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Un/safety as placemaking: disabled people's socio-spatial negotiation of fear of violent crime (FOVC)

Amidst growing international recognition of the disproportionate experience of hostility, violence and hate crime perpetrated against people with disabilities, this chapter explores how disabled people's everyday, localised, practices of placemaking are bound up with notions of fear and safety in contemporary Ireland. Despite a burgeoning global disability rights agenda which stresses disabled people's right to live autonomously in the community free from violence and abuse, research has recognised the often mundane and everyday acts of oppression that confront people with disabilities. The chapter seeks to shed light on the material, affective and discursive intertwining of disability and un/safety in local processes of placemaking, such that the experience of un/safety and fear of violent crime works through complex assemblages of bodies, emotions, memories, objects and environments. In particular, it aims to demonstrate how un/safety, as an embodied and affectual phenomenon intimately tied up with disabled people's perception and understanding of place, interacts with, and sometimes exceeds place-based 'technical fixes' (more lighting, or better street design) proposed by policy initiatives to address issues of crime and community safety.

Keywords: disability, fear of violent crime, safety, placemaking

> I have focused on the small and ordinary because small and ordinary are mostly invisible to those who wield power, unless, when stepped upon, they cry out (Friedmann, 2010, p.162).

Introduction

Disability and disabled people's lives have been largely neglected in studies or understandings of placemaking. Albeit a contested and power-laden concept, placemaking – whether in the context of official planning practices, processes of community participation, or localised meaning-making – often suggests an inherent agency, an ability to shape, mediate or indeed, resist articulations of place. For disabled people, whose lives have been shaped by multiple socio-spatial exclusions, this agency has never been assumed. Whether through lack of access to the built environment or public transport, inappropriate housing, or discriminatory attitudes which result in mundane and everyday acts of oppression in public space, spatial configurations have served to 'keep disabled people 'in their place'' while at the same time making them feel 'out of place' (Kitchin, 1998, p.343; see also Soldatic *et al.* 2014; Chouinard *et al*., 2010). If, as Friedmann (2010, p.159) suggests, 'making places is everyone's job', how are we to make sense of disabled people's absence in discourses of placemaking? How do we understand the complexities of placemaking in the 'small and ordinary' places of their everyday lives?

There is little doubt that in the past twenty years, campaigns for disability rights have prompted policy changes in many Western nations which have had significant spatial consequences for disabled people's lives. The development of international human rights tools, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD, 2006) has (re)asserted the rights of disabled people to lead autonomous, independent lives in the community, which has seen the closing down of segregated, institutionalised settings (Power and Bartlett, 2018a, 2018b), as well as modifications designed to promote access to the built environment. In the official placemaking discourses of planners and professionals, claims to disabled people's equity and inclusion in

placemaking can be seen in city plans and public realm strategies which seek to promote liveable and accessible urban design; through principles such as Universal Design, for example, planners seek to create spaces that are safe and accessible for inhabitants 'irrespective of their age, gender or ability' (Dublin City Council, 2012, p.30; see also Imrie, 1996). While these developments are much needed, there is a danger that placemaking becomes focused on high profile public realm projects, without recognising how other places, including the home and local neighbourhood are significant, albeit more hidden, sites of placemaking (see for example, Dyck, 2005; Anderson, 2012; Power and Bartlett, 2018b). They also have potential to obscure from view disabled people's 'affective connections' (Jones and Evans, 2012, p.2321) with place, which may incorporate, but also exceed, physical modifications to the built environment.

