Think different:
Socially responsible planning in the context of a 'culture of fear'

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Cover picture: *unknown* wall, *unknown* place, *unknown* artist
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Abstract

It is argued by a range of authors that today's social and political life in United States of America is largely dictated by a *culture of fear*. In this *culture of fear* higher income groups tend to segregate themselves from and try to control social minority groups. Evolving landscapes of segregation and control can be called *landscapes of fear*. *Landscapes of fear*, however, are not only socially constructed but also act as "active player in human affairs" (Oakes, Price 2008, p. 150). They foster marginalisation of minority groups and reinforce social and spatial inequity as well as fear itself. Socially responsible planning in this environment represents a challenging task. Indeed, planning has been accused by critical geographers and urbanists of fostering segregation, control, and marginalisation of minority groups. This thesis analyses the evolvement of *landscapes of fear* and their social consequences. Gathered statements of planners in Florida help to define the scope of action for the planning profession in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*. Using the examples of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design and New Urbanism, a second enquiry among the same participants helps to analyse to what extent existing planning approaches are capable of promoting socially responsible development in this context. The findings of this study call for a more active role of planners in society, politics, and the market and suggest planners to think different and define themselves as social and political activists as well as proactive market actors.

Key words

Socially responsible planning, culture of fear, landscapes of fear

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1. Introduction

Contemporary social life in the USA is guided by fear rather than by anything else: Politics based on fear are used to justify domestic and international actions (e.g. Cowen, Gilbert 2008, Furedi 2007), security related businesses based on fear are used to sell new products (e.g. Katz 2008, Warr 2000), and people base their decision making on fear and risk evaluations to a continuously growing extent (e.g. Doel, Clarke 1997). Ellin (2001) states that the "fear factor" in the US has grown in recent decades if measured by locked cars and house doors, security systems, the increase of gated communities, the rising disposal in handguns, the ascending surveillance of public space, and mass media which constantly reports danger. She argues that there is a growing sense of insecurity among American citizens which is caused by "another acceleration in the rate of change as well as the decline of public space, the growing gap between the rich and the poor, and the increased influence of intelligent machines. In addition, violent crime in the US increased by almost 100 per cent from 1960 to 1990" (Ellin 2001, p. 872). And even though crime levels have declined precipitously in the 1980s and 1990s (Smith, Low 2006, p. 14), and this trend continues until today (Schneider, Kitchen 2013), fear of crime has continuously increased (Schneider, Kitchen 2013, Smith, Low 2006).

Although fear as a concept is described as rather floating and inconsistent in its character and lacking of conceptualisation (Furedi 2007), it is regarded by psychologists as one of the six basic (human) emotions next to anger, disgust, happiness, sadness, and surprise (cf. Ekman 1999). The Oxford English Dictionary traces the etymology of the word *fear* back to the start of the eleventh century and offers 14 separate definitions in its verb and noun forms (Gold, Revill 2003, p. 29). Furedi (2007, p. 5) argues that over the past years, fear in itself, rather than the thing that we have become afraid of, became a distinct problem. In the end, fear can be understood as a moral construct widely independent from material risk. However, in the sense that fear directs people's behaviour in time and space, it can also be viewed as a "material practice" (Gold, Revill 2003, Pain, Smith 2008).

Sparks, Girling et al. (2001, p. 885) argue that fear is a "hinge concept" as it reaches down into deep details of the inner/emmotional life and out towards the larger social organisation. They state that "[w]hom and what we fear, and how we express and act upon our fearing, is in some quite important sense, as Durkheim long ago realized, constitutive of who we are" (ibid, p. 885). In this sense, fear can be interpreted not only as individual emotional response to a threat, but also as a societal process. Analysing the concept of fear, then, means to explore the meaning attached to fear and the norms, rules and customs that guide the experience and expression of fear. Furedi (2007) argues that we must distinguish between the "collective emotional standards of a society" and the subjective feelings of the individual and that it is important to conceptualise fear as a social phenomenon. This social phenomenon is described by Furedi and other authors (e.g. Glassner 1999, 2010, Linke, Smith 2009) as *culture of fear*. More precisely, the *culture of fear* is defined by Miller, Vandome, et al. (2009, back cover) as "perceived prevalence of fear and anxiety in public discourse and relationships, and how this may affect the way people interact with one another as individuals and as democratic agents".

Recognising that feelings of fear are not evenly distributed over space (e.g. Nasar, Fisher 1993) and that these feelings have to be understood in their socio-spatial and temporal context (e.g. Sparks, Girling et al. 2001), fear arose interest in spatial sciences. During the 1960s and 1970s this interest concentrated largely on fear of crime. Smith (1987) and Pain (2000) provide a detailed overview of geographically related research on fear of crime during different time periods. Later the focus

expanded, as it can be seen in the titles by Ellin (1997), *Architecture of Fear*, Davis (1998), *Ecology of Fear*, and Pain and Smith (2008), *Fear: critical geopolitics and everyday life*. In 2001, the journal *Urban Studies* published a special issue on "Fear and the City", largely focussing on the importance of fear to economic management, environmental intervention, and policing issues (cf. Bannister, Fyfe 2001). Partly in response to and critique of this, *Capital & Class* published a special issue on "The Geographies and Politics of Fear" in 2003. In this publication, fear was regarded critically as a political construct which is used in the exercise of power but rarely in a way that challenges hegemonic power (Shirlow, Pain 2003). In 2010, *Social & Cultural Geography* published a special issue on "Scary Cities: Urban Geographies of Fear, Difference and Belonging", focusing on fear and public space, fear of the Other, and fear and (in)security (England, Simon 2010).

Ellin (2001) distinguishes between three main responses to contemporary fear: retribalisation, nostalgia, and escapism. These responses are spatially relevant as they indicate a desire of people to segregate from others and to control "their" spaces and places. This can be seen in the rise of segregated communities, such as retirement communities (retribalisation), the search for an imagined city life which got lost in the past, most evident in Neotraditional Urbanism (nostalgia), and suburbanisation processes including the rise of edge cities (escapism). Since suburbanisation, movements to gated communities, and movements to city centres which provide a sense of nostalgia (regularly gentrified districts) happen selectively along class, race, and income (Blakely, Snyder 1997, Ellin 1996, Shirlow 2003), they produce social as well as spatial segregation. This, in turn, has negative social consequences in terms of social and spatial justice. Galster and Killen (1995), for instance, provide evidence that spatial isolation and segregation significantly reduce opportunities to find a job and to attend quality education for the already most vulnerable and marginalised groups in society. In this way, social inequities become reinforced. Blakely and Snyder (1997) further argue that in socially isolated environments, segregation leads to stereotyping and misunderstanding, which in turn reinforces fear and causes even greater distance between different groups of society.

In addition to segregation tendencies, it is argued, that fear leads to the urge to control at different spatial scales (Doel, Clarke 1997). Ellin (2001, p. 874) argues that "the rising tide of fear has transformed most public spaces into controlled and guarded places". Moreover, Smith and Low (2006, p. 1), state that "the clampdown on public space, in the name of enforcing public safety and homeland security has been dramatic". It can also be seen in shifts in policing measures, which, since the 1970s, have increasing spatial significance as they changed their focus from catching the offender to removing "incivilities" in public spaces (Merry 2001). To an extreme, rising control has been demonstrated by Davis (1998) who talks about the "militarisation" of Los Angeles. In the context of a *culture of fear*, control mechanisms can have marginalising effects on some minority groups in society who are generally regarded as dangerous or diseased (Sibley 1995). Herbert and Beckett (2010), for instance, reveal devastating effects of banishment practices for homeless people and Pain (2003) shows how increasing control of disadvantaged youth can lead to their exclusion from public life. Stigmatisation via extended control, in turn, can reinforce stereotypes about minority groups and justify their marginalisation (Cahill 2007).

Segregation and control mechanisms, which evolve, at least partly, from perceptions of fear (Ellin 1996, Smith, Low 2006), produce an unequal spatial development which favours some groups of society but at the same time puts those at disadvantage which are already "at the lower end of the social ladder" (Blakely, Snyder 1997). The evolving landscapes have been discussed in different respects. Tuan's (1979) book *Landscapes of Fear* can be viewed as a starting point for the discussion.

He considers negative experiences of place referring to various settings such as the city, the wilderness, or simply the "unknown". He illustrates that fear often is associated with certain places. In this way, Tuan concentrates on interpretation of landscape. Davis' (1998) *Ecology of Fear*, in contrast, focuses more on the socio-political production of *landscapes of fear*. He examines how fear drives spatial politics in Los Angeles, and how these politics shape the city. Similarly, Pain and Smith's (2008) *Fear: critical geopolitics and everyday life* explore interactions between geopolitics and everyday life concerning the production and governance of fear. Sibley's (1995) *Landscapes of Exclusion* explains social reasons for the production of *landscapes of fear*. He is focusing on the production of social space. *Landscapes of fear* in this thesis combine these interpretations. In this way, *landscapes of fear*, are understood as socially produced space (Sibley 1995) within a socio-political environment (Davis 1998, Pain, Smith 2008) as well as socially interpreted (Tuan 1997).

1.1 Problem Statement: Planning in the context of a culture of fear

The role of fear in city- and landscape development is described to some extent in geographically related literature (e.g. Ellin 1996, 1997, 2001, Davis 1998, Marcuse 1997, Pain 1997, 2001, 2009, Pain, Smith 2008). Although not focussing solely on planning, this literature regularly accuses planners of fostering, rather than mitigating social segregation, the control of minority groups, and even fear itself (Davis 1998, Pain 2001, Pain, Townshend 2002). While recognising that transformations in the social landscape towards social segregation and marginalisation "may be accounted for in large part by demographic trends, economic policies, and the application of new technologies", Ellin (1996, p. 212) argues that "architects and planners were not mere cogs in this machine of change".

Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 8) argue that economic and social segregation are not new. "In fact, zoning and city planning were designed, in part, to preserve the position of the privileged with subtle variances in building and density codes." In this way space becomes purified and physical and social borders are built. For the case of gated communities they further state that city officials and planners mostly "take gated communities for granted, limiting their concerns to practical issues of traffic flow, aesthetics, and emergency vehicle access" rather than being concerned with their social consequences (ibid, p. 156). Moreover, Modern Urbanism with its separation of functions, its belief that the common good exists, and its attempts to technically solve social and political problems is accused of leading to a separation of different social groups in relation to income and race (Ellin 1996). Ellin (1996, p. 196) further argues that reactions of planners to Modern Urbanism varied. Some turned to the invisible hand of the free market, some followed the wake of new technologies, and others "allowed planning to serve the purposes of propaganda and repression".

To give an example, Ellin (1996) argues that planning approaches like the implementation of Enterprise Zones (EZ), in which free enterprise would have free reign, with the aim to benefit central city residents, the poor, and the unemployed. However, such approaches are accused of "usually only pad the pockets of the already middle to upper classes who take advantage of EZ subsidies" (Ellin 1996, p. 66). The scope of these plans "remains largely restricted to formal attributes as social ambitions (such as achieving social diversity) and land-use recommendations (for mixed use, for park space, for cultural centers) are consistently turned aside in favour of solutions which bring higher returns on investors' dollars" (ibid). In addition, current approaches, such as urban renewal programmes and the New Urbanism, which seek to avoid suburban development patterns and

master planned gated communities with its negative social and environmental consequences, have been criticised for causing segregation among class and race. For example Marcuse (2000, p. 5) argues that "New Urbanist developments built in the United States are overwhelmingly white; poor blacks certainly do not find their way in, nor would they be welcome". Ellin (2001, p. 871-872), moreover, refers to urban renewal programs as "modern urban development" which "destroyed much of our urban heritage, disrupted established communities and displaced people from their homes and businesses, increased social segregation, diminished the public realm, harmed the environment and created eyesores".

In terms of control, as the second response to fear, Pain and Townshend (2002, p. 106) state that safety planning in city centres should be viewed as a social justice issue. However, Pain (2001, p. 902), referring to Davis (1998), argues that "planning tactics to create *safe spaces* lead to greater fear, isolation and social exclusion, rather than less, and that the disbenefits of planning urban space in this way are fewest for the rich and greatest for those already marginalised from urban life". Planning approaches like Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) aim to create these *safe spaces* and to reduce fear (Schneider, Kitchen 2013). Such approaches, however, have been subject to a wide range of critique accusing them to "be harmful to communities in fostering a profoundly anti-communitarian fortress mentality" (Gilling 1997, p. 186) and to "actually increase fear of crime in particular places" (Pain, Townshend 2002, p. 105). Pain and Townshend (2002, p. 106) further argue that "while the question of exclusion of certain groups from the city centre is one which safety planning seeks to address, strategies that have aimed to draw people back to city centres have sometimes persecuted or excluded other marginalised groups".

It is argued that no movements in architecture and planning so far have solved the problem of racial and class segregation in American cities (Massey, Denton 1993). Moreover, it is argued that spatial control mechanisms foster segregation and fear itself (Pain 2001). At the same time, the planning profession commits itself to socially responsible planning in the sense that the profession's definition, vision, and objectives relate to equity and social justice. The American Planning Association defines planning as "a dynamic profession that works to improve the welfare of people and their communities by creating more convenient, *equitable*, healthful, efficient, and attractive places for present and future generations" (APA 2013, online, emphasis added). The APA vision statement talks about "a nation of vital communities, *fully accessible to all people*, with [...] *social, economic, and racial equity and integration*, [...] and *quality, affordable housing available to all people*" (ibid, emphasis added). This, it is said, "is the measure by which we want to be judged — both individually and as an organization" (ibid). While it is recognised that social and spatial segregation and consequently social inequity root far beyond urban design and physical planning (Ellis 2002, p. 281), it is still argued that design and planning can play a role in improving the prospects for a just city (Pyatok 2000). In the context of a *culture of fear*, where fear determines spatial development, however, Ellin (1996, 157) argues that it is likely for planners to "become pawns in a larger political economy which they may not support".

In short: socially responsible planning, as defined in the APA vision statement, builds the counterpart to evolving *landscapes of fear*. While *landscapes of fear* promote exclusion, segregation, and inequity, socially responsible planning aims for inclusion, integration of minority groups, and social and spatial equity. Just as Margaret Crawford (1991) asks the question: "Can architects be socially responsible?", the same question could be asked for planners who operate in the context of a *culture of fear* and evolving *landscapes of fear*. Formulated in a different way, the questions is: Can the

vision of the US planning profession of "a nation of vital communities, fully accessible to all people" (APA 2013, online) in the context of a *culture of fear* be approached appropriately by planners? In light of this introduction, this can be doubted. This thesis aims to formulate recommendations for planners (both theorists and practitioners) to 'think different' in order to plan in a socially responsible way in the context of a general *culture of fear* while recognising the social complexity and political entanglements of the issue. The main research question reads as follows:

How can US planners plan in a socially responsible way in the context of a general culture of fear?

To answer this question, it is necessary to gain a deep understanding about the spatial dimension of the *culture of fear*: *landscapes of fear*. It is necessary to examine the social and political dimension of *landscapes of fear* and the way *landscapes of fear* are produced, interpreted, and maintained. Only then, possibilities for socially responsible planning in this context can be developed. In order to approach the main research question it is split up in two sub-questions. The sub-questions are aimed to be answered from the perspective of planners and are oriented along guiding questions:

1) How is the scope of action for the planning profession defined in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?
How do planners understand the construction of landscapes of fear?
To what extent do planners perceive their profession to be responsible for the creation of landscapes of fear?
How is the planning profession positioned in relation to other actors and factors which also influence spatial development?
What are perceived opportunities for planners to promote socially responsible development?

2) To what extent can existing planning approaches promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?
What are the opportunities and threats of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design in regard to socially responsible planning?
What are the opportunities and threats of New Urbanism in regard to socially responsible planning?

A first enquiry among Florida's Fellows of the American Institute of Certified Planners (FAICP) helps to define the scope of action for the planning profession in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear.* In answering the fourth guiding question (*What are perceived opportunities for planners to promote socially responsible development?)* two planning approaches emerged which are further analysed in a second enquiry: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) and New Urbanism. The two approaches are chosen based on findings of the first enquiry and because they refer to the issues discussed above in that they aim to enhance safety and promote community building (Schneider, Kitchen 2013, Talen 1999). In this sense, they can be seen as responses of the planning profession to evolving *landscapes of fear* and as implementation of its vision statement. The second enquiry among the same participants helps to analyse to what extent existing planning approaches are capable to promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*. Finally, the results are used to approach the guiding question of how US planners can plan in a socially responsible way in the context of a general *culture of fear*.

The outcomes of this study can be of interest for: First, practical planners who are interested in promoting and supporting socially responsible development in that the recommendations might give food for thought. Second, for planning theorists in that the planning approaches of CPTED and New

Urbanism are discussed also on a theoretical level regarding their opportunities and threats. Moreover, rational perceptions and understandings of fear, segregation, and control in planning theory are challenged by providing a critical viewpoint deriving from disciplines such as emotional geography, critical geography, and cultural geography. This might provide possibilities to better include the social and political dimension of fear in planning theory. Third, this thesis contributes to the growing body of geographically related literature on fear and calls into question the sometimes overrated responsibility of planners in the production of *landscapes of fear*. Fourth, the thesis can be of political interest, because it entails a critique of today's American society and political guidance in the context of a *culture of fear*.

1.2 Outline

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 lay the theoretical groundwork for this thesis. The purpose is to depict the social complexity as well as the political dimension of *landscapes of fear* and to discuss their production, interpretation, and maintenance. Chapter 2 serves to discuss fear as socially constructed phenomenon. Chapter 3 introduces the concept of *landscapes of fear*. It explains relations between fear as a social construct, landscape as socially constructed and interpreted, and social inequity as a result of *landscapes of fear*. Chapter 4 demonstrates the ubiquity of *landscapes of fear* using the examples of suburbanisation, gated communities, gentrification, and control of public space. Chapter 5 outlines the applied research strategy along the key questions and critically reflects on the used methodology. Two enquiries among Florida's FAICPs were conducted to tackle the questions. Findings, analysis, and interim conclusions of these enquiries are outlined in Chapters 6 and 7. In Chapter 6 the question of how the scope of action for the planning profession is defined in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear* is tackled. Chapter 7 gives answers to the question to what extent existing planning approaches can promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*, using the examples of CPTED and New Urbanism. Chapter 8 concludes with call for a more active role of planners in society, politics, and the market and suggest planners to think different and define themselves as social and political activists as well as proactive market actors.

2. Fear as a socially constructed phenomenon

Rachel Pain and Susan J. Smith (2008) make clear that fear is both taking place on a geopolitical level as well as entering everyday life. In recent years, fear has been discussed in relation to a wide variety of issues: fear of the city/urban environment (e.g. Bannister, Fyfe 2001, England, Simon 2010, Kern 2010), fear and planning/urbanism (e.g. Ellin 1996, 1997, 2001, Newman 1972, Paulsen 2012, Thomas, Bromley 2000), fear of crime (e.g. Fisher, Nasar 1992, Nasar, Fisher et al. 1993, Poveda 1972, Warr 2000), fear of the Other (e.g. Hopkins, Smith 2008, Hubbard 2003, Moran, Skeggs et al. 2003, Sibley 1995), fear and business (e.g. Kern 2010, Levi 2001), influences of media on fear (e.g. Chiricos, Padgett et al. 2000, Eschholz, Chiricos et al. 2003), fear as a culture (e.g. Davis 1998, Furedi 2006, 2007), fear in relation to (geo)politics (e.g. Pain 2009, 2010, Pain, Smith 2008, Schuermans, De Maesschalck 2010), fear and gender, generational, and racial issues (e.g. Dymén, Ceccato 2012, Pain 2001, 2003, Poveda 1972, Rountree, Land 1996, Schuermans, De Maesschalck 2010, Taylor, Covington 1993, Webster 2003), fear and policing approaches (e.g. Johnston 2001, Newburn 2001, Silverman, Della-Giustina 2001), and so forth. Despite this wide range of geographically related research, mainstream geographic literature is accused to fail in pointing out the relationship between marginality and fear as well as hidden harm in private and unpoliced space (domestic violence, child abuse, elderly abuse, racist violence, police brutality against young, homeless, and dispossessed, and latterly Islamophobia) (Pain and Smith 2008).

Interestingly, alongside these discussions over the past years, fear itself, rather than the object we have become afraid of, became a distinct problem (Furedi 2007, p. 5). As Furedi argues elsewhere: "Classically societies associate fear with a clearly formulated threat - the fear of death or the fear of hunger. In such formulations, the threat was defined as the object of such fears. The problem was death, illness or hunger. Today we frequently represent the act of fearing as a threat itself" (Furedi 2006, p. 1), as Doel and Clarke (1997, p. 21) demonstrate:

> [F]ear is no longer confined to so-called 'exceptional' events -wars, famines, murders, catastrophes, epidemics, apocalypses, genocides. Rather, one fears the very 'taking place' of an event; one fears the event itself -to eat, to drink, to breath, to watch, to cut, to live, to drive, to rest, to sleep, to walk: 'a body becomes its own worst enemy'. Everything has become hazardous: from transport, communication and energy systems; through domestic appliances, office furniture and cuddly toys; to the air we breathe, the food we eat, the water we drink" and so on.

In this *culture of fear*, ambient fear is everywhere and nowhere, global and local, material and immaterial, political and transpolitical, always already and ceaselessly to come (Doel, Clarke 1997, p. 18). Fear can be seen as unpredictable and free-floating, something volatile, because it is unstable and not focused on any specific threat. This means that fear can migrate from one problem to another without any causal connection (Furedi 2007). Fear as a construct, however, can be used by politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen and others to serve their interests. As the sociologist David Altheide argues, "fear does not just happen; it is socially constructed and then manipulated by those who seek to benefit" (Altheide 2002 cited in:, Furedi 2007, p. 2). Thus, fear is embedded and shaped by social as well as political processes.

The social construction of fear takes place in social and political discourses. In order to search for possibilities for planners to promote socially responsible planning in the context of a *culture of fear*, these fear discourses need to be discussed. As the following paragraphs will show, it is exactly these

discourses and common understandings of fear which serve as prerequisite for the evolvement of *landscapes of fear* and for the marginalisation of minority groups. Moreover, the following paragraphs will demonstrate that the planning profession and planners as individuals do not have a neutral position but have to be seen as a part of these social and political discourses. Socially responsible planning, as defined by the APA vision statement above, needs to be based on a deep understanding of these societal and political forces.

2.1 Fear of the Other

Missing conceptualisation of fear and its floating character make it hard for people to understand it. Houtum and Pijpers (2008, p. 161) state that "fear is the emotion of being confronted with negation of the own world, of deletion, of emptiness. Fear reveals the 'nothing' and therefore has no object". In order to make sense of this threatening emptiness, people create an object to symbolise, objectify, and make their fear definable. This object regularly is the Other.

Essentially coined through Edward Said, David Sibley (1995) developed the concept of the Other further. He relates to *object relations theory* which explains that boundaries between 'good' and 'bad' emerge through stereotypical representations of others and at the same time define the self. Indeed, there is no self without the Other, othering serves to define the self. Sibley (1995, p. 7) states that the self is a cultural production. Cultural representations of people and things can form the boundary between the self and the Other, cultural symbols construct a symbolic order. Thus, in the sense of object relations theory, it is interesting not only to look at the construct of the Other as a social category. Rather, it is interesting what feelings about the Other, "the ambivalent sensation about desire and disgust" (Sibley 1995, p. 11), reveal about the self. The way of explaining fear and who we blame for being afraid may be highly symptomatic of who we are and how we organise our relations with others (Sparks, Girling et al. 2001, p. 889).

In a *culture of fear*, the fearful (the good self) has to find something to be afraid of (the bad Other). Hence, the Other is attributed with various negative characteristics that fit this image. Regularly these characteristics are racialised or stem from racist discourses (Sibley 1995). Most prominent is the image of a black criminal (offender), preferably male, and a white victim, preferably female (Smith 1984). These powerful stereotypes around race and crime, respectively race and danger, have their origin in colonial times and in the idea to use skin colour as an identifier for various attributes such as danger, disease, brutality, and so on (hooks 1992). The very use of white and black is clearly intended to legitimate white rule. Nowadays, these mechanisms are being kept upright in white societies by education, politics, media, and academia. In US mass media, for instance, people of colour are represented disproportionately as criminals (Smith 1984); education systems lead by white teachers construct race in a systematically stereotyped manner (Sleeter 2004); and America's political system works in the same white, racial manner (Winant 1997). In this respect, socially resposible planning with the aim of a more equal society must take into account two things. First, it must acknowlege social and political othering as described above in society, political institutions, educational systems etc. Second, it must critically scuntinise its own system and find ways to detect and consider processes of othering in planning processes and planning institutions. Carla Greed (1999) and Huw Thomas (1999) ,for instance, question the "neutral" position of planning and argue that access to the built environment is highly unequal due to biased planning procedures.

In addition to fear of crime, fear of infection operates under the same mechanisms. It leads to the erection of barricades to resist the spread of diseased, polluted Others (Sibley 1995, p. 25). The idea of a disease which spreads from deviant, racialised Others to threaten the mainstream majority with infection has significant power. This can, for instance, be seen in anxieties about HIV/AIDS, which is perceived as a gay disease or as a black disease (Sibley 1995). In this way, it fosters homophobic and racists attitudes. In the same way, various other fears can provoke the construction of a dangerous Other, may it be the fear of economic loss (Sutton 1997), the fear of change (Low 2001), the fear of pollution (Sibley 1995) or, as Davis (1998) shows for the example of Los Angeles, even the fear of natural hazards and animal plagues. Because there is little interaction with the Other in segregated environments, stereotypes are not challenged and persist over long time periods (Sibley 1995, p. 18).

These processes are by far not new in their essence. Body-Gendrot (2001, p. 915) reminds us, by referring to Lucien Lefebvre, that fear was everywhere throughout the history of cities. "The stigmatisation of dangerous classes and of suspicious areas is nothing new." Early planning attempts to segregate the unwanted from the wanted can, for instance, be seen in the Haussmann plans for Paris in the late nineteenth century. Today, this fear might experience another blossom time. In the context of a rising *culture of fear*, the construction of the Other might get reinforced. Fear is not simply an emotion, not simply a reaction, but also "part of a social process of categorisation" (Shirlow 2008, p. 195). Who is felt to belong and not to belong contributes significantly to the shaping of social space (Sibley 1995, p. 3). According to Cahill (2007) and Lees, Slater et al. 2012) similary attempts to segregate the unwanted from the wanted find their projection in some of today's urban renewal programs. Socially responsible planning, however, cannot be brought in line with unequal treatment of different groups in society and space. To the contrary, socially responsible planning after Donovan (2010) essentially means to "help improve the prospects of people to meet their own needs, fulfil their potential and contribute to society". Othering devides people in groups, counting some into society and at the same time excluding others from being part of society.

2.2 Fear Discourse

Fear of the Other dominates academic, political as well as social discourses of fear. Stereotypical perceptions about certain groups of people or individuals become reflected in daily talk (Shirlow 2003), media representations (Chiricos, Padgett, et al. 2000), and academic discussions (Pain 2009) as well as in planning discourse (Shirlow, Pain 2003). This has far-reaching consequences because it is regularly the more powerful groups in society which dominate these discussions at the expense of the already marginalised groups. "With the practice of naming comes the politics of privileging" (Pain, Smith 2008, p. 11). Those whose voices are privileged have the power to name fear and express it. Pain (2009) reveals the absence of voices of marginalised groups in geographic literature on fear. She states that: "Very little attention is paid to whose fear it is that we are talking about: who names fear, who claims it, and who actually feels it? How is it experienced, and what do people do with it? How is it shaped and differentiated by varied lives, communities and places?" (Pain 2009, p. 8-9). Fear seems to be self evidently important and at the same time unproblematised.

Referring to planning discourses, for instance in the above mentioned 2010 special edition of the journal *Urban Studies*, Shirlow and Pain (2003, p. 20) argue that this literature is missing "discussions about the social structures and power relations which surround offenders, victims and those who fear". The fact that those who are demonised in discourses about fear are often more vulnerable to

become victims than perpetrators, has been ignored by most policymakers, a lot of academics, as well as a majority of planners (Shirlow, Pain 2003, Ellin 1996). Pain and Smith (2008) have worked out that successive politicians have taken into account the fears of middle class, white suburbanites, while validating and reinforcing them. Minority groups and "the poor are routinely written out of fear" (Pain 2009, p. 11) and written out of planning (Greed 1994). Shirlow and Pain (2003, p. 17) argue that "'[f]ear' has been constructed in particular ways around certain groups, and widely used to serve certain political interests". In regard to planning this might be problematic, as Ellin (1996, 157) argues that it is likely for planners to "become pawns in a larger political economy which they may not support".

Stereotypes and myths both construct and evoke out of fear discourses. Low (2001, p. 56) suggests that the discourse of urban fear encodes other social concerns including class, race, and ethnic exclusivity as well as gender. Indeed, fear discourses are bristled with stereotypes and myths about who is afraid of whom and about the extent such fear is justified. The most common myths in fear discourse concern gender, age, race, and social status.

Gender

In the discourse about women's fear of crime, Pain (2001) discovers two paradoxes. First, in early work on fear of crime, women's fear appeared far greater than their actual risk (e.g. Balkin 1979). However, it was shown that levels of violence against women are higher than expected (e.g. Hall 1985) and justify high levels of fear. Second, most research shows a mismatch between places where physical and sexual violence usually occur (private space) and places which most women fear (public spaces). According to Pain (2001, p. 903), this calls into question that fear correlates solely with actual risk. Referring to Hanmer and Saunders (1984) as well as to Valentine (1989), she states that women are "misinformed about the main location of danger, through the institutions of the family, the education system and the media". Hanmer and Saunders (1984), further, interpret women's fear as a manifestation of gender oppression and argue that fear is used to control women's lives. Higher rates of fear by women could, for example be explained by the fact that male participants in surveys will unlikely give answers that could challenge the image of male invulnerability. In this way, male fear, is mostly hidden (Crawford, Jones et al. 1990). These findings could question the perception of women as the most fearful gender.

Planning attemptempts which take fear into account are accused to fall in line with these paradoxes (Pain 2000,2003). Trench, Oc et al. (1992) provide a vivid example in their search for a "safe city" approach. They bring together women and planners in order to find out how planning can deal with people's fear. Men's fear is totally absent throughout the whole paper. The other way around, planned suburbanisation processes are accused to foster fear and social exclusion of women and forces them into the role of a housewife and caretaker (Ellin 1996). Truely socially responsible planning needs to deal very sensibly with these gender issues related to fear.

Age

In fear discourse, older people have been regarded as being more afraid and more affected by their fear than other age groups for many years. This stereotype has been challenged by a number of authors (e.g. Ferraro 1995, Midwinter 1990, Pain 2001) and fear of crime affecting younger people is getting more and more into focus (Pain 2003). But still, youth is generally criminalised, associated with offending, and viewed as "out of control" in public policy (Carlen 1996). Youth and crime seem to be linked in our minds. Pain (2000, 2003) states that for many middle aged and older people,

insecurity is closely related to concerns about social change, economic decline, and a loss of quality of life. "Youth is used frequently as a symbol of all that creates fear in these accounts" (Pain 2000, p. 377) and "media representations of the young as a mindless and violent cabal" (Pain 2003, p. 151) reinforce this image. Especially young people who are already labelled as marginalised and excluded, for instance, homeless, ethnic minorities, and school excluded children, are viewed as dangerous in public discourse (Alexander 2008, Cahill 2007, Pain 2003). In order to understand different forms of fear of young people, dualisms and distinctions between victim/offender, feared/fearful, public/private, and safe/dangerous spaces need to be dismantled (Pain 2003) and questions of socio-economic inequality and marginalisation need to be considered (Alexander, Pain 2012).

