime outside the house, theft from and of cars and criminal damage. There is an assessment of recent examples of housing schemes, in terms of 12 requirements claimed by the authors to be necessary for crime free housing. The work suggests that crime is more a function of general patterns of layout rather than design faults of individual houses. To the detriment of this work, however it only deals with suburban layouts.

45. Record, E. N. (1995). "Defensible Space, Special Report: More than merely cops and robbers." Engineering News Record 234(17): 18-20.

Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) widens its appeal despite architects' resistance. A recent survey shows that out of 300 US cities, 90 have started CPTED programmes and 66 are considering them. The short article reports about cities of Sarasota and Portland, whose successful CPTED programmes are integrated into their city planning. Oscar Newman, 20 years after the introduction of his defensible space concept, is now engaged in gating neighbourhoods, as exemplified in Dayton, Ohio, where 11 months after the plan's implementation in autumn 1993, violent crime fell 50% and property value rose 15%, but where it is criticised by residents who feel "locked in" or "locked out".

46. Seagrave, J. (1988). "Crime Prevention: the North Peckham inter-agency initiative." Home Office Research and Planning Unit Research Bulletin No25: HMSO.

Initial report of an inter-agency approach to crime reduction on the North Peckham estate. The article details two surveys carried out one to establish household victims of crime and the other to establish geographical locations of crime within the estate.

47. Sime, J. D. (1988). Safety in the Built Environment. Portsmouth, Spon.

This book of readings evolved out of contributions to the International Conference on Safety in the Built Environment, held at Portsmouth, July 1988. The book covers a wide range of topics, under a series of 8 section headings, which includes a section on Crime and Safety in the City: Locations of Fear and Danger, which is of interest to those relating environment and crime. In particular 'Locations of Fear' by Van der Wurff and Stringer looks at the fear of crime in residential surroundings studied from an environmental psychological point of view. It compares qualitative and quantitative methods of research, claiming that by combining approaches a more complete picture is built up than would be possible using a single technique.

48. Smith, S. J. (1987). "Design against crime? Beyond the rhetoric of residential crime prevention." Journal of Property Management 5: pp146-50.

49. Spring, M. (1994). "Crime Guru in Crack City Deal." Building (March 18): pp10.

Article outlining pending design 'improvements' to Mozart Estate, London.

50. Walzer, M. (1986). "Public Space: A Discussion on the Shape of Our Cities Pleasures & Costs of Urbanity."

This is an interesting and useful discussion where Walzer identifies the major types of space as single-minded space or open-minded space. The city is regarded as a tool for integration - the basis of common life. We share open-minded space with strangers - it is a space for a wide range of activities and coexistence as well as impersonal encounter. The character of the open space expresses as well as conditions our public life and we act differently in different sorts of space because of our own and others activities and the physical characteristics of the space itself. The loss of open-minded space is lamented and the process by which this change is occurring is

examined. Walzer identifies the growth in individualism, new technologies used in private situations and the development of a spatially and socially segmented world - one site one purpose - as the culprits for this change. Open minded space once allowed for multiple opportunity, spontaneity and different people with different purposes sharing spaces and creating a citizenship - a crucial ingredient of urbanity. This urbanity was a breeding ground for mutual respect and civil discourse. However, open-minded space is now equated with urban disorder, uncertainty and chaos. Such spaces are now often abandoned to those outside society, people who are denied intimacy and privacy such as the homeless.

51. Wood, D. (1991). In defence of indefensible space. Environmental Criminology. Prospect Heights, Illinois, Waveland Press. 77-96.

As indicated by its name, the paper argues against the notion of defensible space. "One way to take care of nightmares is to stay awake. Of course, that also takes care of the dreams. One way to take care of deviance is to clear away the shadowed spaces. Of course that also takes care of life... Some things are done beneath the sun, some are done beneath the shade, but most of what is done is absolutely vital. It is not a question of choosing one or spurning the other, but of permitting a fructifying coexistence, one that provides a dialectical tension out of which both spring..." (p.94). Not only deviances of our parents and grandparents, but also philosophy, science, and art and policies of public government, "for most of these were once practised only in the dark...". "This is not to call murder tolerable or kidnapping or abduction or bodily assault... But it is to say that if the cost of prohibiting these is the loss of the shadowed spaces, that that cost is intolerably high" (p.95)

52. Worpole, K. (1992). Towns for People: transforming urban life. Buckingham, Open University Press.

The book follows a 15 month study of 12 regional British towns, by Comedia Consultancy, for the Gulbenkian Foundation (UK). The study was commissioned in response to the rising concern at the way town centres are perceived, having lost many of their traditional functions which made them the natural focus of social, political and cultural life. Each of the towns was shown as having its own unique features worth celebrating and the emphasis of the book is to put people first in an attempt to regenerate the centres of towns.

## LANDSCAPES, FEAR OF CRIME AND VULNERABILITY.

Theories which have attempted to explain modern landscape preferences in terms of evolutionary biology, such as Jay Appleton's *Prospect and Refuge Theory* (1975) and Gordon Orion's *Savannah Hypothesis* (1986), have predicted that open parkland will be the landscape type preferred by most people. Prospect and Refuge Theory argues that this provides the greatest opportunities to "see without being seen", which is related to the ability to evade predators but locate prey. It is at least arguable that the mugger or rapist in contemporary society has taken the place of the wild beasts feared by our forebears, but that our psychological responses to such threats are little changed. Two studies carried out in the mid 1980s seem to confirm the preference for parkland. Schroeder (1984) found that college student subjects perceived greater safety in developed urban parks than in more heavily forested landscapes, and that feelings of safety were enhanced by the presence of manmade features such as buildings, although the latter were inversely related to the attractiveness of the landscape. Similarly Talbot (1984) found that people of colour living in Detroit preferred well maintained areas incorporating built features over more untouched and densely wooded areas.

Further support for the Prospect-Refuge theory is provided by the work carried out by Fisher and Nasar on the campus of Ohio State University. They found that fear of crime was related to variations provided by the designed environment; in the opportunities provided to potential offenders for concealment, and the opportunities for prospect and escape provided for possible victims. This work supports the view that crime can be "designed out", for if it is possible to improve visibility, while reducing places of concealment and obstacles to view, environments will not only be perceived as safer, but will, in actuality, become safer. This research does not, however, consider the aesthetic implications of such measures.

A failing in some of the research around issues of personal safety and fear of crime in the landscape is a tendency to focus upon the single issue of safety without considering the other values, both positive and negative, that might be attached to particular types of landscape. The Greenwich Open Space Project, undertaken by Harrison and Burgess (1987,1988) and the study of urban fringe woodlands undertaken by Burgess for the Countryside Commission (1994), avoid this shortcoming by using a focus group methodology to explore the complexity of attitudes towards nature and landscape. In the Greenwich study the authors identified an "immense and irrepressible desire for contact with the natural world". This is borne out by their discovery that participants preferred semi-natural oak woodland to managed urban park, semi-wild scrubland and mown urban common. However, they also noted the paradox that the landscapes that were most valued could also be those that were the most feared.

Burgess and her collaborators consider that their findings give some support to the urban nature conservation lobby, but qualify this by stressing that natural landscapes must also appear to be managed landscapes, and that people's sense of security depends upon the presence of professional staff (probably rangers or community workers). Burgess' work suggests that urban parks should be less formal, but another

lobby, represented by Taylor (1994), which wishes to see historic parks conserved and managed in a traditional manner. A managed park, it is argued, is a metaphor for order in society.

In her study of urban fringe woodlands, Burgess (1994) notes differences in fear of crime related to gender and ethnicity. While men felt some fear of mugging in woods, all the women in the groups said that they would be afraid to go into the woods alone. For most white women one companion would be enough to allay these fears, but for the black women who participated much larger groups would be required before they would feel secure.

Gender differences also appeared during discussions of ways to reduce fear of crime, men favouring design-based strategies, while women favoured social strategies such as the presence of rangers and foresters, or "activity generators" which would increase the number of people using the woods and thereby increase the level of social control.

