

Chapter 13

An International Perspective of the Gender Dimension in Planning for Urban Safety

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13.1 Introduction

The need to consider implications of gender¹ when dealing with safety issues is vital in urban planning (e.g. Beall 1996; UN 1997; Kunieda and Gauthier 2007). One of the reasons for incorporating gender into planning is motivated by the differences in women's and men's perception of the urban environment (Valentine 1989; Listerborn 2000, 2002; Sixtensson 2009). Regardless of age, socio-economic status, ethnic-cultural and educational background and disability, research has indicated that women often report higher levels of fear and anxiety than men (Pain 1991; Box et al. 1988; Koskela 1999; Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2009).

Feminists have long indicated women's fear of crime as a manifestation of gender oppression, which reproduces traditional notions about women's *place* in society (Pain 2001: 903). It is not surprising that women and men use and experience urban environments differently. Given today's gender roles, women still have greater responsibility for the so-called *reproductive activities*, such as child care, care of the elderly and household chores – activities often limited to the private

¹ *Gender* is used here as synonym of gender mainstreaming, which is defined by the UN (1997) as a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all societal spheres, so that men and women benefit equally so inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

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sphere. For instance, in Sweden, among parents with children between 0 and 6 years, women spend approximately 45 h per week on tasks related to unpaid work, whereas men spend less than 30 h (Larsson and Jalakas 2008).

The public sphere is also spatially gendered. Regarding communication and transport, for instance, women more often than men choose work opportunities close to the residence. Women are less likely to have access to a car, and in combination with an increased sense of responsibility for child and elderly care, this implies that women adapt the workplace to the residence more than men do (Friberg 1996 in Lundkvist 1998: 39). Gender differences are also found in travelling patterns (Lundkvist 1998; Larsson and Jalakas 2008). In general, when compared to men, women in urban areas tend to take more, shorter and more varied trips at more varied times (although they tend to travel less during nighttime). Women are more likely to trip-chain, meaning that when they travel, they tend to have multiple purposes and multiple destinations within one trip (Kunieda and Gauthier 2007: 6), which imposes specific needs for transportation but also for the way cities are planned.

Although research shows that planning departments tend to ignore questions of gender equality (Beebeejaun 2009; Burgess 2008; Sen and Kelly 2007a, b), urban planning has become more sensitive to the different needs of women and men but also to engaging both as active actors in planning related activities (e.g. Beall 1996; Boverket 2010a; Sweet and Escalante 2010). When safety is the main goal, the difficulty of adopting a single *gender perspective in urban planning* resides on the fact that both *gender roles* and *safety* are space–time and culture-dependent social constructs. *Gender*, based on biological constructs of female and male, differentiates individuals' roles and responsibilities in society, which in turn are affected by broad social contexts (e.g. income, ethnicity). Likewise, *safety* is constructed differently by different individuals and is affected by those who define it (e.g. by gender and age). In this chapter, the inclusion of a *gender perspective in planning* is defined by *actions that intend to foster gender awareness, knowledge and competence among both women and men as citizens and as planners, encouraging both to claim equal enjoyment of rights and benefits of safe urban environments*.

The aim of this chapter is to illustrate how gender is incorporated into urban planning practices when urban safety is the main goal. The current literature on planning, urban safety and gender provides the basis for setting out the integrated analytical framework of the study. Case studies in four different European countries are selected to show planning practices that aim to create safer urban environments from a gender perspective. The cases are located in Vienna in Austria (the housing projects Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1 and Rosa Donaustadt), Tampere in Finland (the housing area Muotiala), Hallunda-Norsborg in Sweden (a regeneration project) and London, UK (the work done by the NGO Women's Design Service).

This chapter does not make a comparative analysis between case studies or between countries. The intention is to tell different stories, based on national and local contexts, on how planning practices integrate a gender perspective when dealing with urban safety. The diversity and richness of the cases are meant to

offer the reader an illustration about a variety of approaches. First, they exemplify theory and planning practices from different contextual settings. For instance, Sweden and Finland represent a planning style where local authorities in municipalities have the main responsibility for urban planning. In the UK, grass-roots movements have become an influential part of local governance (Rhodes 1996). Second, they constitute important cases for both practitioners and scholars. Contributing to this potential is the fact that some of them gained reputation as best practices (e.g. the case in Vienna was awarded best practice recognition by UN Habitat in 1996). Third, the lifespan of these cases varies. Whilst the Swedish case started in 2009, the Austrian housing project Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1 ended in 1997 and has been an inspiration for later projects such as Rosa Donaustadt (2003–2010). Also, the study does not set out to make a judgement of the case outcomes (e.g. how successful they have been in achieving their goals), which means that commonalities and differences in terms of organisation, target groups, planning approaches and achieved outcomes are not the focus of this chapter.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. The following section presents the conceptual framework for examining urban planning practices, by integrating literature in urban planning, gender and criminology. Section 13.3 presents the methodology employed, followed by Sect. 13.4 with some contextual information of the countries from which the case studies were selected. In Sect. 13.5, case studies are discussed in detail. This chapter concludes by proposing an agenda of issues that might be of relevance to planners and practitioners dealing with safety and gender issues at the municipal level.

13.2 The Gender Dimension in Planning for Urban Safety

The personal geographies of men and women can vary greatly, and fear of attack is one of the most influential constraints on women's freedom of movement in the urban environment (Pain 1997; Day 2009). Time–geography principles can be helpful here. As first stated by Hägerstrand (1970), human spatial activity is often governed by limitations and not by independent decisions by spatially or temporally autonomous individuals. Limitations are imposed, for instance, by the way places are planned and built. Such principles, when applied to the city, suggest that as individuals are exposed to different environments at different times, their victimisation propensity and safety perception also vary over time and space. This section reviews some of the key themes in research that link fear, victimisation, gender, city environments and urban planning.