In this chapter, I seek to uncover some of the everyday understandings of disabled people's placemaking which often remain hidden in discourses about access rights, particularly in urban spaces. I do this in the context of qualitative research conducted in Ireland which sought to explore disabled people's understandings of safety or unsafety in the context of fear of hostility and harassment as they navigate their everyday lives and geographies. Recent international studies have shown that people with disabilities are more likely than their able-bodied counterparts to be subject to violence (Mikton *et al*., 2014). Simultaneously, there has been a growing awareness of everyday harassment and hate crime as it has been experienced by people with disabilities (Hall, 2019; Hall and Bates, 2019; Power and Bartlett, 2018b; Roulstone and Mason-Bish, 2013; Roulstone *et al*., 2011; Thomas, 2011). As Beebeejaun (2017) notes, fear of violence is a common experience of women and minority groups in the city, and has the potential to challenge and disrupt the daily practices and sense of belonging of diverse groups. As an affectual response shaped by gendered (or disablist) socialisation, spatial habits, memories, human and non-human relations, fear of violent crime (FOVC) demands that we explore the co-construction of body and place, and the ways in which feelings – about fear, comfort, safety or unsafety - are implicated in everyday material practices of placemaking.

In this chapter, I follow Friedmann's (2010) call for a focus on the 'small and ordinary' places of disabled people's lives, by exploring how un/safety mediates, shapes, and is shaped by, their everyday processes of placemaking. In particular, I focus on the narratives of three participants with mobility and visual impairments – Martin, Aoife and Carol - to examine how people with disabilities give meaning to places in the context of un/safety. Drawing on their testimonies, I explore the ways in which people with disabilities negotiate feelings of fear and safety in their everyday geographies, and in challenging dominant discourses which associate disability with vulnerability, highlight the proactive strategies they employ to 'take possession' (Koskela, 1997, p.308) of space in the context of unsafety and fear of hostility. In so doing, I suggest that notions of places as safe or unsafe - and disabled people's feelings of fear or safety - cannot be fixed as neat binaries; rather, we must attend to the spatio-temporalities of un/safety in different contexts, and recognise the complex interactions of identity and environment which produce affective encounters with place.

Placemaking and un/safety: geographies of FOVC

Since the 1990s, a significant body of work has sought to explore the geographies of fear of violent crime (FOVC). Geographical work emerging out of a behavioural geography tradition was concerned with mapping the geography of crime rates 'on to' space or understanding FOVC as an individual

behavioural issue enacted in space. Feminist geographers, who have focused on women's experiences of violence and fear of violence in public space, have utilised space as a social category and construct to highlight the complexity of the experience and fear of violence as an interaction between power relations, space and social identities (Koskela, 1997; Pain, 1997, 2000, 2014; Valentine, 1989). This research has been significant in exploring not only how women find themselves excluded or restricted from particular spaces as a consequence of fear (for example, the fear to go out at night time), but how fear itself reflects a set of gendered and other power relations and attitudes about certain bodies being seen as 'out of place'. It has also drawn attention to the ways in which certain places become socially constructed or symbolically represented as 'safe' or 'dangerous', and the implications of this for the everyday mobilities and geographies of women and other groups.

The work of Koskela (1997) and more recently, Brands *et al* (2015) has drawn attention to FOVC as an affectual, embodied encounter with place (see also Brands and Schwanen, 2014). As Koskela (1997, p.304) notes, 'feelings are not a mathematical function of actual risk but rather highly complex products of each individual's experiences, memories and relations to space'. Thus, while objective measures of safety, such as crime rates, may build into feelings and perceptions of un/safety and constructions of particular places as risky, there is no neat correlation between actual incidences of violence and subjective feelings of safety or fearfulness. Indeed, Koskela (1997, p.304) points to the 'spatial mismatch' which characterises the gendered dynamics of FOVC: whilst women express most fearfulness about public space, it is in the private space of the home that most violence takes place (see, for example, Pain, 2014). For Brands *et al* (2015), affectual encounters with fear and safety are best understood as produced through complex assemblages of human and non-human interactions, which are spatio-temporally specific, and are in a constant process of becoming. Dynamics of socialisation, memories, and spatial habits all have a role to play within these configurations, and help to explain the complex ways in which people layer and construct meaning about fearfulness and safety in their everyday lives.