Paradoxically, it is those who are labelled as dangerous who are most vulnerable in reality (Alexander 2008). Pain (2003) refers to a number of authors (e.g. Anderson, Kinsey et al. 1994, Brown 1998, Loader, Girling et al. 1998, Maung 1995, Muncie 1999) to demonstrate that children and teenagers suffer high incidences of crime, harassment, violence, and fear and are disproportionately likely to be victims. Moreover, fear has shown to have damaging effects on young people's lives. This, however, is largely ignored by politicians, the mainstream society, and also by planners. For example, in a peer-reviewed paper in the journal *Town Planning Review*, where Trench, Oc et al. are looking for planning measures to create a "safe city" they conclude: "In particular activities that attract families, middle aged men and women and the elderly can claim the city centre back from the drunk and disorderly youths" (Trench, Oc et al. 1992, p. 286). No matter which planning measures they recommend, a biased way of planning, based on stereotypes about youth, and potentially with marginalising effects for youth, is pre-programmed. Socially responsible planning, taking into account the needs and desires of young people, seems to be impossible under these circumstances. In the quoted sentence above, young people are written out of the planning process and are excluded from the "good" society that is planned for.

Race

Race "continues to be employed in broader popular discourses in which people of colour are constructed as a threat to be feared" (Pain 2001, p. 900). Fear is, and has historically been, racialised in all kinds of ways. "[It] is entangled with the racist practices involved in defining and controlling global positioning, national space and local lives" (Hopkins, Smith 2008, p. 114). In the US, it is black population which is most strongly imagined as crime affine (Pain 2001). Pain (2001) suggest that the emergence of fear of crime as an issue in the 1970s was related to a backlash against the civil rights movement. Thus, fear is embedded in everyday racism by stigmatising the potentially terrorising Other, particularly black people (Chiricos, Hogan et al. 1997, Pain 2001). The ones to be afraid of are labelled with a certain identifier, in this instance: skin colour. Smith (1984) argues that this "identification of criminals" increases personal feelings of power and security. It is a way of managing and negotiating danger.

The pure (dis)ability to express ones fear has a huge impact on fear discourses and following policies which deal with fear in the broadest sense. In the academic fields of urban sociology and geography, Sibley (1995), for instance, regrets white dominance and the neglect of black perspectives. He states that "[t]he neglect of a black perspective has resulted in a white view of blackness as 'other', and the perceived 'problems' of black people are essentially problems defined in terms of a white world view" (1995, p. 153). In this sense, blacks are not able to represent themselves and are reliant on interpretations of their experience and problems by "white professionals". These white professionals are not only politicians and academics, also (academic) planners can be counted in (Greed 1994).

Indeed, a different picture emerges when you look at bell hooks' deliberations. She shows that, growing up in a purely black neighbourhood in the 1950s and 1960s, white folks were associated with the terrible, the terrifying, the terrorising. Socially responsible planning needs to deal with these issues in a highly sensible manner in order to fulfill its ideological goals of interracial equality and justice. And, again, it needs to question its own structures.

Social status

Social status and class are comprehensive markers which include different genders, ages, and races, although, in America, social status correlates strongly with race (Lees, Slater et al. 2010). Homeless people can be categorised at the very low end of the social ladder. Similarly to the gender-, race-, and age- paradoxes, homeless people are regularly viewed as dangerous criminals and are targeted in *safe space* initiatives to make other people feel more secure, while in reality, they are one of the most vulnerable groups in society lacking basic physical shelter or private *safe space* (Body-Gendrot 2001, Davis 1998, Pain 2000). Sibley (1995, p. 55) explains the persistence of this paradox with increasing socio-spatial segregation between the affluent and the poor of the capitalist city in the 19th century and thereafter. This segregation ensured the persistence of stereotypes of the Other and forced the labelling of areas of poverty as deviant and threatening. Thus, up until today, the urban poor, especially homeless people, are regularly viewed as being dangerous and to be afraid of (Herbert, Beckett 2010, Mitchell, Staeheli 2006). Davis (1998) provides one of the most vivid example how planning practice makes use of this stereotype in order to displace homeless people from the Los Angeles "militarised" city scape.

The provided examples suggest that fear discourses are power laden in that they draw boundaries of belonging and not belonging. Fear discourses have been used to influence public policy, urban redevelopment, and the accessibility and tenor of public space (Herbert, Beckett 2010, Kern 2010, Schuermans, De Maesschalck 2010). Moreover, fear is frequently used by certain groups and individuals for political ends and to contain power (Pain 2000, 2009, 2010, Pain, Smith 2008) as well as for economic ends (Katz 2008, Warr 2000). It is even argued that the implementation of policies in reaction to fear and political treatment of fear reveals that "fear is politically constructed and deployed at different levels" (Shirlow, Pain 2003) and that fear is used to govern the USA in "very obvious ways" (Cowen, Gilbert 2008, Pain 2000). Fear, especially fear on terror, is used to reinforce fear of the Other, whether this may be immigrants, gay and lesbian people, feminists or others that do not match the ideal type of American core family (Cowen, Gilbert 2008, p. 51). Pain (2000, p. 373) argues that fear of the Other is invoked also in the level of governance in order to excite fear and promote support for punitive strategies. Moreover, Sibley (1995) argues that the tendency to reject difference and to value order gets reinforced by institutional controls and manifested in bureaucracies. Within this *culture of fear*, the planning discipline runs risk to become shaped by these societal-, political-, and market forces in a way which makes socially responsible planning impossible.

Some literature suggests that planners have well understood the importance of fear in socio-spatial landscape. Landman (2012, p. 240) argues that safety is a central dimension in contemporary debate on urban sustainable development. "A sustainable community is a place free from the fear of crime, where a feeling of security underpins a wider sense of place attachment and place attractiveness." The social complexity and the importance of power relations in fear discourse, however, are rarely reflected (Shirlow and Pain 2003). Ceccato's (2012) *The Urban Fabrics of Fear and Crime*, for instance, deals with challenges which are caused by fear in city life. Ceccato (2012) offers a collection of essays

by various authors from the field of planning including Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Karina Landman, Bill Hillier and Ozlem Sahbaz, Bo Grönlund, and others. The "book aims to show links between urban structure, crime and fear of crime, illustrating how different disciplines deal with urban vulnerability to (and fear of) crime" (Ceccato 2012, p. vii). With the exception of a chapter by Alexander and Pain (2012) the book is limited to rational and technical attempts to solve problems of fear and crime in the city. It focuses on crime control, law enforcement and environmental interventions. Social and political dimensions of fear and the role of power relations are not addressed. In addition to Ceccato, Paulsen's (2012) *Crime and Planning: Building Socially Sustainable Communities* calls for a bigger role of safety issues and crime prevention in sustainable city development. He criticises planning of creating "social problems" in its attempts to reduce urban poverty: "The urban renewal programs of the 1960s are examples of trying to reduce social problems (urban poverty) through manipulation of the built environment. These programs not only failed to reduce problems with urban poverty but also actually created new problems that are still being dealt with today" (Paulsen 2012, p. 79). His solution to the problem, however, namely to implement crime prevention strategies in comprehensive planning approaches, neglects the social dimension of both fear and crime. Throughout the book crime and fear of crime are used interchangeably. The urge to find practical implications and rational technical (planning) solutions, might often lead to a simplification of fear itself as well as of the social politics which surround fear. Moreover, it is argued that the planning profession itself consists out of mainstream, white, middle income, middle aged men (Greed 1994). Clara Greed (1994) poses the justified question: "Who is being planned for?". In this sense, Ceccato as well as Paulsen approach the issue of fear in a similar manner than the 2001 special issue of *Urban Studies* called "Fear and the City". Hence, they are vulnerable to the same critique that it "tend[s] towards the individualistic and deterministic, and miss[es] discussions about the social structures and power relations which surround offenders, victims and those who fear crime" (Shirlow, Pain 2003, p. 20). The planning discipline, then, becomes a pawn in the hands of societal-, political-, and market forces which determine who to fear, how to fear, and how to react on our fear.

3. Landscapes of Fear

After discussing fear as a socially produced construct which implies myths and stereotypes about several minority groups in society in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on the social production and interpretation of landscape in relation to fear, it explores the concept of *landscapes of fear*. The evolvement of *landscapes of fear* is characterised by processes which stand in sharp contrast to the idea of socially responsible planning. Instead of "equitable places" and "social, economic, and racial equity and integration" (APA 2013, online) they produce inequitable places and social, economic, and racial inequity and exclusion. A deep understanding of how *landscapes of fear* are produced, interpreted, and maintained will make it possible to approach the main research question of this thesis: How can US planners plan in a socially responsible way in the context of a general culture of fear?

Pain (2009, p. 18) explains that during the last decades a discipline, broadly titled emotional geography, "investigated the importance of emotions to social processes and landscapes, to subjective experiences of space and place, and to the policy arenas which affect them". Conradson and McKay (2007) argue that the relations between individuals are informed by emotions and that these emotions are themselves part of individual and collective landscapes. Social geographers have emphasised that because emotions are always subjective they are inherently tied to social inequalities (Panelli, Little et al. 2004, Thien 2005), to power geometries (Tolia-Kelly 2007, 2008), and that people's conscious evaluation of emotions may lead to collective action (Pain, Smith 2008, all cited in: Pain 2009).

Authors who write about the geographical dimension of fear argue that fear as a social construct finds its way into landscape. Sibley (1995, p.95), for instance, refers to the built environment as a "relatively stable element of the socially produced environment which provides the context for action"; Pain (2009, p. 2) defines fear as to have "a range of positive and negative effects on social and spatial relations"; Herbert and Brown (2006, p. 377) state that "[t]he construction and apprehension of space are not natural, inevitable occurrences, but are social creations worthy of critique"; Doel and Clarke (1997, p. 31) say that "the cityscape has provided the topography for the definition of the social"; and Smith (1986 cited in:, Pain 2000, p. 377) argues that "crime and fear are key mechanisms by which space is appropriated and contested". This concurs with some geographical literature on landscape. Referring to Sauer (1925), Oakes and Price (2008, p. 149) state that "man-made cultural processes worked to shape natural surroundings, the result of which was the visible world around us: the cultural landscape". Moreover they refer to the "German tradition of landscape" which sees landscape to "express the culmination of layers of intense, deep, and often fraught engagement between human societies and the natural world around them" (ibid, p. 150). Thus, just as fear can be viewed as socially constructed phenomenon, landscape can also be viewed as socially constructed and produced.

In addition to that, and in relation to discourses of fear and the power of naming, Oakes and Price (2008, p. 150) state that with the rise of Marxism, feminism, and generally social theory in the 1970s and 1980s, yet another dimension of landscape was revealed: landscape became to be seen as an "active player in human affairs": "[L]andscape does not merely reflect power in society; it also acts to reproduce, naturalize, as well as to contest, power relations. Dominant actors in society shape landscapes to reflect their ideals, concerns and priorities, while subordinate voices are literally written out of the landscape". Also this dimension can be found in geographically related literature

about fear. Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 1), for instance, state that "[u]sing physical space to create social place is a long and deep American tradition"; Sibley (1995, p. 76) argues that "we can envision the built environment as an integral element in the production of social life"; Herbert and Brown (2006, p. 756) state that "space is not just impacted by neoliberal policies, but that its conceptualization importantly helps legitimate those policies"; and, referring to walls as physical elements in landscapes, Marcuse (1997, p. 103) argues that "[t]hey have come to reflect and reinforce, hierarchies of wealth and power [...] they have imposed the will of the powerful on the powerless as much as they have protected the powerless from superior force". Thus, landscape is both, socially constructed as well as a constructor of society. This rational is fundamental in the concept of *landscapes of fear* as it is developed below.

A review of geographically related literature on fear for the purpose of this thesis reveals two main mechanisms of landscape production related to fear: segregation and control. In terms of landscape "as an active player in human affairs" (Oakes and Price 2008, p. 150), marginalisation of minority groups is identified as main mechanism. Moreover, it is found that *landscapes of fear* justify and foster social inequity as well as they justify and reinforce fear itself. This vicious circle is illustrated in figure 1.

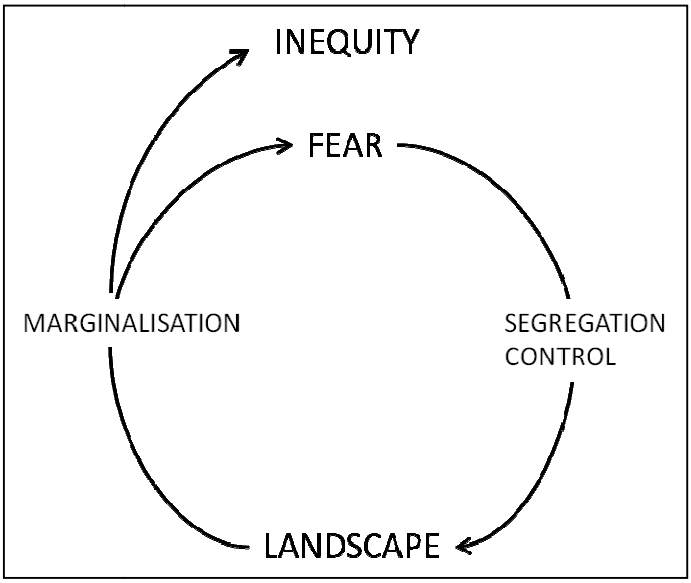

Figure 1: Landscapes of Fear (source: own illustration)

The role of planning in this vicious circle is not defined clearly, neither by literature from the field of critical and social geography, nor by critical planning literature itself. However, it is clear, that planning, as a co-producer of landscape, holds some responsibility of how landscapes looks today and how it will look in the future. Ellin (1997, 2001, 2003) and Blakely and Snyder (1997), all planners by education, provide some of the biggest critique on planning practice concerning fear and social inequity. However, this critique often remains on a more abstract level and seldomly accuses certain planning procedures to contribute to this vicous circle. In the light of fear discourses (2.2 Fear discourses), there are some who segregate and some who are *being segregated*, some who control and some who are *being controlled*, some who marginalise and some who are *being marginalised*. Thus, for socially responsible planning, it is important to specify and question whose fear is articulated and whose fear might not be articulated, who is afraid and who is someone to be afraid of, and what are the social power relations behind fear discourses. As argued above, planners are

inherently part of social and political discourses. If planners want to prevent to "become pawns in a larger political economy which they may not support" (Ellin 1996, 157) and approach their vision of social equity and integration, they have to protect themselves from becoming the ones who *segregate, control,* and *marginalise*.

In the following, the social production of *landscapes of fear* through segregation (Chapter 3.1) and control (Chapter 3.2) is analysed. Chapter 3.3 examines *landscapes of fear* as an active player in human affairs and its consequences: reinforced fear and inequity. In chapter 4 spatial developments like suburbanisation processes, the rise of gated communities, gentrification, and control of public space are analysed to illustrate the ubiquity and sharp reality of *landscapes of fear*.

3.1 Fear and segregation

Going back to Said's construction of the Other, it is well described how fear of the Other reflects in space. Because the Other is demonised and displayed as dangerous, diseased, dirty etc. contact with these persons is avoided by the mainstream. This can range from simple and small actions like changing the side of the street when being confronted with the "dangerous Other" to more far-reaching actions like moving to another area or fortifying one's own house or even the entire neighbourhood. Jackson (1987, p. 3) states that "[t]hroughout history, the treatment and arrangement of shelter have revealed more about a particular people than have any other products of the creative arts. Housing is an outward expression of the inner human nature; no society can be fully understood apart from the residence of its members". Residential segregation, as a common response to fear (Ellin 2001), can be viewed as main component of the spatial dimension of a *culture of fear*. Moreover, planning as a major organiser of shelter is inextricably linked to the development of human settlenments.

Social and spatial segregation is not a new phenomenon. To the contrary, nineteenth century schemes to reshape the city can be interpreted as an intended process of purification, excluding groups in society which were labelled as polluting including the residual working class, racial minorities, prostitutes, and so on, generally speaking: the urban poor (Sibley 1995, p. 57). So can the Hausmann plans for Paris in the mid-nineteenth century be seen as motivated by a fear of the racialised Other which were associated with darkness and the smelling poor. Later, the urban crises of the 1960s and 1970s has been interpreted by Smith (2002, p. 342) as a crisis of social reproduction, having to do with the dysfunctionality of class exploitation. Concentrations of people with lower social status in the city centres contributed to both the reduction in spending power of the immediate market and the avoidance of the city centre by affluent suburbanites (Thomas, Bromley 2000). Nancy Denton (1994) examined American metropolitan areas between the 1980s and 1990s and concludes that many of them are "hypersegregated". This means that people are segregated in four out of five statistical dimensions, namely: dissimilarity, isolation, clustering, concentration, and centralisation. She concludes that "whatever we are doing to combat residential segregation is not nearly enough and in many cases is not working at all" (Denton 1994, p. 74). Social and spatial segregation are most prominent among race (Webster 2003, p. 115), social status (Blakely, Snyder 1997, Ellin 2001), ethnicity (Shirlow 2003), age (Blakely, Snyder 1997, Pain 2001), gender (Ellin 1996), and sometimes sexuality (Moran, Skeggs et al. 2003). These tendencies are main critique points in debates around socially responsible planning because social segregation leads to unequal possibilities of people to meet their needs and to social disadvantage (Donovan 2010).

How does fear lead to social and spatial segregation?

As mentioned above, Ellin (2001) defines 'retribalisation', 'escapism', and 'nostalgia' as three responses to fear. For example, she states that retribalisation is apparent in the building of segregated communities, escapism can be seen as a more extreme form of retreat from the larger community, and nostalgia as a desire to return to the past in reaction to modernism's clear break with the past. In the context of a growing *culture of fear* (Furedi 2006, 2007) and a growing fear of the Other (Sibley 1995), a main reaction of humans in a *risk society* (Beck 1992) is to search for protection against perceived danger. This includes residential changes to places where one feels safe from the Other and safe from places one might fear. Shirlow (2003, p. 89) argues that "fear creates socio-spatial burdens which are mostly endured by socially deprived communities". Herbert and Brown (2006, p. 765) show that the decisions that lead to segregation and exclusion are not purely individual decisions: "Through property protections, zoning and housing policies that support private property and capital investment, and the increasing regulation of behavior in public space, state intervention shapes the spatial manifestation of urban capitalism". The representation of fear by certain "political entrepreneurs" builds a central element in the construction of *landscapes of fear* (Shirlow 2008). In this sense, planners are inherently involved in the production of landscapes of fear as they are closely linked to social forces which demand social segregation.

Pointing to intergenerational relations, Sutton (1997) draws similar connections when he states that "the socialization of children - especially well-to-do children - into fear of the Other contributes to their increasing need to be separate, which, in turn, leads the next generation of adults to engage in higher levels of destruction to the physical and social fabric of society to maintain their separateness" (Sutton 1997, p. 242). It is thus imagined differences which support physical segregation and physical segregation which supports imagined differences. As Sibley (1995, p. 37) puts it: "Separation is part of the process of purification - it is the means by which defilement or pollution is avoided - but to separate presumes a categorization of things as pure or defiled".

How does segregation marginalise minority groups?

Ellin (2001, p. 872) argues that, "[w]hile providing a certain sense of security, [...] separatism also leads to more ignorance of others and less tolerance of difference. It feeds an 'us against them' mentality and a tendency to defend one's borders, family and self with gates as well as with guns". In addition, "fear creates socio-spatial burdens which are mostly endured by socially deprived communities" (Shirlow 2003, p. 89). Although many people fear stereotypical Others, in reality, "the groups and places frequently demonised as a threat to law and order may themselves be at highest risk of violence and abuse of all" (Pain 2001, p. 902). Consequently, social Others such as the youth, young men, blacks, other racial and ethnic minorities, homeless people, or people who have mental health problems may be simultaneously feared and fearful. On a policy level, Pain (2001, p. 902) states that "[p]olicies which aim to improve the safety of some groups may do so at the expense of others".

Galster and Killen (1995) provide evidence that spatial isolation significantly reduce opportunities for the already most vulnerable and marginalised groups in society. Segregation leads to "reduced opportunity, the concentration of deprivation, and greater vulnerability to economic downturns" (Blakely, Snyder 1997, p. 149). By excluding people spatially from 'mainstream' places, they are most often automatically excluded from jobs, social services, good schools, etc. Also Shirlow (2003) makes residential segregation combined with fear responsible for unequal chances in the search for work, the uptake of training and education, and the use of public services. Massey and Denton (1993)

argue that racial segregation is the main factor accounting for the black underclass in America. Segregation reduces social contact. Reduced social contact, in turn, may influence the social contract. In a climate of segregation and separation, civic responsibility cannot survive, nor can the actual social problems be tackled which were the very reason for segregation in the first place. The message to the excluded, who still have to deal with these problems is clear: This is your problem, not ours.

The processes, for instance, become visible in discriminations in the housing market. Referring to Du Bois, sociologist and one of the leading representatives of the black civil rights movement in the US, Sibley (1995) reminds us that there are housing sub-markets which use discriminatory practices. These practices keep black people out of certain neighbourhoods and, thus, foster spatial segregation. Kain (1992), who is entitled by Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 153) as a "pioneer in studies of the effects of spatial discrimination", provides an overview about the extensive research concerned with the question on how these housing limitations impact African American citizens. The outcome is alarming. The limitations on black residential choice are responsible for high rates of unemployment and low earnings among African-Americans. Housing limitations and the exclusion of blacks from white (suburban) communities prevent African Americans to get employed because most of the new generated jobs are provided in these suburban neighbourhoods and low-paid jobs in the city centres move out there, too. It is simply the lack of social interaction and contact to individuals and institutions that represent the mainstream society which makes it hard to get into the "job network" (Blakely, Snyder 1997, Sampson, Wilson 1995). And the consequences go even further, as Kain (1992, p. 372) states: "Housing market discrimination also restricts most black children to inferior inner-city schools and creates massive concentrations of black poverty".

In short: especially when fear becomes objectified/subjectified to fear of the Other and/or fear of certain places, people desire to be segregated from the fearful Other or fearful places. Whether these people separate themselves by moving or separate the others by excluding them, the outcome stays the same: landscapes get purified and homogenised, social groups cluster together, and acceptance and understanding between these groups diminishes. Under these circumstances and under these massive social forces, it is harldy imaginable to approach a vision of social equity and integration. Socially responsible planning would have to find ways to intervene in segregation processes as described above. For instance, Landman (2012, p. 260) argues that "[a] mix of housing options and land uses would potentially facilitate greater opportunities for inclusion and integration inside and gradually allow more tolerance and trust to develop between various groups. As the hard social boundaries start to dissolve, fear and insecurity also decrease". Planning which aims to enable people's needs independent from people's social class, race, gender, and age (Donovan 2010) needs to deal with social and political forces that promote hegemony and classism and it needs to find ways to prevent this.

3.2 Fear and Control

In addition to segregation, Sibley (1995) shows that it is common practice to control places which are thought to belong to the mainstream society. This becomes visible by restricting private or public places to certain people or groups of people or by excluding people from certain places. Thus, similarly to housing, the treatment and arrangement of public space and public places "reflect ourselves, our larger culture, our private beliefs, and public values" (Francis 1989, p. 149). Gold and Revill (2003) describe similarities in the theoretical concepts of surveillance and their interpretation

of landscape. So are practices of landscape as well as surveillance practices primarily concerned with issues of ordering and regulation, in other words, with controlling. In this sense, landscape as well as control are important to manage fear. Interestingly, Gold and Revill (2003, p. 37) argue that "fear is often expressed most powerfully in landscapes where it appears to be least visible". These are landscapes which provide a "naturalised" visual and social order, where people are clearly defined in terms of belonging/not belonging and where objects and practices are clearly defined as in place/out of place or natural/unnatural.

Just like social and spatial segregation, control is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, pointing to Foucault (1973, 1977), Gold and Revill (2003, p. 40) argue that surveillance has played an important part in managing and regulating the conduct of individuals perceived as socially deviant since the late eighteenth century. Also the above mentioned nineteenth century schemes to reshape the city and the Hausmann plans for Paris can equally be referred to as attempts to control groups in society which were labelled as polluting, the residual working class, racial minorities, prostitutes, and so on (Sibley 1995, p. 57).

Today, the spatial dimension of control and surveillance becomes visible, for instance, in Davis' (1998) book *Ecology of Fear*. Here, Davis describes the militarisation of urban landscape. He points to the privatisation of public space, to video surveillance, to vigilantism, to spatial planning combined with spatial policing, and to state interventions to the expense of lower classes and racial minorities. In this situation, those who can afford it retreat behind gates and walls and buy protection from private security companies. In other words: the city becomes not only divided and fortified, but also controlled. Also Ellin (2001, p. 874) argues that "the rising tide of fear has transformed most public spaces into controlled and guarded places". Referring to punishment as an expression of control, Herbert and Brown (2006, p. 755) argue that "[t]he entrenchment of neoliberalism in the United States has coincided with an unprecedented expansion of punishment practices that intensify social divisions rooted in class and race". Similarly to Denton's (1994) "hypersegregation" Herbert and Brown (2006) point to a "hyperpunitiveness" in America. As Davis (1998) shows, planning institutions play a strong role in the control of a city. Working closely together with the police (Schneider, Kitchen 2013), planning institutions influence spatial policing and act as instance which is entitled to decide about who belongs to certain places and who not. Again, the question is: Who is being planned for? (Greed 1994).

How does fear lead to control?

In a *culture of fear*, people feel constantly the need to protect themselves from all kind of dangers. Security has become one of the predominant determinants of today's *risk society* (Beck 1992). This becomes visible in the rise of private security services (Ellin 2001, Jones, Newburn 1998), Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) (Furedi 2006, Newburn 2001), and security promotions in all kinds of advertisements, from cars and insurances to children toys (Neill 2001, Katz 2008). Doel and Clarke (1997, p. 20) relate this need for security in the context of a *culture of fear* to surveillance: "Our bodies are bathed in the statistical indifference of banal fatalities, fatal banalities and catastrophes without consequence. Each occurrence has the potential to change everything. Hence the need to vigilantly monitor even the banal minutiæ of everyday life, forcing the real to become hyperreal: *Street Watch, Neighbourhood Watch, Business Watch, Vehicle Watch, Body Watch, Pet Watch, Bay Watch,* and the whole paraphernalia of remote sensing and passive surveillance". Fear, in our society, has become socialised, instrumentalised, and commodified and is now a source of profit (Hubbard 2003) as well as a political mechanism (Pain 2010). Similarly Gold and Revill (2003, p. 30)

argue that "fear can [...] be commodified and technologised into risk and subsequently sold back to us as technical solutions by politicians, medics, planners, the insurance industry and many others". Francis (1989) argues that the search for control is a direct response to fear as control comes along with feelings of security and stability. More critically, Pain and Smith (2008, p. 12) state that uneven expressions of diverse versions of fear and fearfulness "drive the politics of control that have so much currency today". Striktly speking, planning itself is a way of control. It is an attempt to control future development. Maybe this is why there are more and more cooperations between planning and police authorities as described by Schneider and Kitchen (2013).

It is argued that based on myths of fear, "'Other' populations (including the homeless, rowdy teenagers, asylum seekers, beggars, street prostitutes, the mentally ill and so on) have found themselves subject to a range of formal and informal social control mechanisms designed to limit their access to a wide variety of urban spaces" (Hubbard 2003, p. 61). This, to use Herbert and Brown's (2006) words, "political culture of hyperpunitiveness" is accused to not account for the complex interactions between society and space, it neglects the meaning of the process of landscape production as well as interpretation. Furthermore, it follows mainstream perceptions and common myths of crime and danger (Cahill 2007, Herbert, Brown 2006, Hubbard 2003). Control mechanisms are accused to "both reflect and reinforce the processes through which neoliberalism exacerbates social differences (Herbert, Brown 2006, p. 755).

How does control and surveillance marginalise minority groups?
Consequences of increasing control might be devastating for the effected minorities, may it be homeless people, low-income families, prostitutes, ethnic minorities, blacks, or youth. Increasing police authority, for instance, can have devastating effects on marginalised groups in society like homeless people (Herbert, Beckett 2010). Moreover, questions about exclusionary consequences on certain social groups, for instance young people, are raised (Shirlow, Pain 2003). Finally, it can be questioned whether some surveillance and control mechanisms reduce fear at all, specifically fear of vulnerable populations (Fyfe, Bannister 1996, Pain 2000).

As a result of being viewed as offenders, young people, for example, are subject to increasing control and regulation, especially at places where they have shown to be at risk most but where they are often unprotected: on the streets, at home, and in public institutions (Pain 2003, p. 156). Children are found to be increasingly excluded from places, they share with adults (Valentine 1996, James 1990). Instead of feeling protected by public institutions and the police, fear of state authorities and actions of the local police often makes young people (especially disadvantaged youth) feel uncomfortable (Alexander, Pain 2012). Carlen (1996), Pain (2003), Alexander (2008), and Pain and Alexander (2012) reveal that disadvantaged youth often are exposed to serious violence from the police and regularly experience harassment from police officers. Pain (2003, p. 165) even detects welfare policies "which contribute to the creation of homelessness and school exclusion, and criminalise certain groups of young people". These kinds of victimisation affect young people's geographies in that they don't feel comfortable in certain places, and stay at home to avoid confrontation (Alexander, Pain 2012, p. 43). In this way, social exclusion is produced and reinforced. The marginalisation of young people get's justified by common understandings of youth as dangerous and 'out of control'. As Alexander (2008, p. 38) argues: "[F]ear compounds the exclusion already experienced by young people living within disadvantaged areas, undermining their basic entitlements to citizenship and preventing their full participation as active citizens".

In addition to youth, Herbert and Becket (2010) reveal that similar practices, particularly banishment, marginalise homeless people depriving them of shelter, security, and social contacts. Cahill (2007) describes how black women are marginalised by control of their neighbourhoods, and Kain (1992) shows how black people are marginalised by control of the housing market. Holding these developments against the APA vision statement for planning calling for "social, economic, and racial equity and integration" and "quality, affordable housing available to all people"(APA 2013, online), would suggest that the vision of socially responsible development can hardly be approached.

3.3 Reinforced fear and inequity

Gold and Revill (2003, p. 37) argue that segregation and control are often created by conscious acts of marginalisation and clearly articulated fears of the Other. In a capitalist society the power to express fear remains to a privileged part of society, to dominant groups and individuals. Consequently, the resulting *landscapes of fear* are produced and re-produced by these more powerful groups of society rather than by minority groups. As Greed (1994) shows, planners are regularly members of these dominant groups in society. Accordingly, it is argued that "[l]andscape has relevance here because it naturalises in material form the values of the powerful, marking out moral geographies that exclude and exile feared social groups. At the same time it creates apparently purified and homogeneous spaces rhetorically tying the nature of specific landscapes to the legitimacy of particular activities and social groups" (Gold, Revill 2003). Oakes and Price (2008, p. 150) support this thesis: "[L]andscape does not merely reflect power in society; it also acts to reproduce, naturalize, as well as to contest, power relations. Dominant actors in society shape landscapes to reflect their ideals, concerns and priorities, while subordinate voices are literally written out of the landscape."