One's perceived safety depends not only on factors such as age and gender but also on contextual factors, such as socio-economic circumstances and society's overall conditions. It is at the urban scale that risk and fear of crime take shape. Both risk and fear of crime are affected by the way the urban environment looks and is perceived to be. Urban environments that promote a feeling of safety are often those where the person has control over his or her own spatial behaviour. Urban planning

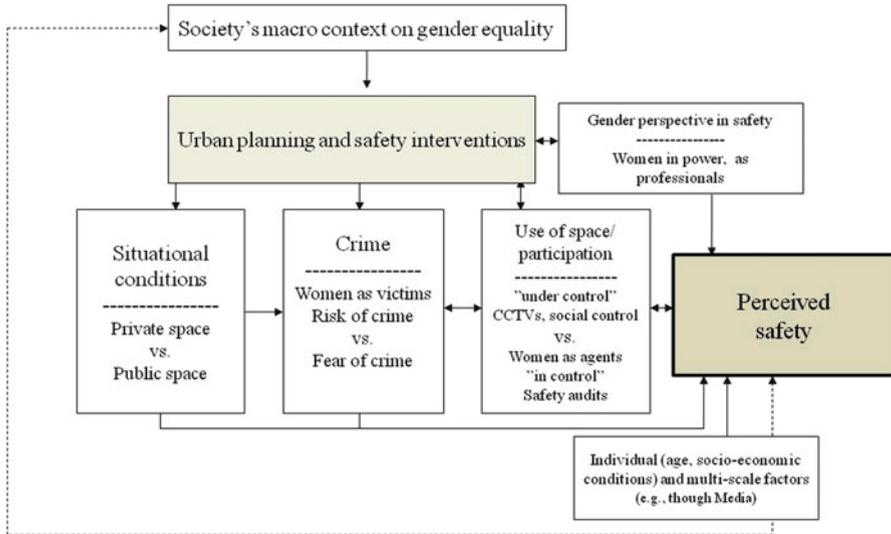


Fig. 13.1 The theoretical framework of the study

is a tool that can be used to promote safety, especially when participatory schemes are employed. The aim of this section is to make some sense of these intertwined themes and produce a framework of analysis for Sects. 13.4 and 13.5 (Fig. 13.1).

Some places in the city are more risky than others. City centres, places with areas of mixed land use and transport nodes are often more criminogenic places than residential areas (Sherman et al. 1989; Wikström 1991; Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2002, 2009; Bromley and Nelson 2002; Ceccato et al. 2002; Andresen 2006; Ceccato 2009). For women, however, regardless of which part of the city they live in, the home tends to be more dangerous than any outdoor environment. According to Swedish Victim Survey in BRÅ (2010), women are threatened and assaulted most often at home, by somebody they know. For this reason, it is very likely that the level of victimisation among women at home is higher than is reported by the police or in victimisation surveys. Research has also shown that most women are aware that violence at home is more common than stranger attacks in public places, but this knowledge has little effect on their fear of crime, unless they have personal experience of domestic violence (Pain 1997, 2001). This is because, as Whitzman (2007) suggests, public and private spaces can be understood differently: private spaces can be liberating for some, frightening and dangerous for others. Also, the fear of *stranger danger* encountered in public spaces has been engrained in women from their childhood much more than for men. Overall, if women’s victimisation belongs to the private spaces (home) whilst women’s fear is mistakenly redirected to the public sphere (fear of public places), what is the role of urban planning when safety is the goal? Planning interventions might be *chasing*

*ghosts*² if actions are restricted to the public sphere only, where the minority of cases of serious crimes against women occur. Interventions are often guided by the dichotomy between private versus public spaces, which often creates sectorial blindness: physical planning deals with safety of outdoor environments, whilst social care deals with domestic violence. As suggested by Sweet and Escalante (2010: 2129), ‘urban planning has been largely ineffective in addressing urban violence and particularly slow in responding to gender violence’.

The international literature on sexual violence outdoors indicates that rape, for instance, tends to occur in areas characterised by construction sites, urban renewal, parks and temporary lodgings (e.g. Pyle 1974; Rhodes and Conly 1981; Canter and Larkin 1993). This would indicate that women are more prone to violence in certain urban environments than in others. At a micro-scale, architects have long suggested that the type of building and architectural design influence what occurs on the streets surrounding them. Paths that have bushes placed in many locations might give offenders places to hide (Newman 1972). Cutting back on the distances to be walked and removing hiding places is argued to affect not only the opportunity for crime but also the fear of crime. Some of these principles have guided what is often called by urban planners as *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* (CPTED). The general idea is that environments can be planned in a way that reduces the possibility of crime occurring, by stimulating surveillance, fostering territoriality and reducing areas of conflict by controlling access from outsiders (Jeffery 1971; Newman 1972). This first generation of CPTED planning strategies was criticised for portraying individuals as passive agents in the environment, and ignoring the social construction of physical space altogether (Smith 1987; Pain 2000: 372). Attempts to develop CPTED strategies have included anti-segregation measures and active community participation (Cozens et al. 2005), and the gender perspective was put into practice in Canada with the development of safety audits with women’s groups, police and transit officials as participants (Wekerle and Whitzman 1995; Grönlund 2012). However, these measures continue to be criticised for addressing crime in public spaces by strangers only (Sweet and Escalante 2010), which ignores the wider social causation of women’s fear (Pain 2001).

Women and older people tend to be regarded as more fearful than men and younger people, but according to the international literature, this perception is inaccurate (Pain 1995, 2000). An individual’s fear depends on a variety of factors, such as physical abilities, age, gender, socio-economic status, ethnic background, sexual orientation and previous personal experiences of victimisation (Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Hale 1996; Will and McGrath 1995; Pain 1995, 2000), one’s immediate environment and life style (Eschholz 1997; Zelinka and Brennan 2001) and on aspects that may mediate fear and risk in modern societies

² This term was first suggested in urban criminology by Ratcliffe and McCullagh (2001), referring to mismatch between crime hot spots and police perception of high-crime areas.

(see, e.g. Murray 2007). Fear is also influenced by other more multi-scale factors (national, global) that reach individuals in their daily life through, for instance, the media (Smith and Pain 2009; Day 2009). More difficult to explain is how these multi-scale factors affect women and men differently. In Sweden, for instance, more than 30% of young women (aged 16–24 years) are afraid of being attacked or assaulted, whilst the corresponding figure for men is less than 10% (Larsson and Jalakas 2008). Fear might also have a local component. Signs of physical deterioration and public disorder are thought to be more important determinants of fear of crime than the actual incidence of crime (Ferraro 1995). This literature demonstrates that fear results from the perception that informal and formal social control in the area is weak. Thus, women exposed to such environments would tend to be more fearful than those living in areas with high social control and few signs of public disorder.

Koskela (2006) shows that concealed surveillance, either the cameras or the control rooms, erodes women's confidence. In contrast, planners and decision makers may contribute to emancipating those who feel fearful to take control – here subjects have an active role. Urban audits, for example, make visible women's vulnerability in certain urban environments, at the same time as they contribute to women's feeling that they have the power to influence their urban environments. Of relevance here is therefore a discussion of the way knowledge is handled or dismissed by decision makers and planners.

Since the 1900s, cities have been the product of rational planning practices, which have envisaged the planner as the expert knowing the best for the city. Within this framework, citizen participation and consultation are rarely part of the planning process: the planner dominates and controls the entire process of planning the city. More recently, planning as a rational process has been criticised as being founded on a false assumption that science can produce the best possible plan (Strömgren 2007). A counter discourse has therefore shown signs that planning can be a communicative process that acknowledges stakeholders, citizens and other parts of civil society as being the experts. The planner is seen as a mediator. Friedmann (1969) suggests that

the planner's ability is closely related to a heightened capacity for empathy to see the world as others do. . . . Ability to empathize can be learned; it requires keen observation, sharpened sensibility to the nuances of interpersonal relationships and to the psychological needs of others, and an authentic desire to understand points of view different from one's own. No amount of empathy, however, can assure the absence of friction and dashes that result from differences in social position, interest, and interpretation. The typical action environment is tense and charged with conflict. Consequently, the planner has to learn to live with conflict, to accept conflict as inevitable, and to exploit conflicting forces for constructive action (Friedmann 1969: 317).