The observations of feminist geographers – and relational understandings of FOVC - have particular pertinence in the context of understanding disabled people's experiences of fear and safety. Pain's (1997, 2000) geographical study of fear of sexual violence amongst women included a sample of disabled women, who described feeling more vulnerable to attack, and often employed specific spatial strategies in order to avoid particular areas and people. These experiences have to be understood in the context of disabling attitudes and inequalities which serve to exclude disabled people from particular spaces and places, including socialisation from 'concerned others' about the need to protect disabled people from potential risks (Edwards and Imrie, 2003). Historically, disabled people have been perceived as vulnerable and dependent on others, having lived their lives in segregated, semi-private spaces. Shifts in disability policy in Western societies which have led to deinstitutionalisation are changing the spatial practices of people with disabilities, but whilst community inclusion and belonging may be stated policy goals, questions remain about what this means to disabled people in the context of their material and affectual connections with place. Power and Bartlett's (2018a) work on people with learning disabilities in the UK, for example, has shown how the closure of formal day care settings has led people with learning disabilities to create and seek out 'safe havens' or everyday spaces in the 'post-service landscape': this however has taken place against a backdrop of resource scarcity, in which many people with disabilities live in areas of relative disadvantage where harassment, and anxiety about encounters with others, are an on-going part of their everyday lives (see also Power and Bartlett, 2018b; McClimens *et al*., 2014; Hall, 2018; Hall and Bates, 2019).

It is important to note that studies exploring disabled people's place-based belonging – many of which focus specifically on people with intellectual disabilities - do not point to the inevitability of fear, harassment or victimisation in disabled people's lives, but rather understand it as a facet of a broader range of place-based encounters and practices, which also include safety, comfort and welcome. Hall and Bates' (2019) recent work on relational geographies of disability hate crime, for example, points to the need to looks beyond the individualised understandings of the disabled person as victim, and to explore the micro-spaces and places in which hate 'events' take place, through spatially and temporally specific encounters in the city which connect with broader socio-political relations and contexts. Based on such a reading, they argue, we cannot presume *a priori* who is vulnerable and where (Hall and Bates, 2019), but rather need to explore the intricate social relations which make up the everyday places of disabled people's lives – the home, streets, local shops and other amenities, public transport – in order to make sense of fear and safety.

Situating disabled people's socio-spatial negotiation of fear and safety in place

In the rest of the chapter, I draw on empirical material to explore how FOVC mediates disabled people's everyday geographies, and how they read and negotiate safety and fear in their daily lives. The material is drawn from a two year qualitative study conducted in Ireland, which sought to explore how the experience and fear of hostility and harassment shaped disabled people's everyday geographies and mobilities. The study engaged some 54 disabled people with different impairments across three case study sites in Ireland (one inner city urban, one rural and one small town). Aiming to investigate localised, embodied and affective understandings of place, both in-situ and 'go-along' interviews (Carpiano, 2009) were conducted with participants in their local neighbourhoods; the interviews sought to investigate how people with disabilities understood and defined safety and unsafety, their experiences of hostility, fear, safety in different places, and what the notion of 'safer space' might mean to them in both conceptual and practical terms. As part of the study, interviews were also conducted with national and local disability organisations, policymakers, and practitioners, including the Gardaí (Irish police force), although these are not reported here. In this paper, I draw on the narratives of three of the participants in the study – Martin, Aoife and Carol – as a way of exploring disabled people's everyday encounters with fear and safety.

Martin, who is in his late forties and has a visual impairment, lives alone in rented accommodation in an inner city area of a large urban centre, which by the objective metrics of crime statistics, is considered an area of relatively high crime and social disadvantage. Martin does not work, but is studying part time. Separated from his partner, he regularly travels across the city to look after his two children, using public transport. Martin uses a white cane to navigate around the city.