Gold and Revill (2003, p. 41) state: "Landscapes that express power and privilege are always the flip side of landscapes of exploitation and disadvantage." Pain and Smith (2008), for instance, show that exclusionary tensions effect everyday life of people. More powerful groups of society, say the middle class, are more successful in accessing universal services such as health care, education, housing, and not at least, crime prevention. Moreover, greater amounts of social capital lead to advantages in the competition for services whose supply is limited (Tilley 2012, p. 279). Since these inequities are literally written into the landscape, they are perceived as naturally given. *Landscapes of fear's* material value and its physical appearance prevent social inequity from being questioned. Herbert and Brown (2006, p. 756) draw a similar conclusion in stating that "space is not just impacted by neoliberal policies, but that its conceptualization importantly helps legitimate those policies". Moreover, Sibley (1995) as well as Houtum and Pijpers (2008) argue that the spatial definition of a border between normality and deviance can be seen as a "colonisation of social life" and that what is beyond the border is justified to be neglected. In this sense, "(b)ordering and (b)othering go hand in hand" (Houtum, Pijpers 2008, p. 162). Thus, landscape itself becomes an argument, a justification for inequity and injustice, a manifestation of fear. In theory, then, socially responsible planning, which would work agains these mechanisms, will be hard to establish because it would have to argue against the strong arguments of landscape itself. Socially responsible planning would have to argue against perceived -and set in stone- realities.

Paradoxically, *landscapes of fear*, which evolve to a significant extent out of responses to fear, regularly do not diminish fear and lead to feelings of safety and comfort but rather reinforce feelings

of fear and anxiety. Reinforcement of fear through segregation, control, and marginalisation can be seen on different levels. On a national level, for instance, fear is working in the sphere of national belonging in two ways: by those inside (through the production of the racialised Other) and by those outside (through reactions/offences from those inside). The resulting mental and spatial segregation reinforces fear on both sides (Noble, Poynting 2008). The same counts for regional and city level. It is argued that in segregated communities stereotypical representations and imaginations of Others tend to reinforce suspicion and fear itself and call for even stronger techniques of segregation and control (Blakely and Snyder 1997). Also Ellin (1997, p. 45) argues in relation to her three responses to fear (nostalgia, escapism, and retribalisation) that "fear -along with the efforts to cope with it by referring to an idealized past, an exoticized other, a fantasy world, group cohesion, or oneself- has intensified".

More explicitly, talking about the built environment, Marcuse (1997, p. 101) raises a simple but highly important question: Do walls in the city provide security - or do they create fear? Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 128-129) find an answer to this question and state that fear and anxiety feed on themselves: "Gates and walls reflect fear and serve as daily reminders of the perceived dangers on the other side". Blakely and Snyder (1997) show that, in socially isolated environments, segregation leads to stereotyping and misunderstanding, which in turn reinforces fear and even greater distance. This tension may even get amplified from generation to generation. Low (2001), for instance, argues that children, growing up in gated communities tend, to be threatened more than other kids by poor people, homeless, and immigrants. And as Sibley (1995, p. 18) explains, because there is no social interaction with Others, stereotypes are not challenged. In terms of control, Houtum and Pijpers (2008, p. 170) argue that protection makes fear even stronger. Similarly Ellin (1997, p. 42) states that "[s]trategies such as gating, policing and other surveillance systems, and defensive urbanism [...] contribute to accentuating a more general sense of fear by increasing paranoia and distrust.

In an open city, people of different social status, colour, and age must negotiate their mutual fate together. In a way, then, they learn to value one another more highly and they can expand their social networks (Blakely, Snyder 1997). In *landscapes of fear*, coined through segregation and control, the opposite is the case. As this chapter shows, socially responsible planning in the context of a general culture of fear stands opposed to societal, political, and market forces which engender social segregation, control, and marginalisation of minority groups. Evolving landscapes of fear, further justify these forces and work as counter argument for socially responsible planning. In order to find a way out of this dilemma, socially responsible planning would need to find ways to reduce stereotypes, to prevent the formation of *landscapes of fear*, and to meet the needs and desires of minority groups. Ellin (2001) provides a theoretical groundwork for such a kind of socially responsible planning what she calls "Integral Urbanism. Integral Urbanism focuses on: (1) networks, not boundaries; (2) relationships and connections, not objects; (3) interdependence, not independence or dependence; (4) natural and social communities as well as individuals; (5) transparency or translucency, not opacity; (6) flux, not stasis; (7) permeability, not permanence; (8) movement from place to place, not permanence; (9) connections with nature and relinquishing control, not controlling nature; (10) catalysts, armatures, frameworks, punctuation marks, not final products or utopias. [...] Rather than resist change, we surrender to it and consider the fourth dimension in our planning and design. And rather than ignore or eradicate our urban fears, we respect them as part of what makes life exciting and joyful. In order to prevent the darkness from overtaking the light, we integrate the urban shadow. (Ellin 2001, p. 881).

Archieving this kind of Integral Urbanism and realising socially responsible planning in the context of a *culture of fear*, however, seems to face major hindrances. The following chapter illustrates the ubiquity of landscapes of fear in the USA and eludicates it social consequences.

4. The ubiquity of landscapes of fear

As Ellin (1996, 1997, 2001) shows, fear and safety issues have been dominant drivers in city development from the very beginning of city building: "Fear has never been absent from the human experience and town building has always contended with the need for protection from danger. Protection from invaders was in fact a principal incentive for building cities, many of whose borders were defined by vast walls or fences, from the ancient settlements of Mesopotamia to medieval cities to Native American villages" (Ellin 2001, p. 869). Furthermore it is argued that the history and geography of the city can be seen as "a series of interventions in urban space designed to address a range of fears and anxieties" (Bannister, Fyfe 2001, p. 810) and that "[t]he ecology of American cities is regulated to a considerable degree by fear of crime" (Warr 2000, p. 481). Katz (2008, p. 61) argues that "[i]n the name of fear the public environment is monitored, bunkered and conspicuously patrolled while the home is increasingly fortressed"(ibid, p. 61).

Ellin (1997) distinguishes between three eras of urbanism related to fear: First, modern fear and urbanism (1789-1900), which implies the French revolution and the Haussmann plans for Paris under the slogan of "constructive deconstruction". Second, industrialisation and urbanisation (1900-1960s), which contains ideas of ideal cities by Ebenezer Howard, Tony Garnier, and Le Corbusier in the post World War II era with increasing social segregation. And third, postmodern fear and postmodern urbanism (1970s to current) with globalisation processes, rising geographic mobility, New Urbanism and increasing privatisation. The latest period is of primary interest for this study. It is important to comprehend spatially relevant developments in the American landscape during the last decades in order to counteract the socially devastating outcomes and promote socially responsible development. The following examples (suburbanisation, gated communities, gentrification, and control of public space) exemplify the geographical range (urban-rural) and illustrate the ubiquity of *landscapes of fear*.

4.2 Landscapes of fear - Suburbanisation

Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 87) state that "[t]here is no doubt that Americans have given up on the old style of urban living for the large private spaces and small public spaces of the suburbs". Similarly, Jackson (1987, p. 4) has noted that "[i]n the United States, it is almost a truism to observe that the dominant residential pattern is suburban". Jackson further argues that suburbia is highly representative for contemporary American culture. As this paragraph will show, it is also representative for America's *culture of fear*.

The on-going trend of suburbanisation in large parts of the United States (Berger, Brown et al. 2013) is caused by push-factors (leave the "dangerous, dirty, and diseased city") as well as pull factors (search for a "safe, clean, and spacious neighbourhood"). Ellin's (2001) description of escapism and retribalisation, as two out of three responses to fear, relates to both. Often the city is displayed and perceived as the place of crime, disease, violence, social unrest, disorder, and so on (Ellin 2001). Schuermans and De Maesschalk (2010) show, that fear of the city can mostly be traced back to fear of 'strangers' which occur more often in cities. Marcuse (1997, p. 318) argues that these push factors are bound to the growing occurrence of blacks in central cities in the post World War II period, the related fears of crime, and the spinoffs of poverty. Thus, fear takes over the role as a push factor for suburbanisation (e.g. Ellin 2001, Loader, Girling et al. 1998, Levi 2001, Hubbard 2003, Katzman 1980, Robertson 1995, 1997, Thomas, Bromley 2000). These forms of "retreat from the larger community"

(Ellin 2001, p. 873), go hand in hand with a drive for order, conformity, and social homogeneity. It is believed that this can be secured in segregating oneself physically from others. The problem is, that a search for conformity is inextricably linked with a search for deviance, because without deviance there is no self-consciousness of conformity and vice versa (cf. Davis 1998, Sibley 1995). This means that a group of people can only define themselves as being largely homogeneous in distancing themselves from a deviant Other. In this context, Sibley (1995, p. 38) reminds us that "the North American suburb has been represented as a particular kind of *gemeinschaft* within the swathe of individual anonymous worlds that are supposed to constitute the modern metropolis".

Suburbanisation comes along with increasing privatisation. Sutton (1997, p. 248) argues that each person is "trying to be isolated as much as possible from others, riding single-occupant vehicles, striving to possess the biggest house on the largest lot landscaped". For Dewey (1997, p. 263) privatisation is so successful, because "[p]rivate space is regarded as the only place where anything can endure, the only thing that can secure possibility. It is the only place where the dream is safe". Car dependency, for instance, has been blamed to reconfigure civil society and to create distinct ways of dwelling, travelling and socialising in the city (Hubbard 2003, p. 68). Urry (2000) even states that automobility organises and legitimates socialities across different genders, classes and ages. It is argued that the use of private cars can partly be traced back to a feeling of insecurity and a perceived need to protect oneself from the dangerous outside world, especially in the city (cf. Loukaitou-Sideris 2012). In this way, car dependency prevents social contact and public life, it is a form of segregation like suburbanisation itself. Consequently, dependency on cars helps to keep up stereotypes about those who are considered not to fit the mainstream, the very reason of segregation in the first place (Urry 2000).

Socially responsible planning which aims to meet the neeeds of all people (Donovan 2010) and which aims at "social, economic, and racial equity and integration" (APA 2013, online) would need to find ways to rather promote walkability and public transport instead of car dependency, meeting points instead of large private yards, socially mixed communities instead of homogenous suburbanities. Suburbanisation happens very selectively. It roots in feelings of difference, it is driven, at least partly, by fear and the desire for conformity, and it produces landscapes with clear notions of who is belonging/not belonging and what activities and life styles are in place/out of place. Consequences of suburbanisation are segregation amongst social status, race, and, as feminist scholars reveal even gender. Ellin (1996), for example, argues that women in suburbs are trapped into the role of caretaker and consumer which isolated them from neighbours, services, and places of employment. This makes it impossible to combine housework, child care, paid work, and social life. According to Ellin (1996), this contributed to separate the public from the private sphere and men from women, with negative consequences for equal political and economic participation as well as for domestic harmony.

Planned suburbanisation, thus, could be seen as planning's contribution to the errection of *landscapes of fear*. And, indeed, Blakely and Snyder remind us that "[s]uburbs are not a recent innovation of marketdriven developers. They have a long utopian history of famous designers and visionaries attempting to create the good life and the good society" (Blakely, Snyder 1997, p. 12). The question to ask is: whose good life and what good society? The role of planning in suburbanisation processes is discussed diversely. While Brown (2006) accuses zoning to play a major role for spatial segregation processes and suburbanisation, Hayden (2006) shows how suburbanisation has been driven by housing industry, guided by architects and developers, which worked closely with the

federal government. In any ways, it was (at least partly) a planned intervention and lies to a significant extent in the planning discipline's responsibility. In terms of socially responsible planning in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*, however, it does not matter which role planners have in suburbanisation processes. For future planning, which aims at "social, economic, and racial equity and integration" (APA 2013, online), suburbanisation, as described in this paragraph, cannot be in planner's interest.

4.2 Landscapes of fear - Gated communities

Closely related to suburbanisation, gated communities become a more and more common form of living in the United States (Blakely, Snyder 1997, Ellin 2001) and are interpreted as a mirror of American culture. Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 175) state that "gated communities are the protected zones on the battlefield where the internal ideological war over the American dream is played out."

Gated communities are defined as "residential areas with restricted access in which normally public spaces are privatized", and further as "the newest innovation in a long historical trend to ever more controlled, ever more privatized residential environments" (Blakely, Snyder 1997, p. 2, 20). As Davis (1998) reminds us, these places are often "militarised" through the use of cameras, guards, surveillance systems, and other security devices. Low (2001, p. 45) argues that gated communities are now reaching a broader spectrum of society: "While historically secured and gated communities were built in the United States to protect estates and to contain the leisure world of retirees, these urban and suburban developments now target a much broader market, including families with children."

The reasons for people to move into gated communities are similar to the push and pull factors of suburbanisation described above. A majority of gated community residents who took part in Low's (2001, p. 45) study perceived an increase of crime and mentioned "changes in the social composition" in their old neighbourhood as a primary motivation for moving. The residents of gated communities seek security, control, privacy, and stability. They seek control of crime and traffic and want to be free from strangers, disruptions, and intrusions. They want to protect their economic status and their investment in their home (cf. Blakely, Snyder 1997, Low 2001). In addition, living in a gated community is about life style and a certain way of life. It is about the dream of success and the prestige of standing on a certain point on the social ladder. As one developer of gated communities in Florida told Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 18): "Selling houses is showbiz. You go after the emotions. We don't go out and show a gate in the ad. But we try to imply and do it subtly. In our ad, we don't even show houses. We show a yacht. We show an emotion."

The consequence of on-going "fortification" in America is first and foremost social segregation[1], as Davis (1998) argues, especially among income and race - he even refers to the gates as "White Wall" - but also among age, as retirement communities show. A gated community is made to produce and reproduce segregation and to pronounce and maintain social homogeneity and wealth inequity (cf. Van Houtum, Pijpers 2007, p. 303). Gated communities common purpose is the creation of space in which the affluent wall and gate themselves off from the rest of society, driven by fear and the need

[1] Needless to say that, like suburbanisation, gated communities foster privatisation, car dependency and often sprawl. For these reasons alone, according to Colquhoun (2004), Ceccato (2012), and Grönlund (2012), gated communities must be considered as non-sustainable.

to be "amongst ourselves", hence protecting welfare, security, and identity (Van Houtum, Pijpers 2007, p. 303). Sibley (1996) calls this process the "mapping of the pure and the defiled".

Compared to suburbanisation, as discussed above, segregation by gated communities is far more clear and far more aggressive. This is based on two circumstances. First, gated communities are often administered by Homeowner Associations (HOA) which are self-governing, private entities which can decide about the large privatised places and make their own rules. This governance system often does not merely privatise community space, but also civic responsibilities like police protection and various communal services such as recreation, entertainment, street maintenance, and so on (Blakely, Snyder 1997, p. 8). They literally create their own private world where there is no need for communication or coordination with their neighbours, for political interaction with the larger society, or for solving the social problems of the outside world which were the very reasons for their flight to gated communities in the first place. Second, gated communities are regularly physically fortified in the sense of physical barriers to access through gates, walls, and fences. Marcuse (1997, p. 102) argues that "the walls are designed as clear physical statements, as definitions both of what is within them and what is outside". Here, the identification of 'strangers' plays an important role. "Belonging, and not belonging, are, of course, not simply cognitive processes of identification, but highly charged, affective relations of attachment to and exclusion from particular places" (Noble, Poynting 2008, p. 130). Walls reflect the fear of those inside and it is argued that these walls also inspire fear, rather than reducing it (e.g. Ellin 1996, Low 2001, Marcuse 1997). Moreover, these walls send a clear message to those outside: We do not want you here! We are different from you! Stay away!

Interestingly, Ellin (2001, p. 874) argues that "[a]lthough the trend to build and live in gated communities is still going strong, recent research has revealed that gating communities has little effect on crime either within the gates or outside them". An executive director of a huge gated community came to the same conclusion and told Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 67-68): "There is no 100 percent security. [...] We have drugs and other issues to deal with here too. The gates don't keep out the world outside". In this sense, the walls and gates might give the people inside a false sense of security. Moreover, walls, fences, and gates can remind people of their fears, telling them that there is a reason for being afraid (Marcuse 2000). Finally, walls and fences prevent social contact to other people. Stereotypical constructs of the Other cannot be challenged and rather get reinforced. "[T]he more borders are closed, the more unknown and untruthful subjects beyond the inside one's (knowledge) domain are undesired and subject to suspicion. Hence, with a gated community false perceptions of security are gained (bought) but social bonds are lost" (Houtum, Pijpers 2008, p. 170).

The emergence of gated communities can hardly be attributed to planner's action as they regularly are developed by private developers (Hayden 2006). It is thus mainly societal and market forces which lead to the extreme rise of gated communities in nowaday's USA. However, Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 156) argue: "Among city officials and planners, most [...] take gated communities for granted, limiting their concerns to practical issues of traffic flow, aesthetics, and emergency vehicle access." In light of socially responsible planning, concerns about gated communities need to include social and socio-political aspects as described in this paragraph. But even if planners recognise social and political consequences, it can be doubted that this alone will change the landscape. Ellin (1996, p. 190) states that "[a] reality which many architects and planners have preferred to ignore or minimize is that rather than following function, form has increasingly following finance. The prime mover - particularly in the more liberal economies - is less the architects and planners themselves than the larger system in which they are embedded and which functions according to the profit

motive". This "profit motive", for instance, becomes visible in Low's (2006) critique on gated communities. She concludes that "municipalities and towns that cannot fund new development, but want to expand their tax base, rely on real estate developers to produce new housing through incentive zoning and annexation mechanisms" (Low 2006, p. 99). in any way, the development of gated communities must be a thorn in a planner's flesh if s/he wants to promote integrety, equality, and justice. There is no way to imaginge how a landscape which is coined by gated communities could allow for social equity, integration, the reduction of stereotypes, and possibilities for minorities to meet their needs and desires.

4.3 Landscapes of fear - Gentrification

Suburbanisation and gated communities, as described above, largely take place outside of the city centres. The city's pendant to these movements is gentrification. Smith (2009 cited in: Lees, Slater et al. 2010, p. xi) argues that gentrification can well be seen as a simple class (and sometimes race) retaking of the city, but that it has much broader significance. He views its global significance in the light of "contemporary social violence", globalisation of class and politics, and calls for a global response to gentrification. Davison and Lees (2005 cited in: Lees, Slater et al. 2010, p. xvi) have put forward a broad definition of gentrification focussing on its core elements of reinvestment of capital, social upgrading of locale by high income groups, landscape change, and direct or indirect displacement of low income groups.

Reasons for gentrification are often seen in economic terms and as intended political strategies to enhance run-down neighbourhoods or as unintended social processes with similar effects. However, the same push factors that drive higher-income people out of the cities or into gated communities can drive them to gentrifying areas downtown (Lees, Slater et al. 2010, p. 333). Thus, a fear of the city can also lead to modifications in the city's physical appearance and social composition. It has been shown that most gentrifiers move from other parts of the inner city rather than from the suburbs (ibid). Effects on the places that are left are abandonment and economic decline. Moreover, the third of Ellin's (2001) responses to fear, nostalgia, can be related to gentrification processes. The desire to live in an (imagined) urban setting which was lost over the past is what drives many gentrifiers to these neighbourhoods. A gentrifying neighbourhood, thus, can seek for the same kind of pure community than a suburban neighbourhood or a gated community. Unwanted strangers are kept out with a diversity of methods. These processes are, at least partly, driven by fear in general and fear of the Other in particular.

Displacement has been labelled the fundamental essence of gentrification studies: "Displacement, the forced disenfranchisement of poor and working class people from the spaces and places to which they have legitimate social and historical claims, is what constitutes and defines gentrification, with its remaking of space for the middle classes and the elite" (Lees, Slater et al. 2010, p. 317). Focussing on the emotional geographies of young women of colour in a gentrifying neighbourhood Cahill (2007) connects displacement and disinvestment to discussions about class and race. She illustrates how feelings of loss due to neighbourhood change emerge and how traces of young women's history are erased. Stereotypical perceptions of young black women as lazy, on welfare, at risk, likely to become a teen mother, or high school drop outs serve to justify their displacement, their social and spatial exclusion. Their own needs and desires, their histories and their fears, however, remain invisible and are not thought of (ibid, p. 215). In this way, whiteness is viewed as the face of gentrification (ibid, p. 208). This leads Cahill to the conclusion that gentrification needs to be

understood as a comprehensive process of neighbourhood change which cannot only be understood in terms of real estate values. *Place attachment* and the loss of rich networks of social capital, for example, offer another frame to understand the process from residents' perspectives" (ibid, p. 217).

Again, the (re)production of stereotypes, segregation and control, and disadvantages for minority groups stay opposed to any definition of socially responsible planning. In order to achieve a social mix in these neighbourhoods, it seems not to be enough to let the market rule. Market forces, societal forces, and even political forces seem to run counter to goals of socially responsible planning. Gentrified areas have nothing in common with Blakely and Snyder's open city or Ellin's Integral Urbanism. To the contrary, effects of selective displacement are social and spatial segregation, control of public space, and further marginalisation of minority groups. Hartman (1984 in:, Lees, Slater et al. 2010, p. 533) argues that "virtually every study of displacement [...] arrives at a similar conclusion: those displaced are poor, with disproportionate numbers of nonwhites, elderly, and large households among them". Lees, Slater, et al. (2010, p. 342) come to a similar conclusion in that they say that gentrification contributes to residential polarisation of the city by income, education, household composition, and race. Moreover, Zukin (1987 in:, Lees, Slater et al. 2010, p. 223) states that all studies of gentrification confirm that in-movers build a fairly homogeneous residential group whereas (forced) out-movers are regularly relatively heterogeneous groups.

The underlying question is: whose rights count more, those of the displacers or those of the displaced? Harvey's discussion about the right to the city exemplifies the question in this light. So far, Lees, Slater, et al. (2010, p. 533) argue, the "right to displace" is an overwhelming fact of life. Indeed, Aktinson and Bridge (2005 cited in:, Lees, Slater et al. 2010, p. xii) find that gentrification compounds "elements of colonialism as a cultural force in its privileging of whiteness, as well as the more class-based identities and preferences in urban living" and that "these policies have resulted in a kind of neo-colonialism in the US context". In the same manner, Berg, Kamineret al., (2009 cited in: Lees, Slater et al. 2010, p. xv) argue that gentrification involves the treatment of local residents as objects rather than subjects of upgrading. "Gentrification has become a means of solving social malaise, not by providing solutions to unemployment, poverty, or broken homes, but by transferring the problem elsewhere, out of sight and consequently also geographically marginalising the urban poor and ensuring their economic location and political irrelevance."

It is argued that gentrification gets further reinforced through political and planning action, sometimes wanted, sometimes unwanted. Lees, Slater, et al. (2010, p. xx) argue that "for the most part, gentrification around the world today is state-led through similar yet distinct policy discourses". Planners in particular are accused to foster gentrification processes, for example, in the course of New Urbanis developments. Bohl (2000), for instance, argues that New Urbanist developments tend to foster gentrification, social exclusion and marginalisation of minority groups. Socially responsible planning, which takes into account the needs and desires of minority groups, and which aims at social and spacial equality, then, needs to find ways to prevent gentrification processes.

4.4 Landscapes of fear - Control of public space

Smith and Low (2006, p. 1), in their book *The Politics of Public Space,* argue that "the clampdown on public space, in the name of enforcing public safety and homeland security has been dramatic". Their argument entails a powerful role of the state and/or public administration in controlling public space.

With increasing privatisation and mixed ownerships (such as deriving out of public private partnerships) the responsibility to manage public space and the right to set rules migrates to private individuals and institutions. In today's "highly privatized metropolis" (Smith, Low 2006, p. 9) public spaces become more controlled by owners, managers, and designers.

Control of public space can be seen in light of gentrification processes as described above and as reaction to fear of the Other (Katz 2008). Francis (1989, p. 150) argues that "[w]ho uses spaces has become a primary concern of private space managers, with design and management being used in favor of affluent users and against less desirable users such as teenagers, the elderly, and the homeless". Similarly, and more recently, Mitchell and Staeheli (2006, p. 144) state that: "If public space is taken to be a space of sociality, as a gathering place, research has shown how this sociality is limited by the politics of power[...], a politics that sometimes resolves itself into questions of design." In order to address manager's and owner's concerns about undesirable uses and users, new types of spaces (such as locked parks, patrolled and surveilled plazas, etc.) have been developed that often restrict public access and use (Francis 1989, p. 150). Mitchell and Staeheli (2006) demonstrate that public places are often controlled in a way to make them "Clean and Safe" in order to attract white affluent people (from the suburbs). The words "Clean" and "Safe" can be seen in the context of fear discourses pointing directly at minority groups that are perceived to be dirty, diseased, and dangerous; namely the homeless, the poor, black people, and the youth.

One example how control of public place is related to fear as well as to the marginalisation of minority groups is the exclusion of youth from public places. Francis (1989, p. 164) argues that teenagers' access to community places was found to be important for them to feel attached to a community. Also Pain (2003), Katz (2008), and Sutton (1997) argue that public involvement is important for children's development. However, children (Katz 2008) as well as teenagers (Pain 2003) see themselves under increasing surveillance and control in public space. Especially policing measures and policing approaches seem to restrict young people's lives to a significant extent. To give another example, focussing on the treatment of homeless people in San Diego, Mitchell and Staeheli (2006, p. 145) conclude that "[i]n order for redevelopment to succeed, the city had to find ways to remove - or at least manage [...] - the homeless population. Yet at the same time, redevelopment itself exacerbates and causes both invisible and visible homelessness as single-room occupancy hotels are destroyed, rents rise, shelters are relocated, and services (like public toilets) close down." Consequences for those displaced and excluded are not considered as it becomes visible in the fact that "neither the CCDC [corporation responsible for park management] spokeswomen nor the police captain was quite sure what had become of the homeless and elderly who had formerly used the park" (Mitchell, Staeheli 2006, p. 155).

Herbert and Beckett (2010) analyse consequences for homeless people as a result of banishment practices. They locate the beginning of modern banishment in the history of urban social control, interestingly in the early 1970s, the same time when fear of crime became a subject of national interest. Banishment is described as "an increasing common tool for urban control" which gives the police strong authority to create and enforce zones of exclusion (Herbert, Beckett 2010, p. 231). The places where homeless people are banished from often represent much more than entertainment for them. Public parks, for instance, often offer bathroom facilities, places to rest, and are publicly accessible. But more than that, Herbert and Becket (2010, p. 237) show that banishment from these places limits homeless people's access to social contacts and services and thet it can lead to loss of work and reduced security. "[S]patial exclusions make their already-challenging lives all the more

difficult, and lead them to experience even greater stigma" (Herbert, Beckett 2010, p. 233). Banishment is a strong indication that one is unwanted and not considered as a part of society. It can be seen as an attempt to control public space in order to reduce the fear of the more affluent social mainstream.

Again, exclusion happens selectively. Being excluded from public space also means being excluded from public life and thus, in a way, from society as a whole (Herbert, Becket 2010). It is, like shown for the example of gentrification, an attack of people's *place identity* and *place attachment* and thus an attack on people's identity. Mitchell and Staeheli (2006, 144) state that "public space has become a key battleground - a battleground over the homeless and the poor and over the rights of developers, corporations, and those who seek to make over the city in an image attractive to tourists, middle- and upper-class residents, and suburbanities". On this battle ground those who belong and those who do not belong are clearly marked. People and actions can be identified to be in place or out of place just like in a gated community. For critics like Darrell Crilley (1993 cited in: Smith, Low 2006) these public spaces cannot be called public anymore but should rather be called "pseudo-public places". Indeed, the questions raised above - whose good life and what good society? - can be asked at this place again. Or, formulated differently and in regard to Lefebvre: Who has the right to the city? Who has the right to public space?

Also planners might find themselves acting at this "battleground". Pain (2001, p. 902), for example, argues that "planning tactics to create *safe spaces* lead to greater fear, isolation and social exclusion, rather than less, and that the disbenefits of planning urban space in this way are fewest for the rich and greatest for those already marginalised from urban life". Again, this stands opposed to any definition of socially responsible development. Priviledging some social groups with public advantages and excluding other groups from the very same advantages stands in sharp contrast to the idea of "vital communities fully accessible to all people, with [...] social, economic, and racial equity and integration" (APA 2013, online). Socially responsible planning needs to find ways to work against one-sided control of public space which advantages some groups and marginalises some other groups. Socially responsible planning needs to create more equal opportunities and serve the needs of all groups in the society, especially those groups which are already disadvantaged. Truely socially responsible planning needs to work against societal forces which lead people to segregate from each other, political forces which control and exclude minority groups from certain places, market forces which marginalise the already disadvantaged. Truely socially responsible planning needs to counter the production of *landscapes of fear*.

The following chapters aim to provide approaches to address this challenging task. Hereby, the focus of investigation lies on the planner's perspective. Chapter 5 explaines the research approach and the research strategy into detail.

5. Research strategy and methodology

The theory chapters above explain and exemplify the production as well as the interpretation of *landscapes of fear*. Fear is explained as socially constructed practice which materialises in the American landscape through social segregation and control. It is argued that planners "were not mere cogs in this machine of change" (Ellin 1996, p. 212) and planners have been accused to actually foster segregation and control (Marcuse 2000). Ambitions of planners to counter the evolvement of landscapes of fear, however, have been largely neglected by the literature reviewed for the purpose of this thesis. Given the depicted societal forces in a *culture of fear* it seems to be a challenging task for planners to approach their vision of "a nation of vital communities, fully accessible to all people" (APA 2013, online). In other words, socially responsible planning seems to face significant obstacles. The chosen research approach, which is explained in this chapter, aims to approach the main research question of this thesis:

How can US planners plan in a socially responsible way in the context of a general culture of fear?

The theoretical considerations above build a starting point to approach this question and seeing the planning profession as an institution after the definition of Hamilton (1932) is of some help to answer it. Hamilton defines an institution as "a way of thought or action of some prevalence, which is embedded in the habits of a group or the customs of people" (quoted in Adams, Tiesdell 2010, p. 198). Thus, the question points at planner's self-understanding, their perceptions of spatial development and social inequity, and their understanding of the profession they are working in. In this sense, the planner's perspective is needed, because planner's self-understanding and perceptions determine their planning action.

The research question splits up into two sub-questions which are addressed in turn in the following chapters. The empirical data that help answer the research questions are comprised of two enquiries among Florida's Fellows of the American Institute of Certified Planners (FAICP). The first one helps to define the scope of action for the planning profession in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*. The second one, using the examples of CPTED and New Urbanism (which emerged out of the first enquiry), helps to analyse to what extent existing planning approaches are capable to promote socially responsible development in this context. A key aim, furthermore, is to find out perceived hindrances and obstacles for socially responsible planning in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*.

The first enquiry aims to find out about the (self-)understanding of planners, their perceptions about *landscapes of fear*, their perceived position compared to other actors and factors which influence spatial development, and perceived possibilities for socially responsible planning. It seeks to find answers to the following guiding-questions:

1) How is the scope of action for the planning profession defined in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?

How do planners understand the construction of landscapes of fear?
To what extent is planning perceived to be responsible for the creation of landscapes of fear?
How is the planning profession positioned in relation to other actors and factors which also influence spatial development?
What are perceived opportunities for planners to promote socially responsible development in this context?