Burgess expands upon this last point in her paper for the Comedia/Demos study of urban parks (1994). She relates the increase in fear of crime to a breakdown of trust between strangers in public places, which in turn is related to the presence of social incivilities (including graffiti and vandalism) which are indicators of the collapse of social control. In this paper she notes that there is relatively little published research on fear of crime and experiences of victimisation in British parks and green spaces; this is an area which the authors of the present working paper intend to address. Burgess also comments that the decline in standards of provision and maintenance of free public open spaces has been shadowed by the increasing commodification of privately owned "public" space such as shopping malls. A vicious circle seems to be operating in which people resort to using private space for recreation because they fear public space. This in turn reduces the level of social control in public space, while people become yet more alienated from natural landscapes and therefore more fearful of them.

53. (1992). Design issues relating to safety and fear in parks and woodlands., Community Forest Unit. Countryside Commission.

This is a short Advice Paper for woodland designers produced by the Community Forest Unit of the Countryside Commission. The recommendations are largely based on research carried out through Berlin University (Rau, P. *Stadtische Infrastruktur und Gewalt gegen Frauen Der Park Tiergarten*, Technische Universitat Berlin, 1989) which, the authors state, accords "closely with comments received from a wide range of contacts in the UK".

The paper states that fear may be engendered by "deserted" open spaces; closed spaces with limited exits; subways, blind corners, dark places; ill-lit areas; and untidy areas (vandalism. graffiti etc.).

Feelings of comfort may be produced by familiar surroundings; presence of other people; and close access to places of refuge.

The paper suggests that within community forests there must be a network of routes and spaces which are perceived as safe. It provides design guidelines for the paths and spaces that would comprise such a network.

54. Appleton, J. (1975). The Experience of Landscape. London, John Wiley and Sons.

This is the book in which Professor Appleton expounded his influential "Prospect and Refuge" theory of landscape aesthetics, in which contemporary landscape preferences are explained in terms of more primitive responses which would have had implications for human survival in evolutionary terms, in particular the need "to see without being seen". Investigations which have sought to related fear of crime to the physical characteristics of places have often used Appleton's theory as a starting point.

55. Burgess, J. (1994). Growing in Confidence: research into understanding people's perceptions of urban fringe., Technical document, Countryside Commission.

This report presents the findings of a research project commissioned by the Countryside Commission's Community Forest Unit which investigated people's perceptions of urban fringe woodlands, and in particular considered what prevents or discourages people from visiting such places.

13 single gender groups from different cultures and age ranges were taken on guided walks through woodlands on the edge of London or close to Nottingham. Following the walks, each group spent 1.5 hours discussing their experiences.

Significant gender differences emerged. While men felt some fear of mugging in woods, all the women in the groups said that they would be afraid to go into the woods alone. For most white women one companion would be enough to allay these fears, but for the black women who participated much larger groups would be required before they would feel secure.

No one who took part in the research disagreed with the design advice given in CCP271, "Advice manual for the preparation of a Community Forest plan," but while men favoured design-based strategies towards crime prevention, women did not think that these alone would be enough. Social strategies to increase the number of people using the woods were favoured. These included the more visible presence of foresters and rangers, and more "activity generators" i.e. events that would encourage people to visit.

Forest designers and managers should give people a choice of different types of woodland, ranging from "open wood" with little understorey and clear sightlines, through "middle wood" which would be denser but with glades, open places, and a mixture of paths, some wide and direct, to "wild wood" which would be the most natural and would have minimal signs of active management. The idea is to give visitors a choice and to put them in control of their experiences.

56. Burgess, J. (1994). The Politics of Trust: Reducing Fear of Crime in Urban Parks. Working Paper No.8, Comedia/Demos Study: The Future of Urban Parks and Open Spaces.

This wide ranging discussion paper contrasts the decline in standards of provision and maintenance of free public spaces with the commodification of privately owned "public" space such as shopping malls.

The author relates this to the decline in trust between strangers and the rise in fear of crime. Although statistics show that the absolute incidence of crime in parks, commons and urban wastelands, such places are often associated with relatively high levels of fear of crime.

The author suggests reasons why this may be so, including the prevalence of "social incivilities" such as litter, graffiti, discarded drug needles etc. which act as physical signs of a breakdown in social control.

The paper reviews (the relatively little) published work that focuses upon fear of crime and experiences of victimisation in parks and green spaces.

The paper concludes that the crux of the problem in reducing fear of crime, and consequent levels of use of parks and green spaces, resides in finding mechanisms through which confidence can be rebuilt. Environmental design solutions are necessary but not sufficient solutions to what are complex social and cultural problems.

57. Burgess, J., C. M. Harrison, et al. (1988). "People, Parks and the Urban Green: a study of popular meanings and values for open spaces in the city." Urban Studies. (25): 455-473.

This paper reports the findings of the Greenwich Open Space Project, which used qualitative research with four in-depth discussion groups to determine the design of a questionnaire survey of households within the borough. The methodology was designed to elicit deep feelings and values in relation to a variety of open space types. In the questionnaire stage subjects were questioned about their responses to four open spaces; an intensively managed park with sporting facilities, a closely mown urban common, an area of semi-wild scrubland and an ancient oak woodland.

The main finding was that people had an intense desire for contact with nature. The oak woodland elicited the most positive responses and the close mown common the least. Open spaces are also valued for the opportunities they provide for social interaction.

Ironically, the landscapes that were most valued could also be those that were most feared. While respondents mistrusted the appropriation of open space by government, they also saw the need for effective controls against anti-social behaviour.

The authors consider that their findings give some support to the urban nature conservation lobby, but qualify this by stressing that natural landscapes must also appear to be managed landscapes, and that people's sense of security depends upon the presence of professional staff (probably rangers or community workers).

The findings challenge the Greater London Development Plan's open space hierarchy (1969) in that people do not think hierarchically about open spaces, and judge all such areas against the same criteria. Moreover it is the local parks that appear to be more important, particularly in socially disadvantaged areas. The study found that 68% of visits to open spaces in the borough were made on foot.

58. Cooper, M. C., et al. (1990). People Places: Design Guidelines for Urban Open Space. New York., Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Each chapter of this book is written by a different author or authors and covers seven different types of space: urban plazas, neighbourhood parks, miniparks and vest-pocket parks, campus outdoor spaces, housing and outdoor spaces for the elderly, day care outdoor spaces and hospital outdoor spaces. Each chapter is similarly arranged with an introduction and definition of the space, a literature review, design guidelines, short case studies, references and design review checklist. The emphasis is on the linkages between design, location and use. The book is suffused with the need for safety as an essential part of users requirements, although quite small sections are dedicated to particular crime issues relating to particular spaces eg vandalism in urban plazas and neighbourhood parks, and crime and fear of crime in campus outdoor spaces. It provides a good basis for examining types of public space and it is particularly useful in relation to the examination of the reaction of user groups in relation to physical features and how to create spaces which will attract people to them.

59. Fisher, B. S. and J. L. Nasar (1992). "Fear of crime in relation to three exterior sites: prospect, refuge and escape." Environment and Behavior 24(1): 35-65.

The authors test the hypothesis that the fear of crime in particular places is related to extent to which these afford refuge for offenders and limited prospect and escape for victims. The research was carried out in the environs of the Wexner Center for the Visual Arts at the Ohio State University, a building designed by Peter Eisenman and completed in 1989, which has attracted positive reviews in architectural journals, but has also been criticised as being unsafe, distressing, unpleasant and inaccessible, from the point of view of its public users.

The research method used graduate students of landscape architecture, planning and design to rate eight test areas in terms of their respective degrees of prospect, refuge and ease of escape. The public's levels of fear of crime in these areas was investigated using responses to site plans, on-site interviews and observation of site behaviour.