With regard to safety issues, Listerborn (2007: 61) points out that this participatory framework is not free of problems. Not all voices are heard equally, and the

voices from women in marginalised neighbourhoods are rarely heard at all. Importantly, these neighbourhoods are perhaps areas where safety issues are most crucial. Working models often ‘identify women as powerless and without human and community agency’ (Sweet and Escalante 2010: 2144). Exclusionary and/or *tough-on-crime* intervention practices may run the risk of deeper group stigmatisation (e.g. Ceccato and Lukyte 2011). A tempting assumption is that female planners know better than male planners how to foster experiences from women and incorporate them into planning practices. However, having women as planning officials, decision makers or participants does not ensure per se that a plurality of views is automatically incorporated into the process. This is because, as suggested by Friberg and Larsson (2000), female planners are often trained and educated in a male tradition, so females may be trained to be gender biased. It is also likely that well-educated middle-class women may not be sensitive to the needs and experiences of marginalised women, so gender alone is not a guarantee for interventions that satisfy the needs of all. It is argued that barriers for implementing a gender perspective in planning are imposed by local circumstances, as described above, but also – as suggested by Sweet and Escalante (2010) – by working models of institutions and organisations that incorporate and reproduce multi-scale structural gender inequalities.

13.3 Method

The empirical material from the case study areas was gathered through interviews in 2010 by a team of three researchers composed of urban planners and geographers. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with urban planners, policymakers, civil servants, architects and citizens involved with urban planning activities in the study areas. Participants were identified through a *snowball sampling* (e.g. Babbie 2010) with key actors in each area. These conversations mostly generated access to written material, presentations, photographs and maps. The questionnaire template covered the case setting; tools, methods and processes used in the cases; and impacts of the cases (Appendix 1).

From Fig. 13.1 and the literature presented in the previous section, we identified four themes as relevant for helping us to present the case studies in this chapter (Fig. 13.2). These themes overlap each other, and each set of themes should be interpreted in real life as part of a continuum rather than considered as dichotomies.

In the next section, case studies are presented. All cases claim to incorporate to some extent a gender perspective, although some more explicitly than others. Most of the analysis of this chapter stems from the empirical material gathered by Dymén et al. (2010); the only exception is the Swedish case. These cases are nested in a brief discussion of EU gender equality policies and, when possible, of gender policies at national levels.

Fig. 13.2 The analytical themes of the study



13.4 Framing the Case Studies: From EU to Local Level Practices

How gender is understood and put in practice by each country in Europe³ differs. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the differences between Austria, Finland, Sweden and the UK, some important country features are highlighted in this section as a background for the case studies.

Table 13.1 summarises some of the basic characteristics of the case studies used in this chapter. In Sweden, safety with a gender perspective has in the last decade been part of the activities of the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, which is the central government authority for urban planning and housing (Boverket 1998; 2006; 2007; 2010a, b). This development has gone hand in hand with attempts to decentralise crime prevention (*Alla vårt ansvar*) and create local crime prevention bodies (Ministry of Justice 1996: 59; BRÅ 2002). Fundamental to this development was also the 2007 Swedish gender equality goal that states that ‘Women and men should have the same power to shape society and their lives’ (Swedish Government Prop 2005/06: 155). At the regional level, the Swedish debate on regional enlargement, for example, stresses that the gender perspective is highly relevant (Lindsten 2001: 52; Larsson and Jalakas 2008; Adolfsson 2006). At the local level, many attempts to incorporate gender into planning projects and practices are under way (Boverket 2009). The case of Hallunda-Norsborg in the municipality of Botkyrka in the southern part of the Stockholm region is used as

³ One of the main objectives of the European Union, however, is to eliminate inequalities and to promote gender equality throughout the European member states. For a review of the past gender policies at European level, see Damyhanovic (2007).

Table 13.1 Main characteristics of the case studies

Name	Country	Start	Main goal	Safety and gender aspects
Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1 (housing project) and Rosa Donaustadt (housing project)	Austria Austria	1992–1997 2003	To create a living environment that is practical and safe and that promotes social interaction for women	Safety is fostered by having female architects and female citizens plan and design the areas. In Rosa Donaustadt, only women are allowed sign tenure contracts
Muotiala (housing/ neighbourhood project)	Finland	2002	To plan, design and build a safe neighbourhood from scratch. The municipality of Tampere considers Muotiala to be a pilot project, implementing safety guidelines using building design and planning	Safety is fostered by planning and constructing environments that feel ‘human’ (including meeting places, small streets and well-maintained green areas) and by mixing housing as well as socio-economic groups. Gender is not explicitly a dimension of the safety guidelines
Hallunda-Norsborg (regeneration)	Sweden	2009	To develop and test a GIS tool that visualises different factors that influence women’s and men’s safety in public places. The goal is also to enable planners and housing developers to create environments that are safe for women and men	Safety is promoted by identifying places in the neighbourhood perceived as unsafe. Audits, maps and statistics should be split by gender
Women’s Design Service (non-governmental organisation)	UK	1984	To foster the belief that the diverse communities of women who live in towns and cities should enjoy a quality environment that is well designed, accessible, environmentally sustainable, affordable and safe	A safe environment is one of many goals. To achieve the goal, WDS seeks to work with women to improve the urban environment and change attitudes to make the voices of women heard as professionals and users

an example. Despite being a new project (started in 2009), it has innovative features. The goal of the project is to develop and test a method to analyse and visualise different factors that influence gender differences in perceived safety in public spaces. The project is also innovative because it attempts to make use of mapping-based tools, such as geographic information systems (GIS), to visualise areas of risk (geography of crime) and fear of crime (perceived safety) by different population groups.

Finland shows high female employment rates and educational levels (Eurostat 2010). The Act of Equality 1986 defines the basis for gender equality in Finland (The Act of Equality 609/1986 cited in Kyrö and Hyrsky 2008). The aim is to promote equality between women and men, especially in working life (The Act of Equality, 2005 new sections 4§ and 4a§ cited in Kyrö and Hyrsky 2008). However, looking more closely at Finland's policy for gender equality, Kyrö and Hyrsky (2008) find that there are great problems of horizontal and vertical employment segregation and that the gender equality act has not been very successful in this respect (Kyrö and Hyrsky 2008: 75). One explanation for these problems is that gender equality is often perceived as *gender neutrality* in Finnish policy. These problems relate not only to the economic arena but also to women's lives at home and at work (Kyrö and Hyrsky 2008: 75). In the field of urban planning, for instance, in the Land Use and Building Law, gender is implicitly mentioned. The law states that building should consider the needs of different groups of citizens such as children, the elderly and the disabled (Dymén et al. 2010). However, the question of integrating a gender perspective in urban safety issues began to emerge only around 10 years ago. Koskela and Pain (2000) state that safety in planning has not been a significant goal in Finland until recently and that taking women's concerns into consideration has only just begun to emerge. In the UK and North America, for instance, women's safety has been on the agenda much longer.