Aoife, who has a mobility and visual impairment and uses a wheelchair, is a 23 year old student who lives at home with her family in the suburbs of a large city. She regularly travels by taxi to the university to study and enjoys socialising with her friends at restaurants and bars in the city centre. She generally travels accompanied by a friend, family member or personal assistant when out in public spaces. Aoife is active in disability advocacy in her local area and a member of a number of disability organisations.

Carol, who is in her mid-fifties and has a visual impairment, lives alone in a suburban housing estate of a small satellite town near a bigger urban centre. She describes how she and her former husband bought the house some years ago because of its quiet location but also proximity to amenities. Having

formerly taught disability awareness at her local university, today Carol does not work, but looks after her grandchildren after school each day. Carol uses a guide dog to navigate around her neighbourhood. She has a personal assistant once a week who comes to help her with shopping, but she also regularly goes out for walks by herself.

My aim in drawing on these narratives is to reflect on fear and safety as it is produced in and through corporeal and affective engagements with place - engagements which have the potential to both (re)shape disabled people's subjectivities, and (re)shape places themselves. In so doing, I seek to explore the difference that physical and sensory diversity makes to disabled people's everyday encounters and understandings of safety-in-place, something that has received relatively little attention in geographies of FOVC, or in wider debates about placemaking. Feelings of fear and safety relate directly to concerns about social equity and diversity in encounters with place, and yet as a range of commentators have highlighted, these issues are frequently effaced in official placemaking discourses and practices (Fincher *et al*., 2016; Nejad *et al.,* 2019). Whilst recognising the broader socio-political relations and discourses which (re)produce ideas of disability as dependency, I also draw on the narratives to challenge the idea that disabled people are inherently vulnerable, and therefore should feel fearful in the places they live their lives.

Feeling fear, feeling safety

In her study of women's fear of violence and spatial confidence in Helsinki, Koskela (1997, p.304) suggests that women's feelings of fear can best be understood as a form of 'sensible incongruence'; that is, while feelings do not always correlate with actual risks, and can appear irrational, women often have a clear sense of 'when and where to be careful or confident'. For the participants, there was not a clear fixity to feelings of fear or safety, which were time and place specific, and could emerge as momentary and fleeting based on the fluid dynamics of being in place (Brands and Schwanen, 2014). Acknowledgement of fears could often co-exist with independent, and apparently confident, uses of space; meanwhile, participants described feeling safe in different places despite constant reminders from professionals and indeed strangers that disabled people *should* be fearful, particularly in public spaces. As someone who lived in an area of relatively high crime and had experienced several acts of hostility, including an assault near his home, Martin did not describe himself as inherently fearful (although, as I will show later, neither did he always feel safe). However, he noted how the rationality or 'congruence' of some of his place-based behaviours had been questioned by the Gardaí when he reported the assault. As he stated of the Garda response: '"You shouldn't be out by yourselves" – that's what I was told…especially after dark, you should not be out of yourself"'. Martin recounted how the Guards had suggested that he move from the place he was living, having been told '"No of all the streets to be living on, Mount Street is not the one to be living on, it's the one to avoid". Anyway, I don't buy it, I said 'It's not that easy for us, I can't just move, housing is much more difficult when you have a disability'". Such attitudes reflect the paternalistic identities often ascribed to people with disabilities as users of public space, and the ways in which disabled people have to manage these identities in negotiating their everyday geographies (Edwards and Imrie, 2003, McClimens *et al.* 2014).