The results partially confirm the hypothesis, in that the surveys supported the view that areas with refuge for the potential offender and limited prospect for the potential victim contributed towards fear of crime. Possibilities of escape tended to vary with prospect and where these were low, so fear of crime was high. Unexpectedly, moderate levels of prospect and refuge were also judged to be relatively safe.

60. Gardner, C. and J. Speirs (1994). Reclaiming the Night: night time use, lighting and safety in Britain's parks., Working Paper (No. Working Paper No, 7), Comedia/Demos Study: The Future of Urban Parks and Open Spaces.

This report considers the use of lighting to enhance the useability, safety and aesthetic appearance of British parks and open spaces. In particular it presents an argument for extending opening hours to encourage night-time use of urban parks. It suggests that a greater number of sports could be provided for, along with more evening entertainment, catering, and opportunities for passive enjoyment (i.e. strolling). The authors cite European precedents - the Tuileries Gardens, Champ de Mars, and Parc de la Vilette in Paris and the central "ribbon" park in Valencia.

The authors then discuss case studies of Albert Park and Pallister Park, Middlesbrough; Castle Park, Bristol; Battersea Park and Saint James' Park, London; Camberwell Green and Sunray Gardens, Southwark; Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh.

61. Harrison, C. M., M. Limb, et al. (1987). "Nature in the city: popular values for a living world." Journal of Environmental Management. (25): 347-362.

This paper reports some of the findings of the Greenwich Open Space Project (funded by the ESRC and the Countryside Commission), a two-year project designed to evaluate amenity land in the urban fringe. The study uses small discussion groups (run in a similar way to psychotherapeutic group analysis) to discover the role that open spaces play in the lives of people living in cities.

This particular paper concentrates on the positive values that a discussion group drawn from residents of a newly built council estate at Thamesmead find in the surrounding reclaimed marshlands.

The study reports an "immense and irrepressible desire for contact with the natural world" and suggests that left over pockets of waste ground and derelict areas often fulfil people's needs for fun, adventure, and contact with nature more fully than conventionally managed parks and open spaces.

The report also contrasts the educational and scientific values held by official nature conservation bodies, such as the Nature Conservation Council, with the recreational, aesthetic and inspirational values pursued by grass roots organisations such as Urban Wildlife Groups, suggesting that the latter are closer to the popular values uncovered in the discussion groups.

62. Kahn, E. (1993). "New parks for mean streets." Landscape Architecture (83(Jan)): 66-69.

The approach to the design of two parks in New York (Madison Street Park, Hoboken and Octagon Park, Roosevelt Island) by the landscape architect Lee Weintraub and architect John di Domenico is used to illustrate their emphasis on the importance of community involvement in order to ensure the success of public schemes. Also significant is good maintenance and a design which gives the impression that the space belongs to the community - such as making the area appear as the community "backyard" and keeping it alive by the integration of active and passive spaces. The dialogue between designers, planners and community which is represented in the article, helps to ensure that the community takes on the responsibility to act in a self-policing role.

63. Lee, T. (1990). Attitudes Towards and Preferences for Forestry Landscapes., Unpublished study for Forestry Authority and Countryside Commission.

Although this study is not mainly concerned with safety in the landscape it includes useful information concerning people's feelings while visiting wooded areas. The analysis carried out examined the reasons for the very high feelings of vulnerability expressed by people taking part in the study, particularly fear of being alone and of being lost. Feelings of vulnerability were associated with the length of walk into the forest and the desire for more paths. The study identified very marked differences in the feelings of vulnerability between the sexes with negative feelings governing people's behaviour on visits to wooded areas.

64. Loukaitou-Sideris, A. (1995). "Urban Form and Social Context: Cultural Differentiation in the Uses of Urban Parks." Journal of Planning Education and Research (14): 89-102.

The study examines four neighbourhood parks in and around Los Angeles. The emphasis is on the how the parks are used and how these uses are related to ethnic diversity and cultural differences. the groups identified are White (Caucasian) , African-American, Hispanic, Asian(Chinese). It provides a useful summary of the preferences and activities of such groups which determine use in American urban parks.

65. Nair, G., J. Ditton, et al. (1993). "Environmental improvements and the fear of crime - the sad case of the Pond area in Glasgow." British Journal of Criminology. 33(4): 555-561.

After a review of the rather inconclusive literature on the effects of street lighting improvements upon rates of victimisation and fear of crime, this paper reports on a study carried out in an area of Glasgow's Castlemilk housing estate surrounding a small park known as the Pond. The researchers monitored the effects of environmental improvements which included improved lighting, path widening, and management of vegetation. Before and after interviews were undertaken, the latter occurring twelve months after the former, and exactly three months after the re-lighting scheme had been implemented.

Although the researchers report a decrease in the numbers of respondents worrying about being a victim of assault or harassment, they point out that this improvement is located among the 16-35 age group. Respondents reported little relaxation in the precautions they took when going out after dark, with a third avoiding going out at all, and over half avoiding going out alone.

People had not been persuaded, the researchers conclude, that the area was any safer than it had been before the improvements. Indeed those thinking that women, in particular, are unsafe after dark rose from 56% to 64%.

The researchers had expected to find that the improvements had contributed to greatly enhanced feelings of safety, but these expectations had been confounded. Conceivably the emphasis on "target hardening" contributed to increased overall fear of crime in the area.

One positive recommendation emerges - respondents and street interviewees called for greater local consultation before environmental improvements are implemented. Many thought that the wrong paths had been lit, turning a "poorly lit bad area" into a "well lit bad area."

66. Nasar, J. L., B. Fisher, et al. (1993). "Proximate physical cues to fear of crime." Landscape and urban planning. 26(Parts 1-4): 161-178.

Urban Design Research. Paper presented at the 34th Annual Conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools, 30 October-1 November 1992, Columbus, OH, USA

This study extends previous work by Fisher and Nasar (1992) conducted on the campus of Ohio State University. In the earlier study the researchers had considered perceptions of safety around a new building on the campus using responses to a site plan, on-site responses and observations of on-site behaviour the research showed that students felt significantly less safe in areas with high concealment, limited prospect and blocked escape.

The present study considers a more typical range of outdoor settings than the atypical building environs considered in the 1992 research. While in the earlier study trained observers were used to rate areas in terms of perceptual-cognitive judgements of concealment, prospect and escape, in this study direct physical measures were used as indices of these characteristics. A third difference is that in the 1992 study, respondents were asked to state their responses to pre-determined areas; in this study they were asked to identify variations in fear across a larger outdoor area. These variations were then related to measured variations in concealment, prospect and escape.

The present study confirmed the earlier findings in a more typical campus setting. The researchers conclude that reductions in places of concealment, increases in prospect and reductions in obstructions to escape may make an area less fearful. The same changes may also make an area less attractive to an offender and easier for the police

to secure. In other words, not only would such measures reduce the fear of crime, they could also reduce the actual rates of crime in the area.

67. Orions, G. H. (1986). An Ecological and Evolutionary Approach to Landscape Aesthetics. Landscape Meanings and Values. London, Allen and Unwin. 3-22.

Orians puts forward his interesting and influential "Savannah Hypothesis" which accounts for present day aesthetic preferences in landscape in evolutionary terms.

68. Schroeder, H. W. and A. L.M. (1984). Perception of Personal Safety in Urban Recreation Sites. Journal of Leisure Research.

The study evaluates the reactions by college students in Illinois, Georgia and Michigan to photographs of 17 urban parks in Chicago and Atlanta. The objectives of the study were to determine whether the judgements of personal safety in parks are reliable enough to be of use in the design of park features and to identify the relation between visibility, perceived security and perceived attractiveness of urban parks. The study shows that there are links between scenic quality as well as perceived safety and use of parks. The majority of observers in the study perceived greater safety in developed urban parks, least safety in densely forested areas while preferring the more natural appearing forested areas in terms of scenic quality. The presence of litter, graffiti and poorly maintained areas reduced feelings of both security and the scenic value. It appeared that open grass areas with few trees and water (open parkland) were perceived as the safest, with long distance views, access to nearby streets and buildings and some manmade features, enhancing perceived safety. However some such manmade features tended to lower the valuation of scenic quality. The study recognises that regardless of the actual risk of crime on a site, people's perceptions are affected by specific landscape features and the feelings of safety are likely to influence whether or not a user decides to visit a particular site.