The Finnish project analysed in this study exemplifies the planning and ongoing construction of the housing area Muotiala in the southwest parts of Tampere, Finland. The project is a Finnish pilot case for incorporating safety guidelines in new developments. Construction began in 2002 and is part of a larger housing area consisting of villas, detached and semi-detached houses and apartments for about 2,000 citizens. The development of Muotiala is based on a safety programme implemented by the municipality in cooperation with the police. The programme was preceded by a survey that the police in Tampere conducted in 1996, which identified that woman and the elderly felt fearful in central parts of Tampere (Kyttä et al. 2008). Specific safety guidelines were developed in the planning and construction of Muotiala. One goal was to plan for different socio-economic groups as well as to mix housing types, such as rental apartments and bought apartments. Safety is fostered by planning and building environments that feel safe for all. Examples of these environments are meeting places and well-maintained green areas as well as neighbourhoods that encourage natural surveillance. Even though safety is a guiding principle in Muotiala, a gender perspective is not explicitly stated in any goals. The area is supposed to be safe for everyone and has in that sense a *gender neutral* approach (Dymén et al. 2009, 2010).

When it comes to the UK, the gender perspective in planning has been discussed for many years, for instance, through the work done by Women's Design Service from the early 1980s (Koskela and Pain 2000). In the late 1990s, the Royal Town Planning Institute elaborated a tool box that enabled urban planners to include a gender perspective in their actions (Reeves and Sheridan 2003; Greed 2002). In 2007, a new law was introduced in the UK, the so-called Gender Equality Duty. The law demanded public authorities involved in planning and regeneration to incorporate a gender perspective in their work. Research shows that in some cases, the law had an impact on the way that gender has been considered in regeneration and planning (Burgess 2008). However, the impact of the law has in general been minimal in planning. Engaging with gender in planning is not an established practice and initiatives to consider gender tend to be driven by one or a few individuals (Burgess 2008). Recently, a new law, the Gender Equality Act 2010, came into force to update, simplify and strengthen previous legislation (Government Equalities Office 2010). The UK case study highlights the work that the NGO Women's Design Service (WDS) has been engaged in for over two decades in London and therefore preceded actions stated in the Gender Equality Duty issued years later. WDS illustrates a robust bottom-up approach with strong communicative features. WDS is an organisation created by female architects and planners that acts as a link between local women and planning authorities. Women are encouraged to identify problems with safety in their neighbourhood and then to propose concrete solutions to planners and politicians at the municipal council. Nowadays, WDS has numerous projects and uses different tools and methods in their work, working with different geographical areas. In this chapter, we review an overall summary of its activities, choosing some examples, instead of concentrating on only one.

In Austria, the EU legislation on gender mainstreaming and federal legislation are the basis for all practical work with gender equality (Dymén et al. 2010). According to the URBAN NET, gender mainstreaming has been successful as a top-down strategy, and since 2001, several projects especially in the larger cities have been dealing with gender in planning. The transnational project GenderAlp, for example, introduced these questions in the province of Salzburg (URBAN NET 2010). According to the architect Sabine Pollak (personal communication), the extent to which gender equality is implemented in planning differs much depending on the province. In Vienna, the municipality has required that every social housing project⁴ be assessed by a special gender equality unit. Issues that are assessed relate to many subjects, including safety. In Vienna, Frauen-Werk-Stadt was the pioneer for integrating a gender perspective in planning (Dymén et al. 2010). The case analysed in this study is based in Vienna and consists of two housing

⁴ Social housing, accounting for 25% of the Austrian housing stock, is funded by the government through income taxes, corporation taxes and 'housing contributions'. Social housing is provided by municipalities and limited-profit housing organisations. As an example, 53% of Austrians and 17% of non-Austrians live in social housing in Vienna (Reinprecht 2007).

projects: Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1 and Rosa Donaustadt. According to Dymén et al. (2010), the housing area Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1 is the result of the municipality's ambition to incorporate especially women's experiences and expertise in physical urban planning. One goal of the project was that the housing area should offer a practical and safe living environment that promotes social interaction. It is situated in Vienna's 22nd district in the northern part of the city. The district consists of both single houses and apartment blocks. The ground where the project was implemented was initially undeveloped. The planning process began in 1992, and the area is planned to fulfil women's needs. The project Rosa Donaustadt was initiated and developed by private architects and women's groups. The planning began in 2004 by architect Sabine Pollak in collaboration with women's groups. The basic idea of the housing project was that the housing environment should promote social interaction.

13.5 Putting Gender at the Centre: Safety Projects in Sweden, Finland, the UK and Austria

There are a few issues that must be mentioned before setting out the presentation of the case studies. One is about the nature of these cases. They are of different types: some deal with new housing developments (in Finland and Austria), whilst others have targeted goals in pre-existing communities (Sweden) or the area and topics change over time, such as in the UK. How planning is put in practice is limited by the relationship between planning and the actual physical space where change is expected to happen. The approaches to urban regeneration are, for instance, different from those related to the development of new housing areas. For planners, development of new housing areas implies great possibilities to use design and planning strategies of the physical environment to incorporate a gender perspective in safety issues. Furthermore, the targeted clients of the projects are different. For instance, in Muotiala, Finland, both women and men with different socio-economic backgrounds are targeted, whereas in the UK and Austrian cases, women exclusively are the target group.

The analysis driven here is based on the activities carried out at the time of study. The intention is not to establish a ranking of their quality but rather to use them to exemplify the diversity of planning practices in these four countries. Although the cases indicate important experiences in the four countries, they do not represent however the overall status of gender-based policy, research and practices of these countries.

Moreover, the case studies are embedded in different socio-economic, cultural and institutional contexts. For instance, Scandinavian countries are traditionally known for welfare systems with generous parental-leave policies which potentially support individuals to combine work and family life. Eurostat statistics show, for instance, some relevant gender differences between these countries regarding

education, jobs and salaries (Eurostat 2010). Sweden and Finland show higher female employment rates (71.8% and 69%, respectively) than the UK and Austria (both with 65.8%) but also in education (in Sweden, 60.3% of women have tertiary education, whilst in Austria the figure is only 53.3%). Figures also show differences in salaries by gender. In Austria, women's wages are 26% lower than men's. In the UK, differences are around 21%, whilst in Sweden, the percentage is 17% and Finland 20% in 2007. This diverse context is relevant here since it sets different starting points for project goals and may impose limitations to what the actions can deliver. Even though the goal here is not a comparison between case studies, it is important to keep in mind these country differences.