The second enquiry aims to analyse two examples of planning approaches which emerged out of the first enquiry and which were found to approach *landscapes of fear* with their objectives: New Urbanism and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). For instance, it is argued that "New Urbanism is doing a decent job of using urban design strategies to break down barriers between social groups" (Ellis 2002, p. 281). It can be seen as a counter movement to suburbanisation and the rise of gated communities (Wheeler, 2002). Similarly, approaches of CPTED are seen to entail various possibilities to address issues of social justice and fear in particular (Wekerle, Whitzman 1995, Zelinka, Brennan 2001). CPTED can be understood as a planning reaction to fear of crime in American cities (Schneider, Kitchen 2013). There are, of course, other planning approaches which are of interest in this context. Particularly zoning, growth management, and city centre redevelopment might offer interesting insights. The two examples of New Urbanism and CPTED are chosen because of their actuality in planning discourse (see e.g. Ellis 2002, Schneider, Kitchen 2013) and their direct relation to *landscapes of fear*. In this way, it was hoped that most participants are able to give a statement. The enquiry seeks to find answers to the following guiding-questions:

2) To what extent can existing planning approaches promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?
What are the opportunities and threats of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design in regard to socially responsible planning?
What are the opportunities and threats of New Urbanism in regard to socially responsible planning?

Interim conclusions are provided for each of the two sub questions, a concluding chapter (Chapter 8) combines them and relates the answers back to the theory in order to approach the guiding question of this thesis.

5.1 Methodology

A qualitative approach based on email enquiries has been chosen to approach the sub-questions. In the first enquiry, participants were asked to comment on a rather provocative statement paper which accused planning to ignore, if not foster, the production of *landscapes of fear*. In the second enquiry, the participants were asked to provide their perceptions on New Urbanism and CPTED on basis of their experience and expertise. The following explains the chosen methods in more depth and illustrates the reasons which lead to their implementation. Moreover the collected data as well as the way of analysis are described. Chapter 5.3 provides critical reflections on the used methods deriving from my experiences in conducting the research.

An explorative research approach
A compulsory part of my study at the University of Groningen allows me to conduct research in a foreign context ("Study Period Abroad"). One of the key objectives of the course, now called "Research in a Foreign Context", is to "train students in research at an international level [...], in another institutional setting which is intended to further their methodological skills or to serve as a basis for their Master's thesis" (RUG 2013, online). With the help of the ICURD-NEURUS network, I gained the chance to conduct research at the University of Florida in Gainesville. In this new research environment I aimed to explore different ways of research than what I experienced thus far in order to enhance the learning effect of studying abroad. Together with my supervisor in Gainesville, Prof. Dr. Silver, I developed an explorative research approach which is outlined below. The explorative

approach can be understood in the context of experimental techniques which are increasingly used in Human Geography research and which are described by Winchester and Rofe (2010, p.12) as "reflecting the evolving nature of inquiry in human geography" and making existing techniques "dance a little".

Qualitative or quantitative?

The enquiry aims to find out about planner's perceptions and planner's way of interpreting their profession. Thus, it should be guided by Weber's approach of 'Verstehen' (see e.g. Hennink, Hutter et al. 2010). This means that it is about participants perspectives and seen from an insider's (emic) point of view. As Winchester and Rofe (2010, p.3) make clear, qualitative research methods are used to to elucidate human environments, individual experiences, and social processes. One of the benefits of a qualitative approach in this study is that it facilitates the exploration of *landscapes of fear* (human environments) as multifaceted and dynamic processes which involve individual emotions that are situated in individual experiences (Bailey, White et al. 1999) but which also derive out of social processes. Qualitative research, in this case, entails the opportunity to react on and interpret the answers in a flexible manner and to follow conceptions and input from the side of the participants.

Purely quantitative approaches were precluded from methodological considerations to answer the research questions in line with the research strategy. They were believed to not allow enough space for individual interpretations. Furthermore, they were believed to constrain the explorative character of the research approach. The question rather aims at a "search for meaning" than at an "identification of behaviour" (Winchester, Rofe 2010). However, a combined approach of quantitative and qualitative methods, for instance by including closed-ended questions in the enquiries, is conceivable as it can provide "both the individual and the general perspective" (Winchester, Rofe 2010, p. 17). In this way, combined methods can possibly combine positive features of both approaches. Yet, these approaches demand for a larger number of surveys which was not believed to be in prospect for this study. Further research on the issue might well make use of such methodological considerations.

The participants

In qualitative approaches it is more important who exactly the research is conducted with whilst in quantitative approaches it is sometimes more important with how many people the research is conducted with (Bradshaw, Stratford 2010). The participants for this study were chosen with the aim to reflect America's broad planning profession as well as possible. Moreover, optimally, they should identify themselves with planning objectives and a planning vision which is based on socially responsible planning, as the one of the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) mentioned above ("Our vision is of a nation of vital communities, fully accessible to all people") (APA 2013, online). Participants fulfilling these requirements might contribute conforming- as well as disconforming cases (Bradshaw, Stratford 2010, p. 74), essentially agreeing or disagreeing with the theoretical framework of this thesis. Hence, answers might challenge my own interpretations and expectations. These two prerequisites can be found amongst the Fellows of the AICP. The fellows "are honoured in recognition of the achievements of the planner as an individual, elevating the Fellow before the public and the profession as a model planner who has made significant contributions to planning and society" (APA 2013, online). The Fellowship is granted to planners who have achieved excellence in professional practice, teaching, mentoring, research, public and community service, and leadership (ibid). Each of the participants has made remarkable careers and is experienced in the field of practical planning for decades. They have been awarded with the

highest awards in the field of planning and development. All those participants who are still working as planners run their own planning businesses or are at the top positions of state planning divisions (president, CEO, etc.). Those, who currently work solely at universities hold high positions (dean, president, etc.) (see the complete list of FAICP: APA 2013, online). Due to their professional obligations and their consulting function in the AICP they are up-to-date with current developments and broader discussions in the field of planning. Hence, the participants of this study do not merely reflect "some planner's perceptions" but are believed to provide a more surveying, overlooking perspective.

Prof. Dr. Silver provided me with email addresses of the 40 Fellows of the AICP in Florida. In this sense, the situation can be described as "case has found the researcher" (Bradshaw, Stratford 2010, p. 74). The limitation to Floridian FAICPs might be seen as a disadvantage considering the national scale of the research questions. It has to be admitted, that an enquiry at a national level, or one that comprises different states, would have entailed a better mirror for the United States as a country and would have offered the opportunity to differentiate between single states in the US. It can be argued, that the case of Florida does not allow to draw inferences about the planning profession of the United States. Despite these concerns, however, Florida is seen to be suitable for conducting the research for several reasons: First, Florida has a long lasting history of immigration, both from abroad and within the US. Thus, it is characterised as a generally diverse society. Second, Florida is extremely experienced with suburbanisation processes and planning approaches to counter suburbanisation (growth management) (Gale 1992). Third, Florida is one of the leading states in America when it comes to the development of gated communities (Blakely, Snyder 1997). Fourth, Florida has been among the highest growth markets in terms of housing in the United States for the last decades (Gale 1992). These reasons suggest Florida to be a suitable environment for conducting the research. With regard to the reviewed literature for this thesis, Florida might, thus, provide a "typical case sampling" (Bradshaw, Stratford 2010, p. 75), reflecting larger developments in the USA. Still, it might be interesting to conduct similar studies in other states or at a national level in the future.

Methods

The choice for email enquiries as opposed to face-to-face, in-depth interviews or focus group discussions has been rather pragmatic. In-depth interviews and especially focus group discussions would have had some significant advantages compared to email enquiries. For example, in-depth interviews offer the possibility to react to participant's answers directly and guide the conversation in a certain direction. They offer the possibility to explore personal perceptions and experiences of participants or to develop the meaning the participants attach to segregation and control. In an in-depth interview situation it might, moreover, be easier to built rapport, and to create an environment which encourages the participant to share his/her thoughts, for instance, through receptive cues (Dunn 2010, p. 108). As Dunn (ibid, p. 103) argues: "One of the major strengths of interviewing is that it allows you to discover what is relevant to the informant." Interviews serve to "collect a diversity of meaning, opinion, and experiences" (ibid, p. 102). Hence, they would be applicable for the research at hand. Focus group discussions might even suit better. They offer the possibility to gain an understanding of ongoing discussions within a group and are suited perfectly to explore perceptions and group processes (Hennink, Hutter et al. 2010). They allow the participants to discuss an issue with each other. This interactive way of data gathering provides the opportunity for people to explore different points of view and to (re)formulate and (re)consider their opinion (cf. Cameron 2010, p. 154). In this way, they can serve to "disentangle the complex web of relations and

processes, meaning and representation, that comprises the social world" (ibid, p.152) and "some propose that it results in far mor information being generated than in other research methods" (ibid, p. 153). To conduct 2-3 focus group discussions with mixed groups of 5-7 experts (academics and non academics, theorists and practitioners) is believed to be the ideal methodology to answer the research questions above. Unfortunately, several reasons made it impossible to conduct such focus-group discussions: First, my time in the United States was limited. Second, time constrains from the participants made it impossible to meet them personally, not to mention of organising a meeting for more of them at the same time. Third, participants were spread over the state of Florida and very hard to contact at all. Fourth, limited financial resources made it impossible for me to reimburse participation and/or travel long distances. Because the scope of the questions requires a wide breadth of participants with characteristics as described above, conducting focus group discussions with just "any planners" nearby was not an option.

The email approach bares some advantages and has been chosen as the method of research for the following reasons: First, it is inexpensive and timesaving for both, researcher and participant, and it does circumvent the need to arrange meetings. Second, it allowed continuing data collection even after my return to Groningen. This turned out to be crucially important, because the data collection took longer than planned. Third, participants can respond more flexibly in that they don't have to arrange a meeting (this might increase the number of responds). Fourth, participants, have the chance to think about a topic and to provide a thought through, structured, and precise answer. Besides these advantages, email enquiries entail some limitations. The main limitation can be seen in the absent of any kind of personal contact. Neither am I as a researcher able to rephrase or clarify my request, nor can the participants rephrase or clarify their implications on a direct way. In this sense, the lack of personal, face-to-face interaction entails the danger of misinterpretations on both sides. The critical reflections below, continue these considerations and reflect critically on the plausibility of the collected data.

Another option would have been to analyse examples of neighbourhoods in which New Urbanism and/or CPTED approaches were brought into action. This would offer the opportunity to investigate positive and negative effects of these two approaches on site. For instance, before- and after-comparisons of crime incidences, social composition of neighbourhoods, and even fear levels (based on surveys) are possible. With regard to fear reduction, this is a very common technique in the field of planning (Grönlund 2012, Trench, Oc et al. 1992) and also in critical geography/urban studies (e.g. Cahill 2007, Shirlow 2003). However, a case study approach does not respond well to the aim of this study which rather highlights planner's perspectives and planner's perceptions than the analysis of exemplarily show cases.

Enquiry style

In order to compensate the lack of personal contact in email enquiries and in order to try an explorative research methodology, a special enquiry style has been developed. Two rounds of email enquiries have been conducted among the 40 Floridian FAICPs. While the group of participants stays the same, the enquiry style differs between the first and the second round. In the first enquiry, a rather provocative style has been chosen. Instead of asking the participants direct, open-ended questions about the production of *landscapes of fear* or planner's contribution to segregation and control mechanisms, participants were asked to read a provocative statement paper (see Appendix 1) and give their comments on it in a way that pleases them. Besides the question to provide a comment on the text, no other questions have been posed at the participants at this time. The

statement paper was developed out of a literature review in the fields of critical geography and critical urban studies. It accuses planning as a profession not only to ignore the production of *landscapes of fear*, but also to tolerate and support it in fostering segregation, control, and marginalisation of minority groups. The attempt was to summarise socio-spatial developments of segregation, control, and marginalisation in the American landscape and present these developments opposed to the APA vision statement and definition of planning. Planning, as defined by the American Planning Association "works to improve the welfare of people and their communities by creating more convenient, equitable, healthful, efficient, and attractive places for present and future generations" (APA 2013, online). *Landscapes of fear*, by contrast, are explained as landscapes of oppression and inequity. The participants could either essentially agree or disagree with the statements made. This explorative approach aimed to gain a sense of what planner's think about issues of social inequity and oppression and how they see their role in the process of evolving *landscapes of fear*. Planner's reactions on the poignantly formulated statement paper were hoped to reveal perceived obstacles for approaching their vision and possibly existing frustration about limitations of planning action. It was thought to provoke answers that reflect everyday planning reality best. In either defending the planning profession or agreeing with the accusations (or both for different points), it was hoped that realistic personal perceptions are revealed. In this way, and in combination with the theoretical considerations, situating the planning discipline and working out possibilities for socially responsible planning was to be possible.

The first two research questions of this section (*How do planners understand the construction of landscapes of fear? To what extent is planning perceived to be responsible for the creation of landscapes of fear?*) aim to analyse the basic understanding of the participants of *landscapes of fear* and their self-understanding and interpretation of their profession with regard to the production of *landscapes of fear*. The last two research questions (*How is the planning profession positioned in relation to other actors and factors which also influence spatial development? What are perceived opportunities for planners to promote socially responsible development in this context?*) more directly provide evidence for answering the main question: *How is the scope of action for the planning profession defined in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?* As described above, it was hoped to gain insights in planner's perceptions of obstacles for socially responsible planning and of other actors and factors which play a role in the production of *landscapes of fear*. Planners' understanding of the position of their profession in relation to these other actors and factors is important to approach the guiding question of this thesis. With regard to the above definition of an institution, this understanding and way of thinking determines planners' action.

In the second enquiry, the participants were informed briefly about the outcomes of the first enquiry and subsequently asked to give their opinion on the two planning approaches of New Urbanism and CPTED. The participants were provided with a short text which summarises main goals and main critique of each approach in a very brief manner. These texts are based on a basic assumption in planning literature concerning these two approaches. New Urbanism, for instance, was presented as an approach which aims to reduce social segregation as well as high concentrations of poverty and to create a *sense of community* (Talen 1999). However, New Urbanist developments have been criticised in that they tend to foster gentrification, social exclusion and marginalisation of minority groups (Bohl 2000). CPTED, for example, aims to influence the behaviour of criminals as well as potential observers and to reduce crime as well as fear of crime (Schneider, Kitchen 2013). However, these techniques have been criticised in their fostering of privatisation and social segregation among

race and social class (Herbert, Brown 2006). Under the assumption that the two approaches reveal links to fear and social inequity, the participants are asked to name strengths weaknesses, opportunities, and threats of the approaches based on their experience and expertise (see Appendix 2). The enquiry aims to find out about planner's experiences with the two approaches and about their opinion towards them (*What are the opportunities and threats of CPTED? What are the opportunities and threats of New Urbanism?*). Moreover, the aim is to gather more detailed insights about possibilities and perceived hindrances for socially responsible planning in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*. In combination with the theoretical considerations, it is possible to reveal possibilities for socially responsible planning in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear* (*To what extent can existing planning approaches promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?*).

Data collection

The data for the explorative considerations was collected between April and July 2013. I, have been in Gainesville, Florida between February and May 2013, the recommended time period for ICURD-NEURUS exchange students. With the help of Prof. Dr. Silver, a Fellow of the AICP himself, I got access to the email addresses of the other 39 Fellows in Florida. He served as a gatekeeper and gave support by providing an introductory letter to the Fellows in the first attempt to make contact (see Appendix 1). The response was unexpectedly high. The first email enquiry with the statement paper reached a response of 35% (14/40), the second round 28% (11/40). 23% (9/40) responded to both enquiries. A summary of responses can be found in Appendices 1 and 2.

The 14 participants of the first enquiry consists of: 9 planning practitioners (of which 1 is retired), 2 academics (who previously worked as planning practitioners), and 3 who work as academics and planning practitioners (of which 2 are retired). 9 of the participants from the first round also took part in the second round. Moreover, 2 new participants joined. The total composition reads as follows: 5 planning practitioners (of which 1 is retired), 2 academics (who previously worked as planning practitioners), and 4 who work as academics and planning practitioners (of which 2 are retired). The 16 participants consist of 14 male and 2 female, most of them white. In order to protect the identity of the participants, a more detailed depiction of the composition of the group of participants is not possible. Moreover, it is only possible to refer to them as "participant 1", "participant 2", and so on. Given that statements made are included as direct quotes in this work there might be the chance to identify participants in their way of writing or their opinion. All participants, gave their informed consent to treat their statements as given by "a Fellow of the AICP" (see Appendix 1).

The comments given to the first enquiry vary in content, extent, and style. Two participants modified the statement paper and included comments in it. Others expressed their opinion, approval, or discontent in a short text. Again others provided a more detailed text. The word count of the answers ranged from 100 to 600 words. Answers of the second enquiry were more homogeneous in their style, given that the participants all provided small texts and/or a list of bullet points to answer the open-ended questions. Word counts of the second round vary between 160 and 850 words. All of these answers allow drawing inferences about (at least some) of the research questions.

Research ethics

Ethical considerations for qualitative research after the Belmont Report (cited in: Hennink, Hutter, et al. 2011, p. 63) include *respect of persons*, *benefice*, and *justice*. In their application these points

address *informed consent*, *self-determination*, *minimisation of harm*, *anonymity*, and *confidentiality* (ibid). The introductory letter for the first enquiry entails information about the project, states that participation is entirely voluntary, and that gathered data will be treated confidentially. The participants were given the chance to ask questions at any time, and to give their informed consent. However, the approached enquiry style entails ethical concerns as described in the critical reflections below.

Data analysis

The answers of the first enquiry give insights in the perspective of planners on landscapes of fear. The data has been analysed in terms of latent content analysis, in terms of "searching the document for themes" (Dunn 2010, p. 125). The responses have been coded and split up into categories, each category representing one of the four guiding-questions: 1) General understanding (*How do planners understand the construction of landscapes of fear?)* 2) Planner's responsibility (*To what extent is planning perceived to be responsible for the creation of landscapes of fear?*) 3) The production of *landscapes of fear* (*How is the planning profession positioned in relation to other actors and factors which also influence spatial development?*) 4) Possible improvement (*What are perceived opportunities for planners to promote socially responsible development in this context?*) In this way, analytic codes have been used which reflect a theme of importance to this study. These codes have been embedded in the research from the beginning on in the research questions (cf. Cope 2010, p. 283). The relevant responses are summarised in Chapter 6.1 (Findings). Chapter 6.2 (Analysis and discussion) relates the findings to the theory and approaches the guiding-questions. Chapter 6.3 (Interim conclusion) makes use of the analysis and discussion in order to address the main research question of the first part: *How is the scope of action for the planning profession defined in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?*

The answers of the second enquiry have been treated in a similar manner. They have been coded and split up in categories along the guiding-questions of the second block using latent content analysis: 1) *What are the opportunities and threats of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design in regard to socially responsible planning?* 2) *What are the opportunities and threats of New Urbanism in regard to socially responsible planning?* Coding categories include: a) Perceived strengths of New Urbanism, b) perceived weaknesses of New Urbanism, c) perceived opportunities of New Urbanism, d) perceived threats of New Urbanism, d) perceived strengths of CPTED, e) perceived weaknesses of CPTED, f) perceived opportunities of CPTED, g) perceived threats of CPTED. Again, analytical coding has been used clearly linked to the research questions (cf. Cope 2010, p. 283). The relevant responses are summarised in Chapter 7.1 (Findings). Chapter 7.2 (Analysis and discussion) relates the findings to the theory and discusses the guiding-questions. With regard to the theory, opportunities and threats of New Urbanism have been analysed and discussed concerning their ability to reduce stereotypes and affect fear discourses, to their ability to hinder the production of *landscapes of fear*, more generally, and to their ability to consider needs and desires of minority groups. Since the data suggested that CPTED itself is limited in approaching these categories, its opportunities and threats have been analysed concerning its capability of supporting New Urbanism to promote socially responsible development. Chapter 7.3 (Interim conclusion) refers to the analysis and discussion in order to approach the main question of the second part: *To what extent can existing planning approaches promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?*

Chapter 8 combines the two Interim conclusions, relates the results to the theory and develops possible ways to promote socially responsible planning despite the revealed obstacles in the context of a *culture of fear*.

5.2 Critical reflection

Quite some participants showed great interest in the study and were willing to share their opinion. One participant, for instance states: "What an interesting, thought provoking, and timely topic" (participant 2). Another one argues: "I don't read it as blaming planners but rather getting them to be more in touch with the implications of what they influence so significantly" (participant 7). The given answers allow drawing inferences on the sub-questions of this thesis. In relation to the provided theory, the answers allow to enter into a discussion and to draw conclusions on planner's self-understanding and their understanding of their profession in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*. This allows approaching the main research question of this thesis to the extent of providing food for thought for planners in terms of possibilities to plan in a socially responsible manner in the context of a general *culture of fear*. Moreover, the results feed in discussions on socially responsible planning and the gap between planning theory and planning practice.

Nevertheless, after conducting the research in the way described above and after analysing the responses to the two enquiries, some issues have emerged. Specifically, the chosen explorative approach and the described enquiry style raise questions about the validity of the gathered data as well as ethical questions about the viability of the study. Personally, over the course of this research project, I learned many lessons about opportunities and difficulties of conducting research in a foreign context, apart from the more familiar research environment at my home university in Groningen and about experimenting with research methodologies.

In retrospect, I still consider a qualitative research approach as required to answer the research questions. The research is coined by a search for meaning rather than by an idendtification of behaviour. Moreover, it is coined rather by an idealist perspective than a realist perspective (cf. Winchester, Rofe 2010, p. 15). Also the choice of the participants is considered to be sufficient due to the reasons outlined above. However, it must be acknowledged that convenience sampling, which involves selecting participants on the basis of access, runs risk to produce "the lowest level of dependability and can yield information-poor cases (Bradshaw, Stratford 2010, p. 75). Indeed,a national scale would suit better, as some answers of the participants suggest: "You are focusing on Florida's flaws—BUT are there other states (or countries) who are doing a better job?" (participant 3). "I think it is important to note that when evaluating these issues they should not be considered to apply uniformly throughout the United States or Florida" (participant 1).

Over the course of analysing the data, some challenges emerged which could be traced back to the chosen methodology and enquiry style. It was very hard to gather sufficient data at all. This might be due to time restrictions on the side of the participants. Two Fellows, for instance, denied participation because their professional obligations kept them from participating at the given time. However, difficulties in gathering the data might also be traced back to the provocative approach taken in that it appeared not exactly stimulating. It might put the participants in an uncomfortable position which does not encourage their willingness to participate. One participant, for example, stated: "Respectfully, I disagree with the sweeping characterization of all planning and all planners

and all new urbanism and all of Florida and all of the US. While I recognize that your intention is to provoke your participants with this opening statement, I look forward to reading how you might back up this sweeping characterization with sufficient facts and examples to dismiss a profession, a landscape and a state and a nation in their entirety" (participant 8). Even if the provocative approach is restricted to the first enquiry, possible participants might be discouraged by this attempt and deny to answer. Moreover, the chosen methodology and enquiry style did not follow a clear structure, as it is usually the case in interviews (and focus group discussions). With the chosen methodology I kept myself from the possibility to use promts (see e.g. Dunn 2010) to gain a more complete picture and gather more and higher quality information (cf. Hennink, Hutter, et al. 2011). For instance, an interview- or focus group situation would enable me to ask follow up questions, to ask for clarification, to summarise if something is unclear, to nudge if I need more information, or to give receptive cues in order to build rapport (cf. Dunn 2010, p. 108). The high response in this study can be traced back to consistent friendly reminders and, above all, to the help of Prof. Dr. Silver who established the contacts to his colleague FAICPs. This, in combination with the introductory letter (Appendix 1) might have established required rapport for those participants who responded to get involved in this experimental approach.

In addition to limitations of the amount of data due to the chosen methodology, the quality of the data has to be viewed critically. My role has not only to be seen as a researcher and as a student, but also as a grumbler who accuses planners to not do their job right. With the chosen enquiry style of the first round, I did not dissociate myslef from statements like it is suggested by Dunn (2010, p. 107). Rather I aimed to enter a written dispute. This might put the participant in an uncomfortable position. It can be questioned if sufficient data can be gathered under these conditions. Because there was no personal contact with the participants, most of regularly occurring researcher-participants relations have to be viewed in a different light. My appearance as a researcher is restricted to my style of writing and conducting the enquiry. With pressing the "send button" I lose control about what happens with my enquiry. Although it was hoped that this methodology gives the participants maximal flexibility and time to think about a well thought through answer, I cannot guarantee nor detect if this is the case. Moreover, the participants are all in high positions in academia and/or as planning practitioners. Power relations, in this sense, would depict me as a student researcher in a rather weak position. This kind of power relation is called "studying up" (Dowling 2010, p. 32) and comes with some challenges. Reflexivity, in terms of an analysis of my own position in the research context (Dowling 2010, p. 31), becomes difficult because there is no chance to interact on a personal level. More or less, the chosen methodology made it hard to check, verify, and scruntinise my own opinions and tentative conclusions (cf. Dunn 2010, p. 103). Considering the provocative approach, this might lead to answers which rather reflect on the researcher-participant relationship than on the subject under discussion. Moreover, since I was introduced as a student from the Netherlands, I might have been seen as an outsider by some participants. This can possibly have negative influence on the researcher-participant relation (Dowling 2010, p. 36). One participant, for example, states: "The biggest manifestation of fear that I see in current planning practice is from a small, frightened group of conspiracy theorists who fear that planning is part of some shadowy foreign plot to take away private property rights and forcibly relocate people. [...] With their sweeping characterizations of all planning and all planners, they seem to think that planning activities should be stopped on principle. So do you. What, then, is the alternative you would propose?" (participant 8).

Although the introduction letter (Appendix 1) does provide evidence in respect to ethical requirements for qualitative research after the Belmont Report (see above), the style of the first enquiry may seem to be disrupting for some participants. One participant, for instance, argues: "I was a little put off by the strong flavor of social activism and some of the emotion charged terminology. I am not suggesting the points you have assembled are not legitimate, just that a product needs to be receptive to the reader so I share my reaction" (participant 15). Moreover, again, I cannot guarantee that the introductory letter is read by the participants. As the following paragraph describes, there might have been possibilities to circumvent such disturbing factors and, in this way, meet ethical standards better which have not been considered. In the sense that a better established rapport between researcher and participant can enhance the willingness to share one's opinion (Hennink, Hutter, et al. 2011) this might bring advantages for data gathering and with respect to the quality of the gathered data (cf. Dowling 2010, p. 27).

Other possibilities can be divided in alternatives to email enquiries and in different styles of email enquiries. For instance, the possibility of telephone-interviews has not been considered. This method brings with it the advantages of the email enquiry as described above (money saving, time saving, etc.) and might reduce the disadvantages (no direct contact, no control, etc.). Moreover, there would have been the possibility to conduct on-line focus group discussions as introduced by Cameron (2010, p.166). This technique is explained to be usefull to bring people together "who are extremely busy or geographically dispersed" (ibid, p. 166). It comes with the needed preconditions (time-saving, money-saving, flexible) and might prevent experienced disadvantages (missing contact, missing interaction, missing possibilities to clarify answers, missing rapport). If the circumstances still demand for email enquiries, there would have been several possibilities to avoid the described problems. For instance, the participants could have been confronted with provoking statements by other authors (for instance from newspaper articles or from critical academics). In this way, I would have had the chance to dissociate myself from statements (Dunn 2010, p. 107). Then, my political orientation and the aim of my research might have been even more clear. An open-ended question on these statements would not have the effect to get me as a researcher in the position of a grumbler but leave the door open to build rapport. Moreover, there would have been the possibility to ask openly what planners perceive to be the reasons for evolving *landscapes of fear* or what they believe are hindrances for them to approach socially responsible development (e.g. according to objectives of New Urbanism). Moreover, a better structured enquiry including warming-up questions and closing-down questions could have positive effects on the quality of the data (cf. Dunn 2010) and could have simplified data analysis (cf. Cope 2010).

6. Results: The planning profession in the context of evolving landscapes of fear

Comments and statements on the provocative statement paper given by the participating Fellows of the AICP were coded and categorised according to the sub-questions. The findings are presented along the following categories: 1) General understanding of *landscapes of fear* (general statements, marginalised groups named), 2) Planners' responsibility (incriminations named, exonerations named), 3) the production of *landscapes of fear* (reasons named for segregation, reasons named for control, reasons named for marginalisation, reasons named for fear, other actors and factors named), 4) Possible improvement (general solutions named, planning solutions named).

6.1 Findings - planners' perspectives on landscapes of fear

Although not asked specific questions or provided with probing questions, some issues extract from the data. Especially the production of landscapes of fear by an interplay of societal movements, market forces, and political systems gained attention. A second main issue extracted around the question of planner's responsibility for the production of *landscapes of fear* and planner's possibilities for countering the evolvement of *landscapes of fear*. For a full track of the responses see Appendix 1.

General understanding of landscapes of fear

All participants acknowledge that social inequity in the USA is an important issue to some extent. Moreover, one participant argues that "fear is an underlying basis of societal interactions and there is a correlation between how people live and how they view different groups in society" (participant 5). Some participants, however, indicate that fear and social inequity due to segregation and control do not occur uniformly throughout the USA. For example, participant 1 states that: "In the review of your paper you focus on the “landscapes of fear” related to segregation, marginalization and surveillance, I think it is important to note that when evaluating these issues they should not be considered to apply uniformly throughout the United States or Florida. Specific areas and communities have very different demographics and social issues."

Participant 4 summarises impressions out of a planner's perspective during the last decades: "In present day society where there are existing or perceived dangers due to crime, safety and traffic, etc., people want to feel protected. I have been aware of this in USA since the late 70-80’s when residential areas tried to stop thru-traffic from coming through in suburban areas to protect, first, kids playing outside and in the streets and, then, to prevent “others” from coming in." This participant points to the "closing of streets and gated communities", to "surveillance in neighborhoods and in individual properties", and to "the beginnings of CPTED in the 80’s". Participants 2, 8, and 11 add that planning itself has become something that people are getting afraid of. For instance, participant 11 argues that "planning often is skewed by the reaction to development proposals which are imbued by the fear of change and the fear of unknown consequences. Consequences may include noise, traffic, possibility strangers introduced to the local milieu. Often, the fear is based not on any significant analysis, but simply the fear of the unknown."

With regard to social segregation, participant 1 states: "I have not seen (whether related to our demographics or other issues) any efforts to spatially segregate any groups of people related to their racial, ethnic makeup or sexual orientation. Age and socioeconomic segregation, however, is often

seen in the design and marketing of communities. The development of age restricted communities (55 and older) have become increasing popular and the success of communities like “The Villages” which promote a highly amenitised, leisure, resort type lifestyle are preferred by many" (participant 1).

Related to control it is argued that "as it relates to the security, real or perceived, it has been and likely will remain a concern within all communities. Gated communities, walls and extensive landscape buffers, while not promoting social integration, are consistently demanded by residents for a sense of security. Routinely, Homeowner’s Associations hire private security firms and implement neighborhood watch programs to enhance their perception of a safe community. This is prevalent among all ages groups from the elderly to families with young children and in areas with low crime rates" (participant 1).