69. Talbot, J. F. and R. Kaplan (1984). "Needs and fears; the responses to trees and nature in the inner city." Journal of Arboriculture. 10(8): 222-228.

Interviews were conducted with 97 Detroit residents living in primarily Black low- and moderate-income areas, in order to assess the preferences of inner city residents for different types of natural areas. The participants were asked to rate 26 photographs for preference; these represented a wide variety of outdoor areas, including unmanicured wooded areas, lakes and rivers, landscaped parks, picnic areas and residential street scenes. The participants were also questioned about their likes and dislikes and about the importance they placed upon opportunities to enjoy the outdoor environment.

The photograph ratings were analysed using the ICLUST hierarchical clustering program and the SSA-3 non-metric factor analysis program. The results indicated that well-maintained areas incorporating built features were preferred over more

untouched and densely wooded areas, which were often associated with fears of physical danger. Disorderliness, "weedy" areas, and dark or closed-in areas were often mentioned as specific dislikes. The authors note that some responses were contradictory; for example trees were mentioned as both especially liked and especially disliked. Scenes with a few large and/or distinctive trees in an open grassy area were generally preferred.

The findings demonstrate that urban Blacks place a very high value upon their contacts with nature, but have strongly negative feelings about less managed outdoor areas, preferring landscapes that appear well maintained. Neatness and the presence of amenities like paths, benches and childrens' play equipment contribute to such an appearance.

70. Taylor, H. (1994). Age and Order: the public park as a metaphor for a civilised society, Working Paper (No. Working Paper No.10), Comedia/Demos Study: The Future of Urban Parks and Open Spaces.

This paper presents a serious defence of the place of historic public parks in our cities. After reviewing the history of traditional public parks and the values they embodied, the author considers two lobbies which oppose the restoration of such parks. The first is libertarian and is connected with the individualistic values that became dominant in the 1980s. The second is "green" - it wishes to reduce management to allow parks to become more wild.

The author finds an intriguing conjunction of interests uniting the Thatcherite individualists and privatising zealots with the concerned environmentalists, both camps being opposed to the lobby that argues for the restoration of Victorian and Edwardian parks. The author also makes a connection between wildness in the ecological sense, and in the sense of anarchy and lawlessness.

71. Walker, J. (1993). Woods for Walsall. Landscape Design: 37-38.

This article reports on the work of the Black Country Urban Forestry Unit, set up in 1990 to promote the creative use of woodland in urban parks. The Unit has four objectives; to create woodland habitat in urban parks; to emphasise the cost effectiveness of amenity woodland management; to bring countryside into towns; to raise public awareness of woodlands. It seeks to achieve these objectives by stimulating community involvement in woodland through the arts, landscape history and coppice crafts. Although this is an urban project it is supported by the Countryside Commission, and is partly linked to the development of the adjacent Community Forest, the Forest of Mercia.

The authors note that involving people, especially children, in participatory sculpture work and demonstrations of crafts such as charcoal burning, hurdle making and coracle building, as well as encouraging them to contribute to management tasks like coppicing, thinning, litter collection and underplanting, can reduce losses through vandalism or casual damage.

The project managers note that the initiative has raised issues of concern about personal security in woodlands. They believe that the perceived risk can be reduced by careful design of new plantings, improved lighting and supervision.

The author concludes that the creation and management of natural woodland areas not only enhances the landscape and wildlife resources in urban parks, but can also add local distinctiveness and community interest to formerly bleak and windswept dog-walks and sports pitches.

### **GENDER, MINORITY GROUPS , CRIME AND VULNERABILITY.**

Most of the literature on gender, minority groups, vulnerability and crime is focused on women with only a small number of writers turning their attention to matter of age and race. During the 1985 - 1995 period there were no papers (that came to light) which were concerned with the experiences of those with disabilities. This may reflect the general lack of research into the fine grain of disabled people's lives. For the most part research on issues of disability has taken a policy focus rather than an ethnographic perspective.

A number of themes emerge from the literature. The first of these is the puzzling question: why do women and older people fear crime, when official figures suggest that they are less likely to be victims of crime? Jones, Maclean and Young (1986) demonstrate that fine grain research reveals a much higher level of victimisation for these groups than suggested by official figures. Together with Painter (1992) they discuss the low level of attention paid to incivilities against women by the police such that these are classed as sub criminal activity. This lack of response puts a responsibility on women to protect themselves and increases their feelings of vulnerability given their relative inability to defend themselves physically from the attacks of men. Hanmer and Saunders (1993) also discuss women's perception that crimes against them, particularly in the domestic sphere, will not be treated as serious by the police while their interviews with police officers confirm the difficulty police have in seeing domestic incidents as "crimes". Maxfield in discussing women's fear of crime sees this arising from their perception of physical powerlessness. This discussion also encompasses the fears of older people while Jones, Maclean and Young (1986) see the lifetime of incivilities and avoidance techniques which older women have suffered creating their increased fear and risk avoidance.

Exploring this background of incivilities leads writers down two paths: the first being the need for women centred definitions of crime and violence and the second, the relationship between crime and inequality. In the first strand Maynard (in Richardson and Robinson, 1993) states that the legal definitions of violence uphold the view that this is confined to the most unacceptable behaviour from men. Women see other kinds of male behaviour as violent but are then perplexed to find that this is judged as "normal". This problem of definition also concerns Kelly (in Yllo and Bograd, 1988) who finds that the legal definitions of rape exclude many forms of coerced, non consensual sex which women would class as rape. Kelly concludes that this difficulty in squaring the legal definition and women's own experience, given that many women experience non consensual sex within the context of a loving relationship, leads to under reporting of rape.

In the second strand Pain (1991) sees the relationship between patterns of spatial inequality and inequality in society as a whole. The built environment reflects power relationships in society and then effectively reinforces these because women's fear has implications for their equal participation in society. By staying away from city centres women help reproduce patterns of dominance which produce inequality. This theme is also explored by Jos Boys (1984) who sees the built environment as encoded with messages for women and their appropriate behaviour. Stanko (1990) discusses the way women are encouraged to see "places" as the problem rather than the power relationship between men and women. The built environment plays a part in the social control of women such that incivilities particularly those which target women's sexuality (MacNeill in Hanmer and Maynard, 1987 and Hall, 1985) remind women that the public space belongs to men. Women may only safely enter this domain under the protection of one man who will be a deterrent to other men's predatory intentions (Valentine, 1992a and Stanko, in Yllo and Bograd, 1988).

This reliance on the protection of one man against others causes devastating consequences for those women who are then abused by their protector. Many writers have explored the issue of domestic violence against women. Hanmer, Radford and Stanko (1989) discuss the way patriarchal society has constructed for women a false dichotomy of the dangerous public space and the safe private space. This is far from the truth. Valentine (1992) and Stanko (in Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1990) discuss the mismatch between women's fear of the stranger danger in the public sphere which receives disproportionate attention compared to the private sphere where women are most at risk. Dobash and Dobash (1992) take a policy analysis approach in documenting the rise of the battered women's movement in the U.K. and the US and the role of the police and support agencies.

The response of the police is criticised by feminists who see them upholding the view that where women are victims they are often guilty of some contributory negligence or provocation. Hanmer, Radford and Stanko (1989) state that the police should take a woman centred view of violence against women and in the case of domestic violence should assist the woman to achieve what *she* feels is a workable outcome. Jones, Maclean and Young (1986) similarly say that the police should trust the views of the public and use this to shape their responses. Hanmer and Saunders (1993) offer recommendations for the police based on their large interview study with women in West Yorkshire.