13.5.1 *Fear of Crime Versus Risk of Crime*

The case studies differ in how they deal with crime risk and/or perceived safety because they are heterogeneous in nature: some cases deal with high-crime neighbourhoods in more central environments; others are suburban environments with moderate crime levels but high declared perceived unsafety, and others still are models of low-crime risk and fear of crime. Some of these cases are new housing projects, which mean that risk of crime in particular is dealt with at the planning stages of construction by following CPTED principles.

In Hallunda-Norsborg, Sweden, GIS helps to provide diagnostics of both risk of crime and where citizens feel unsafe. To encourage people to fill out the survey – which provided a basis for the diagnostics – mobilisation was done by contacting local networks, schools and non-governmental organisations as well as conducting marketing campaigns. Figure 13.3 shows the answers by women and men to the following question: *have you avoided walks in the evening and at night because you are afraid (or anxious) of being victimised?* (See electronic version for colour figure)

This knowledge base is thought to be used by planners and housing developers to plan and implement measures that improve safety. Results are separated by gender and age. Furthermore, the municipality has made an audit of the so-called *Icke platser* (loosely translated as *inexistent places*), which are composed of interstitial places that are now a source of fear because they have been deteriorated through vandalism, left with no use or are being used as a dump. Regenerating and converting these locations into functional places is expected to diminish risk of vandalism or being a dumping place, which is a source of low perceived safety.

In the cases of Vienna and WDS in London, the main purpose is to empower and emancipate women, by acknowledging them as the experts of their everyday life and being active participants in the planning process; therefore, the cases relate considerably to feelings of safety or, in other words, to fear of crime. However, in relation to the physical environment, for instance, in Vienna, CPTED principles are clearly used in the planning of the area, which intends to tackle not only fear of crime but also risk of crime. The housing projects aim to create safety especially in the housing areas, for instance, when walking to and using the laundry facilities. In the case of WDS, the emancipation is about giving local women both education in planning

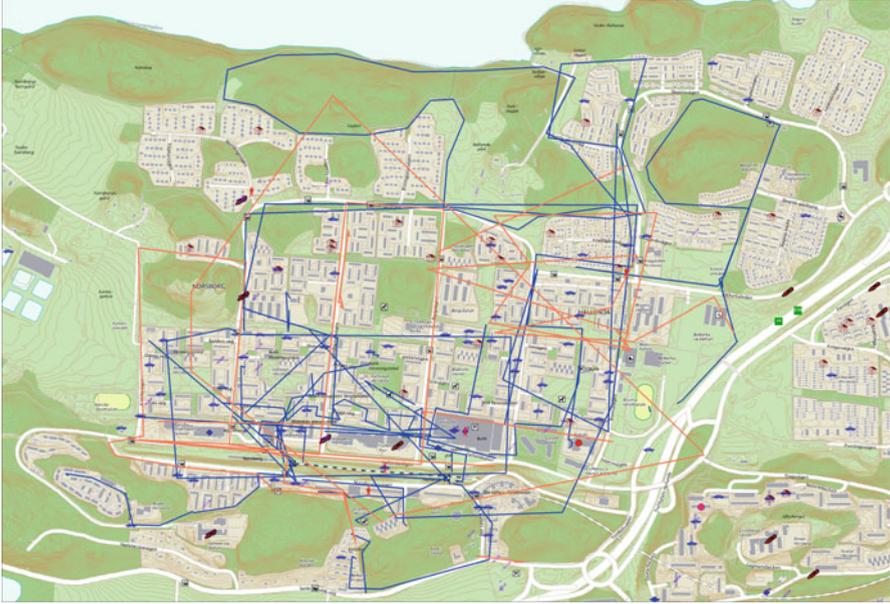


Fig. 13.3 Map of crime events (*objects*) and perceived safety by women (*dark grey line*) and men (*light grey line*) in the evenings, aged 50 and younger in Hallunda-Norsborg (Source: Botkyrka Municipality 2010, see electronic version for colour figure)

issues and planning legislation, as well as more concrete work, such as performing urban safety audits where local women observe, record and analyse the urban environment and then communicate results to decision makers. This emancipation approach contributes to making women *tame* male-dominated streets and transportation nodes and facilities. As Koskela (1999) suggests, women do not passively experience space but actively produce, define and reclaim it. In other words, emancipation can decrease fear of crime, for instance, in male-dominated places.

In the Finnish case of Muotiala, planning approaches deal with both fear and risk of crime. In this new housing area, the focus is on creating a neighbourhood that feels safe for women and men, for instance, by developing public places that are visible from kitchen windows, as well as by mixing housing based on price, size and type.

13.5.2 Private Space Versus Public Space

When it comes to safety, the private realm is not the focus of the cases analysed here; the common feature is that all deal with safety of public spaces (or in transition to). Looking at Hallunda-Norsborg, Sweden, the GIS project is exclusively focused

on public environments and, if home is considered, it is often seen as the target of property crimes committed by strangers. The focus on public environments omits domestic violence indoors (which according to Roth and Sandahl 2008, 3.3% of interviewed females and 2.1 of males in Stockholm declare fear of being victims).⁵

Another approach is found in Muotiala, Finland, where innovative design features provide a gentle separation between private and public spaces by using different materials and colours in a harmonious way (Fig. 13.4 (See electronic version for colour photo)). It creates a semi-private area, a smooth transition between private and public spaces, or as Biddulph (2007: 44) suggests, it is a 'space that is a piece of the urban environment that tends to be private and which a member of the general public only enters if they have a reason – for example, a front garden, yard or home day-care centre'.

In the Vienna case, indoor as well as outdoor environments are an integral part of the projects, but even though designing kitchens with oriels (a bay window which projects from the wall) and inverting the apartments (Fig. 13.5) are to some extent about the indoor private space, the purpose is primarily a safety issue for the public spaces, by increasing visibility towards the outside. There are some aspects of the planning of the area that can relate to the private sphere and the issue of domestic violence. For instance, the police station and a doctor's office are an integral part of the residential area. This can, at least potentially, encourage women to report domestic violence, if these services are organised in a larger scheme against domestic violence.

13.5.3 Being in Control Versus Being under Control

Women can play either a passive or an active role in relation to the use of urban spaces. When safety is concerned, passivity can take many forms, such as being under surveillance by others (e.g. relatives in indoor spaces, strangers in outdoor spaces) and by cameras. As an active agent, women may take possession of space (Koskela 1999) by, for instance, identifying women's vulnerability in certain urban environments and having the power to change them, and/or to plan new environments. The case studies discussed here provide examples of women's engagements between these two extremes (passive vs. active). For instance, safety

⁵ In cases of domestic violence, social care, hospitals, police (some have special family units to deal with domestic violence) and NGO organisations (women's shelters, women's support line) are activated to deal with problems. About a fourth of all cases of violence between partners are reported to the police in Sweden. About 40% of victims of violence in close relationships declare they did not receive the support they expected from society, and these numbers are particularly high among men in relation to NGO support (BRÅ 2010).