With regard to marginalisation of minority groups, participant 4 argues that: "While there is a perceived or very real marginalization/discrimination against others based on income and race, I would disagree with you that there is discrimination against gay couples locating in residential areas, at least in South Florida. E.g., Miami Beach, expensive areas in Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, etc. All these area, if any, show preferences in rental for gay owners and renters due to their higher income level and educational and expenditure level."

Planners' responsibility

Statements and comments regarding planners' responsibility in the production of *landscapes of* fear vary between incriminations and exonerations of the planning profession. Participant 7, for instance, argues that "I actually agree with the substance of your premise which is that planning in Florida, and indeed largely throughout the US, tends to reinforce fear through its impact on the human landscape." Opposed to that, participant 8 argues: "I respectfully do not agree with your statement that planning has failed to accomplish its main purpose nor your implication that segregation, marginalization and surveillance are the main menu at the planning buffet".

Participant 13 offers a historic perspective on fear and city planning: "If rampaging barbarians periodically attempted to storm the city walls, and poor sanitation/design lead to city failure, or plague, well then, fear of repeating such outcomes would lead to city planning. The Dutch towns with separation of some uses and surrounding the town with a wall/levy, allowing the breach of water diversion/retention levees to drive away outraged Imperialists would be such a response. The subdivision plat, and town square idea, integrated into westward migration for new towns in the late 18th into the 20th century was a refinement of this, sans walls." In addition to this, "bad practices in urban sprawl and suburbanisation [...] contribute to social and spatial segregation and isolation" (participant 4). City centres are seen to be "more mixed" than suburbs, however, "misapplication of CPTED and zoning practices enforce segregation and control within the city" (participant 4). Generally, participant 2 argues that "planning doesn’t have a particularly good track record when it comes to planning for all segments of society. An attitude of “we know what is best for them” seems to creep into some of the planning done in the past. This can engender skepticism, fear, lack of trust, anxiety, etc. There are many bad examples of “urban renewal” projects in the past that negatively impacted or destroyed communities and neighborhoods, highway projects that separated communities and isolated neighborhoods, and the urban sprawl model that left neighborhoods isolated and separated from other sectors of society".

However, participant 6 states that one cannot blame planning for everything that goes bad and adds that "for all the brilliance in Jane Jacobs' writings [meant is Jacobs 1961], she did the same thing". This participant states that it is out of the scope of planning action to deal with fear: "Our professions goals are already so broad, now we should also elevate fear-amelioration?" (participant 6). Participant 8 acknowledges bad planning practices in the past, but fends off a responsibility today: "I readily accept that certain bad practices in suburban sprawl, outlawed racist financial practices, gated-community development, 1950s segregationist policies and even misapplication of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design all reflect fear and contribute to the vicious circle of fearfulness and fearful planning. Many planners and urbanists I know work vigorously and continuously to undo these bad practices, repair landscapes damaged by them in the past, and reverse numerous other bad old habits, increasing choices and freedoms. [...] Most professionals I know work to open systems that are closed, connect things that are disconnected, turn exclusiveness into inclusiveness, and promote transparent democracy."

The production of landscapes of fear

All but one participant named other actors and factors which influence the production of *landscapes of fear* out of their perspective. For instance, participant 6, who argues that "planning cannot be blamed for everything that goes bad". Rather, "professional planners are but one small part of that equation. What about graphic newspaper advertisements for hurricane shutters? What about politicians who fan the flames of fear of crime to help themselves get elected? What about the bankers who foreclose on homes, then essentially abandon them, providing an ample supply of crack houses and crash pads?" (participant 6). In a similar manner, participant 5 argues: "Unfortunately, there are limitations to the planning profession's ability to address the issues your thesis seeks to address for a number of reasons including: free will, property rights, market influences, and political environment." Throughout the answers, three main actors are identified which are seen to play a major role in the production of segregation, control, and marginalisation: first, the society (in terms of people's free will and user's preferences), second, the free market (in terms of free competition between single market actors), and third, politics (in terms of regulating power). Participant 5 shows, how these three actors are interconnected: "First, people are free to determine where the best place for them to live and may decide to move into or out of a neighborhood with people they choose to associate with. Additionally, property rights enable people to use their property as they deem most appropriate in accordance with the land use laws established for that area. Also, the market responds to and influence people's lifestyle choices. Finally, the politics of a community and local community groups help influence the ways land use laws are created, interpreted, and applied."

Societal aspects that are named by the participants include people's free will, people's attitudes and desires, and in this way, consumer demand. Participant 5 (above) focuses on the free will of people, participant 1 argues that "economic classes tend to want to be separated (higher end housing from more affordable housing)" and participant 14 focuses on consumer demands in his comment: "After all, consumer demand drives the investment decisions that underlies efforts to site and built product types that will sell. [...] There are many factors that drive housing choice - I have thought that individual decisions to rent or purchase take into account and balance many factors such as: price; anticipated tenure, lease conditions or ability to resell; proximity to employment, shopping, medical care and recreational opportunities; proximity and quality of area schools; proximity to family, friends and people with similar interests and values; life style preference; as well as perceived safety from crime or natural hazards or as you put it 'fear'. It's a complex mix and the decision making is

individualized - people want to optimize these factors but I have to think that price and perceived safety tend to be overriding". Summarizing, participant 7 states that *landscapes of fear* are "a reflection of inherent attitudes about diversity, openness, tolerance, and fairness that color the views of the general citizenry".

Closely related to people's free will, participant 1 argues that private market forces shape our communities: "Florida and more specifically Southwest Florida has been and anticipated to continue to be a market with a strong retirement emphasis, which with retiring baby boomers will continue for decades. This group has specific characteristics related to their preferences as they relocate to new communities. Their wants and desires have been extensively surveyed and are reflected in buyer profiles, which drive new development and housing product mix. A recent ULI study has found that this group tends to like their space, feel secure, and live in a single family home on their own lot, close to services and health care. This is how private market forces shape our communities." Developers, homebuilders and Home Owner Associations (HOA) are defined as actors or representatives of the private market. Participant 3 states that: "I think that Florida's worst/biggest contribution to the fear factor is that of gated communities—which now often require a photo ID and in turn the guard provides a document to place on the windshield. Who are the people behind those gates and walls afraid of? And, the market rewards them with an increased property value because of the gate. And, the HOA fees to cover the costs of the security forces drives up the costs considerable, locking out even more people of lower income levels." Similarly, participant 1 states that "Homeowner's Associations hire private security firms and implement neighborhood watch programs to enhance their perception of a safe community". Moreover, bankers and their financial practices are accused to "foreclose on homes, then essentially abandon them, providing an ample supply of crack houses and crash pads" (participant 6). Financial practices are deemed to be "outlawed" and "racist" (participant 8). In this sense, participant 4 states that "due to real estate values there might be limits on who (income) can live where; real estate values and the market, further separate income groups".

Politics, especially in relation to property rights, is named as another actor in the production of *landscapes of fear*. Participant 6 states that politicians "fan the flames of fear of crime to help themselves get elected" and participant 7 argues that "property values trump values of diversity, openness, tolerance, fairness" and that "property values have been a rational for planning in the US for a long time". Participant 2 offers a more detailed explanation: "A new aspect of fear has emerged in society (including Florida) that stems from a very conservative view of property rights that has its roots in American culture and principles of the founding of our country. The Fifth Amendment of the US Constitution states that no person should be "deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." The Fifth Amendment in effect incorporated into the Constitution, the Lockean idea that protection of property was a chief aim of government. [...] The fear of the loss of property has evolved into an anti-planning rhetoric that all forms of planning is bad and is anti-capitalistic. "Planners want to plan for common open space and cluster people into higher density life styles." This attitude has manifest itself in many local settings and state legislatures in the form of anti-United Nations Agenda 21" (participant 2).

Possible improvement

A lot of statements and comments used the statement paper as an opportunity to provide thoughts about how to counter developments of segregation, control, and marginalisation. Some participants

understood the paper as a positive critique to some extent. Participant 7, for instance, argues: "In sum, your statement serves as a wake-up call for planners to more carefully consider how their actions can mitigate rather than perpetuate the worst aspects of fear in our communities. I don't read it as blaming planners but rather getting them to be more in touch with the implications of what they influence so significantly." Participant 1 starts at the "foundation of problems" and argues that "changing people's attitudes on a variety of social issues needs to start [...] by understanding issues and changing perceptions and concerns and the fear that may exist" and adds that "this cannot be accomplished by forced behavior through regulation." Participant 10 wonders if *landscapes of fear* are "changing somewhat with the advent of city living preferences by both seniors and young people". Participant 1 adds that "I have also seen where integrating mixed age groups have been very successful in communities. It will be interesting to see with similarities between the Baby Boomers and Generation Y, (which will be a majority the future housing market) if a more mixed age community market may result in the future."

More specifically pointed to planners' possibilities, participant 8 argues that planners work very hard to undo mistakes of the past and to "repair the landscapes damaged in the past" in order to "increase choices and freedoms", to "open systems that are closed, connect things that are disconnected, turn exclusiveness into inclusiveness, and promote transparent democracy". Similarly participant 5 states that "opportunities, that are promoted and supported by the planning profession, include developing mixed-use community centers in locations that connect different neighborhoods and economic areas, providing for schools, public spaces, economic areas, and residential areas in places that serve diverse neighborhoods and multigenerational communities, and supporting an array of transportation resources that connect diverse places together." Participant 2 argues "that part of the answer is citizen education of the planning process and importance of creating a vision and plan for their community". In this vein, participant 5 states that "planners work hard to educate people about the benefits of community diversity, integration, and connections. Indeed, we actively seek opportunities to enable communities to build and expand relationships between the many different groups that live, work, and play within our communities".

In addition to opportunities of integration, mixed-use, and community development, participant 3 argues that urban design can be improved in order to prevent *landscapes of fear*: "windows facing the street, windows overlooking a street, wide sidewalks, and an overall "good" feeling of walking down a street do to interesting design (i.e., no large surface level parking lots etc.) all contribute to a person's sense of safety (absence of fear)". The same participant explicitly refers to CPTED measures which "provide natural observation of activity on how structures and landscaping etc. are laid out".

Participant 5, however, argues that there are limits to what planning can do: "Simply stated, planners cannot socially engineer communities – what we can do is provide opportunities for people to interact with diverse groups and enable the development of interconnected, diverse, and integrated communities. However, the outcome of our planning efforts is not always a result of the planning effort or the planning profession's actions." In the same vein participant 1 states that "the developers and homebuilders that provide what their buyers want tend to be more successful. Those developers and homebuilders that do meet buyers preferences or are precluded from doing so by government regulation tend to be less successful. Government regulation which attempts to control the types of housing or socially engineering communities to certain utopian desires interfere with free market forces and are unlikely to result in success" (participant 1). And, related to politics,

participant 5 states that "politics of a community and local community groups help influence the ways land use laws are created, interpreted, and applied".

6.2 Analysis and discussion

The findings of the first enquiry among Florida's FAICPs can be summarised as follows: (1) there is a general interest in the topic of *landscapes of fear*; (2) the participants acknowledge marginalisation tendencies among income, social class, and (to a lesser extent) race, mainly due to segregation; (3) the participants note that the planning profession cannot be blamed for everything that goes wrong in space, there are other actors and factors which play a role in spatial development; (4) planners see society (in terms of attitudes and user preferences) as a main factor in the production of *landscapes of fear*; (5) they note that political systems and conservative policies lead to unequal spatial development; (6) the free market is perceived to be a main factor in the production of *landscapes of fear*; (7) also the planning profession holds some responsibility, mainly in the past; and (8) the participants note that there are opportunities for planners to promote socially responsible development. Regarding the first block of sub-questions, these findings provide substance for discussions.

How do planners understand the construction of landscapes of fear?

Participating Fellows show interest in the topic of *landscapes of fear* and provide evidence for awareness of relations between segregation, fear, and spatial development. Participant 11 states that "often, the fear is not based on any significant analysis, but simply the fear of the unknown". This is supported by the definition of a *culture of fear* by Furedi (2007), Doel and Clarke (1997), and Glassner (2010) who argue that contemporary fear lacks clear reference and is not focused on any specific threat. Participant 4 states that "In present day society, where there are existing or perceived dangers [...] people want to feel protected". This falls in line with Beck's (1992) definition of *risk society* and the need to protect oneself from perceived danger which supports suburbanisation, the rise of gated communities, gentrification processes and the control of public space as described above. The fact that the participant is "aware of this [...] since the late 70-80's" correlates with the emergence of fear of crime as a social and political issue in this time period as explained by Warr (2000). Moreover, participant 5 feels that "fear is an underlying basis of societal interaction and there is a correlation between how people live and how they view different groups in society". This statement exemplifies Sparks, Girling, et al.'s (2001, p. 885) position that "[w]hom and what we fear, and how we express and act upon our fearing, is [...] constitutive of who we are". Moreover, the statement reflects that housing and living structures are "an outward expression of the inner human nature" (Jackson 1987, p. 3). In terms of who is marginalised and who not, the participants draw lines along income and (to a lesser extent) race. The debates about suburbanisation, gated communities, and gentrification support this perception. Also, in referring to retirement communities, age is named by respondent 1 to be a determinant for social segregation. The fact that landscape can also act as an "active player in human affairs" (Oakes, Price 2008, p. 159) is reflected in the following statement: "I don't read it [the statement paper] as blaming planners but rather getting them to be more in touch with the implications of what they influence so significantly" (participant 7). Thus, in summary, the main components of *landscapes of fear*, as depicted in this thesis, are captured in statements given by the respondents.

To what extent is planning perceived to be responsible for the creation of landscapes of fear?
It is largely acknowledged by the participants that planning holds some responsibility in the production of *landscapes of fear*, especially in the past. For example it is argued that city planning historically evolved out of the fear of "plague" and "rampaging barbarians", that city planning historically segregated people from each other, that this trend found its continuation up until the 20th century (participant 13), and that planning "doesn't have a good track record when it comes to planning for all segments of society" (participant 2). These observations are supported by Ellin's (2001, p. 869) statement that "protection of invaders was in fact a principal incentive for building cities" and by her (1997) three eras of urbanism related to fear: modern fear and urbanism, industrialisation and urbanism, and postmodern fear and postmodern urbanism. Planning practices which foster the production of *landscapes of fear* are regularly put in the past tense by the participants and suggest that those are mistakes of the past: "urban sprawl [...] *left* neighbourhoods isolated [...] and *left* people fearful" (participant 2, emphasis addded); "property values *have been* a rational for planning for a long time"; "zoning *was* the tool that blended economic development with some protectionism" (participant 14, emphasis added). Only one response deviates from this norm: "planning in Florida, and indeed largely throughout the US, *tends* to reinforce fear through its impact on the human landscape" (participant 7). Although critics are much harsher with the planning profession and planner's role (e.g. Blakely and Snyder 1997, Ellin 1996, Marcuse 2000), the fact that planners refer to "mistakes that have been done in the past" can be interpreted as a general will to "repair landscapes damaged in the past" and "undo bad practices" (participant 8). Summarising, statements by the participants reveal that they perceive planning practice in the past to be partly responsible for the production of *landscapes of fear*. Today, however, planners aim to counter the evolvement of *landscapes of fear* and to promote a more socially responsible development.

How is the planning profession positioned in relation to other actors and factors which also influence spatial development?
The participants feel that planning is not the only actor when it comes to the production of *landscapes of fear* and, as one of the participants states: "one cannot blame planning for everything that goes bad" (participant 6). Other actors and factors which are named by the participants include society, the free market, and politics. These three actors and their perceived relation to planning are discussed in the following.

First, societal components, which the participants refer to, focus on people's desires, wishes, attitudes, beliefs, and preferences. For instance participant 14 feels that perceived safety is one of the main determinants for people's housing choice, participant 4 argues that people demand walls and landscape buffers and that people prefer to stay on their own, and participant 5 points to peoples free will to live where and with whom they wish. Thus, according to some respondents, individual decision making is mainly responsible for social and spatial segregation and (considered to a lesser extent) control of minority groups. Ellin's (2001) responses to fear (retribalisation, escapism, and nostalgia) support these perceptions. For instance, it is explained above that suburbanisation and the rise of gated communities, not at least, results out of people's desires to separate themselves from others and to escape the dangerous city, in the search for conformity (Blakely, Snyder 1997, Ellin 1996). Gentrification processes can also be related to people's desires for homogeneity (Lees, Slater, et al. 2010). Finally, banishment of homeless people or restrictions for youth to public space are, at least party, based on people's attitudes and preferences (Mitchell, Staeheli 2006). Some participants express hope for a change in people's attitudes and desires. For

instance participant 1, who states that there might be a change in demands between the "baby boomers" and the "generation Y" which now enters the real estate market. This hope, however, does not concur with the theoretical considerations above, at least not for those parts of society which are already segregated from each other: "[T]he socialization of children - especially well-to-do children - into fear of the other contributes to their increasing need to be separate, which, in turn, leads the next generation of adults to engage in higher levels of destruction to the physical and social fabric of society to maintain their separateness" (Sutton 1997, p. 242). Possibilities for planners to intervene in this process are felt to be restricted, as participant 5 demonstrates: "Simply stated, planners cannot socially engineer communities – what we can do is provide opportunities". Hence, planning is seen to be relatively powerless in influencing people's decision making by some participants.

Second, and closely related to people's (housing) preferences, the free market is recognised by the participants to be a main actor in the production of *landscapes of fear*. Especially the role of developers and homebuilders, but also the role of HOAs and bankers is addressed. For example, participant 1 argues that "private market forces shape our communities". Supporting this perception, Hayden (2006) shows how suburbanisation, starting in the 1940s and 1950s, have been driven by a newly restructured housing industry which worked closely with the federal government leading to social segregation (especially in racial terms). Hayden (2006, p. 46) concludes: "after 1945, most of the built environment was never planned or designed - it was shaped by old Commerce Department programs devised with the aid of the real estate industry just before the Depression". Moreover, Ellin (1996, p. 190) states that "[a] reality which many architects and planners have preferred to ignore or minimize is that rather than following function, form has increasingly following finance. The prime mover - particularly in the more liberal economies - is less the architects and planners themselves than the larger system in which they are embedded and which functions according to the profit motive". This "profit motive", for instance, becomes visible in Low's (2006) critique on gated communities. She concludes that "municipalities and towns that cannot fund new development, but want to expand their tax base, rely on real estate developers to produce new housing through incentive zoning and annexation mechanisms" (Low 2006, p. 99). When it comes to planner's possibilities, respondent 1 states that "government regulation which attempts to control the types of housing or socially engineering communities to certain utopian desires interfere with free market forces and are unlikely to result in success". This statement is confirmed by Holcombe (Holcombe 2013, p. 206) who argues that "[w]hen the goals of land use planners push against the invisible hand of the market, the invisible hand tends to dominate." Holcombe (2013) states that planning can give restrictions, use incentives such as subsidies, or regulatory cost reductions, but cannot force development. "If the development envisioned by the planners is uneconomical, no development will occur." In this sense, planning seems to be in a rather weak position compared to free market forces.

Third, and also related to society, politics are seen by some participants to play a major role in the production of *landscapes of fear*. Especially in combination with property rights politics and policies are seen to lead to segregation and fear. For instance, it is argued that "politicians fan the flames of fear of crime to help themselves to get elected" (participant 6). Indeed, the discussion on reinforced fear and inequity (Chapter 3.3) above reveals that fear is frequently used by certain groups and individuals for political ends and to contain power (Pain 2000, 2009, 2010, Pain, Smith 2008) and that the implementation of policies in reaction to fear and political treatment of fear reveals that "fear is politically constructed and deployed at different levels" (Shirlow, Pain 2003). Moreover, Cowen and Gilbert (2008) argue that fear is used to govern the US in "very obvious ways". Participant 5 argues

that the political environment has a huge impact on the way land use laws are created, interpreted, and applied. Thus, politics intervene in planning practice. Participant 2 even argues that "the fear of the loss of property has evolved into an anti-planning rhetoric that all forms of planning is bad and is anti-capitalistic". Hence, politics can become not only an advertiser for *landscapes of fear*, but also hinder planning in its ambitions to promote socially responsible development which might stand opposed to the current capitalistic order. Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 174) demonstrate the importance of national politics to take action: "[S]olutions, local or regional, will not be completely successful without a renewed federal commitment to our cities. Poverty and inequality may be exacerbated and perpetuated by the actions and nonactions of our local governments, but they are also shaped by national and global economic forces that can only be addressed by the federal government". In this light, the planning profession and single planner's seem to play a minor role in political action. However, Ellin (1996, p. 159) argues: "Since urban design interventions invariably have an impact on people's lives, [...] the work of urban designers is inevitably political whether or not they choose to be politically engaged." Ellin argues further that "the denial of urban design's political component contributes to exacerbate existing inequalities" (ibid). If urban design is inherently political, so is urban and community planning.

What are perceived opportunities for planners to promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?

Given the discussion above and the power adjudicated to other actors and factors in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*, perceived opportunities for planners to promote socially responsible development can be expected to be rather small. However, most participants expound such possibilities; either in describing what planning does already in the view of the participant or in suggestions what planning should/could do better in their view. The opportunities that are named by some of the participants can be split up in two categories. First, participants point to possibilities to promote "mixed use", "multi generational communities" (participant 1 and 5), "community pride", and "increase in social interaction" (participant 2). These possibilities find themselves as objectives in approaches of New Urbanism. Second, participants refer to possibilities of "reducing fear", "reducing crime" (participant 2), "windows facing the street", "windows overlooking the street", and providing "an overall good feeling of walking down the street", in short: approaching objectives of CPTED. With regard to socially responsible planning in the context of evolving *landscapes of* fear, this might be promising approaches. The second enquiry continues the discussion at this point. It captures the suggestions of the participants in that New Urbanism and CPTED are discussed more in detail.

6.3 Interim conclusion

The analysis and discussion section can be summarised as follows: (1) main components of the construction of *landscapes of fear* are reflected in statements given by the participants, (2) the participants see the planning profession to be significantly responsible for the production of *landscapes of fear* in the past, (3) today, however, the planning profession is largely seen as to promote socially responsible planning rather than fostering the evolvement of *landscapes of fear*, (4) planners are perceived to be in a rather weak position compared to three identified actors in *landscapes of fear*: society, the free market, and politics, and (5) nevertheless, planners see possibilities to promote socially responsible planning in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*. The research question to answer with the help of this information is:

How is the scope of action for the planning profession defined in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?

The planning profession is illustrated to be co-responsible in the creation of *landscapes of fear* in the past. It seems like planning had a rather powerful position in shaping landscapes of exclusion, segregation, and control through planning instruments like e.g. zoning. Paradoxically, this strong position shifts to a rather weak position when it comes to shaping landscapes of inclusion, tolerance, and fairness. This might be because planning for segregation just fell in line with desires of the free market and political goals in the after World War II period. It might, however, also be because planning instruments and mechanisms are designed to serve segregation rather than mixing social classes, control and mistrust rather than inclusion and confidentiality. The desire to make a change is undeniable, the APA follows a vision of "a nation of vital communities, fully accessible to all people" (APA 2013, online) which the participating planners show to endorse.

The scope of action for the planning profession to approach their vision and to promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving and existing *landscapes of fear* cannot be defined clearly. Rather the planning profession can be viewed as to be in a *non-position*. While other actors and factors in the game have been attributed with a clear position and hold some power to determine future social and spatial development, the planning profession is lacking this position. Compared to other actors and factors, namely society, the free market, and politics, planners and the planning profession is not equipped well and lacks decision making power. Given the power adjudicated to other actors and factors by the participants of the enquiry, approaching or even solving social issues seems to be nearly impossible. Planners seem to be affected by the free market, however, they do not perceive themselves as actors in the free market; planners are affected by politics, however, they are not illustrated as political actors; planners recognise the important role of the society, however, they seem not to be able to influence people's attitudes, preferences, and desires. Mechanisms in society, the market, and politics are shown to affect the socio-spatial landscape in the light of fear significantly, contrary to planning mechanisms. The scope of action for planners and their discipline lies somewhere in between these actors and factors, but wherever planners hold a stake, they seem to start from a rather weak position. To use Nan Ellin's words, under these circumstances it is likely for planners to "become pawns in a larger political economy which they may not support" (Ellin 1996, 157). The contradiction between these different actors when it comes to spatial development and the different understandings of a plan, literally by translating the plan in different jargons, is illustrated by Van Assche and Verschraegen (2008, p. 270-271) who demonstrates once more that form follows finance:

> For the politician, the plan can be read as a compromise between different factions in the city council and zoning board; for the planner it can be a schematized version of an aesthetically pleasing new neighborhood that incorporates New Urbanism principles of design, at the same time a tool to enable this kind of design. For a property owner, it could be an annoying restriction of his freedom to team up with a developer, and follow the advice of that person in maximizing the profit for both developer and himself. The owner or developer could then hire a legal consultant to reach their economic goals. The lawyer however will need to translate this economic desire in legal terms, and scrutinize the legal underpinnings of the zoning plan for loopholes, contrast the zoning plan with other legal documents, look for inconsistencies and so forth.

The power imbalances between planning, financial capital, and political control which the enquiry revealed is confirmed by Moulaert, Cabaret (2006) who consider the question if "democratic planning under capitalism [is] possible. With these power relations, it is unlikely that the planner's vision of the plan asserts itself. The fact that Van Assche and Verschraegen's illustration does not yet include the role of society or of (more or less powerful) individuals makes this even more unlikely. While Holcombe states that market forces by themselves produce effective outcomes and deems planning more or less unnecessary, these outcomes have proven to be unacceptable from a social point of view as it is demonstrated in the examples of suburbanisation, gated communities, gentrification, and control of public space above as well as by Adams and Tiesdell (2010). For planners, who want to promote socially responsible development, leaving the field to the market cannot be an option. Indeed, planners see possibilities to promote integration, diversity, and equality. The following chapter analyses the two planning approaches, which can be extracted from the first enquiry, concerning their capability to promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*: New Urbanism and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design.

7. Results: New Urbanism and CPTED in the context of evolving landscapes of fear

It is argued that "New Urbanism is doing a decent job of using urban design strategies to break down barriers between social groups" (Ellis 2002, p. 281). Fainstein (2000), an advocate of the "Just City" planning theory, has acknowledged that New Urbanism has much to offer by way of specific design alternatives, and that planning theory cannot subsist on process alone. Similarly, approaches of CPTED are seen to entail various possibilities to address issues of social justice and fear in particular (Wekerle, Whitzman 1995, Zelinka, Brennan 2001). "But there are limits to what physical planning can do", and neither New Urbanism nor CPTED do "claim to have a comprehensive solution to problems of class, race and gender" (Ellis 2002, 281) nor to fear.

New Urbanism can be interpreted as a critique to modernist planning. It is an answer to a general "decline in the public realm" accompanied with a "sense of placelessnes" (e.g. Jacobs 1961). New Urbanist approaches seek to avoid suburban development patterns and master planned gated communities with its negative social and environmental consequences. Muschamp (1996 cited in:, Bohl 2000) describes New Urbanism as "the most important phenomenon to emerge in American architecture in the post-Cold War era". It is defined by Bohl (2000, p. 762) as a movement in architecture and planning that advocates design-based strategies based on “traditional” urban forms to help arrest suburban sprawl and inner-city decline and to build and rebuild neighborhoods, towns, and cities". The aim is to create neighbourhoods that are compact, diverse, pedestrian oriented, transit friendly, and mixed used. It aims for inner city development and reducing social segregation and concentrations of poverty. New Urbanist strategies are often applied in city centre revitalisation programmes. From a social perspective, the essence of New Urbanist design theory is the creation of a *sense of community* via integrating and carefully designing private and public space (Talen 1999, p. 1363).

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) finds its beginning in Jane Jacobs' (1961) work. To her, a safe city was the traditional city with streets and blocks, diversity, functional mix, concentration and buildings of different age, opposed to modern urban structures with strict segregation of function (Grönlund 2012). Oscar Newman (1972) developed the concept of Defensible Space, mainly to improve modernistic social housing projects. Like Jacobs, the key to success was searched in *natural surveillance*, however through clearly designated territoriality. Lying very close to the discipline of environmental criminology (coined by Brantingham, Brantingham 1981), CPTED builds the interface between spatial sciences and criminology. With direct support from the federal government, the concept of CPTED was further developed in the US during the 1970s, and even when the support of the federal government stopped with the Regan era in the 1980s, the state of Florida continued its support (Grönlund 2012). CPTED can be defined as "working with territoriality, surveillance (both natural and formal), access control, target hardening, image and maintenance issues and activity support (to support activities other than crime)" (Grönlund 2012, p. 287). A second generation of CPTED includes social factors, systematic risk assessment, anti-segregation measures, and active community participation (Cozens, Saville et al. 2005). The American Planning Association (APA) supports a complementary form of CPTED called Safescape (Zelinka, Brennan 2001), which seems to exclude the social strategies of the second generation of CPTED (Grönlund 2012). Physical changes in the environment, however, do largely not act directly against crime, but are intended to promote 'social defence' (Blakely, Snyder 1997, Herbert, Brown 2006).

These two examples are explored into some more depth in this chapter. They serve as examples of planning approaches and should not be seen as a complete list of the planning profession's possibilities to act in the context of *landscapes of fear*[2]. The participants were asked to provide their interpretation of the two approaches and name strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats they perceive to be preliminary relevant for the two concepts in the context of *landscapes of fear*. The enquiry outline and a summary of answers can be found in Appendix 2.

7.1 Findings: planners' perspectives on New Urbanism and CPTED

The findings are presented according to the inquiry style which includes 1) perceived strengths, 2) perceived weaknesses, 3) perceived opportunities, and 4) perceived threats of New Urbanism and 5) perceived strengths, 6) perceived weaknesses, 7) perceived opportunities, and 8) perceived threats of CPTED.

New Urbanism: planners' perspectives

New Urbanism is defined by participant 16 as a comprehensive planning and design approach which "champions a return to town design that was prevalent before our heavy dependence on the automobile became a primary determinant of urban form". This participant states that New Urbanism advocates the development of complete and functionally integrated communities, also called "traditional neighbourhoods". These "traditional neighbourhoods" are illustrated by participant 16 as "antithesis of suburban, single family, gated communities, separated from commercial and institutional services", also called "conventional subdivisions". "The fear factor is addressed in conventional subdivisions by separation and control of access. In the traditional neighborhood, *eyes on the streets* is the element that provides security" (participant 16). The same participant questions whether New Urbanism will succeed in future or not: "The extent to which New Urbanist concepts will take hold remains to be seen". Generally, it is argued by some participants that critique on New Urbanism is largely unjustified and that negative outcomes, might they occur, cannot be traced back to planning or design failures but to broader reasons in society, the private market, and politics. Participant 6, for example, states that he finds "the continual carping of academic and modernist critics of New Urbanism to make [him] cringe because it usually shows how out of touch they've become". Participant 7 claims that "it is not the design suggestions of the New Urbanist that are at fault, but rather the willingness of communities to perpetuate segregation rather than using planning to break the patterns". Participant 11 argues: "Unfortunately, I am convinced that New Urbanism is a movement in the urban experience which is very limited in the application to the much broader and important mission of the planner, the futurist".