What finally is the problem? Some planning writers Trench, (1991) and Trench, Oc and Tiesdell (1992) see a responsibility with planners who can help eradicate poor design and management of the built environment. Most other writers see the problems as demanding a response at the most fundamental level of national culture. Stanko states that the focus should move from a concern with women's respectability (in Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1990) to a concern for men's behaviour (1990).

What of men themselves? One study by Stanko and Hobdell (1993) examines the feelings of men exposed to violent attack. Social stereotyping prevents many men from expressing their victimisation which has implications for the response of welfare agencies. Further work is needed here as it is with young people who, in Brown (1995) suffer from a feeling of powerlessness but are attributed with considerable

power by adults. Research reveals that many young people are the victims of adults who use assault as a means of controlling young people and reasserting their fragile authority. The same sub text can be seen in the racial attacks upon ethnic minority communities . The studies by the Commission for Racial Equality (1987) and the Department of the Environment (1989) respectively discuss the nature and extent of racial violence and good practice responses by local authorities and welfare agencies. Again this is a problem which cannot be reduced to the technical.

It remains clear that violence against minorities of all kinds is a serious problem and one that has profound impact on victims. Many writers: Brown (1995) on young people; Hanmer and Saunders (1993) on women; Jones (1987) on older people talk of the long term impact of crime on victims lives. Far from being seen as one off incidents which victims cope with and then "move on" emotionally, these events may totally alter a person's perception of themselves and their quality of life.

72. Bottoms, A. E. (1994). *Environmental Criminology*. The Oxford Handbook of Criminology. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 580-656.

The chapter argues that criminologists should follow sociologists in realising the importance of place and local contexts in the explanation of crimes and of the social production of offenders. A brief history of environmental criminology is followed by a discussion of its two concerns: explaining the spatial distribution of offences and explaining the spatial distribution of offenders. Issues of design and crime and of the policy implications of the subject have been omitted for reasons of space.

73. Boys, J. (1984). *Women and public space*. Making Space: women and the man made environment. London, Pluto Press.

Discusses the planning of our towns and housing estates and the impact on the freedom and safe movement of women. The chapter explores the way in which the physical arrangement of activities and space limit the usability of the built environment to women. It goes on to discuss how the built environment thus creates settings for different activities which contain messages about "proper" gender roles in these places. Finally Boys argues that stereotypical thinking about male and female behaviour is connected to particular locations which prescribe women's movements outside the home and their behaviour everywhere. The chapter calls for a focus on women's issues when planning the built environment.

74. Brantingham, P. J. and P. L. Brantingham, Ed. (1991). Environmental Criminology. Prospect Heights, Illinois, Waveland Press.

75. Brown, S. (1995). "Youth and safety in whose `community`?" Youth and Policy (48): 27-48.

This article is based on a three year research project involving interviews with adults and with young people aged 11 -16 in East Middlesborough. Older adults attitudes toward young people recognise the problems of unemployment and poverty and show marked regret for a perceived deterioration of community and order but essentially

see young people as perpetrators of disorder not as victims. Younger adults put more emphasis on economic factors; showed less nostalgia and minimised the role of punitive responses. The survey among young people revealed an alarming level of attacks and threats of assault by other young people and a higher level from adults against young people. As the seriousness of the incident increases fewer young people will report it, the main reason being their perception that adults will not believe them. There is therefore an interesting dichotomy: young people perceive of themselves as powerless in society and as victims while adults credit them with considerable power. The article goes on to explore the issue of power enacted between young people and adults. These generational conflicts are often played out over public space and shed light upon adult feelings of powerlessness arising from unemployment, economic deprivation and physical dislocation. Adults recast their own fears and insecurities in the image of threatening youth and thus attempt to maintain a fragile authority by seeking to control young people.

76. Cameron, D. a. F., E. (1994). *Masculinity, Violence and Sexual Murder*. The Polity Reader in Gender Studies. Cambridge, Polity.

Feminist discussions of sexual violence against women in which this is conceptualised as transcendent behaviour by men. Transcendence, it is argued, has come to be seen as the project of the masculine and the sign of masculinity.

77. CRE . Living in Terror, Commission for Racial Equality.

This report based on a national survey of local authorities and voluntary organisations sets out recommendations for collaborative working to tackle racial violence and harassment. The report discusses the link between racist graffiti and other racist incidents and recommends swift action against graffiti which may be viewed wrongly as a trivial issue.

78. Dobash, R. E. and R. P. Dobash (1992). Women, violence and social change. London, Routledge.

Charts the history of the battered women's movement in the USA and the UK. Discusses the social and political context for the movement and the changes which have been instigated. The book explores the changes in the law regarding domestic violence; the response from the state in respect of refugees and move on housing and the response of the police to these crimes. The book goes on to discuss the therapeutic professions in defining the problem and in setting up programmes to re-educate violent men.

79. DOE (1989). Tackling Racial Violence and Harassment in Local Authority Housing: A Guide to Good Practice for Local Authorities, Department of the Environment.

Provides a good practice guide to local housing authorities in implementing policies to prevent racial violence and harassment and to tackle it effectively. The three key areas covered are prevention, support for victims and action against perpetrators. In

the first of these the guide sets out a number of best practices in respect of design and maintenance of housing and the surrounding environment.

80. Downes, D. (1989). Crime and the City. Basingstoke, Macmillan.

The book includes a chapter on Housing, Community and Crime written by Anne Power. The chapter looks at how estates become difficult not only to live in and let, but become the target of more crime and abuse than other areas. It examines changes to two large estates and suggests that where housing services have been effectively re-deployed to a local office and where residents can effectively influence the life of the estate there are signs that conditions, including the incidence of crime can improve.

81. Evans, D., N. Fyfe, et al., Ed. (1992). Crime, policing and place. London, Routledge.

The contributions are from a geographical perspective, that is they value the role of place. The first part of the book is devoted to theories and methodologies. Bottoms and Wiles argue that an understanding of the spatial aspects of offences and offending is possible only using a model which can incorporate the complex interaction between the natural and built environment, political / cultural/ social and cultural life and structures of an area together with the actions of individuals and corporate bodies and a theory which can account for the interaction between these factors. The chapter by Evans examines "left realism" and suggests that micro scale studies could be used to help neighbourhoods organise to pre-empt crime. Chapters three and four are concerned with the handling of crime data: Davidson and Locke compare actual crime levels with those anticipated from regional and national trends while the fourth chapter by Heywood, Hall and Redhead evaluate the application of GIS to crime data. The biggest block of the book contains eight chapters which are more diverse. They range from explorations of public policy issues on the distribution of crime (Rengert) to discussions of the impact of housing policy (Bottoms, Claytor and Wiles). This is a working of the chapter in David Downes "Crime in the City" (also noted in this bibliography). Herbert and Darwood's chapter looks at levels of crime awareness and the impact of fear on quality of life in Swansea neighbourhoods. The chapter by Kate Painter is separately discussed in this bibliography. Barr and Pease talk of the "crime-flux" approach which shifts crime from a chosen target. Michael Levi discusses white collar crime and the efforts and motivations of agencies and police forces who collaborate on these. The final chapter in this block by John Lowman looks at the influence of police behaviour in Vancouver in patterns of street prostitution. The final block of papers contains four chapters examining crime and policing policies. Heal reviews the changing British crime prevention initiatives while Bennett broadens out the debate to neighbourhood watch in UK and North America. Mitchell looks at Brixton after the "riots" and evaluates the build up of informal links between the police and the community. Mitchell feels that these are important in building up mutual self respect. The final chapter by Nicholas Fyfe uses information from two London boroughs to consider the work of police consultative committees.

82. Hall, R. (1985). Ask any woman: A London inquiry into rape and sexual assault. Bristol, Falling Wall Press.

This book is a detailed analysis of over one thousand women who completed a questionnaire about rape and sexual assault. Given the location of many assaults (on or waiting for public transport and on council housing estates) Hall sets out a number of practical measures which would help increase surveillance and therefore increase women's safety and freedom of movement.