Living in a housing estate of a small satellite town, Carol's concerns about safety focused on situations in the home space, particularly when she was alone. Countering associations of safety with the domestic sphere, she said, 'I really think my home is less safe than being out in the main street, you know? Now, it mightn't be, but that's my perception'. Carol described fearing the emptiness of her

suburban housing estate during the day time, and the challenge for her in identifying who might come to her door now she lived alone with her guide dog. She related this fear in part to getting older, but also a previous incident in which a workman had stolen tools from her garage, reflecting the way in which memories come to shape current practices and meaning-making (Koskela, 1997; Brands *et al.,* 2015). Describing the seeming irrationality of her fear, she spoke about the micro-spaces of her home: 'Like this is crazy, but I have a dog run out the back for the dog to relieve himself. Sometimes at night I'm saying, 'Now what's to stop anybody coming in my back door while I'm going to the dog-run and back?' I mean I know it's foolish but that's the way I feel, you know? And I'd be going to lock all the doors at night, the internal doors, which is a thing I used to never do'. Carol's account bears witness to Imrie's (2004, p. 745-6) assertion that 'disabled people's domestic experiences are, potentially, at odds with the (ideal) conceptions of the home as a haven, or a place of privacy, security, independence and control'. Like Martin, Carol had a clear sense of self in place, and ascribed identity as a potential victim or 'easy target'. Such fears were nevertheless described as co-existing with an active life in which Carol recounted going for a three mile walk every day, visiting the local shops with her personal assistant, and having a network of friends around the neighbourhood: 'I have my church which is very important. I'm a very people-oriented person. I'd have a lot of visitors'. As in Koskela's (1997) study, peopled places were central to Carol's feelings of safety, as she said: 'From my point of view, there has to be people around. There has to be activity'.

For all three participants, awareness of self in different places – and of the need to manage the self in relation to others – was part of the complex nexus of factors contributing to feelings of fear or safety. Describing herself as independent and a user many different (public) spaces in the city, Aoife noted the constant paternalistic remarks from others – 'aren't you great to be out' and 'you've a cross to bear' - when she was out and about in the city. Whilst Aoife described laughing off such comments which she said did not make her feel fearful or threatened, she described contexts in which the gendered dynamics of FOVC more vividly emerged as sinister and threatening. Describing how men in a nightclub 'come up to you and go 'You're gorgeous. Can you have sex?' Like literally come out with stuff like that. Or people come up and try and kiss you and you're like 'get away from me, like!', she described how the intimidation of such inappropriate questioning had affected the places she and her friends utilised. As she stated, 'So I would never go into a nightclub on my own or a pub on my own, We'd go in as a group and it's fine, but I would never feel comfortable going into a pub on my own…because some of the questions you get asked are unbelievable'.

Such encounters with strangers are intimately bound up with perceptions that disabled people's embodied difference renders them 'out of place' in particular spatio-temporal contexts (Kitchin, 1998). What is notable in the participants' accounts is how the adaptive supports and objects associated with disability also significantly intertwine with experiences and feelings of fear and safety. For Gibson (2006), these supports cannot be seen as separate to the body, but an extension of it, an intimate form of connectivity that necessarily shapes disabled people's encounters with the world. Martin, for example, described how the white cane – and the sense of feeling your way along – acted like a warning alarm to people, but was also a source of stigma that could make him feel more vulnerable in certain contexts. As he said, 'My daughter tells me that when I'm walking along, people actually jump out of the way. It's as if the stick has some infectious disease like the plague…You're just trying to see it from society's perspective and it's a freak thing'. In contrast, he suggested, 'guide dogs humanise a blind person and they make them more easily approachable.' For Carol, while her guide dog was not necessarily a conduit for encounter or socialisation, it could make her feel safer, as she

said ‘It makes a difference what speed you’re travelling. You can travel faster and if you were in trouble you could get away quicker. Describing how she might react if she sensed fear in a particular situation, or if she felt someone was following her, she said ‘But if I think somebody’s around me…I might talk to the dog and say ‘No, dog, you need to be careful now and make room for others’, you know. You kind of get crafty’. These intimate practices and relations - with animals and other technologies – illustrate the continual shifting of disabled subjectivities which get played out in different places.