Perceived strengths of New Urbanism

Strengths of New Urbanism according to the responses include a more sustainable, comprehensive planning approach which fosters higher density, mixed used and socially mixed communities, safety, and a *sense of community*. Participant 6 argues that New Urbanism has expanded into a coherent approach to urban planning and placemaking which incorporates "nearly everything I believe about good urban planning". This includes "regulatory reform, comprehensive long-range planning, and concern for the environment (and the future of the planet itself)". Moreover, "New Urbanism owes

[2] Community involvement, participatory planning approaches, sustainable community planning, and other approaches might be interesting to explore in the same manner in further research.

its current success to its willingness to absorb good ideas from a very wide range of fields - just like planners should always be doing!" (participant 6).

Higher density and mixed use neighbourhoods as well as socially mixed communities are most often named by the participants. Participant 9 feels that "higher density which can be achieved with smaller lots, smaller setbacks, etc. should lower the cost final housing choices". This responds to the economic factor which tends to marginalize housing opportunities for those who are financially disadvantaged" and "higher density is more conducive for the success of mass transit". Participant 13 adds that it makes service provision more efficient and provides the possibility for "life outside the apartment walls, and a comfortable mix of social activities without expensive travel demands". Participants 3 and participant 15 state that mixed use and social diversity are promoted by New Urbanist approaches in offering a mix of housing types in multiple and mixed price points, architectural attractiveness, and a mix between residential, economic, commercial, and cultural use. Opposed to conventional subdivisions which "tend to attract residents of similar ethnic backgrounds and economic status", traditional neighbourhoods in New Urbanist communities "provide for a broader range of housing choice and thus a greater mix of age, ethnic background and economic status" (participant 16). "At least in theory", the participant adds.

Higher density and mixed use as well as socially mixed communities are named as the main reasons for higher safety in New Urbanist communities. "So far the greatest strengths are that a small town, safe environment is achieved as an alternative to typical suburban sprawl" (participant 10). Participant 1 and participant 3 feel that walkable, dense, mixed use communities allow for more pedestrian traffic and more lively streets. This adds more *eyes on the streets* (participant 3) and thus provides safety through *natural surveillance* (participant 16). Moreover, participant 1 argues that social interaction between different social groups is promoted and that New Urbanist developments can contribute to a *sense of community*. This participant states that opportunities for diversity are gained through "providing community and neighborhood focal points in a compact, walkable community of mixed residential uses". Moreover, New Urbanism produces "an environment which is conducive for community interaction, and therefore, greater acceptance of cultural differences" (participant 9). Finally, some participants feel that New Urbanism promotes "inclusiveness" (participant 3) and "a *sense of place"* (participant 16). These assumptions, however, are belittled by participant 6 who states that "only in theory", New Urbanist developments can achieve a *sense of community* and by participant 4 who argues that positive outcomes in New Urbanist developments are restricted "to those privileged ones that can afford to live in them".

Perceived weaknesses of New Urbanism

Some participants argue that New Urbanist developments often turn out to be too expensive, to foster urban sprawl, and to be not yet matured. Starting from the end of this list, participant 16 feels that New Urbanism requires greater development skills to be effective and that the commercial market for New Urbanist developments and its implicit ideology takes time to emerge. In addition, participant 15 argues that "there has been some weaknesses related to location of the projects which, if not properly done, can induce sprawl" (participant 15). This, the participant states, can be described as “greenwashing” a project that is well designed but simply put in the wrong location. Moreover, participant 9 feels that due to long approval processes which "drives up the expenses [...] any significant contribution to reducing fear and social inequity through the development process will most likely be less than desirable".

The greatest weakness of New Urbanist developments from some participants' perspective, however, lies in its tendency to turn out in an exclusive manner and then foster rather than mitigate social segregation. For example, participant 4 states that "not everybody can afford to live in these developments". This participant feels that the best and oldest examples of New Urbanism are admittedly beautiful in design, economically successful, and successful in creating a *sense of community* for those that live in them. However, they often result "in class and age group segregation and elitism" and maybe also in segregation among race. In a similar vein, participant 1 argues that "many of these communities are more upscale and price points for residential product can tend to be exclusive for certain groups" and that "their popularity drives the housing prices up by demand". Moreover, participant 10 states that "the biggest problem with the New Urbanism communities [...] is that they have become so popular, the housing prices have reached a 15% premium". Participant 11 drives this argument further and states that "New Urbanism brings with it its own baggage of scale and exclusion". This participant argues that "New urbanism requires a specific set of planned guidelines and controlled architectural form and detail and spatial relationships that tend to mitigate creativity of both form and space. It provides specific boundaries that do not create space for error and tends to modify the excitement of spiritual expansion and excitement. It also must result from a very well understood set of principles which lead to a sense of segregation from the larger societal environment and global context. It is fun, but for the few inhabitants. It is not organic in the sense that cultural and societal norms evolve and behaviors change, functions of all systems change and form follows function".

Perceived opportunities of New Urbanism

Related to the perceived strengths of New Urbanism, the participants reveal a range of opportunities in New Urbanist planning approaches. Answers provide both opportunities *of* New Urbanism and opportunities *for* further improving New Urbanism. Generally, participant 3 says that the "generation Y" after the "baby boomers" which now conquers the real estate market are very affine to this (the New Urbanist) lifestyle and that there is already a pretty high unmet demand for such developments. Participant 9 summarises: "Workforce housing and mixed use development is becoming more approvable at the local levels and the younger population is more accepting of racial and cultural differences. This should lead to more opportunities for development which is less "fearful" and reduces social inequity".

Named opportunities *of* New Urbanism refer to the above mentioned perceived strengths of higher densities, mixed use, and socially mixed neighbourhoods. Participant 16 believes that this offers the opportunity of a generally more "sustainable development", a higher emphasis on "energy efficiency", and "infrastructure savings". Moreover, participant 13 argues that the rising intensity of investment in the urban area in principle, "provides an ongoing rationale for reinvestment, since replacing uses is within a footprint where there is public support for something (sometimes, anything) to be improved". This, the participant states, is promising in the sense that in an urban, more dense, setting, a failed use quickly (in the timeline of the life of a city) gets replaced, "whereas in the suburbs, the low intensity blighted use/non use will just sit there unless increasing densities make some reuse feasible" (participant 13).

Named opportunities *for* further improving New Urbanist planning approaches include expanding partnerships among different actors, further promoting social integration, and including more affordable housing. Participant 9 argues that "effort needs to be made between Land Owners, Developers, and units of Government to partner with each other. This would lead to economic

incentives, density bonuses, subsidized improvement of infrastructure and services". Moreover, participant 1 feels that there is the possibility to "further promote social interaction" within a New Urbanist development and points to a national community developer who has created "walk communities" with internal commercial community/amenity centres in focal points "and has gone as far as requiring mailboxes in the community centre to enhance community interaction". Participant 10 argues that "New Urbanism communities slowly begin as infill projects in central cities, the desired integration of income groups may occur". In addition, participant 7 refers to the opportunity of providing more affordable housing in New Urbanist developments. This participant states that this is possible and that New Urbanism is not to blame for social ills: "New Urbanism itself is not responsible for strengthening segregation by class, race and ethnicity. In Richmond, VA it was used as a planning tool to deal with new public housing " (participant 7). Participant 1 adds that "regulatory responses addressing this issue have been including requirements for affordable housing stratified by income group and required by phase a dispersed by neighborhood". Participant 4, however, feels that by itself, New Urbanism cannot be a solution for every development need but "by incorporating other planning tools e.g., subsidized housing, transportation and school programs, more of an integration of a community could be accomplished".

Perceived threats of New Urbanism

Perceived threats of New Urbanism were rarely provided by the participants. However, participant 4 states that "I believe that the biggest threat is due to possible classism/elitism, and the relationship of these developments to immediately surrounding/adjacent areas". Moreover, participant 3 argues that New Urbanist developments are planned and implemented by developers who only know sprawl type developments. These people, the participant feels, want to build what they know and thus "put it down", "weaken it", and "build modified New Urbanist developments that then fail". Other participants refer to broader issues such as national and state policy. Participant 13, for instance, argues that "sometimes the urban rationale for being doesn't survive changing technologies and conditions". Participant 9 brings the discussion back to the issue of fear and argues that people might stay "bigoted" as they were raised that way. This participant states that "the cost of development and housing is a major factor in creating an environment of social inequity. The national failure to increase the income potential of "Middle Class" families continues to immobilize positive change - resulting in social inequity".

Yet, another participant argues that "the answer is in the scale. Larger scale New Urbanist activities are too often just marketing tools for more class separation" (participant 16). The same participant states that "in reality, 'traditional neighborhoods' must be economically viable and any development form will also do better in a high end market. Consequently, as the demand for 'traditional neighborhood' design has grown, it has found its greatest success in upscale markets. Negative social outcomes [...] are , in my opinion, the result of marketing and the tendency of upscale markets to produce economic segregation - not the design itself". Related to that, participant 10, who perceives New Urbanism as "all positive", states that "many of the criticisms have been harsh because of a lack of diversity, but I am not sure that is fair. It just so happens that the communities appeal to middle and upper middle class families, and so far, not to low income groups".

CPTED: planners' perspectives

Compared to the answers about New Urbanism as a planning approach, answers concerning CPTED are fewer and less substantial. Some participants did not comment at all, others state that they have no experience with CPTED, and again others restrict their answer to a general statement about their

perception of surveillance in public space. Still, it is possible to draw some inferences about planner's perceptions of CPTED from the remaining answers (in numbers: 9).

Most participants refer to *natural surveillance* (*eyes on the streets*) and *technical surveillance* as main components of the approaches of CPTED. Participant 13 lines out Great Britain's history with situational crime prevention in the early 1970s where "safety in cities was a national priority in order to get people back to the cities". Here, the participant states that "the concept of defensible space was a reliance on law enforcement through information". Referring to the USA and to more recent attempts, other participants draw a rather positive picture of CPTED approaches: "I have had positive experiences with CPTED and Defensible Space" (participant 10). "With the exception of wildly restrictive gated communities", this participant states, "I do not see what else works". Another participant argues that: "my sense is that the *sense of place* and community, *with eyes on the streets*, tends to lower crime opportunities" (participant 15). Generally, it is remarked by some participants that the use of surveillance technologies of both public and private space has expanded greatly. For instance, participant 10 states that "there are few common areas that are not under surveillance today".

Perceived strengths of CPTED and defensible space approaches

Crime reduction and it's positive consequences for neighbourhoods are the main strengths of CPTED approaches named by the participants. Most, clearly this is stated by participant 11 who agrees that "much of fencing and intentional isolation results from fear and that such urban accouterments can and do protect life and property". Participant 16 states that space and urban places can be designed for surveillance and crime reduction and that this design can lead to "greater security", a "greater sense of security", and a "reduction in crime rates were applied". Participant 13 argues that in an urban setting (which is dependent on walking, cycling and transit) "the trip to and from has to be somewhat safe, [...] in good repair, reasonably well lit, and possess responsive *eyes on the streets*". *Natural surveillance* through *eyes on the streets*, has been named by some participants and participant 1 adds that "surveillance with new technologies can be a valuable tool in addressing crime". This is illustrated by participant 13 who refers to the "cell phone/security camera phenomenon" and the "24 hour city" which "only increases the safety concept since the dark hours are not given over to that which goes bump in the night". In this way, participant 4 argues that CPTED measures "have been a deterrent to higher criminality in the areas using them" because "obviously, criminals try to find the easiest way to commit a crime". Participant 1 confirms this view in stating that CPTED approaches "can be effective tools in providing passive and perceived deterrents to crime". These changes, in neighbourhoods where CPTED approaches are used, it is added by participant 4, "allowed some people, especially, elderly, young families and single women to be able to live in areas that otherwise wouldn't be available/possible for them".

Perceived weaknesses of CPTED and defensible space approaches

Although CPTED approaches are illustrated by some participants to positively affect crime rates and security in a neighbourhood, participant 16 argues that "wrong interpretation" of these measures can lead to a "false sense of security" and that "costs" have to be seen as a restrictive factor. Concerning segregation tendencies which might derive out of CPTED and defensible space measures, opinions are divided. While participant 3 states: "I don’t see how it contributes to segregation", participant 4 argues: "These methods have resulted in separation of people who can afford to live in these communities from those that cannot". In addition to that, participant 13 gives a more general explanation about the effectiveness of CPTED and defensible space measures in relating the issues to

different settings. This participant argues that "paranoia against strangers would seem to be a learned survival technique, somewhat valuable in rural settings, less so in the suburbs, and utterly disruptive for the urban settings need for communal action". Because of the population density in urban settings, participant 13 argues that "in urban areas, not all spaces are defensible", as opposed to rural areas where "a waved firearm provides a pretty good indicator for keeping distance".

Perceived opportunities of CPTED and defensible space approaches

Some participants provide perceived opportunities *for* and *of* CPTED approaches. Opportunities *for* CPTED include the incorporation of front porches and an integrated pedestrian circulation system in order to put more activity and *eyes on the streets*. Moreover, participant 1 argues that "mixing public and civic facilities such as a fire station with a park or community center provide passive surveillance 24-7". Perceived opportunities *of* CPTED include the opportunity for some areas in major cities that have become "no-man lands" to be able to be reclaimed for communities" (participant 4). Moreover, participant 16 highlights "investment in prevention" as an opportunity. In the same vein, participant 13 argues that CPTED "provides to the community a decent commitment [...] to preventative public safety. Such areas (which may have indirect indicators such as vigorous street sweeping or graffiti removal) invite private investment".

Perceived threats of CPTED and defensible space approaches

Compared to the rather few responses concerning opportunities of CPTED, the participants provided a wide range of perceived threats. These include concerns regarding personal freedom and privacy, a false sense of security, and spatial implications of the concepts which might foster spatial and social inequity. For example, participant 1 states that "there is a fine line between the public benefit and personal freedoms and privacy". Participant 4 is "afraid that we are beyond this point already, given the amount of surveillance cameras everywhere and the active role of government and others in these activities". However, participant 10 refers to the "incredible amount of surveillance that led to the apprehension of the Boston Marathon terrorists" and states that surveillance will become much more ubiquitous in American cities. Referring to president Obama participant 10 states that "this is the trade-off for security". The fact that this might be a "false sense of security" and might provoke "fear mongering" is added by participant 16.

In addition to the discussion about increasing surveillance, CPTED is related to concerns about social and spatial inequity by some participants. For example, it is argued that "any displacement of crime is only relative. Crime has always existed and will continue to exist" (participant 4). Participant 11 adds that CPTED "tends to move criminal behavior to other less restrictive urban environments". Consequences of this movement of crime are discussed by participant 13: "A somewhat stable community is needed for such actions to work. Private blight, or public blight, invites the intrusion of ..for want of a better phrase.. social detritus, mixed with those with current economic limitations. Therein lies the fear in which you begin your thesis. Since so much of our lower income work force is dependent upon immigration, commonly of language groupings and ethic classes different from the existing urban residents, newly arriving such groups will/may identify CPTED as a bit more than protecting neighborhood values, but instead another way to be repressed while just trying to make ends meet by a lower standard of living." Relating the issue to planning in general, participant 6 sees the biggest threat in CPTED and defensible space approaches in overruling other planning objectives: "I am somewhat dubious about much of CPTED [...], primarily because it seems to elevate safety and crime prevention above all other issues relative to the built environment".

More generally, participant 16 argues that CPTED approaches have to be seen in the context they are used: "CPTED is a design concept that only has meaning when applied. The positives and negatives identified cannot be attributed to the concept of CPTED generally but only in the context of each design. Many CPTED concepts only make common sense (lighting, visibility, etc.) without creating segregation or unduly restricting access. Other techniques are much more intrusive and/or exclusive. In today's world certainly greater attention must be given to security but at what cost? As the CPTED concept matures, this balance must be a core component." Similarly participant 7 argues that CPTED itself is not the problem. But that CPTED has to change its scale of attention from a neighbourhood scale (or city scale) to a more regional approach in order to meet the insight of the mobility of crime. The same participant concludes that "CPTED [...] remind us that there are social implications of design, including both positive and negative externalities, and these approaches keep planners awake to the possibilities of crime affecting the community while also doing something likely to mitigate some of the worst excesses" (participant 7).

Coming back to the broader picture of fear and social inequity two interesting remarks are made. Participant 11 states that "crime against people and property can be reduced in the urban context by reducing poverty, expanding education and expanding economic opportunity". This participant sees this to be the "real urban problem" and argues that "our social diversity must somehow be rooted in the love common to humanity". Moreover, participant 3 states: "I think the argument that crime goes elsewhere is just bogus. It [CPTED] is not supposed to solve social ills but create safe places".

7.2 Analysis and discussion

The findings of the second enquiry can be summarised as follows: (1) New Urbanism is seen to entail possibilities to deal with complex social issues such as fear and inequity; (2) CPTED approaches are not that comprehensive than New Urbanist approaches but entail possibilities for crime reduction in certain places; (3) both approaches also entail weaknesses and threats concerning social inequity. In light of the theory chapters above, the findings are analysed concerning opportunities and threats in regard to (a) break stereotypes and modify fear discourses, (b) affect the production of *landscapes of fear* including segregation and control mechanisms, and (c) advocate desires and needs of minority groups.

What are the opportunities and threats of New Urbanism...

(a)...concerning the reduction of stereotypes and affection of fear discourses?

Sibley (1995, p. 28-29) argues that "[i]n local conflicts, where a community represent itself as normal, a part of the mainstream, and feels threatened by the presence of others who are perceived to be different and 'other', fears and anxieties are expressed in stereotypes. However, engaging with the other, what bell hooks calls repositioning, might lead to understanding, a rejection of a stereotype and a lesser concern with threats to the boundaries of community". In addition to Sibley, Landman (2012, p. 260) argues that "[a] mix of housing options and land uses would potentially facilitate greater opportunities for inclusion and integration inside and gradually allow more tolerance and trust to develop between various groups. As the hard social boundaries start to dissolve, fear and insecurity also decrease". In this sense, New Urbanism, as described by some participants, clearly offers the opportunity to mitigate stereotypes and positively affect fear discourses. One of the main goals of New Urbanism, and one of the main strengths mentioned by participants, is social

integration and the development of socially mixed communities. Two participants summarise: New Urbanist communities "provide a broader range of housing choice and thus a greater mix of age, ethnic background, and economic status" (participant 16), "an environment which is conductive for community interaction, and therefore, greater acceptance of cultural differences" (participant 9). Also Ellis (2002, p. 281) states that "New Urbanism offers just those design principles that support tolerance and cosmopolitanism, precisely by striving to achieve income mixing, a rich network of public and semi-public spaces, and local 'third places' where people can meet" and that "the New Urbanism is doing a decent job of using urban design strategies to break down barriers between social groups".

However, some participants also state that New Urbanism can mitigate, rather than foster social interaction between different groups in society and result in "class and age group segregation and elitism" (participant 4). Especially the fact that in New Urbanist developments real estate prizes often tend to rise is named as a cause for class segregation (e.g. by participants 1 and 10). Participant 11 admits that New Urbanism is not organic in the sense that cultural and societal norms evolve and behaviours change, "rather functions of all systems change and form simply follows function". Critics of New Urbanism find even harsher words. New urbanism has been blamed to produce "a geography of otherness" and to legitimise the social status quo (Till 1993). Also Lehrer and Milgrom argue that New Urbanism is strengthening segregation by class, race and ethnicity and that it is oriented to serve the upper class (Lehrer, Milgrom 1996). Smith (2002, p. 430) states that: "The comparatively recent process of gentrification has been generalized as a central feature of this New Urbanism". Indeed, it sounds like some sort of planned gentrification when Duany and Plater-Zyberk, gurus of the New Uurbanism, suggest that not more than 10% of the population should be poor in order to not diminish the value of surrounding properties (quoted in: Marcuse 2000, p. 4). Pyatok (2000) moreover, argues that the architectural style alone potentially contributes to gentrification. This is because the houses build regularly appeal for middle- and higher-income groups and do not reflect preferences of inner city populations. Participant 10 comments in the same vein: "It just so happens that communities appeal to middle and upper middle class families, and so far, not to low income groups". The reasons for this are seen in the market: "the negative social outcomes [...] are the result of marketing and the tendency of upscale markets to produce economic segregation" (participant 10).

(b)...concerning the production of landscapes of fear?

New Urbanism, as described by some participants, entails possibilities to counter the evolvement of *landscapes of fear*. It is per definition an answer to suburban developments and the rise of gated communities, to the separation of functions and conventional subdivision in short, to Modern Urbanism. This gets reflected in responses of participants. Participant 16 , for instance, states that "New Urbanism advocates the development of complete and functionally integrated communities" and "advocates traditional neighbourhoods". Higher density, mixed use (residential, economic, commercial, and cultural), walkability approaches which aim to create more pedestrian traffic, more *eyes on the streets* and *natural surveillance* which aim to provide higher safety, and the rising number of infill projects, are named by participants as an "alternative to typical suburban sprawl" (participant 10) and to "conventional subdivisions", "gated communities", and to " dependence on the automobile" (participant 16). In the same vein Ellis (2002, p. 281) states that "New Urbanism is far ahead of conventional suburban development" and, in referring to the CNU (Congress for the

New Urbanism) Charter and to Katz, Scully et al. (1994), Ellis (2000, p. 626) lists New Urbanist principles which can all be seen as alternatives to evolving *landscapes of fear*:

> metropolitan regions that are composed of well-structured cities, towns, and neighbourhoods with identifiable centres and edges; compact development that preserves farmland and environmentally sensitive areas; infill development to revitalize city centres; interconnected streets, friendly to pedestrians and cyclists, often in modified grid or web-like patterns; mixed land uses rather than single-use pods; discreet placement of garages and parking spaces to avoid auto-dominated landscapes; transit-oriented development (TOD); well-designed and sited civic buildings and public gathering places; the use of building and street and building typologies to create coherent urban form; high-quality parks and conservation lands used to define and connect neighbourhoods and districts; and architectural design that shows respect for local history and regional character.

The traditional neighbourhood approach, mentioned by participant 16, and the comment that New Urbanism "champions a return to town design that was prevalent before our heavy dependence on the automobile" (participant 16), however, also reflect one of Ellin's responses to fear: nostalgia. Marcuse argues that New Urbanist developments are "appealing to a nostalgia for a past never experienced, reflecting a fear of the urban rather than a New Urbanism" (Marcuse 2000, p. 5). In relation to escapism and retribalisation, nostalgia leads to a clustering of higher and middle class people (Lehrer, Milgrom 1996, Pyatok 2000).

This threat becomes visible in a comment by participant 4, "I believe that the biggest threat is due to possible classism/elitism". Marcuse (2000, p. 5) supports this perception and adds that segregation caused by New Urbanism is racialised to a great extent: "New Urbanist developments built in the United States are overwhelmingly white; poor blacks certainly do not find their way in, nor would they be welcome". Just like the reasons for suburbanisation or to move into a gated community, the reason to move into a New Urbanist 'suburb' is driven by a fear of the city centre associated with danger, disgust, dirt and the Other. Marcuse (2000, p. 5) points out that New Urbanist communities offer a *safe space* to protect whites from blacks. One of the main reasons to move is "precisely to escape from the proximity of poor blacks". Ironically, this reflects the true nature of the idealized image of the past which serves as a nostalgic model for New- or Neotraditional Urbanism. It is the image of the small town, "strongly anti-democratic, certainly anti-urban" (Marcuse 2000, p. 4). In reality, in these traditional towns there "was none of the diversity associated with urban life, no mix of races, no very poor, no very rich, few singles, none with discordant sexual preferences. At the extreme, witches were burnt at the stake, dissenters expelled from the community" (Marcuse 2000). New Urbanism well intends to be a counter movement, but it can also be seen as suburbanisation itself (Marcuse 2000, Lehrer, Milgrom 1996). Since New Urbanist developments regularly take place not in the city centre but on its edges, at least some of them can be seen as a (re-)development of edge cities. This fact is well recognised by some participants. For instance, participant 15 states that New Urbanism tends to "induce sprawl" and participant 3 adds that it is often misused by planners who "only know sprawl type developments".

(c)...concerning needs and desires of minority groups?

The scale of the questions raised in this study is, admittedly, to broad as to approach questions of how to deal with e.g. homeless people or young migrants in particular. These questions have to be

answered at a smaller scale, particularly at the scale of place management. At this scale, however, the preconditions for socially responsible action concerning minority groups can be provided. Some participants provide a number of possibilities for planners to act socially responsible according to minority groups in the context of New Urbanism. Participant 1 states that the approach is broad enough to implement all sorts of social action. For instance, participant 4 indicates possibilities of including more affordable and/or social housing in New Urbanist projects, to subsidise certain housing types, to include school programs, or to include requirements according to income group distribution. If one bares New Urbanism's construction in mind, which possesses "the willingness to absorb good ideas from a very wide range of fields" (participant 6), New Urbanism can well be seen as to hold possibilities to meet minority group's needs and desires.

Critics of New Urbanism, however claim that, besides the good intentions of New Urbanism, actual development regularly goes in the opposite direction. New Urbanism has been associated with reactionary politics, social exclusion, marginalisation, totalised and disciplinary space, and with harming already disadvantaged groups in society (Al-Hindi, Staddon 1997, Dowling 1998, 2000, McCann 1995, Till 1993). Furthermore, New Urbanism is being criticised for active segregation and displacement. Bohl (2000, p. 793) raises the justified questions what happens to the residents of the inner-city neighbourhood and of public housing projects that are displaced in order to create a more diverse, mixed-income neighbourhood? In fact, New Urbanism does not provide solutions for these kind of problems. It might realise its goal of reducing the percentage of poverty in certain regions. It might even offer affordable housing for some. For others, however, this option does not apply.

Blakely and Snyder (1997, p. 169) state: "Hallmarks of sustainable design include more compact development, environmental protection, citizen participation in design and implementation, equal access to services, concern for all members of the community, public spaces to bring people together, and architecture and zoning that promote a sense of place." It became clear that the intention of New Urbanism is to achieve exactly these goals in countering the social ills of suburbanisation and the rise of gated communities. It intends to mix people of different income and race and to create a stimulating *sense of community* acknowledging difference and stimulating social interaction. New Urbanism, thus, holds opportunities to promote socially responsible development. However, its implication seem to struggle with these very issues.

What are the opportunities and threats of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design...?

CPTED approaches are by far not that comprehensive than New Urbanism. It is thus not possible to compare the two approaches in the sense of which one is doing better. However, CPTED is an important approach to look at in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*. Landman (2012, p. 241) has argues that crime is one of the key drivers influencing human settlement development. In this sense, CPTED has a significant spatial relevance and is seen to be used to a higher extent over the last decades (von Hirsch et al. 2000). Indeed, it is one of the few planning approaches which highlights the second side of *landscapes of fear*: landscape as an "active player in human affairs" (Oakes, Price, p. 150). As participant 7 states: "CPTED and Defensible Space remind us that there are social implications of design, including both positive and negative externalities". Responses deriving out of the enquiry are not very substantial in terms of opportunities of CPTED and only sparsely more in terms of threats of the approach. Paulsen (2012) states that crime is largely been neglected by planners and designers thus far and it is still neglected in planner's education. This might be a reason for the few substantial responses. Still, the answers are indicatory for the discussion below which

revolves around the question: What are the opportunities and threats of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design...?

...in supporting New Urbanism to promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?

Strengths and opportunities of CPTED approaches are seen by participants in crime reduction for certain places, enhanced security, and an enhanced sense of security through *natural surveillance* and *eyes on the streets*. Participant 4 argues that this "allows some people, especially elderly, young families, and single women to be able to live in areas that otherwise wouldn't be able/possible for them". Increased safety and enhanced sense of safety, in combination with *eyes on the streets* might well support New Urbanism in its goal to foster social interaction as a prerequisite for social interaction. CPTED approaches, could be used to actively enhance the utilisation of public places and spaces and, hence, provide solid ground for social interaction. Just as Pain (2000, p. 372) argues: "Planning strategies that aim to reduce fear do so by attempting to encourage people to make more use of particular spaces, in order to break the vicious cycle that currently exists."

That CPTED can support New Urbanism's objectives to an even greater extent is shown by Grönlund (2012) who provides a list of possible CPTED measures to be implemented in New Urbanist developments. Crime prevention measures relevant to urban planning include: Taking into account existing social and physical structures, guaranteeing accessibility and avoiding enclaves, creating vitality, providing mixed status, avoiding isolation and segregation, creating adequate urban density to allow vitality and *natural surveillance*, avoiding physical barriers. Crime prevention measures relevant to urban design include: Layout (continuity of urban fabric and pedestrian/bicycle routes), specific location of activities, time schedules coordination to guarantee continuous natural surveillance, visibility, accessibility, territoriality, attractiveness, and robustness (ibid, p. 289). Interpreting CPTED in this comprehensive way, shows similarities to objectives of New Urbanism.

Threats, out of the perspective of participants, include a false sense of security (if the approaches are interpreted wrong) and social segregation (because real estate values tend to rise in areas where the approaches are implemented). The biggest threats, in the light of evolving *landscapes of fear*, however are the relocation of crime itself to already disadvantaged areas, as it is argued by participant 9, and the exclusiveness of safe places through selective implementation of CPTED approaches, as argued by participant 11. Indeed, this exclusiveness has not been intended by Jane Jacobs (1961), as she states: "It is futile to try to evade the issue of unsafe city streets by attempting to make some other features of a locality, say interior courtyards, or sheltered play places, safe instead" (Jacobs, 1961, p. 35). However, it is argued that CPTED "manifests a view of them as a 'them' who have no proper share in the goods that 'we' enjoy" (Duff, Marshall 2000, p. 22). If CPTED is provided by central or local government institutions, we need to ask "what, if anything, could justify providing some citizen with greater protection that others, or displacing crime from some citizen onto others" (ibid, p. 26).

Critics of CPTED go far beyond the expressed concerns of the participants. While not necessarily intended by Jacobs (1961, p. 35), who aimed to "insure safety of both residents and strangers" on the streets, Newman's (1996, p. 9) interpretation reads far more concerning. Although he states that his approach "has the ability to bring people of different income and different race together in a mutually beneficial union", he is not stating how he wants to achieve this. Rather, by both rhetoric and content, he fosters segregation in space and mind. The word "exclusive" can be found

throughout the essay in nearly every paragraph, the word "integration" (or something similar) not even once. Hence, the reason for exclusive tendencies of CPTED measures (shown e.g. by Herbert, Brown 2006) might root deep in its conceptualisation. Indeed, the constant need to "identify strangers" (Newman 1996) is prone to stereotypical stigmatisation of fear of the Other. In the same vein, it is argued that CPTED reflects and reinforces the processes through which neoliberalism exacerbates social differences and that it helps to "legitimate the deepening of social and spatial divisions" (Herbert, Brown 2006, p. 755). This rather prevents social interaction between different groups of society than providing safe meeting points.

Besides this criticism, the concept of CPTED is held in a rather neutral position by some of the participants of the enquiry. Participant 16, for instance, states that neither positive nor negative outcomes can be attributed to the concept itself, but only to the context of each design. Thus, it is the situation in which the CPTED is implemented which determines its outcomes. Participant 7 recognises a general weakness of the approach: it's scale. This participant calls for a regional approach of CPTED to illuminate negative externalities. Participant 11 reacts on the apparent incapability of CPTED to actually solve problems and states that crime can be reduced by reducing poverty, expanding education, and expanding economic opportunity. The inability to solve this "real urban problem" (participant 11) through CPTED becomes reflected in the statement of participant 3: "I think the argument that crime goes elsewhere is just bogus. It [CPTED] is not supposed to solve social ills but create safe places."