83. Hanmer, J. and M. Maynard, Ed. (1987). Women, Violence and Social Control. Basingstoke, Macmillan.

This collection of papers explores the impact of violence on the lives of women. The most interesting papers seek to broaden our understanding of violence: Caroline Ramazanoglu looks at the subtle background of leers and insults in academic life which keep women out of positions of authority. The chapter by Diana Hudson examines the use of psycho-surgery to "help" women endure the violent or oppressive behaviour by their male partners. Liz Kelly's chapter explores the incidence of violence against women and suggests that all women experience sexual violence in the form of coerced, non consensual sex which neither they nor the law sees as rape. Women do however feel abused by these experiences. The chapter on "Women, leisure and social control" by Eileen Green, Sandra Hebron and Diana Woodward discusses the way men control women's access to leisure. Part of this control is financial, where the man is the sole paid worker he feels that the money is his and that he has earned his leisure time: the woman can claim neither. Men's lack of co-operation in child care or domestic tasks also cuts down the time a woman has for herself. The authors argue that men find it easy to regulate women's participation in social activity by pointing out their responsibilities as mothers. Patriarchal definitions of gender roles mean that men feel justified in doing this and it is difficult for women to counter this. Women also withdraw from social activities from fear of being in "the wrong place" or out at "the wrong time" which will be misconstrued by men or ultimately by the law. Sandra McNeill's chapter, "Flashing: Its effects on Women" discusses the loss of independent social contact and the serious restriction on movement that victims of flashing suffer. The act of flashing reminds women that public spaces belong to men.

84. Hanmer, J., J. Radford, et al. (1989). Women, policing and male violence: international perspectives. London, Routledge.

This collection examines how the treatment of abused women is always mediated through experiences with men: those who abuse them and those who make up the part of the state mandated to intervene by use of criminal law. Writers evaluate the demands of women for reform of policing and the responses made. Do the reforms provide secure safety for all women or simply protection for those women judged by the police to be deserving of protection? The writers argue that if reform is geared only at the worst excesses of male violence then this is a shoring up of existing male/female relations rather than a securing of women's autonomy. Of particular note is chapter 5 by Jalna Hanmer who looks at the recent history of independent women's groups and their demands for women's safety. In Hanmer's research the police were unable to envisage much in the way of reform for their existing policing except the establishment of centres staffed by women officers. Welfare agencies however were able to suggest: \* training for officers on women's position in society \* greater knowledge of local agencies that help women \* a quicker response time to women battering. \* more women in the force particularly in managerial positions. Chapter 8 by Jalna Hanmer, Jill Radford and Elizabeth Stanko argues that the ideology of the hetero-patriarchy in part depends on a closely woven system of ideas about the security and safety of the family home for women in contrast to the dangerous crime ridden and unsafe public world that women should only enter with male protection.

The way the police intervene in gendered interpersonal crime is essential to the continuing credibility of this ideology. The authors assert that the police must develop policies that centre on a woman's autonomy. They should facilitate women's control by ending the violence; by providing information about legal rights and community resources and assist the woman to achieve the outcome she defines as workable. This is one way in which feminists can promote the view that violence against women is serious without compromising women's independence.

85. Hanmer, J. and S. Saunders (1993). Women, Violence and Crime Prevention. Aldershot, Avebury.

Women, victims, domestic, media response, policing This study takes as its central hypothesis that there is a differential status between men and women expressed within the criminal justice system and legal systems. In examining this, the study takes three themes: firstly how do we fight crime, specifically who commits crime against women and how can they be controlled. Secondly how can the need of women for protection be prioritised and finally what should change if we are to reduce the amount of violence and sexual crime against women. The book begins with a fascinating analysis of twelve months reporting of violent crimes against women in the West Yorkshire press. To what extent are women influenced in their perception of fear and what they might do about it from the way newspapers cover cases of violence against women. The study moves on and using a large data set from interviews with women in West Yorkshire examines the nature of violence against women and the sources of help used. One of the disturbing facts which is revealed is the continuing effects that either a single or repeated violence and abuse have upon women. This chapter explores why these crimes often go unreported and reveals three major reasons: women feel the police will not act; or that the police will see it as a family matter; women who have social roles feel uncomfortable about passing on responsibility to the police. A subsequent chapter examining interviews with a range of police officers reveals that these perceptions are not unfounded. The police response to property crimes against women demonstrates that they are capable of meeting the needs of women when they regard the behaviour as criminal. Other chapters analyse interviews with solicitors and agencies such as Rape Crisis and Victim Support. The book ends with a series of recommendations for the criminal justice and legal systems to improve the quality of services offered to abused women.

86. Heidensohn, F. (1989). Crime and Society. Basingstoke, Macmillan.

This is a scholarly examination of the way sociologists have looked at the city and crime. Heidensohn discusses in detail the approach of the Chicago school whose scholars were the first to see crime as a social phenomenon and as symbolic interactionism and to enrich the study of crime with ethnographic methodologies.

87. Hobdell, K. (1993). "Assault on men: masculinity and male victimisation." British Journal of Criminology 33(3): 400-415.

The article explores how men experience criminally defined physical violence. While men are more likely to be the victims of such crimes there is little research demonstrating the impact of this on men's lives. The research reveals how men view

their victimisation through a male frame that is they see it as a sign of weakness and helplessness. This has implications for some men making them unable to express their feelings or ask for support.. Men who are victims of violence often use avoidance tactics or used precautionary methods or armed themselves against future attack. Some men felt that having to consider personal safety in a conscious way was unmanly. These findings have implications for welfare organisations and the police in that we need to sensitise services on the basis of knowledge into how men accept and ask for support.

88. Jones, G. (1987). "Elderly People and Domestic Crime." British Journal of Criminology 27: 191-201.

This article draws on a study of a sample of older people ( mainly women living alone) to explore the relationship between ageism, sexism and victimology. While the level of crime suffered by this group is statistically small, the incidents suffered which are in and around the domestic environment have profound impacts on older people. The privacy of the domestic environment renders the victim vulnerable which is exacerbated by physical frailty and living alone. Jones explores the argument that since society views old age as a time of powerlessness old people feel socially isolated and personally vulnerable. This is exacerbated by gender factors so older women suffer a double construct of vulnerability. The consequences of this may be that elderly people consider themselves de-skilled in relationship to their environment. The exception to this is the home in which older women, in particular, may exhibit pride of possession and a sense of control. Domestic crime against this groups destroys this sense of control and highlights their dependency and vulnerability.

89. Jones, T., B. Maclean, et al. (1986). The Islington Crime Survey: crime, victimisation and policing in Inner City London.

This book is an analysis of a crime survey undertaken in Islington in 1985. It demonstrates a high level of concern about crime among the borough's residents. The study revealed a higher than average reporting of crime by residents but a lower than average recording of incidents by the police. The policing methods and attitude of police are criticised in the report and a multi agency approach with the community rather than the police in control is favoured. The research also shows a wide geographic variation in crime in Islington with certain areas emerging as hot spots and a small minority of households suffering multiple victimisation Women expressed greater fear of crime and the authors conclude that this was due to the high level of physical and psychological injury suffered by women. Also the poor level of institutional support given to women puts the onus on them to protect themselves. Older women are most fearful and take greatest avoidance measures. This may well be due to the lifetime of incivilities they have endured. The report stresses that crime is not a one off experience but has great impact on an individual. Those in the lowest income group are hardest hit by crime because they often cannot make good damage, they cannot afford security measures and cannot afford to lose time from work if injured. The final part of the report is a series of policy recommendations which particularly emphasises the need for multi agency work.

90. Kelly, L. (1988). How do women define their experience of violence. Feminist perspectives on wife abuse. California, Sage.

Discusses the naming and defining of experiences of sexual violence. Narrow official definitions of rape may account for the fact that many women do not "remember" or name their abuse until a long time after the occurrence. We need new definitions and names for sexual violence that accurately reflect women's own experiences from their own frame of reference.