Fig. 13.4 Separating public, semi-private/private and private spaces in Muotiala, Finland (Source: Photograph by Ulla Kirsikka Ekman 2009)

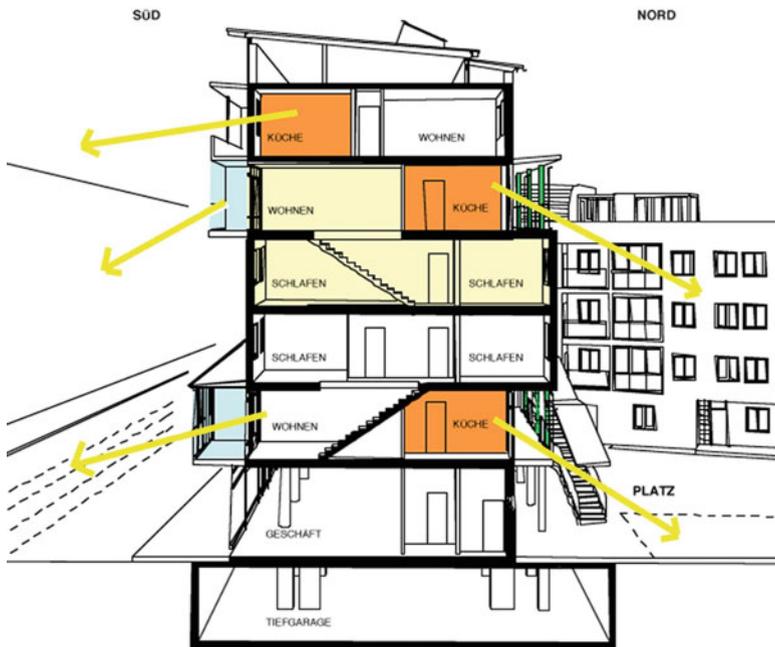


Fig. 13.5 Apartments in Frauen-Werk-Stadt (Source: Drawing by Franziska Ullmann 1995) (See electronic version for colour figures)

has been an integral part of the housing developments in Muotiala in Finland and in the housing projects in Vienna. The design features provide a means for residents to control their outdoor spaces more effectively. At the same time, design allows individuals on the streets to be visible from indoors and therefore directly contributes to overall safety. Buildings are designed to focus on creating environments that maximise social control and natural surveillance during the day. The idea is that natural surveillance leads to intervention if something happens. Figure 13.5 illustrates the way the apartments are *inverted*, built to promote natural surveillance of both sides of the building. The kitchens, for instance, in dark grey, face different directions. Furthermore, the oriel windows of the kitchens and transparent materials facilitate views of outdoor common areas and public spaces (See electronic version for colour figure).

Muotiala, Finland, and the housing projects in Vienna, Austria, also incorporate different levels of citizen emancipation in using urban spaces. In Vienna, women are explicitly targeted, and especially in the project Rosa Donaustadt, women take part in designing and planning the new housing area. This certainly helps local women to feel empowered by creating their own neighbourhood. It is likely that this participation also decreases levels of anxiety not necessarily as a consequence of having less risky places but rather by putting into practice knowledge that makes women feel in control of their own environment. The name of the project – Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1, in English *Women's Workshop 1* – and the tenure system (directed to women) for the housing project Rosa Donaustadt are evidence that the project is targeting women, involving them in the design, implementation and tenureship. In Rosa Donaustadt only women are allowed to sign tenure contracts. One of the responsible architects in Vienna states that

...this was the idea from the beginning, then we had big problems but we won in the Antidiscrimination Clearing Unit in the City of Vienna... That only women can sign contracts was taken to the Antidiscrimination Unit as a case of discrimination. The unit decided that such *positive discrimination* should be accepted. Today, almost all apartments are rented by women. In normal cases when a contract is handed over to a new person a woman is looked for. But if there are problems finding a woman as a tenant the property can be handed over to a man (Architect, Rosa Donaustadt, Vienna).

In Muotiala, Finland, women were not the target the same way, but citizens had opportunities, in the public hearing period, to give their opinion. WDS in London and Hallunda-Norsborg in Sweden aim to make changes and improve safety for women and men in existing urban environments. From interviews with WDS, we conclude that their work contributes to making women feel active agents in the process, which in turn affect their safety. The organisation encourages women, often marginalised, to feel confident in raising issues of safety, to come up with solutions themselves and then present them to politicians. Making women feel confident in male-dominated spaces is, for instance, an example of WDS activities. The initiative is not necessarily about dealing with crime risk in the area but rather about feeling in control of the space. Some of the initiatives do involve design of the environment, such as opening the shops to increase more *eyes on the street*. An interviewee from WDS exemplifies the types of



Fig. 13.6 (a) Young people hanging around; (b) 'Workman's inn cafe' (Source: Photographs by Asli Tepecik Dis 2009, see electronic version for colour photos)

environments they work with using the case of Finnsbury Park, in the borough of Islington in London (Fig. 13.6a, b):

It just feels very male oriented. It does not matter what cultural or ethnic background you come from. . . Lots of little small shops and quite narrow pavements, and they are men who run those shops, there are little cafes to hang out outside and chat with each other. Muslim women, they find it very difficult just to go around every day, taking the children to school, pushing the pram. These men weren't doing anything, but that's just how they felt. It was just how women perceived being safe and their answer to how it would be better was, instead of having one big road with cars on it and narrow pavements and shops there, the road would have been built more like a square like this where you got bigger pavements and it feels wider. It would not feel so enclosed and you do not have to pass people quite so much. It just gives a broader feeling. . . Women feel prohibited; they would not go to local women's centre if they feel they have to pass along these men (Expert at WDS, London).

At the time of the writing of this chapter, the Hallunda-Norsborg, Sweden, case was relatively new, so how the gender perspective (women's and men's roles) would be dealt with was not entirely determined by the group in charge. Initiatives have so far provided citizens the opportunity to give opinions about their safety through surveys. This is especially important in an area such as Hallunda-Norsborg where unemployment and feelings of isolation are high (Botkyrka municipality 2010). As suggested in Kindon et al. (2007: 17), when working with the marginalised it is essential to have concrete methods that enable people to generate information and share knowledge. The GIS tool in a participatory framework can be just such an example of this *hands-on* method.