7.3 Interim conclusion

The second enquiry is restricted in the sense that it uses two exemplary planning approaches in order to answer the second set of sub-questions. These two examples, however, fulfil their target to demonstrate how planning approaches are constructed and how well they meet issues of evolving *landscapes of fear*. Moreover, they reveal how planners perceive everyday planning practice in the light of evolving and existing *landscapes of fear*. The research question approached in this paragraph reads as follows:

To what extent can existing planning approaches promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving landscapes of fear?

CPTED approaches hold the capacity to actively and consciously work on the "backside of *landscapes of fear*": landscapes as "an active player in human affairs" (Oakes, Price 2008, p. 150). They offer the opportunity to support New Urbanism in its goals of social inclusion and fostering social contact. Places, perceived as safe, serve as precondition for any social activity "outside the apartment's walls" (participant 13). Grönlund (2012) demonstrates the possibility to integrate CPTED measures in New Urbanist developments. These possibilities, however, seem not to be implemented or developed to their full extent as it is shown by Paulsen (2012). The construction and evolvement of CPTED, however, also includes threats of working towards social exclusion instead of inclusion. Moreover, CPTED by itself has shown not to be able to tackle the real problem but rather to move problems around. Hence, it can be argued that CPTED only makes sense in regard to socially responsible development if it is implemented in a broader planning approach (e.g. New Urbanism) which considers externalities of place-based, situational approaches. The call for a regional approach of

CPTED by one of the participants reflects this argument. By itself, CPTED has not much to offer for socially responsible planning in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*.

New Urbanism has shown to hold enormous capacities for socially responsible planning in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*. With its focus on mixed, dense development, social inclusion, and social interaction it approaches one of the main drivers of *landscapes of fear*: social segregation due to stereotypical perceptions and a lack of understanding. The broad approach of New Urbanism and, as one participants states, its "willingness to absorb good ideas from a very wide range of fields" (participant 6), represent its biggest strength and at the same time, its biggest threat for socially responsible planning. On the one hand, it can implement all sorts of planning approaches which can lead to social inclusion, equity, and the consideration of minority group's needs. On the other hand, it entails the risk of ending up as a comprehensive "Master Plan" which have been shown in the 1960s and 1970s to be condemned to fail. Given the rather flexible construct of New Urbanism and its constantly maturing character, however, the strength to implement new aspects might prevail. For instance, Ellin's (2001) construction of Integral Urbanism (see above) could provide possibilities to form out New Urbanism even more according to the current challenges represented by *landscapes of fear*.

Paradoxically, planning action referring to New Urbanism (and CPTED) is regularly accused not only to not reach its goals but to appear opposed to its goals in fostering social segregation and hindering social interaction: At a small scale by marginalisation of minority groups as demonstrated by Gold and Revill (2003, p. 36-37): "Whilst attempts by planners to create ‘safer cities’ institutionalise the common sense values of socially dominant groups, they exclude the homeless and other ‘deviant’ groups from the streets"; at a middle scale by destroying more public housing than they create (Keating, Flores 2000); and at the large scale by sticking to modernist planning as shown by Ellin (1996, p. 199): "While contemporary urban design largely breaks from the modern project in theory, its implementation is nonetheless embedded in it". In this sense, New Urbanism tends to fall "into 'the communitarian trap' of complicity with the current capitalist order" (Harvey 1997, p. 68).

The participants, again, search for reasons for this paradox and failure of planning approaches in society, politics, and the market: "It is not the design suggestions of the New Urbanist that are at fault, but rather the willingness of communities to perpetuate segregation rather than using planning to break the patterns" (participant 7). "The cost of development and housing is a major factor in creating an environment of social inequity. The national failure to increase the income potential of middle class families continues to immobilize positive change - resulting in social inequity" (participant 9). Also Talen (1999, p. 1363) argues that New Urbanism might be condemned to failure because it just runs counter to the "natural" tendency of American social life. Moreover, concerning the market, Holocombe (2013, p. 200) argues that New Urbanism is "based on the premise that in many instances the invisible hand of the market leads to outcomes that are socially suboptimal. A top-down plan can produce outcomes that are superior from a social standpoint, and so in this sense, planning and the invisible hand are adversaries".

To what extent, now, can existing planning approaches promote socially responsible development in the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*? For the analysed examples it is shown that New Urbanism (eventually incorporating CPTED measures) holds a lot of possibilities to promote socially responsible planning and to counter the development of *landscapes of fear*. Social problems are recognised and spatial solutions to the problems are transformed into goals of New Urbanism. In this sense, even if

the approaches can be refined to fit the structures of *landscapes of fear* (Ellin 2001, Grönlund 2012), they can be seen as the right response of a socially responsible planning discipline to evolving *landscapes of fear*. The extent, to which they actually *can* promote socially responsible planning, however, is again determined by other actors and factors.

8. Conclusion: Think different

America's *culture of fear*, despite its inconsistency and lacking conceptualisation (Furedi 2007), is visible in the American landscape. Fear of the Other (Sibley 1995) dictates fear discourses in society, policy, and academia, leading to social and spatial segregation and to selective control mechanisms in space. Evolving *landscapes of fear* exert marginalisation of minority groups, lead to social inequity, and even reinforce fear itself. These landscapes act as "active players in human affairs" (Oakes, Price 2008, p. 150). The planning profession has been made co-responsible for such developments by fostering social segregation and an "us against them" mentality (e.g. Ellin 1996). However, planning, as defined by the American Planning Association, rather aims to promote socially responsible development, foster inclusion, and social equity. The aim of this thesis was to develop the role of planning in the construction of *landscapes of fear*. However, not in the sense to further accuse planners to foster segregation, control, and marginalisation but rather to develop ways to promote socially responsible planning in the context of *a culture of* fear.

The conducted enquiries confirm some responsibility among planners. However, planners' negative influence is attributed mainly to the past, planners have shown to be aware of planning mistakes of the past, and planners are right in saying "planning cannot be made responsible for everything that goes bad" (participant 6). The vision statement of the APA, as well as objectives of the most prominent planning approaches (like New Urbanism), testify a rather normative stance of planning (Wheeler 2002, p. 273). Objectives like enhancing social interaction, providing socially mixed communities, reducing fear, and creating more liveable places can be read against the background of a vision of "a nation of vital communities, fully accessible to all people" (APA 2013, online). Hence, the planning profession's ideology corresponds with goals for socially responsible development.

However, it is argued that place-making requires robust connectivity between vision and delivery (Adams, Tiesdell 2010, p. 187). Herein lies the main paradox which this thesis discovered: While social problems are recognised and spatial solutions to solve the problems are transformed into objectives (e.g. of New Urbanism), planners are not only accused by critics to not reach their goals, but essentially to work counter their own goals (e.g. Davis 1998, Ellin 1996, 2001, Marcuse 2000, Pain and Townshend 2002). To escape this dilemma, Ellin (2001, p. 878) calls for a "paradigm shift (or return) away from binary logic and towards the principle of complementarity". Complementarity, she states, "presumes that light requires darkness and shadows. That there would be no sound without silence. Complementarity departs from modernist binary logic because it does not regard the pair as oppositional nor does it seek a synthesis or resolution. Rather, it understands each as not only allowing the other, but embracing or embodying the other". In this sense, Ellin's approach of Integral Urbanism comes close to Sibley's (1995, p. 7) finding, concerning the construction of the Other: "there is no self without the Other". This way of seeing might, indeed be very helpful for planners in order to promote socially responsible development and to counter the evolvement of *landscapes of fear.* As the results of this study show, however, it can be doubted if even the most fair, inclusive, and "complementary" approaches of planners would also lead to fair and socially responsible spatial development. Will plans, which actively include "the urban shadow" and perceived threats (Ellin 2001) not be even more denied by society, politics, and the market? Will they not lead to even more disparities between planners and market actors, politicians, and the societal mainstream? And will they consequently not even more be deemed to fail? The planner's perspective in this point should not be neglected nor underestimated. Indeed, as this study shows, it entails substantial insights.

In the context of a *culture of fear*, and for the context of evolving *landscapes of fear*, the role of the planner seems to diminish. The once powerful stance of planners in the 1960s and 1970s gets, in this context, replaced by a perceived "non-position" in the network which now actually determines spatial development: society, politics, and the market. The adjudicated power to these actors and factors leaves very little room for planning action to succeed if it contradicts with their visions. Ideologically, the planning profession experienced a shift from modern understanding of planning in the 1960s and 1970s, where it was believed to be possible to steer spatial development, to socially engineer communities, and to rationally predict future progress, to the recognition, expressed in the answers of the participants, that "we cannot socially engineer communities", "it just happens that...", "politics define..." and "the market determines...". What, then, is left for planning to do?

The perceived "non-position" of planning is grounded in a classical understanding of planning. Forester (1989), in his book *Planning in the face of power,* calls to planners to use their rational capacities in order to improve communication between all stakeholders, to develop a common language and guaranteeing access to all relevant information. Normative language, grassroots discourse, political statements, etc. should be replaced by a neutral, universal lexicon. As the enquiry suggests, it still is a rational for planning to balance different needs in this way. The question is, if neutralisation comes along with fair and equal balancing. This thesis revealed that this is not the case. What happens in these allegedly neutral settings is that the more powerful enforce their interests and the already disadvantaged suffer further marginalisation. Also Moulaert and Cabaret (2006, p. 67) argue that neutralisation is not sufficient anymore if one considers where "the real power is developed": in financial capital and political control. "[H]e [Forester] gets trapped in his Habermasian position, believing in the power of rational communication as a solution for most consensusseeking problems in the public arenas." What, then, is the alternative?

The results of this study depict the reason for planning's failure in its counter-position to mainstream society, politics, and the market which each hold more power in determining future spatial development. In this situation a direct way to reach one's goals is impossible. Consequently, planners would have to search for indirect ways to approach their vision. Faludi (2000) suggests, that many planners inherently like to see themselves at the centre of the action, controlling or reining in other actors. As the results of this thesis shows, rather the opposite is the case. Planners find themselves in a weak position with little power to actually intervene in social, political, and market processes. However, planning, by definition, remains "a form of steering, aiming to coordinate different systems involved in social organization" (Van Assche, Verschraegen 2008, p. 279). Thus, the opportunity for planners to promote socially responsible development has to be searched in their possibilities to intervene in other systems more powerfully.

On the search for architectures possibilities for social responsibility, Pecora (1991, p. 47) maintains that "if architecture is to become something other than an advertisement for itself", it "would have to address the array of institutional apparatuses that, through their control of the built environment, help to maintain inequity and the present distribution of power and wealth." The results of this thesis suggest to make the same argument for the planning profession. If neutralisation does not lead to more equaty, planners have to "leave the formal planning arena [...] and step into fields of action to ally with socio-political movements (Moulaert and Cabaret 2006, p. 67). Planning does not have the power to balance interests of powerful and powerless groups in society by making information equally accessable or by providing an allegedly neutral setting for discussions. Only by

actively supporting the powerless, there is a chance to balance interests consequently. Planners, then, become lawyers and lobbyists of the poor and socially disadvantaged.

The key to success, thus, is planner's self perception. Currently, planners are not only restricted by outer circumstances, the strong role of people's desires and attitudes, the powerful influence of politics, the domination of the market, but also by its own conceptual and mental borders. In answering the main research question of this thesis, I will explain what I mean with this.

How can US planners plan in a socially responsible way in the context of a general culture of fear?

The answer to this question is rather pragmatic: Not to become a social actor, but to understand that you are already a social actor. Not to become a political actor, but to understand that you are already a political actor. Not to become a market actor but to understand that you are already a market actor. Not to stick with the Habermasian idea of neutrally, shared knowledge, but to understand oneself as a lawyer and lobbyist of the poor and socially disadvantaged.

For explaining this, an institutional perspective is required. According to Hamilton's (1932) classic definition, an institution is: "a way of thought or action of some prevalence, which is embedded in the habits of a group or the customs of people" (quoted in: Adams, Tiesdell 2010, p. 198). The study has shown that planners do not necessarily see themselves as already being a societal, political, or market actor. Consequently, their influence, in society, politics, and the market might be less effective than it might otherwise be. "The institutional change that, in Hamilton's terms, is required is not for planners to become market [or societal, or political] actors, but rather to realise that they already are market [or societal, or political] actors, intricately involved in framing and re-framing local land and property markets [or societal or political movements], and act accordingly" (Adams, Tiesdell 2010, p. 198). With this understanding, planners could go beyond rational communication strategies to gain better guarantees for the democratic calibre of the planning arena. "Then, to enable themselves 'to look into the mouth of power' planners become activists, members of movements, political leaders, becoming active in arenas that may affect the transformation of the deep structures of society" (Moulaert, Cabaret 2006, p. 67). To answer the guiding question of this study: US planners can foster socially responsible development in the context of a *culture of fear* through first understanding themselves as social, political, and market actors and second through advocating a clear stance. Planners who want to promote socially responsible development should become social and political activists as well as proactive market actors in order to act as lawyers and lobbyists for the poor and socially disadvantaged.

Planners as social activist

The first thing probably every planner is thinking of in acting socially responsible is citizen participation and involvement in the planning process. Also answers given in response to the enquiry aimed at participating and educating citizen. However, "[b]ehavioural research suggests that provision of information alone is unlikely to achieve significant or enduring behavioural change, except when the behaviour being encouraged is relatively convenient and cheap in terms of time, money, effort and social disapproval" (Adams, Tiesdell 2010, p. 192). Moreover, rational intelligence à la Habermas in the sense of equal information for all participants in the planning process has proven to be wrong (Crawford 1991, p. 39, Moulaert, Cabaret 2006, p. 67). For promoting socially responsible development "social capital must be built and social movements nurtured" (Wheeler 2002, p. 276).

Questions to ask are then: How can privileged Americans learn to live without force and fear, not just of violence, but of losing their privileges? How can we create a cultural context that does not require our children to be imprisoned in gated communities? How can we embrace rather than ostracise our impoverished brothers and sisters? What would this *landscape of safety* look like? (questions based on Sutton 1997, p.249). The FAICPs put hope in future generations ("it will be interesting to see if...", "there might be a change..."). But rather than keeping the hope and see what will happen, planners could actively intervene in the process. Teenagers' access to community places, for instance, was found to be important for youth to feel attached to a community (Francis 1989, p. 164), and public involvement is important for children's development (Katz 2008, Pain 2003). Moreover it has been shown that children raised in segregation tend to desire further segregation in grown up years (Low 2001, Sutton 1997). Attempts to counter these tendencies could include the creation of meeting places for children and teenagers and promote their use by different social and racial classes for example through music festivals, sport activities and facilities, family days, design competitions, and so on. Co-operations with schools in rich and poor neighbourhoods, non-profit organisations, orphanages, etc. could further help to consequently balance diverse interests and needs.

Planners as political activist

Ellin (1996, p. 159) argues: "Since urban design interventions invariably have an impact on people's lives, [...] the work of urban designers is inevitably political whether or not they choose to be politically engaged." Planners as political activists would require their political engagement. Clarke and Dutton (1986), for instance, speak of the importance of realising a "counterhegemonic project" whereby architectural and planning practice would assist in empowering oppressed peoples. Crawford (1991) similarly proposes that architects re-envision their clients in terms of specific groups, especially those whose needs are not being met by the marketplace. Wheeler (2002) calls for more activist planners in his paper on New Regionalism. He argues that New Urbanism is primarily normative in its language, strongly goal oriented in pursuit of equity and civic engagement (Wheeler 2002, p. 274ff.) and demonstrates this with a range of theoretical work on New Urbanism. For approaching socially responsible planning this normative, activist approach has to be transformed into planning practice.

This could, for instance, be approached by constituting a form of resistance to the world capitalist system and its corresponding values. The approaches which fall into this usually entail incorporating an awareness of and sensitivity to cultural diversity and social inequality (Ellin 1996, 233). This means that relationships between planners and people are acknowledged and that there is a commitment to practice planning in a way that respects and preserves cultural diversity while contributing to diminish social inequalities. Possibilities include specific support of minority groups in the planning process, the provision of sufficient affordable housing, the provision of places, where homeless people can stay during the day and during the night, the creation of focal points for social interaction between all segments of society, co-operations with non-governmental organisations, aid agencies, homeless shelters, refugee camps, and so on.

Planners as proactive market actor

To act as a proactive market actor might pose the biggest challenge to a lot of planners (Adams, Tiesdell 2010). As Holcombe (2013 p. 199) shows, the division between planning and the market is rather big and "planning as a whole has insufficiently appreciated both the effectiveness of the spontaneous order of the market and the difficulty of overriding it". Confirming to Adam Smith's invisible hand, Holcombe sees planning as generally unnecessary for efficient spatial development.

However, the markets with which planners most engage—those concerned with land and property—are among the least efficient, because of widespread imperfections and failure (Balchin, Bull et al. 1995). Adams and Tiesdell (2010, p. 189) argue that "since markets are socially constructed not given, planners have much greater potential than they often realise to frame and re-frame land and property markets, rather than merely accepting or perpetuating current market conditions."

In terms of proactive action in the real estate market, for instance, Moulaert and Cabaret (2006, p. 67) argue that "planners have [...] to mobilize sufficient (counter) power to stop, for example, devastating real estate led policies". Adams and Tiesdell (2010) explain how. They argue that in gaining market-rich information and knowledge, market-relevant skills, and in building market-rooted networks, planners can shape, regulate and stimulate markets. Market-shaping instruments, such as "development", "regulatory" and "indicative" plans build the context for market actions and transaction; market regulation instruments, such as development control and restrictive covenants can be attached to land transfers which then restrict the parameters of market actions and transactions; and market stimulation instruments, such as development subsidies and compulsory purchase, can lubricate market actions and transactions. As lawyer for the poor and socially disadvantaged, planners, then, would have to make shure that housing market requirements are met in full, that developers are forced to increase their supply in affordable housing and increase mixed housing (tied to planning permissions), and that developers are encouraged through policy initiatives and development subsidies to build in the most deprived areas in accordance to guidelines of socially responsible development.

One participant of the enquiry states that "there is no dialogue that I am aware of within the larger planning community that tries to find ways to shape environments to reduce both the fear and the tendency toward crime, and that devises ways to foster openness, diversity, fairness and tolerance" (participant 7). In the context of a *culture of fear* such dialogues and discussions might be very helpful and necessary for the planning profession. This thesis can serve as a starting point and provide food for thought for further research as well as for planning debates. It shows that socially responsible planning without a form of social activism is not achievable. There has to be a change in mind in planning theory and practice when it comes to social responsibiliy. The planning profession has to become more consequent in pursuing its goals and its vision. It has to accept that there will be no "nation of vital communities, fully accessible to all people, with [...] social, economic, and racial equity and integration" (APA 2013, online) if planning keeps on hiding behind the more powerful forces of society, politics, and the market. If the current capitalist system leads to a radicalisation of society, politics, and the market, so has the planning discipline to become more radical. Otherwise, it cannot fulfill its task as institution which is supposed to balance diverse interests and needs and act for the purpose of the whole community in a democratic country.

Without such progress, planners remain in danger to "become pawns in a larger political economy which they may not support" (Ellin 1996, p. 157). This would provide fresh and easy fodder for the next generations of academics to repeat the critique that, in practice, planning exists to serve investment interests, builds the extended arm of politics, and falls short in promoting socially responsible development. Moreover, it would be only a short step to guide the planning discipline into redundancy. This thesis serves as a wake up call for planners; a wake up call to think different.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Enquiry 1 - enquiry request and answers (anonymised)

Request with the help of Prof. Dr. Christopher Silver (FAICP)

Fellows:

Greetings from Gainesville. I am writing to request you to consider assisting a visiting graduate student, Andreas Huck, from Groningen University, Netherlands, to gather some observations from experienced planners on a thesis topic that he calls, "Fearful Planning? Materializing Fear in the Florida/US Landscape." Essentially, he is exploring how planning both consciously/unconsciously exacerbates feelings of fear by means of various strategies that might be pursued for other reasons, or where there is a lack of perception of how planning interventions might trigger responses of fear. As you will read in his attached letter of introduction, Huck employs a methodology that makes it possible for participants to essentially agree or disagree with a bold statement of the problem that is presented in a one-page abstract. And then for those willing to share their views on this topic, he follows up with some open ended questions.

I have been working with him for several months here as he developed his ideas, read widely on planning in the US, and prepared his research abstract. This is for a thesis project he is undertaking at Groningen. Just to let you know, we have students over in Europe doing research projects where they seek input from local professionals on various topics. As he notes in the letter of introduction, there is no obligation to respond nor an attribution of comments from those who do respond. But I can assure you that he is a serious and responsible student genuinely interested in the perspectives of US planners on a topic he is also investigating in the context of European urbanization. I hope you will respond to him to the extent that you can. I thought our Florida group of Fellows would make a diverse and informed first audience in the US to explore the issue of "fearful planning."

Thanks for your consideration.

With regards,

Christopher Silver, PhD, FAICP
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Letter of introduction

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Andreas Huck. I am a graduate student in Regional Studies at Groningen University, the Netherlands. Currently, I am in Gainesville, Florida, to conduct a research under supervision of Dr. Chris Silver, Dean of the College of Design, Construction & Planning at the University of Florida and colleague of yours as a Fellow of the AICP. I focus on the intersection of human geography and planning, specifically on the concept of fear and the production of landscape.

About this project: The project "Fearful planning? Materializing fear in Florida's landscape" will build the major part of my Master Thesis. My goal is to get a sense of what role planning plays in the materialization of fear in landscape. I want to find out how fear is understood and discussed amongst planners and how planning does/can/could deal with issues of fear and its reflection in spatial development processes.

Procedure and duration: I want to make use of a research methodology which allows the participants to think about their answers instead of being forced to answer spontaneously. Moreover, the methodology allows the participants to concentrate on very different points of the issue and connect it to their focus of expertise. First, I ask you to read a provocative statement paper (of one page) about the materialization of fear in landscape and about the role of spatial planning in this process. I ask you to comment on this poignantly formulated essay in a way that pleases you.
In a second round, I will ask you to answer some open ended questions. The questions will be guided by the received comments from the first round. All communication will take place via email. The time you have to invest in this research depends on you. I estimate each round would take no more than 10 to 20 minutes.

Participant selection: You are invited to participate because I feel that your experience and knowledge, as a Fellow of the AICP, is of great importance for giving an informed point of view about the role of planning in landscape production related to fear.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. You may decide to quit participating between the first and second round or not to participate at all. I am not able to provide any financial reimbursement.

Confidentiality: The information you are giving in response to the two emails will be treated confidential to the extent that your name will not appear in the thesis or in any eventually following publication. The answers will be treated as given by "a Fellow of the AICP" or as given by "the group of AICP Fellows".

Certificate of consent: If you are willing to certificate please digitally sign the following and send it back via email to a.huck@ufl.edu. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at any time via email (a.huck@ufl.edu).

I have read the information above about the project "Fearful Planning? Materializing fear in Florida's landscape". I had the opportunity to ask questions about it, and any questions I asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I voluntary consent to participate in this project.

Date Participant digital signature (or return to me as a PDF)

Thanks, A. Huck

Statement paper

Fearful planning? Materializing fear in the Florida/US landscape

Fear materializes in landscape and produces 'landscapes of fear' which foster and justify inequity, oppression, and racism. This in turn generates more fear among different groups in society instead of reducing it. Urban and community planning in Florida does little to break this vicious circle of fear. In many ways, planning procedures support the production of 'landscapes of fear' and thus add fuel to the flames. In this way spatial planning in Florida fails in executing its task to improve the welfare of people and their communities for present and future generations.

Fear, in its different manifestations as fear of crime, fear of terror, fear of economic loss, fear of natural hazard, and fear of the (radicalized) 'Other', can be defined as an emotional response to perceived danger or threats. Fear gets materialized in Florida's landscape in three interconnected ways: through different processes of social and spatial *segregation*, through different forms of *marginalization* of minority groups, and through different forms of *surveillance* in public and private space:

First, social and spatial *segregation* becomes obvious in the increasing number of gated communities but also in neighborhood developments which tend to become more homogeneous in terms of race and socio-economic status as well as sexual orientation of its inhabitants. Even city center developments under the flag of New Urbanism tend to support social and spatial *segregation* indirectly through rising rental and real estate costs and their spatial limitations.

Second, and closely related, certain minority groups tend to be *marginalized* through profit-driven city development and gentrification processes. *Marginalization* ranges from the exclusion of certain people (e.g. homeless) from certain places (e.g. public parks) to discrimination against gay and lesbian people or racial and ethnic minorities.

Third, s*urveillance*, in its spatial expression, goes beyond the increasing use of CCTV and private security measures. Community policing measures such as Neighborhood Watch add a crucial dimension to *surveillance* techniques in that they define and interpret space. Moreover, spatial developments under the flag of 'Defensible Space' and 'Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design' are not only based on conceptions of *surveillance*, but also foster *segregation* and *marginalization* of those already disadvantaged in today's society.

In this way, landscape becomes a medium in which fear materializes. The critical point is that fear on the part of certain (more powerful) groups of society get expressed through interventions in the landscape. *Marginalization*, *segregation* and *surveillance* of minority groups, those to be afraid of, become manifested in the landscape. This serves as justification for their oppression and reinforces inequitable organized societies. Furthermore, these landscapes provide soil and nutrition for racism to grow. *Segregated*, *marginalized*, and *surveilled* 'Others' represent an unknown and threatening source of danger against one's own well-being. This causes stereotyping and stigmatization, the basis for racism.

Planning, as defined by the American Planning Association, "works to improve the welfare of people and their communities by creating more convenient, equitable, healthful, efficient, and attractive places for present and future generations"[3]. As shown above, planning in Florida / U.S. falls far short in executing this task. By promoting *segregation*, *marginalisation*, and *surveillance* planning even actively supports the development of landscapes of oppression, inequity, and racism.

[3] https://www.planning.org/aboutplanning/whatisplanning.htm [Accessed: 03/28/13]

Answers summary

# 1	
	General understanding
General statements	Segregation, control, and marginalisation do not apply uniformly throughout the US or Florida. Areas and communities differ in their demographics and social issues. Generally interested in the subject.
Marginalised groups named	I have not seen any attempts of segregation among race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Attempts of segregation among socio-economic status and age are present (e.g. The Villages)
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	
Exonerations named	Planning is seen as to make/enforce government regulations. Governmental regulations preclude developers and homebuilders from being successful. Government regulations that stand opposed to the free market (because of certain utopian desires) end up unsuccessful.
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	Walls and landscape buffers are demanded by residents to feel secure. Economic classes tend to want to be separated (higher and housing from more affordable housing) Florida's development is coined through retirement preferences for relocation (secure, single family home, own lot, close to services) Age and socioeconomic segregation, however, is often seen in the design and marketing of communities.
Reasons named for control	HOA hire private security firms and implement Neighbourhood Watch Programmes to enhance perceptions of a safe community (and meet residents preferences). This is prevalent among all age groups and not related to actual crime rates. Walls and landscape buffers are demanded by residents to feel secure.
Reasons named for marginalisation	
Reasons named for fear	Fear and security will remain a concern for all communities.
Other actors and factors named	User preferences, wants, and desires (surveyed and conglomerated to buyer profiles), User preferences, wants, and desires drive developments and housing production. Private market forces, free market, Private market forces shape our communities. Developers and Homebuilders HOA
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	Change perceptions, concerns, fear of individuals. Understand the issues why people prefer certain types of housing/living. Change people's attitudes --> this cannot be accomplished by forced behaviour through regulation. There is the hope for more mixed-age communities in the future.
Planning solutions named	Integrating mixed age communities can be successful.

# 2	
	General understanding
General statements	General interest. (What an interesting, thought provoking, timely topic) General agreement with the statements made. Planning itself can be something that people are afraid of (interested in the "urban planning

	climate" in society)
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	Planning is too much done in isolation from the public. There is too less involvement from citizen. Fear of loss of property has evolved into an anti-planning rhetoric that all forms of planning is bad and is anti-capitalistic. “Planners want to plan for common open space and cluster people into higher density life styles.” This attitude has manifest itself in many local settings and state legislatures in the form of anti-United Nations Agenda 21. Historically planning prepared plans in isolation from the public. This is only changing slowly. Planning has not a good track record in terms of social justice. A 'we know what is best for them' attitude often dominates.
Exonerations named	
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	Urban renewal often failed and impacted negatively or destroyed communities in the past (e.g. Jacksonville Sports Complex). Infrastructure projects can lead to segregated and isolated communities (e.g. I-275 in Tampa). Urban sprawl contributes to segregation and isolation.
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	Urban renewal often failed and impacted negatively or destroyed communities in the past (e.g. Jacksonville Sports Complex). Infrastructure projects can lead to segregated and isolated communities (e.g. I-275 in Tampa). Urban sprawl contributes to segregation and isolation.
Reasons named for fear	Planning without community involvement can provoke fear amongst citizen (fear of planning, fear of change, fear of the unknown). Scepticism, fear, and anxiety can be provoked by a 'we know what is best for them' attitude. People are feared of 'Master Plans' and 'Comprehensive Plans'. Conservative view of property rights can lead to fear of loss of property (anti planning rhetoric)
Other actors and factors named	Politics and Society (Tea Party/ultra conservative phenomenon in society and political environment) Conservative view of property rights. Private property (protected by law, protection of property as chief aim of government) Fifth Amendment of the US Constitution ("no one should be deprived of life, liberty, or property..."
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	More involvement of community and citizen. A more active role of citizen. Education of citizen about the planning process and importance of a vision for their community. This is especially challenging in already marginalised communities. Use of innovative techniques for citizen engagement. There are many positive examples of planning which gained: community pride, increased property values, reduction in crime, reduction in blighted conditions, increase in social interaction, reduced fear, etc.

# 3	
	General understanding
General statements	Urban design relates to fear You are focussing on Florida's flaws, but are there other states (or countries) who are doing better?
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	Urban design relates to fear
Exonerations named	
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	Gated communities are a reason for segregation and control. Who are the people behind the gates afraid of? The market and rising prices are reasons for segregation.
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	Gated communities are a reason for segregation and control. Who are the people behind the gates afraid of?
Reasons named for fear	Urban design Gated communities are Florida's contribution to the fear factor.
Other actors and factors named	Market (rewards people in gated communities with rising property values) People in gated communities HOA (drives prices up)
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	Urban design (windows facing the street, windows overlooking a street, wide sidewalks, good walkability) can contribute to a sense of security. CPTED aims for natural observation. Some kind of natural surveillance leads to feelings of safety.