91. Liska, A. (1987). "A critical examination of macro perspectives on crime control." Annual Review of Sociology 13: 67-88.

This paper focuses on the macro studies of the causes and the consequences of crime control. It argues that "Most macro studies on crime control is loosely organised and weakly linked to theoretical perspectives. Studies are reviewed that relate to one of two general sociological perspectives \_ structural functionalism and conflict; and these perspectives are contrasted with the economic perspective. Empirical studies are employed both to specify more clearly and to evaluate the causal structure and processes implied by the perspectives" (p.67).

92. Matthews, R. (1995). "Crime and its consequences in England and Wales." Annals, AAPSS 539: 169-182.

"In Britain, there has been a growing concern expressed in the media about what is considered to be a rapidly deteriorating situation, and this has led to calls in official circles for the routine arming of the police, removing suspects' right to silence, and the development of more austere penal institutions. A detailed examination of recent crime trends, however, suggests that there has been considerable variability in the incidence and the impact of crime in different areas over the last few years. The aim of this article is to critically examine recent developments and to consider their implications for crime prevention and crime control" (p.169).

93. Maxfield, M. (1984). Fear of crime in England and Wales. London, HMSO.

Draws upon the 1982 British Crime Survey to examine who is afraid of crime and why and how this limits individual and community life. Maxfield defines fear of crime as "a fear of personal threat rather than abstract beliefs and attitudes about crime as a problem." In discussing the greater fear of crime exhibited by women, Maxfield concludes firstly that men are more unwilling to express fear and that women and older people perceive themselves as less able to defend themselves against attack. Maxfield also comments that the impact of incidents against women which the police consider outside their powers increases feelings of vulnerability. Maxfield also puts forward the view that the experience of living alone which is common among older people makes of vulnerability because there is no one to turn to if that person is victimised. The study proves that as crime becomes more prevalent in an area so fear of crime grows. Direct contact with crime increases fears for oneself while indirect contact increases fear for others. Fear of personal safety is a major factor in limiting personal mobility and this affects large numbers of people in inner city areas. Direct experience of street crime produces a avoidance behaviour but

indirect experience does not. The report concludes by suggesting that polices can help tackle fear of crime but what is needed first is fine grain research to understand the problem at the local level.

94. Maynard, M. (1993). Violence towards women. Introducing Women's Studies. Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Discusses the inter relationship between different forms of violence , particularly in terms of their impacts on and consequences for women's lives. Explores the definitions of violence held by women which are often at odds with those held by the law and by professionals. These definitions reflect men's ideas and limit the range of male behaviour that is deemed unacceptable to the most gross and public forms. The chapter concludes by discussing how, in Britain, masculinity and power, as presently constructed are inherently linked. This is not immutable, it is a social and cultural construct which can be changed.

95. Miethe, T. (1995). "Fear and Withdrawal from Urban Life." Annals, AAPSS 539: 14-27.

The paper reviews how, in American society, crime and fear of criminal victimisation have led to a range of psychological and behavioural reactions to crime, "including distrusting others, avoiding particular places, taking protective action, changing their daily activities, and participating in collective action". The article's conclusion, after summarising "current trends in the nature of crime and fear of criminal victimisation that may help explain public reactions to crime", puts forward "a discussion of the consequences of fear and individuals' withdrawal from urban life" (p.14).

96. Pain, R. (1991). "Space, sexual violence and social control: integrating geographical and feminist analyses of women's fear of crime." Progress in Human Geography 15(4): 415 - 431.

Spatial patterns of women's perceptions of risk, of the actual risks they are exposed to and of their behavioural responses have implications for either equal participation in society. Pain explains the spatial pattern of women's fear by looking at the extent and location of sexual violence and associated intimidating behaviour. She goes on to explore the relation between patterns of inequality in space and patterns of inequality in society. Fear is seen in these power based analyses as a consequence of individual's unequal status. It also can be seen as having a role in perpetuating these inequalities since as women stay away from city centres etc. they help reproduce the patterns of dominance which produce inequalities.(RG)

97. Painter, K. (1992). Different Worlds: The spatial, temporal and social dimensions of female victimisation. Crime, Policing and Place: essays in environmental criminology. London, Routledge. 164-195.

Criticises macro level quantitative surveys for using definitions of crime which are independent of the subjective definitions of the victim and thus exclude the social reality of women. Discusses crime and harassment as a continuum of violence towards women which should not be seen as a linear progression from serious to non-

serious crime but rather a series of layers which make up a lifetime biography of social control and oppression. Using local crime surveys with subjective crime definitions, Painter discusses how victimisation governs women's use of the environment. Puts forward a correlation between social class, geographical area and female victimisation such that working class women in urban areas are more vulnerable to personal crime by men known and unknown in public and private space.

98. Pawson, E. and G. Banks (1993). "Rape and fear in a New Zealand City." Area 25(1): 55-63.

Charts the social and spatial distribution of fear of rape. Fear is widespread among women and older people and in areas of high reported incidence of rape, fear extends to the private space of home as well as the public space.

99. Robins, K. (1995). Collective Emotion and Urban Culture. Managing Cities: the new urban context. Chichester, John Wiley. 45-61.

The author argues against the futile attempt of the modernist city planning to impose order and coherence on the confusion and fragmentation of the cities. This has been in part a reaction to fear of the presence of otherness, as represented by the crowd, the woman, and the stranger. This can provoke a civilising encounter but also, with the upsurge of violence, can encourage defensive or aggressive behaviour and hence lead to a breakdown of urban culture. The challenge is to contain fear creatively and to negotiate common concerns while valuing the difference.

100. Rose, G. (1993). Feminism and Geography. Cambridge, Polity Press. This text discusses the intersection of power, knowledge and subjectivity which has constructed a geographic knowledge dominated by men. In chapter two "Women and everyday spaces" Rose argues that time geography embodies an agency which purports to be human but is in fact masculine. This assumption goes unchallenged as does the construct of "space" which is assumed to offer liberty. The erasure of fear and violence experienced by women in space underlines the masculine stance since the feeling of spatial freedom is something that only white, heterosexual men usually enjoy.

101. Skogan, W., Ed. (1995). The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences: Reactions to Crime and Violence. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Periodicals Press.

A special issue of the Annals, with 12 articles addressing various aspects of reactions to crime and violence. These articles "examine the public's concerns in detail and present a parallel critique of both political and media depictions of the nature of crime and the solutions they have been advancing" (p.9).

102. Smith, S. J. (1986). Crime Space and Society. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

The text aims to link crime with a broad social context, it also provides some history on the study of crime and spatial statistics. The work argues the impact and social

significance of crime varies locationally, 'because crime and the fear of crime are bound up with the distribution of power and its realisation in the form of social relations amongst differently positioned social and economic groups'. The plight of inner city residents, in particular North Central Birmingham, where problems of crime and race relations intermingle. Smith attempts to show why inner city locations confer an added element of vulnerability, not just to crime but other incivilities as well, for example racial abuse.

103. Soothill, K. and S. Walby (1991). Sex crime in the news. London, Routledge.

This book is based upon a study of the reporting of rape and sexual crimes in British newspapers. The authors sampled newspaper coverage from 1951, 1961, 1971, 1978 and 1985. The book focuses upon the survey results from 1985. The authors identify three stages in the reporting of sex crime; the search for the attacker, the courtroom proceedings, and post-conviction coverage.

One of the book's main contentions is that press coverage distorts the reality of sex crime, by concentrating on a small number of serial offenders who can be portrayed as "sex beasts" or "sex fiends". Spectacular multiple rapes are not, they point out, the sum of sexual assaults. Multiple rapes of strangers are the exception rather than the rule, and the notion of the sex fiend hinders the full understanding of the nature and range of sex offences.