13.5.4 *Rational Planning Versus Communicative Planning*

All case studies incorporate to different degrees citizens' participation – but there are differences in how the processes started and how they were carried out. Muotiala in Finland, Hallunda-Norsborg in Sweden and Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1 in Austria show features of a *top-down communicative approach*. The municipalities' planning authorities introduce and implement proposed plans and adapt them with citizens' engagement at different stages.

The housing project Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1 in Vienna can be described as *top-down with communicative features*, where the gender perspective is clearly stated as women's perspective: planning is done for women, by women. The planning began in 1992 and was initiated by the municipality. One year after the planning process started, eight female architects were invited to the competition. At a later stage in the planning process, the winning concept was presented to local citizens, and specific target groups such as single mothers were also invited. In 1997, the first inhabitants moved to Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1. The vision for the project was to create practical, safe and social housing based on women's experiences. Citizens were invited to participate in the process, implying that a communicative approach was to some extent in place.

The Swedish case study of Hallunda-Norsborg shows a mix of *top-down with communicative approaches*. In this case, citizens were invited to identify the problems. Through a GIS-based web questionnaire, citizens were asked to identify areas, within the neighbourhood where they felt unsafe. Men and women were also asked to identify why they felt unsafe and fearful in these specific areas. The GIS tool was later supplemented with data on these areas (e.g. crime data).

The case of Muotiala in Finland also illustrates a *top-down approach*, incorporating some *communicative elements*. The municipality proposed the development of Muotiala as a testing area for a so-called *safety neighbourhood*. The municipality, together with the local police and an architect expert in safety issues were the main actors for planning the area. Citizens from the city of Tampere were invited to a public hearing and were welcome to give their opinions. Gender is not explicitly stated in policy documents or reports, despite being part of the daily practice by, for instance, breaking down perceptions by gender. The goal of gender equality falls under a wider umbrella of social goals.

On the other hand, WDS in London and Rosa Donaustadt in Austria have a rather clear *bottom-up communicative approach* in their planning processes. Often, the process is initiated and implemented by women's groups in collaboration with female architects and planners who are not working directly for planning authorities. The approach builds on the fact that these women's groups and female architects have good relations and *are taken seriously* by the planning authorities.

The gender perspective in these two cases is explicitly a women's perspective. The organisation WDS illustrates a robust *bottom-up approach* with strong *communicative features*. The group was established in 1987 by female planners, architects and urban developers to question male dominance in the field. The initial members

were working for the city administration in a service centre specifically targeted to support citizens in planning and building questions. At that time, the centre identified a need to create an organisation that could support women's needs and experiences. Currently, the NGO has the task of implementing consultations with women in urban planning and design issues.

WDS acknowledges that women are more fearful than men and that they must be consulted as experts of their everyday life experiences. This does not mean that men are excluded from the process (although they seldom participate in activities organised by WDS). The main role of WDS is to act as a link between local women and planning authorities. In some cases, community safety audits lead to contact with the property owner to discuss the possibility of making specific areas safer. In other words, WDS not only reacts on planning processes initiated by authorities, they are also proactively making their own plans and presenting them to politicians and land owners.

With a more *bottom-up* and *communicative approach* than Frauen-Werk-Stadt 1 is the case of Rosa Donaustadt, a housing project initiated and implemented by private architects and citizens (potential residents) together. The architect Sabine Pollak took the initiative in 2003. Soon she came in touch with women's groups and for a long period, workshops were arranged to discuss specific issues related to the planning of the new neighbourhood. Interviews with citizens in these neighbourhoods indicate that the fundamental vision, that the neighbourhood should foster social interactions, also contributes to safety.

In Vienna and WDS in London, where the target groups are specifically women, the professional planners and architects initiating and implementing the projects are also women (female architects and planners are brought forward as agents or spokespersons to these projects) – a pattern of power structure that was not found in the other two cases, in the Finnish Muotiala or the Swedish Hallunda-Norsborg.

13.6 Discussion and Recommendations

This chapter presents four case studies to illustrate approaches to a gender perspective in urban safety projects. Although the focus of this chapter was not to establish comparisons between cases,⁶ a number of general common patterns were identified and will be discussed below.

The cases that are institutionalised into the traditional planning processes also tend to be driven by professionals *in place* (such as Muotiala, Finland, and Hallunda-Norsborg, Sweden), whilst the ones that are parallel to mainstreaming planning, such as WDS and the housing projects in Vienna, are driven by female

⁶ Future research should choose case studies that are similar in nature, discuss the role and demands of target groups and provide a more critical account of their failures so comparisons can be established between case studies.

professionals and local women. What is interesting is that these two latter cases illustrate women's emancipation and empowerment in two ways. First, female planners and architects who drive and implement changes are emancipated in their professional roles. For instance, in Vienna, only female architects were invited to present a proposal. Second, local women and potential users of the outcome of the projects are empowered. For instance, WDS provide courses for women in how to address officials and decision makers. The projects in Vienna are trendsetting in ensuring that women have priority for housing tenancy. This gives women a formal power. Despite good intentions, housing tenancy practices in Rosa Donaustadt (limited to women only) are, however, open to criticism for running the risk of being exclusionary.

Beall (1996) suggested that women are often included only at an early implementation stage of projects and remain excluded from later phases. This might to some extent be the case in the projects in Finland and Sweden, but the case of Vienna in particular shows that a partnership between local authorities, female architects and local women's groups introduces an enabling approach throughout the process. What determines the longevity of the projects is funding opportunities and the organisational structure of the project. Projects which are undertaken under the auspices of local governments (for instance the Swedish and Finnish cases) may have fewer funding problems, but their actions might be limited by government priorities, which may change over time. The WDS group, being an NGO, is more dependent on external funding. One of the WDS interviewees pointed out that

Most of funding comes through government in one shape or form. For many voluntary organisations, that will have a massive impact (because of the current UK's economic downturn). Massive job losses in the public sectors will also affect the amount of money given to the charity sector⁷ (Expert, WDS, London).

The case of Hallunda-Norsborg in Sweden is a good example of how safety and gender actions must be sensitive to local needs and demands of different groups. Sweet and Escalante (2010) point out how traditional responses to demands for improved safety may generate unexpected results when ignoring different interpretations of personal and community safety. One way forward is to have actions which may require trans-sectorial approaches that go beyond the gender perspective in urban planning.

The gender perspective of the cases discussed here deal mainly with safety where people reside, with the exception of WDS in London, which has also worked to improve the safety of women using public transportation. As some places in the city are more risky than others (or at least are perceived as such), projects dealing with safety should take people's mobility into account. This does not necessarily mean that the whereabouts of people have to be known by researchers and planners, but they should be aware that the perceived safety, attached to their place of

⁷ It is important to note that WDS has survived for over two decades with the help of local activists and supporters, even when funding from the government was scarce.

residence, is in fact affected by, among other things, their mobility patterns and the risks to which they might be exposed during transit.