If feelings of fear and safety emerged out of the interrelationship between place, the body and ‘objects’ of disability, they were also crucially a function of the material environment - outdoor spaces such as pavements, roads, as well as buildings and public transport systems - which through poor design, have been shown to symbolically and materially reinforce disabled people’s sense of marginalisation (Imrie, 1996). Accessible design and easy navigability could make participants feel safer in different places, by reducing feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. Aoife, for example, described often feeling lost if she was in the city centre by herself, but comfortable in her local out of town shopping centre because of its design: ‘Probably shopping centres would be a place where I would feel particularly safe because it’s all contained. Like there’s only a certain amount of space – you can only get so lost in a shopping centre. And for people with mobility issue and visual impairment…they can be very safe because you can find your way around relatively easily’. In other cases, physical barriers in the environment or on transport systems led to downright experiences of exclusion. Aoife, for example, noted the lack of availability of wheelchair accessible taxis after midnight, which meant she could not stay out late. As she stated: ‘It’s ridiculous. It’s impossible to get a taxi home from a place after 12 o’clock. It’s like, you’re in wheelchairs, you should be in bed’. She also described the inaccessibility of local buses which meant she had to rely on her parents or taxis to travel around, while Martin explained how the lack of audible announcements on trains had led to him feeling disorientated.

Physical environments, then, could heighten feelings of uncertainty and discomfort, and cause anxiety about potential encounters or incidents with others. Martin raised the issue of the difficulty of crossing the road at complex junctions near his home, and being uncertain about moving around the city centre given a significant traffic redevelopment programme that was underway, which led him to feel unsafe. Similarly, Carol talked about avoiding wide open spaces, dark alleys, and also lines of trees in her local town when she was out and about, which made her feel fearful. As she said: ‘I’d prefer if it was a solid wall than a big noisy load of trees. That just freaks me out. And I think too, it’s important to know that blind people do not cope in the wind…Yeah, they actually get lost’. As Bell *et al.* (2019, p.274) note, these ‘elemental haptics’ have an important role to play in shaping how people with sight loss or impairment negotiate the dynamics of space and place in their everyday lives.

In responding to and negotiating affectual encounters with fear and safety, the participants had developed multiple spatial strategies to promote feelings of safety, and (re)claim places as safe(r). Echoing studies which explore processes of community belonging amongst people with learning disabilities (Wiesel and Bigby, 2014; Power and Bartlett, 2018a, 2018b; Hall and Bates, 2019) establishing places and local social networks where people are known and welcomed was crucial. Carol, for example, spoke of the reassurance of routine and repeat encounters by returning to the same local shops to buy groceries. As she said ‘I’m in a very fortunate position that I live in a place where everybody knows my name when I go into a shop…And that’s very important that we’re integrated into the community. And I make a point of asking people their names on the tills and telling

them who I am, you know…I tend to use the same places all the time because of that'. Aoife too, spoke about identifying restaurants and bars in the city that were welcoming to herself and her friends, a number of whom also had disabilities. In this case, comfort and safety lay in the fact that these places were 'physically accommodating and being welcome. Like, for instance, it's the small things that help. Like they put straws in my drinks without me having to ask, or cut up my food, or, you know – I would have a lot of friends in similar boats so they do their best to accommodate'. Again, the significance of being known, and of staff who had an awareness of disability, were key to the comfort felt in these spaces.

In other instances, the participants had taken more resistive stances to feelings of fearfulness in place. Following incidences of hostility in public spaces, Martin described how he now wore a 'GoPro', a bodycam, when out and about, which worked as a pre-emptive strategy to change the way strangers responded to him. As he said 'It's not actually on, it's a deterrent more than anything'. Both he and Carol had also challenged their local authorities about inaccessible places in their localities, and the Guards about significant challenges in the way they responded to people with visual impairments. While Carol stated that there was a local guard who she knew and could contact if she was under threat, for example, she said 'the guards, they're not really equipped to deal with disability either….it's really bad that the guards don't have a form of ID that we can work with and haven't worked one out'. Describing the difficulties she would face in being able to identify a guard if they came to her door, such issues point to the broader response and engagement of agencies concerned with community safety, who often fail to take into account diverse sensory encounters with safety in the micro-spaces of people's everyday lives.