# 4	
	General understanding
General statements	General agreement with some points, disagreement in other points. Generally interested in the topic.
Marginalised groups named	Segregation, marginalisation, and discrimination among income and race. Not among sexual orientation (rather the opposite because gay couples are known that they are higher income and have higher expenditure levels).
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	Zoning and planning did their part to segregate different users and uses from each other.
Exonerations named	
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	Zoning separated different types uses from each other. Suburbanisation played a role in that city centres generally are more mixed used than suburbs. Peoples preferences(to stay for their own). In residential areas people do not want other uses than residential use and they don't want other users inside. In city centres segregation increases through gentrification, condominium developments,

	and on the other side abandonment of crime ridden areas. People want to feel protected from traffic (thru-traffic) and crime. They want to protect their children when playing on the streets from traffic, and they want to keep strangers ('others') out. (-->closing of streets, gated communities, surveillance in neighbourhoods and on private property, CPTED) An increase in crime and 'isms' contributed to the rise of gated communities.
Reasons named for control	Peoples preferences(to stay for their own). In residential areas people do not want other uses than residential use and they don't want other users inside. In city centres segregation increases through gentrification, condominium developments, and on the other side abandonment of crime ridden areas. An increase in crime and 'isms' contributed to the rise of gated communities.
Reasons named for marginalisation	In city centres segregation increases through gentrification, condominium developments, and on the other side abandonment of crime ridden areas.
Reasons named for fear	
Other actors and factors named	Peoples living preferences (they want to stay for their own) (they want to feel protected) Real estate values (puts limits on who can live where) Market (establishes large districts by gentrification)
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	

# 5	
	General understanding
General statements	There is segregation, marginalisation, surveillance, inequity, and racism but planning does NOT contribute to this (strong disagreement with the depicted role of planning). There is a correlation how people live and how people view different groups in society. --> fear of the Other might play a role in living choices.
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	
Exonerations named	There is segregation, marginalisation, surveillance, inequity, and racism but planning does NOT contribute to this. To the contrary, planning actively seeks to reach the opposite. However, planning can only provide opportunities and cannot socially engineer communities. Spatial development is regularly not a straight outcome of planning or planning profession's action. Planning can be seen to fight against the social malaises outlined in the statement paper and to fight for integration, diversity, equality. "However, the outcome of our planning efforts is not always as result of the planning effort or the planning profession's actions"
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	
Reasons named for	

control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	
Reasons named for fear	Fear is an underlying basis of social interaction.
Other actors and factors named	Free will (people are free to chose where they want to live, where they want to move or move out and with whom they want to live) Property rights (enable people to use their property as they wish in accordance to land use laws in that area) Market influences (market responds to and influences people's life style choices) Political environment (politics influences the way land use laws are created, interpreted, and applied)
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	To the contrary, planning actively seeks to reach the opposite. Planners try to educate people about the benefits of community diversity, integration, connections, and so on. Planning actively seeks to expand relationships between different groups who live, work, and play in a community. It seeks to create mixed use community centres that connect different neighbourhoods and economic areas, provide schools and public spaces as well as residential and economic areas in a way that serve diversity and multigenerational communities, provide transport resources to connect different uses and users and diverse areas with each other. Planners work to provide opportunities.

# 6	
	General understanding
General statements	Topic is far to general to respond meaningful to it. Generally, planning is not seen as to cause any of the problems described.
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	
Exonerations named	There is much more than planning that influences spatial and social development. One cannot blame planning for everything that goes bad (Jane Jacobs did the same thing). Professional planners are but one small part of that equation. Also, why should planning deal with fear at all? Planning is defined in the sense of organised governmental activity. Our professions goals are already so broad, now we should also elevate fear-amelioration?
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	Bankers (foreclose on homes, then essentially abandon them, providing an ample supply of crack houses and crash pads)
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	Bankers (foreclose on homes, then essentially abandon them, providing an ample supply of crack houses and crash pads)
Reasons named for fear	Politicians (fan the flames of fear of crime to help themselves get elected) Graphic newspaper advertisements for hurricane shutters (media) Bankers (foreclose on homes, then essentially abandon them, providing an ample supply of crack houses and crash pads)

Other actors and factors named	Bankers (foreclose on homes, then essentially abandon them, providing an ample supply of crack houses and crash pads) Developers Graphic newspaper advertisements for hurricane shutters (media) Politicians (fan the flames of fear of crime to help themselves get elected)
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	

# 7	
	General understanding
General statements	General agreement that planning in Florida and largely throughout the US tends to reinforce fear through impact on the human landscape. There is no dialogue within the planning profession that I am aware of which deal with exactly these issues. Your statement is a wake-up call for planners to consider again their planning action and its consequences. I don't read it as blaming the planners but to getting them more in touch with their products.
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	General agreement that planning in Florida and largely throughout the US tends to reinforce fear through impact on the human landscape. Planning reinforce citizen attitudes about diversity, openness, tolerance, fairness in their attempt to improve the environment. Property values (a rational for planning for a long time) tend to trump values of diversity, openness, tolerance, fairness when it comes to community shaping.
Exonerations named	Not necessary conscious action of planning. Rather it can be seen as a reflection of inherent attitudes about diversity, openness, tolerance, fairness that guide citizen views.
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	
Reasons named for fear	
Other actors and factors named	Citizen attitudes about diversity, openness, tolerance, fairness. Property values
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	Planners have to 'get more in touch with their products'. Implemented: "we know what's best for them" There is no dialogue within the planning profession that I am aware of which deal with

	exactly these issues. Your statement is a wake-up call for planners to consider again their planning action and its consequences. I don't read it as blaming the planners but to getting them more in touch with their products.

# 8	
	General understanding
General statements	General disagreement with the statements made and with the "sweeping characterisation of all planning and all planners and all new urbanism and all Florida and all of the US".
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	Planning (and other actors) have made significant mistakes in the past.
Exonerations named	Planning nowadays work very hard to undo mistakes of the past and to repair the landscapes in order to increase choices and freedom. Planning aims to undo bad practices, repair landscapes, damaged by them in the past, and reverse numerous other bad old habits. Planning is fighting towards more choices and freedoms. "Segregation, marginalisation and surveillance are not the main menu at the planning buffet". "Planning has not failed to accomplish its main purpose". With your statements you "dismiss a profession, a landscape and a state and a nation in their entirety". Personally, I don't expend much time and brain power about fear.
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	Segregation, fear, racism, marginalisation are caused by: bad practices in suburban sprawl, outlawed racist financial practices, gated communities, 1950s segregation policies, misapplication of CPTED.
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	Segregation, fear, racism, marginalisation are caused by: bad practices in suburban sprawl, outlawed racist financial practices, gated communities, 1950s segregation policies, misapplication of CPTED.
Reasons named for fear	Some conspiracy theorists are afraid of that planning is part of a "shadowy foreign plot" to take away property rights and forcibly relocate people. This group fears planning in general deeming it socialist and liberty robbing. They think planning activities should stop on principle. So do you.
Other actors and factors named	Politics Financial practices Certain bad practices in suburban sprawl Gated communities Misapplication of CPTED
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	Planning aims to undo bad practices, repair landscapes, damaged by them in the past, and reverse numerous other bad old habits. Planning is fighting towards more choices and freedoms. "Segregation, marginalisation and surveillance are not the main menu at the planning buffet". "Planning has not failed to accomplish its main purpose". Planning is already doing its best. Planners want to Open systems that are closed Connect things that are disconnected

	Turn exclusiveness into inclusiveness Promote transparent democracy

# 9	
	General understanding
General statements	Fear can result in inequity and oppression. Fear cannot result in racism. The built environment cannot reinforce fear. The participant justifies the removal of homeless people from parks because this serves to reduce panhandling or, in fact threats of bodily harm. CPTED wants to make neighbourhoods less crime sensitive. "Would it be better to let crime run rampant?"
Marginalised groups named	Socio-economic minority groups have less chances. Gays and lesbian are not marginalised at all. There is no correlation between surveillance and space.
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	
Exonerations named	Discrimination against gay and lesbian is not produced by planning. The built environment cannot reinforce fear.
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	Socio-economic status is the main determinant of segregation. Race to a lesser degree. Sexual orientation not at all. Economic difference results in people not being able to live and function like they would prefer.
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	
Reasons named for fear	
Other actors and factors named	Economic factors (economic different prevents people from live and function where they want) Time
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	

# 10	
	General understanding
General statements	General agreement.
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	Planning is also something to be afraid of. A climate of fear of planning is fostered through conservative politics.
Exonerations	

named	
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	
Reasons named for fear	
Other actors and factors named	Politics (conservative)
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	Maybe it does change with people coming back to the city? (Back to the city movement in Miami, Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, and Orlando).
Planning solutions named	

# 11	
	General understanding
General statements	General interest. General acceptance that the issues are of importance.
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	
Exonerations named	Planning approaches are sometimes hard to follow because people fear changes and unknown consequences.
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	
Reasons named for fear	Planning approaches are sometimes hard to follow because people fear changes and unknown consequences.
Other actors and factors named	Fear of change and unknown consequences (hinders planning approaches) Fear of noise, traffic, and strangers (hinders planning approaches)
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning	

solutions named	

# 12	
	General understanding
General statements	General disagreement Strong disagreement that surveillance can have negative impacts. Whatever problems planning might create, they are not unique to Florida, but occur all over the US.
Marginalised groups named	Gays are not marginalised, rather the opposite is the case. Marginalisation due to race and ethnicity is decreasing.
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	Some instances (exceptions) might appear, but generally planning in Florida does not promote landscapes of fear, segregation, marginalisation, and control.
Exonerations named	Some instances (exceptions) might appear, but generally planning in Florida does not promote landscapes of fear, segregation, marginalisation, and control.
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	
Reasons named for control	
Reasons named for marginalisation	
Reasons named for fear	
Other actors and factors named	
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	Orlando, for example, does not allow gated communities.
Planning solutions named	

# 13	
	General understanding
General statements	
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	Zoning blended economic development with some protectionism. Historically the city was built to segregate people from each other. This continued in the 20th century with subdivision plots and the town square idea. Planning evolved out of the aim to prevent repeating failure which lead to plague and urban malaise.
Exonerations named	
	The production of *landscapes of fear*

Reasons named for segregation	Historically the city was built to segregate people from each other. This continued in the 20th century with subdivision plots and the town square idea.
Reasons named for control	Historically the city was built to segregate people from each other. This continued in the 20th century with subdivision plots and the town square idea.
Reasons named for marginalisation	Historically the city was built to segregate people from each other. This continued in the 20th century with subdivision plots and the town square idea.
Reasons named for fear	Fear of repeating outcomes such as city failure and plague (due to rampaging barbarians attempts to storm the city walls and poor sanitation) lead to city planning.
Other actors and factors named	Self interest (isn't necessarily fear driven).
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	

# 14	
	General understanding
General statements	Research should not focus on planning but on consumer demands. I was a little put off by the strong flavor of social activism and some of the emotion charged terminology. I am not suggesting the points you have assembled are not legitimate, just that a product needs to be receptive to the reader so I share my reaction.
Marginalised groups named	
	Planners' responsibility
Incriminations named	
Exonerations named	Consumer demand drives investment and decisions. Consumer choice builds the context in which planning (and other actors) move.
	The production of *landscapes of fear*
Reasons named for segregation	Consumer choice
Reasons named for control	Consumer choice
Reasons named for marginalisation	Consumer choice
Reasons named for fear	
Other actors and factors named	Consumer choice (of housing) Many factors drive housing choice, decision making is individualised: Price anticipated tenure lease conditions or ability to resell proximity to employment shopping medical care and recreational opportunities proximity and quality of area schools

	proximity to family friends and people with similar interests and values life style preference perceived safety from crime or natural hazards (or as you put it 'fear') Price and perceived safety are the most important.
	Possible improvement
General solutions named	
Planning solutions named	

Appendix 2: Enquiry 2 - enquiry request and answers (anonymised)

Request

Dear...

Thank you very much again for your interesting and useful comments on the statements linked to research for my Master thesis. Your answers have contributed greatly to my study. I have now collected sufficient responses to begin the second round of questioning. In the following you will find a brief summary about the outcomes of the first round. I ask you then to answer the two questions below and send your answers to: a.huck.1@student.rug.nl.

Please send your answers before July 14 2013. Please forgive me for the short notice. Your reactions are vitally important for the completion of my thesis!

Round 1: Outcome:

Among the participants, it was largely accepted that fear plays a crucial role in spatial development. Especially the role of zoning (in the past), the rise of gated communities, and social segregation in general have been named. Negative social outcomes such as marginalisation of minority groups (with the exception gays) have also been largely acknowledged. The responsibility of planning as a discipline, however, has been diminished significantly. Planning was positioned as one actor next to (often more powerful) actors such as the free market, property rights, free will, the media, politicians, and bankers.

Round 2: Questions:

In this round, I would like to focus on two planning approaches which might reveal links to fear and social inequity: (1) New Urbanism and (2) situational crime prevention/ defensible space.

1) New Urbanism is a planning approach with objectives such as compact, diverse, mixed used, and pedestrian oriented neighbourhoods. It aims to prevent structures of urban sprawl and enforce city centre developments. Moreover, it aims to reduce social segregation as well as high concentrations of poverty and to create a *sense of community*. However, New Urbanist developments have been criticised in that they tend to foster gentrification, social exclusion and marginalisation of minority groups. It has been blamed at strengthening segregation by class, race and ethnicity and that it is oriented to serve the upper class.

Out of your experience and your expertise, how do you interpret and perceive New Urbanist (re)developments? Can you name Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats that the New Urbanist approach comprises?

2) Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) and 'Defensible Space' seek to reduce both crime and fear of crime. Measures range from changes in the physical design of the built environment to the use of barriers or technological surveillance. The aim is to influence the behaviour of criminals as well as potential observers (*natural surveillance*, *eyes on the streets*). However, these techniques have been criticised in their fostering of privatisation and social segregation among races and social classes. Moreover, they have been criticised for displacing crime to other areas instead of solving the problems which are responsible for crime. Some have even argued that they support punitive police strategies.

Out of your experience and your expertise, how do you interpret and perceive CPTED and Defensible Space approaches? Can you name Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats that these approaches comprise?

Thank you very much for your time and effort you invest to help me!

Best wishes,

Andreas Huck

Answers summary

# 1	
Perceptions New Urbanism	
Strengths	New Urbanist developments in theory can achieve a sense of community through its form of development which through design helps foster social interaction. Providing community and neighborhood focal points in a compact, walkable community of mixed residential uses can provide opportunities diversity.
Weaknesses	However, many of these communities are more upscale and price points for residential product can tend to be exclusive our certain groups.
Opportunities	Regulatory responses addressing this issue have been including requirements for affordable housing stratified by income group and required by phase a dispersed by neighborhood. To further promote social interaction one of the national community developers have created walk communities with internal commercial community/amenity center focal points and have gone as far as requiring mailboxes in the community center to enhance community interaction.
Threats	However, many of these communities are more upscale and price points for residential product can tend to be exclusive our certain groups.
Perceptions CPTED/DS	
Strengths	Certain CEPTED approaches and physical site design and use mix incorporated into New Urbanist communities as well as more conventional development can be effective tools in providing passive and perceived deterrents to crime. Surveillance with new technologies can be a valuable tool in addressing crime
Weaknesses	
Opportunities	For example incorporating front porches and an integrated pedestrian circulation system put more activity and eyes on the street and mixing public and civic facilities such as a fire station with a park or community center provide passive surveillance 24-7.
Threats	There can be issues as to how and where surveillance technologies are applied and there is a fine line between the public benefit and personal freedoms and privacy.
Other comments	In recent years the use of technology in surveillance of both public and private space has expanded greatly.
Own comments	

# 3	
Perceptions New Urbanism	
Strengths	Pedestrian friendly, inclusive, variety of housing in multiple and mixed price points, mixed use
Weaknesses	Seldom allowed by right under local government regulations; very popular so prices are driven up by demand; expensive because of the long approval process because they are not allowed by right; difficult to finance
Opportunities	Future demand strong, baby boomers want this lifestyle; promote more efficient use of land & protection of farmland & open space
Threats	Misinformation; developers who only know sprawl type development want to build what they knew and thus put it down, weaken it, build modified NU development that then fails

Perceptions CPTED/DS	
Strengths	About time that design should be perceived as an asset at street level (i.e., natural surveillance)
Weaknesses	misinformation, I don’t see how it contributes to segregation
Opportunities	perhaps successfully designed communities should be studied
Threats	I think the argument that crime goes elsewhere is just bogus. It is not supposed to solve social ills but create safe places.
Other comments	
Own comments	This means, with a new generation of consumers there also have to be a new generation of planners. Very clear formulation of CPTED's goals. It is not supposed to solve social ills but to create safe places. The question, then is again: for whom?

# 4	
Perceptions New Urbanism	
Strengths	I do believe that "New Urbanism" has created developments that have being characterized by diverse, compact, mixed use and being somewhat pedestrian with the intention to promote social interaction by those "privileged ones" that can afford to live in them.
Weaknesses	By the same token, not everybody can afford to live in these developments. The best and oldest examples of New Urbanism, while beautiful in design and very successful from an economic point of view and in the creation of a sense of community for those that live in them, have resulted in class and age group segregation and elitism (I don't know if this has resulted in race segregation, per se)
Opportunities	By itself, "New Urbanism" is not a solution for every development need. By incorporating other planning tools e.g., subsidized housing, transportation and school programs, more of an integration of a community could be accomplished.
Threats	I believe that the biggest threat is due to possible classism/elitism, and the relationship of these developments to immediately surrounding/adjacent areas.
Perceptions CPTED/DS	
Strengths	I believe that these methods have been a deterrent to higher criminality in the areas using them; obviously, criminals try to find the easiest way to commit a crime. It has also allowed some people, specially, elderly, young families and single women to be able to live in areas that otherwise wouldn't be available/possible for them.
Weaknesses	These methods have resulted in separation of people who can afford to live in these communities from those that cannot. I believe that any displacement of crime is only relative. Crime has always existed and will continue to exist.
Opportunities	These methods could make it possible for some areas in major cities that have become "no-man lands" to be able to be reclaimed for communities.
Threats	The excess of surveillance can only result in lack of freedom and privacy. I am afraid that we are beyond this point already given the amount of surveillance cameras everywhere now and the active role of government and others in these activities.
Other comments	
Own comments	

# 6	
Perceptions New Urbanism	As to New Urbanism -- I find the continual carping of academic and modernist critics of New Urbanism to make me cringe because it usually shows how out of touch they've become. Yes, in its earlier years, New Urbanism was primarily an urban design movement focused on new towns, and yes it was sometimes promoted with excessive zeal. However, New Urbanism has since expanded that expertise and enthusiasm into a coherent

	approach to urban planning and placemaking. Nearly everything I believe about good urban planning has been incorporated into today's New Urbanism -- regulatory reform; comprehensive long-range planning; and concern for the environment (and the future of the planet itself). New Urbanism owes its current success to its willingness to absorb good ideas from a very wide range of fields -- just like planners should always be doing!
Strengths	
Weaknesses	
Opportunities	
Threats	
Perceptions CPTED/DS	I am somewhat dubious about much of CPTED (and to a lesser degree, about Defensible Space), primarily because they seem to elevate safety and crime prevention above all other issues relative to the built environment. I'm sure there are crime-ridden neighborhoods where safety IS more important than everything else, at least at certain points in time. But in general, planning and urban design involve the simultaneous balancing of multiple goals and objectives. When any single one (accessibility, green-ness, beauty, safety, efficiency, prosperity, conviviality) is elevated over all others, my guard goes up!
Strengths	
Weaknesses	
Opportunities	
Threats	
Other comments	
Own comments	

# 7	
Perceptions New Urbanism	New Urbanism itself is not responsible for strengthening segregation by class, race and ethnicity. In Richmond, VA it was used as a planning tool to deal with new public housing (Carver neighborhood) and also to accommodate new higher density developments. It is not the design suggestions of the New Urbanist that are at fault, but rather the willingness of communities to perpetuate segregation rather than using planning to break the patterns.
Strengths	
Weaknesses	
Opportunities	
Threats	
Perceptions CPTED/DS	Again, CPTED is not the problem nor something that should be blamed for perpetuating the problems of crime. The mobility of criminality is an important insight. Actually what it suggests is not that CPTED shouldn't be used, but rather that regional strategies must be pursued, rather than purely local efforts.
Strengths	
Weaknesses	
Opportunities	
Threats	
Other comments	I think CPTED and Defensible Space remind us that there are social implications of design, including both positive and negative externalities, and these approaches keep planners awake to the possibilities of crime affecting the community while also doing something likely to mitigate some of the worst excesses.
Own comments	

# 9	
Perceptions New Urbanism	
Strengths	The higher density which can be achieved with smaller lots, smaller setbacks, etc. should lower the cost final housing choices. This responds to the economic factor which tends to

	marginalize housing opportunities for those who are financially disadvantaged. Centralized retail, office, places of work, etc. produces an environment which is conducive for community interaction, and therefore, greater acceptance of cultural differences. Higher density is more conducive for the success of mass transit.
Weaknesses	Finding adequate land close to the center of existing communities for redevelopment using New Urbanist approaches is difficult and redevelopment is very expensive. Consequently any significant contribution to reducing fear and social inequity through the development process will most likely be less than desirable. Especially if the adaptive reuse and redevelopment is to be within existing communities.
Opportunities	Effort needs to be made between Land Owners, Developers, and units of Government to partner with each other. This would lead to economic incentives, density bonuses, subsidized improvement of infrastructure and services. Workforce housing and mixed use development is becoming more approvable at the local levels; and the younger population is more accepting of racial and cultural differences. This should lead to more opportunities for development which is less "fearful" and reduces social inequity.
Threats	There are still many people who are just afraid of anyone who is different than them. There are still people who are bigoted. They were raised that way and hold on to those attitudes and beliefs. The cost of development and housing is a major factor in creating an environment of social inequity. The national failure to increase the income potential of "Middle Class" families continues to immobilize positive change - resulting in social inequity.
Perceptions CPTED/DS	
Strengths	
Weaknesses	
Opportunities	
Threats	
Other comments	
Own comments	

# 10	
Perceptions New Urbanism	My experience with New Urbanism communities has been all positive, especially Seaside, Abacoa, Celebration, and Harmony, all in Florida. Many of the criticisms have been harsh because of a lack of diversity, but I am not sure that is fair. It just so happens that the communities appeal to middle and upper middle class families, and so far, not to low income groups. But that is not an insurmountable problem. In short, I believe the criticisms are over-played and miss the real point of the New Urbanism philosophy. As New Urbanism communities slowly begin as infill projects in central cities, the desired integration of income groups may occur.
Strengths	So far the greatest strengths are that a small town, safe environment is achieved as an alternative to typical suburban sprawl.
Weaknesses	The biggest problem with the New Urbanism communities I know is that they have become so popular the housing prices have reached a 15% premium.
Opportunities	This offers opportunities for a variety of housing types and lifestyles, as well as infrastructure savings.
Threats	
Perceptions CPTED/DS	I have had positive experiences with CPTED and Defensible Space. Except for wildly restrictive gated communities, I do not see what else works. You also should consider the recent advances in security technology, both common space and personal, that have also been effective in crime reduction.
Strengths	
Weaknesses	While some of these advances have raised questions about the loss of privacy and personal freedom, they do work to discourage crime.
Opportunities	

Threats	
Other comments	There are few common areas that are not under surveillance today. Look at the incredible amount of surveillance that led to the apprehension of the Boston Marathon terrorists. This will become much more ubiquitous in American cities, and yes, it will cause a loss of privacy and personal freedom. As President Obama has been opining, this is the tradeoff for security.
Own comments	

# 11	
Perceptions New Urbanism	Unfortunately, I am convinced that New Urbanism is a movement in the urban experience which is very limited in the application to the much broader and important mission of the planner, the futurist.
Strengths	
Weaknesses	New Urbanism brings with it its own baggage of scale and exclusion. New Urbanism requires a specific set of planned guidelines and controlled architectural form and detail and spatial relationships that tend to mitigate creativity of both form and space. It provides specific boundaries that do not create space for error and tends to modify the excitement of spiritual expansion and excitement. It also must result from a very well understood set of principles which lead to a sense of segregation from the larger societal environment and global context. It is fun, but for the few inhabitants. It is not organic in the sense that cultural and societal norms evolve and behaviors change, functions of all systems change and form follows function.
Opportunities	Thus in the phenomenon of urban growth, functions over generations will affect the urban experience with its historical benchmarks, but expansiveness of societal intellectual stock humanity and urban living will grow recognizing new technological systems and new aesthetic enjoyment.
Threats	
Perceptions CPTED/DS	But crimes against people and property can be reduced in the urban context by reducing poverty, expanding education and expanding economic opportunity. This is the real urban problem and our social diversity must somehow be rooted in the love common to humanity.
Strengths	I do believe space and urban places can be designed for crime reduction , surveillance and crime reduction.
Weaknesses	
Opportunities	I do agree that much of fencing and intentional isolation results from fear and that such urban accouterments can and do protect life and property...
Threats	...and do tend to move criminal behavior to other less restrictive urban environments.
Other comments	I often think of Coral Gables and a genuine designed and beautiful planned community in 1926, but I wonder how it would have emerged had it not been set in a massive and dynamic urban conurbation context for a 3/4 century.
Own comments	

# 13	
Perceptions New Urbanism	The answer is in the scale. Larger scale New Urbanist activities are too often just marketing tools for more class separation. Integrating broader uses into the suburbs, however, along with selectively introducing early 20th century techniques provides for a redo that makes the 'burbs more sustainable/liveable.
Strengths	Efficiencies in transportation alternatives and service provision. Densities that provide for life outside the apartment walls, and a comfortable mix of social activities without expensive travel demands.
Weaknesses	Watch Boss. The suburbs provided for "dropping out" of political activity and not particularly suffering in lifestyle. In the urban setting, the silent neighborhoods are the ones to receive all the urban detritus without mitigating factors. Political battles that neglect infrastructure for selected areas become blighted, whereas in the 'burbs, the

	intensity of service is less and individualism and voluntary corvees mitigate the neglect of the political body.
Opportunities	The intensity of investment for the urban area, whether "new" or other, provides an ongoing rationale for reinvestment, since replacing uses is within a footprint where there is public support for something (sometimes, anything) to be improved. The structures and their settings that have survived for generations are implicit indicators of the success of the design. After all, in urban settings, a failed use quickly (in the timeline of the life of a city) get replaced, whereas in the 'burbs, the low intensity blighted use/non use will just sit there unless increasing densities make some reuse feasible..towards a more complete urban setting.
Threats	Sometime the urban rationale for being doesn't survive changing technologies and conditions. Motor city is one example. Pittsburgh is another, but one with a rebirth. The intensity of urban infrastructure has intense costs also, and if the "city" (incorporated or not) fails, then the region around it also fails. Climate change is icing on that particular cake, when the high intensity infrastructure is along the waters' edge. Serious commitment by the region/state is needed if such threatened areas are to survive. In Florida, with soooo much tourism tied to the coast, the coast being so long, how will the State triage its assistance..Miami over St Pete?
Perceptions CPTED/DS	In the early 70s I read quite a bit about Great Britain's efforts to tackle neighborhood safety through design. With a much larger percent of the population in public housing, extending well into the middle of the classes, and so much of the national population being needed to be in cities, so that the Country could have some vague hope of food self sufficiency, having safety at the local level was a national priority. Barring actions from groups such as the provisional wing of the IRA, the concept of defensible space was a reliance on law enforcement through information. Gang growth there has made that concept more chancy, but violent crime does seem less intense.
Strengths	A belief that the neighborhood design from the personal enclosed space (apartment/house) edge to the common space (hallway/sidewal/right of way) is the first hallmark of success for whether a new or old urban setting will work. Given urbanism's dependency on walking/cycling/transit, the trip to and from has to be somewhat safe (as compared to the 30k plus traffic deaths and million injuries in POVs), in good repair, reasonably well lit, and possess responsive "eyes on the street." This is assisted by the cell phone/security camera phenomenon that approach's universal use in the urban setting. The "24 hour city" only increases the safety concept since the dark hours are not given over to that which goes bump in the night.
Weaknesses	Paranoia against strangers would seem to be a learned survival technique, somewhat valuable in rural settings, less so in the suburbs, and utterly disruptive for the urban settings need for communal action. The defensible space in the urban setting isn't much further out than one's skin or the edge of the closed door to the apartment. Hence, response to intrusion may be more violent than in the rural areas, where a waved firearm provides a pretty good indicator for keeping distance. In urban areas, not all spaces are defensible.
Opportunities	Clearly, investing in CPTED provides to the community a decent commitment, not as dramatic as the waved firearm, to preventative public safety. Such areas (which may have indirect indicators such as vigorous street sweeping or graffiti removal) invite private investment.
Threats	A somewhat stable community is needed for such actions to work. Private blight, or public blight, invites the intrusion of ..for want of a better phrase..social detritus, mixed with those with current economic limitations. Therein lies the fear in which you begin your thesis. Since so much of our lower income work force is dependent upon immigration, commonly of language groupings and ethic classes different from the existing urban residents, newly arriving such groups will/may identify CPTED as a bit more than protecting neighborhood values, but instead another way to be repressed while just trying to make ends meet by a lower standard of living.
Other comments	
Own comments	

# 15	
Perceptions New Urbanism	
Strengths	Strengths do include compact development, sense of community, architectural attractiveness, and mix of uses, and usually a mix of housing types.
Weaknesses	There has been some weaknesses related to location of the projects which if not properly done can induce sprawl and/or not be as sensitive to environmental features, which can be described as “greenwashing” a project that is well designed but simply in the wrong location.
Opportunities	
Threats	
Perceptions CPTED/DS	I have no experience, good or bad, with the crime prevention aspects of New Urbanist development. My sense is that the sense of place and community, with “eyes on the street”, tends to lower crime opportunities.
Strengths	
Weaknesses	
Opportunities	
Threats	
Other comments	
Own comments	

# 16	
Perceptions New Urbanism	New Urbanism - at least in its urban and suburban context -champions a return to town design that was prevalent before our heavy dependence on the automobile became a primary determinant of urban form. In a nutshell, New Urbanism advocates the development of complete and functionally integrated communities. The term "traditional neighborhood" has come to be associated with such developments. They are the antithesis of suburban single family gated communities separated from the commercial and institutional services their residents need. The term "conventional subdivision" generally identifies this type of development. The "fear" factor is addressed in "conventional subdivisions" by separation and control of access. In the "traditonal neighborhood", "eyes on the street" is the element that provides security. "Conventional subdivisions" also tend to attract residents of similar ethic backgrounds and economic status. "Tradtional neighborhoods" - at least in theory" provide for a broader range of housing choice and thus a greater mix of age, ethnic background and economic status. But design alone doesn't guarantee any of these things. In reality, "traditonal neighborhoods" must be economically viable and any development form will also do better in a high end market. Consequently, as the demand for "traditional neighborhood" design has grown, it has found its greatest success in upscale markets. The negative social outcomes you note are, in my opinion, the result of marketing and the tendency of upscale markets to produce economic segregation - not the design itself. Finally, I would note that a segment of the population will always favor the "conventional suburban" model and we can expect that model to be a part of the landscape far into the future. The extent to which "New Urbanist" concepts will take hold remains to be seen.
Strengths	Complete Communities Sense of Place Eyes on the Street More sustainable
Weaknesses	Requires greater development skill Commercial markets take time to emerge
Opportunities	Unmet demand Energy efficient Growing emphasis on sustainability
Threats	Hybrids designs
Perceptions	CPTED / Defensible Space is a design concept that only has meaning when applied. The

CPTED/DS	positives and negatives identified cannot be attributed to the concept of CPTED / Defensible Space generally but only in the context of each design. Many CPTED / Defensible Space concepts only make common sense (lighting, visibility, etc.) without creating segregation or unduly restricting access. Other techniques are much more intrusive and / or exclusive. In today's world certainly greater attention must be given to security but at what cost? As the CPTED / Defensible Space concept matures, this balance must be a core component
Strengths	Greater security Greater sense of security Potential for crime reduction where applied
Weaknesses	Cost False sense of security
Opportunities	Investment in prevention
Threats	False sense of security Fear mongering
Other comments	
Own comments	