All case studies deal with safety of public spaces, without strongly addressing the safety issue in the private sphere. The underlying understanding is that safety in outdoor environments can be improved by increasing social interaction and surveillance, by making changes in environments that already exist or by training women to make use of and *tame* male-dominated spaces. It is inappropriate and naive to expect that violence indoors should be tackled by urban planners. However, the public–private divide should be dealt with by local authorities – a factor that hampers avenues for tackling violence against women. According to Sweet and Escalante (2010: 2144), ‘we still have a long way to go before planning is able to respond to and prevent gender violence in an equitable manner’.

Are urban planners and practitioners able to integrate gender into urban planning practices and ensure urban safe environments? If so, how can it be done? What have we learned from these four cases? Below we suggest a number of actions that may be of relevance to planners and practitioners:

1. *Defining gender and safety for whom* – A gender perspective has to be widely defined to incorporate both women and men’s safety needs. Even though the general assumption is that women’s are usually more fearful than men, as discussed in Sect. 13.2 of this chapter, the needs, the local knowledge and the experiences of both women and men have to be considered. In extreme cases, biased actions might lead to discriminatory praxis. This could be the case for the Austrian housing project Rosa Donaustadt where at an initial stage only women had the right to sign tenure contracts.
2. *Dealing with private and public space dichotomies* – All cases discussed here were devoted to the safety of outdoor environments, but in the future, actions should encourage a *holistic urban management approach* that targets violence in and outside the home and encourages partnerships between sectors, women’s and men’s organisations, and a multi-sectoral response (Smaoun 2000: 32), such as criminal justice, public health and civil society, because planning interventions in the built environment are insufficient in themselves to reduce violence and fear. In Frauen-Werk-Stadt, for instance, a local police station and a doctor’s station were integrated in the project. This can function as a way of encouraging women to report domestic violence, if these services are framed in wider schemes against domestic violence.
3. *Be aware of the nature of the target* – How planning is put into practice is limited by the relationship between planning and the actual physical space where change is expected to happen. The approaches to urban regeneration are, for instance, different from those related to development of new housing areas. As a planner, development of new housing areas implies great potential for using design and planning strategies of the physical environment to incorporate, for instance, CPTED principles with a gender perspective. Cases in Austria and Finland in particular show this potential in new housing areas, in contrast to much of the work done by WDS in the UK and the case in Sweden, which are more about regeneration.

4. *Be critical about measures and indicators of safety* – The mismatch between the geography of recorded crimes and perceived safety is not new (see Sect. 13.2 in this chapter). Neither is the mismatch between risk and perceived safety between men and women, or youth and the elderly. Urban planning actions must go beyond these mismatches by looking critically at the measures and indicators used in planning (how they affect the results). So far, it has been enough to disaggregate data and develop tools for analysis and evaluation which are sensitive to gender. The next step is to make sense of these mismatches by placing crime and fear of crime in a wider and multi-scale context and by teasing out gender from other individual and area characteristics. This is particularly important in segregated areas of Western European cities. The Hallunda-Norsborg case exemplifies a segregated area in Sweden. In their problem formulation, they have done an ambitious job to identify why citizens generally feel unsafe. Factors such as gender, social exclusion and unemployment are identified as contributing to lack of safety. Future actions must go beyond this initial diagnostic and set of actions that include those who are victimised or in fear.
5. *Be aware of the context* – Differences in laws, policies and institutional actions in some countries create additional barriers or slow down processes that would otherwise be straightforward in other countries. Gender inequality is reflected in different degrees in the labour market: differences in salaries, but also in less tangible areas, such as women's participation in planning processes. Our findings show that planning actions seem to be regulated by the context in which they are embedded. Policies and actions can be used as tools to increase housing ownership among women in countries where gender inequality is relatively great. The Austrian case is an indication of this. In other countries, such as in the UK, strong grass-roots movements put forward women's issues by enabling professional women to act as facilitators between local women's groups and decision makers.
6. *Choosing appropriate planning practices and methods* – In areas where public participation is highly motivated, regular consultation with focus groups, targeted surveys and safety audits might be enough to obtain people's views. The survey performed after the construction of Muotiala is an example of these efforts. However, when working with groups that are difficult to reach, it is essential to have concrete *hands-on* methods that enable people to generate information and share knowledge (see, e.g. Alexander and Pain 2012). WDS in London provided us also with examples of these more *hands-on* practices.
7. *Be aware of the role of urban planning* – Researchers, planners and practitioners should be aware of the fact that urban planning and actions around crime safety interventions are not neutral. They tend to represent the views of certain groups in more traditional rational planning (experts, planners, politicians) but also may occur in bottom-up schemes (individuals may impose their views upon the group). In some of the cases presented here, where local authorities have a strong planning monopoly, and therefore also an obligation (and a privilege) to include different groups, it is crucial to ensure that citizens' opinions are not merely alibis for those in power (planners and decision makers) to proceed with their own agenda. The same warning can be made for other cases that adopt a more *bottom-up* scheme.

Adopting a gender dimension in planning for promoting urban safety should mean incorporating both women's and men's safety needs. This also means that gender should be placed in a wider context of policy goals, such as promoting inclusion and combating socio-economic inequality. That is the challenge!

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

The Case Setting

1. What is the project about? (Private space/public space; fear of crime/risk of crime; being in control/being under control)
2. Who initiated the project/who are the actors? (Rational planning/communicative planning)
3. What is the problem/goal/objective? (Private space/public space; fear of crime/risk of crime; being in control/being under control)
4. What is/was the project definition of safety from a gender equality perspective? (Considering that this may be culturally defined...) (private space/public space; fear of crime/risk of crime; being in control/being under control)
5. What is the social, economic and environmental background for the project? Nationally: Legislation, policies; locally: Social, economical and environmental background (context)
6. When did the project/organisation start? (Context)
7. Why was it initiated? (Private space/public space; fear of crime/risk of crime; being in control/being under control; rational planning/communicative planning)
8. What initiated the project? (Private space/public space; fear of crime/risk of crime; being in control/being under control)
9. Who funded the project? (Context)
10. Which are the target groups? (Context)

Tools, Methods and Processes Used in the Case Projects

11. What methods and processes were used in the project/organisation? (Rational planning/communicative planning)
12. What posed the major challenges? And were there any unexpected facilitating events? (Rational planning/communicative planning)

13. What physical measures were implemented? (Private space/public space; fear of crime/risk of crime; being in control/being under control)
14. Did the country context (gender equality and planning policy system) influence implementation and outcomes of the project? If so, in what ways? (Context)
15. How are spatial planners and other actors involved in the project? (Rational planning/communicative planning; being in control/being under control)

Impacts of the Case Projects

What impacts did the project have? (Legislation, gender equality policy, physical changes, planning practice, social, economic and environmental aspects) (private space/public space; fear of crime/risk of crime; being in control/being under control; rational planning/communicative planning).

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