Conclusion

If the notion of fear – and indeed safety - is best understood as an event, a coalescing of a number of different elements of an assemblage, then the accounts of Martin, Carol and Aoife reflect this complex interplay of body, identity and environment that give rise to embodied, affectual understandings of FOVC. What is clear from their narratives is that these feelings are not fixed, but ebb and flow, and are spatially and temporally specific. Koskela's (1997, p.315) assertion that 'The streets of fear and boldness are `elastic': different by length according to the time of the day, to whom is passing by and to how you feel at that moment' has pertinence here. The participants were only too aware of how the character of places changed at different times of day, and of the places and times where they might be seen as particularly 'out of place'; self-regulation was a key part of their engagement with fear and safety in place (McClimens *et al.,* 2014).

It would be easy to read off a narrative of fear, exclusion, and discriminatory attitudes from the participants' accounts, and indeed, the dominance of socio-political relations which construct disability in terms of dependency and vulnerability cannot be ignored. People with disabilities face constant reminders of these constructed subjectivities at every turn in their daily geographies and mobilities (Hall and Bates, 2019). Yet as I have shown, Carol, Aoife and Martin frequently contest notions of disabled identities grounded in dependency, are continually utilising and (re)making space in the 'small and ordinary' (Friedmann, 2010, p.162) places of their lives, and are engaging in proactive and sometimes resistive strategies to generative affectual connectivity with place grounded in feelings of comfort and safety. To this end, we cannot presume disabled people are passive victims, or that they will always feel unsafe in certain places. Indeed, a relational approach enables us to understand

how a 'shifting constellation of coordinates' (Stephens *et al.,* 2015, p.201) can make certain places feel more unsafe - for example the home space for Carol, or the nightclub for Aoife – but which are in a constant process of becoming that denies fixity.

This analysis is significant because, much like the gendered constructions which have divided public and private spheres in terms of FOVC by underplaying the association between familiarity and harm in women's experience and fear of violence (Pain, 2014), it calls for an examination of often hidden places of disabled people's lives. Disrupting assumptions of the home space as a place of safety or refuge, for example, Thomas' (2011) analysis has shown that it is often people known to people with disabilities, including relatives and carers, who are perpetrators of hate incidents (what she terms 'mate crime'), rather than strangers in public spaces.

For those agencies concerned with placemaking which foregrounds safety, moreover, it also means acknowledging the complex affectual interrelationships which emerge in place. The issue of lack of access to the built environment is not just a technical point of exclusion, for example; it can lead to feelings of disorientation, uncertainty and fearfulness, particularly where other elements of an assemblage align, such as a failure of public transport to arrive on time, an absence of people, or conversely, threatening interactions with strangers. As campaigns to promote women's safety in cities have highlighted (see, for example, Gulati, 2015), official practices of placemaking constituted through planning processes or urban renewal initiatives, for example, need to take account of safety as a priority concern, and not as something that emerges as an afterthought. This means taking seriously diverse affectual understandings of place, by recognising that safety in place is often about *feeling* safe, but also recognising safety as an issue of socio-spatial justice; in other words, all groups should have a right to access, and feel safe in, a range of different places, including the public realm (Beebeejaun, 2017; Fincher *et al.,* 2016). As I have sought to suggest in this chapter, foregrounding safety in placemaking means paying attention to the range of human and non-human relations, such as disabling attitudes, physical environments, social networks, that make up localised feelings of fear and safety in the places of disabled people's lives. This, in turn, means accessing, and listening to, diverse sensory voices and narratives – or to return to Friedmann's (2010, p. 162) term, the 'small and ordinary' - which are frequently absent in top down discourses of placemaking.

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