The authors also discuss the "rubbishing" of the Women Against Rape (WAR) study "Ask Any Woman" (Hall, R.E. 1985) in the press. This study drew attention to the extent of rape within marriage and the "commonplace" nature of rape, findings which were completely at odds with the newspapers' portrayal of "real" rape as rape by a stranger.

104. Stanko, E. (1988). Fear of crime and the myth of the safe home. Feminist perspectives on wife abuse. California, Sage.

As the public sphere is predominantly the domain of men with women in the private sphere which occupies a subordinate position in our society so crimes in the public domain receive the lion's share of attention from criminologists and agencies. Women's fear of crime is an assessment of their ability to defend themselves against male assailants. Part of men's feelings of safety may be rooted in and depend on women's vulnerability. Women are taught to rely on the benevolence of one man to protect them from others which means that those women who are then abused by their protector are in a perilous position. Those who suffer violence within the home may be more afraid of sexual assault outside the home while fear of the unknown may delay women's escape from violence within the home. Part of women's silence about abuse within the home may be because of the myth of home as haven which is deeply held by male criminologist and men in the criminal justice system. To talk of the home as a dangerous place may confront deeply ingrained beliefs that support the ideology of home as a man's haven. Attention to crime in the public domain militates against the inclusion of intimate violence against women as serious crime

105. Stanko, E. (1990). Intimate intrusions: women's experience of male violence. London, Unwin Hyman.

Looks at women's lives in the USA and the UK. and the experiences of male violent behaviour against women. The central argument is that male violence is seen as a problem, not of men's behaviour, but of women's respectability. In the first part of the book Stanko examines in turn, childhood incest; rape; wife battering and sexual harassment at work. In all of these cases women who are abused are seen as culpable: the temptress daughter; only bad girls get raped; she must have provoked it etc. Stanko sees women's silence in not reporting crime as women perceiving that they will be judged as not respectable. Society sees women who complain about their treatment at the hands of men as tarnished and impure. In the second part of the book Stanko examines the response of male controlled legislative processes, the courts and the police. Again women are judged by male yardsticks of Stanko, using powerful evidence from actual cases, argues that we need women centred definitions of violence and a greater fight for equality based on women's experience of male behaviour toward them which is about power and control.

106. Stanko, E. (1990). When precaution is normal: a feminist critique of crime prevention. Feminist perspectives in criminology. Milton Keynes, O.U.Press.

Reviews current official advice to women on personal safety and concludes that it is inadequate on three grounds. Firstly it prepares women only for incidents involving "stranger danger" not the more common experience of attacks by men in a woman's own network. Secondly they suggest that women can control their own personal safety by adopting particular strategies and thirdly they encourage women to see the public arena as the problem not their relationship with men. The chapter concludes with a feminist crime prevention strategy which demands that men take responsibility for their own behaviour and that of other men.

107. Taylor, R. (1995). "The impact of crime on communities." Annals, AAPSS 539: 28-45.

"This article examines impacts of past and changing crime rates in Baltimore, Maryland, neighbourhoods in the 1970s. The results reveal that different crimes influence different aspects of the housing market." The author then suggests "that impacts of crime and related problems on neighbourhood viability may be contingent on personal, historical, and locale-specific factors" (p.28).

108. Teymur, N., T. Markus, et al. (1988). Rehumanising Housing, Butterworths. Publication of conference papers from 1987, covering a wide set of issues, inner city renewal projects, management and ownership co-operatives, joint ventures with private developers, the creation of housing association and community-based tenants' management projects, all with as much investment in physical improvements as possible. The broad aim of the book is to look at the wider housing debate, to examine the language and concepts used by various participants, to critically evaluate contemporary housing research and to place it in the wider political and social context. The critical approach aims to lead to new perceptions and lines of action in research and design strategies.

109. Trench, S. (1991). "Reclaiming the night: initiatives to improve the safety of movement in cities for women." Town and Country Planning 60(September): 235 - 237.

Discusses women's fear about using central areas at night and states that women's fear arise from a range of anti social behaviour and harassment which are not reported to the police and therefore never form part of any statistics. Nottingham has determined that the revenue loss to public transport because of women's reluctance to travel in the evening may amount to 24 million annually. Trench goes on to evaluate a number of solutions being used by British cities to combat danger spots identified by women such as multi storey car parks; pedestrian subways; poor lighting and public transport. An interesting point is that at workshops of women users, all women rejected CCTV as an effective means of reducing their fears.

110. Trench, S., T. Oc, et al. (1992). "Safer Cities for women: perceived risks and planning measures." Town Planning Review 63(July): pp 279-296.

Based on the findings of the Home Office Safer Cities Project and discussions between planners and women's groups, the article discusses the erosion of women's lives through fear of crime and possible responses. Is segregation a good response or does it leave the general environment untouched simply exempting women from its consequences. While this is true it is also the case that without some separate facilities such as women only transport, certain women will be unable to venture out because of their fears. The article looks at the range of responses possible under transport policy and then move son to consider other issues which could be helped by general.

111. Valentine, G. (1989). "The geography of women's fear." Area 21(4): 385-390.

This paper examines the relationship between women's fear of male violence and their perception and use of public space. How women develop their geography of fear is explored emphasising that what is critical is not necessarily the space itself but how it is used, occupied or controlled by different groups at different times.

112. Valentine, G. (1990). "Women's fear and the design of public spaces." Built Environment 16(4): 288-303.

Discusses the concept that a women's perception of her safety in her local environment is related to how well she knows and feels at ease with her social and physical surroundings. Women fear spaces where they perceive that social controls do not operate and particularly those which they feel are controlled by men whose conduct is unregulated.

113. Valentine, G. (1992). "Images of danger: women's' sources of information about the spatial distribution of male violence." Area 24(1): 22-29.

The paper explores the mismatch between actual and perceived spatial distributions of violence against women. Women's images of dangerous environments is linked to the

ideology of the family and perceptions of gender dimensions of space: the private sphere is for women supported and protected by men while the public sphere can only be safely entered by women protected by one man against other men. Valentine explores some of the information sources for women's perceptions: the media, parental attitude, social contacts and first hand experience of violence.

114. Valentine, G. (1992). London's streets of fear. The crisis of London. London, Routledge.

Discusses the rise in reported crimes against women since 1980 and some of the ways that London boroughs have tried to tackle particularly dangerous areas or poorly perceived services (such as public transport). Valentine argues that the loss of the GLC and the cutbacks in funding to local authorities have undermined many projects at a time when women's fears are rising, in part, because of the increase in street homelessness and the number of mentally ill people on the street.

115. Williams, P. and J. Dickinson (1993). "Fear of crime: read all about it? The relationship between newspaper crime reporting and fear of crime." British Journal of Criminology. 33(1): 33-56.

This article reports a three-stage study of the relationship between newspaper reporting of crime and fear of crime (FOC). Stage one was a quantitative analysis of the space and prominence given to crime reports, particularly those involving personal violence, in ten British newspapers. In the second stage, the relationship between fear of crime and newspaper reporting was investigated by a questionnaire survey of newspaper readers. In the third stage, readers were asked to judge the "fearfulness" and "sensationalism" of reporting styles in the ten newspapers.

The researchers found that there were significant differences in the coverage of crime in broadsheets, mid-market tabloids and low-market tabloids, and that the corresponding readership groups vary on most levels of FOC. People who read newspapers which contain more crime reports have higher levels of FOC.

Socio-economic status proved to be a good indicator both of newspaper readership patterns and FOC. Tests were devised to prove that newspaper readership had an effect on FOC that was independent of socio-economic status. The researchers found that when newspaper group was controlled, no significant socio-economic status differences were found; and when socio-economic status was controlled, significant newspaper group differences were found in the assessment of risks of crime. They tentatively conclude that newspaper readership affects FOC independently of socio-economic status.

The research also lends some support to the view that sensationalised reports increase FOC, but note that greater sensationalism does not bring with it greater fearfulness. Readers are less gullible than is often supposed and can discern sensationalised reports when they appear.

The paper argues for more dispassionate, objective and responsible crime reporting.

