



Manchester Metropolitan University

Makita, Meiko and Woolrych, Ryan and Sixsmith, Judith and Murray, Michael and Menezes, Deborah and Fisher, Jenny and Lawthom, Rebecca (2020) Place (in)securities: older adults' perceptions across urban environments in the United Kingdom ((In)seguridades de lugar. Percepciones de las personas mayores en distintos entornos urbanos del Reino Unido). *PsyEcology*. pp. 1-18. ISSN 2171-1976

Downloaded from: <http://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/625416/>

Version: Accepted Version

Publisher: Taylor & Francis

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21711976.2020.1728653>

Please cite the published version

<https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk>

1 **Place (in)securities: Older adults' perceptions across urban environments in the United**
2 **Kingdom**

3
4 **Abstract:** This paper explores empirical accounts of perceived insecurities and
5 accompanying issues that make urban place problematic and can impact older adults'
6 wellbeing and overall quality of life. Findings reported derive from the project "Place-
7 Making with Older People: Towards Age-Friendly Communities" which investigates both
8 barriers and facilitators to developing age-friendly cities. Drawing on interviews with older
9 adults in three cities in the United Kingdom (UK), the analysis demonstrates that physical
10 and social vulnerabilities along with the characteristics of the built and social environment,
11 play a role in influencing older adults' behaviours, routines and habits in the community. The
12 results are discussed with a view of influencing practice and policy priorities relating to age-
13 friendly cities.

14 **Keywords:** public space; coping strategies; age-friendly cities.

15

16 **Introduction**

17 A growing body of research on public spaces in urban environments has identified the central
18 role of place in people's experiences of health and wellbeing (Bornioli, Parkhurst & Morgan,
19 2018; Cattell, Dines, Gesler & Curtis, 2008; Finlay, Franke, McKay & Sims-Gould, 2015)
20 and community life including aspects of place identity, belonging and attachment (Buffel et
21 al., 2014; Phillipson, 2007; Scharf, Phillipson & Smith, 2003). For older adults, particularly,
22 a spatial and affective attachment to their home and community, to *being-in-place*, is crucial
23 to their wellbeing (Rowles, 2017 cited in Finlay, Gaugler & Kane, 2018), as these are places
24 where everyday life unfolds (Wiles, Leibing, Guberman, Reeve & Allen, 2012). Furthermore,
25 the physical and social characteristics of the neighbourhood, appear as relevant contexts that

26 may affect activities, routines and behaviour (Day, 2008; Michael, Green & Farquhar, 2006).
27 For instance, empirical studies have found that positive perceptions of neighbourhood safety
28 encourage social interaction and mutual aid (Baum & Palmer, 2002), whereas people who
29 perceived the environment unsafe tend to alter their outdoor activities and routines (McGinn,
30 Evenson, Herring, Huston & Rodriguez, 2008), leading to a negative sense of community
31 (Lund, 2002). Thus, these aspects should be highlighted within an ageing society and age-
32 friendly policy agenda.

33

34 Criminology, sociology and psychology theorists have attempted to explain the complex
35 interplay between the subjective fear of crime or perceived insecurity and the objective risk
36 of victimisation (*e.g.* Farrall, Jackson & Gray, 2009; Hardyns & Pauwels, 2010; Sampson,
37 2012). According to the fear of crime literature, “perceptions can be a powerful and
38 independent factor that may affect people through different pathways than *actual*
39 *experiences*” (Wood et al., 2008, p. 16 emphasis added). Thus, whilst fear of crime can
40 impact perceptions of safety, feelings of insecurity are driven by factors embedded in the
41 built and social environment. These include fears or anxieties concerning noise, litter, traffic,
42 vandalism, street harassment, poor housing, overcrowding, or potentially threatening social
43 groups (Amin, 2006; Sandercock, 2000).

44

45 Numerous studies have concluded that older adults are more likely to experience feelings of
46 insecurity and are an at-risk group (*e.g.* Pain, 1997; Warr, 1984). One of the factors
47 explaining this phenomenon is the notion of self-perception of physical and social
48 vulnerability attached to particular social groups. For older adults, these perceptions stem
49 from a limited capacity to cope with ‘dangerous’ situations, a decreasing family and social
50 support network and representations of unsafe places in local media outlets (Valera-Pertegas

51 & Guàrdia-Olmos, 2017; Varela, 2008). In this sense, perceived insecurity and accompanying
52 issues make some *places* problematic for older people, at particular times of the day. In this
53 article we provide an account of older adults' experiences of urban place (in)securities, their
54 ways of dealing with these, and outline implications for the delivery of age-friendly cities.

55

56 **Method**

57 This article derives from a three-year ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) funded
58 project examining enablers and barriers to creating age-friendly communities that promote
59 healthy and active ageing. The research was subject to Heriot-Watt University's ethical
60 review process and research governance. The qualitative approach to data collection and
61 analysis was set to gain in-depth understandings about the diversity of older adults' lived-
62 experiences in the urban environment and how these experiences are underpinned by
63 physical, social and psychological factors. We employed an interpretivist paradigm
64 (Creswell, 2014); a holistic exploration of both individual and social phenomena to uncover
65 reality through older adults' views, needs and experiences of urban place insecurities.

66

67 We selected nine neighbourhoods across three cities in the United Kingdom (UK)
68 (Edinburgh, Glasgow and Manchester), representing a broad range of urban areas in each
69 city, in terms of urban development, demographic characteristics and levels of social and
70 economic deprivation. Our fieldwork was undertaken over a ten-month period (2016-2017);
71 comprising 102 semi-structured interviews (between 25-150 minutes long) with older adults
72 (aged 60 to 92) conducted at participants' homes or public places of their choosing (e.g.
73 coffee shops, community centres). Participants were recruited via contacts in existing
74 community groups and snowballing techniques. The interviews covered issues of sense of
75 place, community barriers and enablers, physical and social environmental experiences, and

76 potential age-friendly improvements. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed
77 verbatim in preparation for analysis.

78 Interview transcripts were organised, read and discussed using a thematic analysis approach;
79 we worked towards identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within our data set aiming to
80 understand the participants' perceptions and experiences of navigating urban space. Our
81 analytical approach was both inductive (data-driven) and deductive (driven by research
82 questions). Guided by Braun and Clarke's approach (2006), this systematic and iterative
83 analytical process involved: (1) familiarising ourselves with the transcripts (noting initial
84 ideas on the margins); (2) generating initial codes; (3) merging codes (identifying patterns in
85 the data); (4) searching for themes (collating codes into potential themes, gathering all
86 relevant data for each potential theme); (5) reviewing themes (confirming themes work in
87 relation to coded transcripts extracts); (6) defining themes (refining the specifics of each
88 theme, creating clear names and descriptions); and (7) producing a report (interpreting the
89 whole data set, relating back to the research questions and literature).

90

91 Our analysis generated three main themes on older adults' experiences of neighbourhood and
92 place: 'place familiarity and perceptions of security', 'paradoxical vulnerability and public
93 space', and 'place appropriation and managing place insecurities'. Below we focus on place
94 insecurities and the ways older people deal with and manage insecurities in the context of
95 urban space.

96

97 **Place familiarity and perceptions of security**

98 Across all nine neighbourhoods, participants reflected on place and neighbourhood in terms
99 of a sense of familiarity, embodied through everyday civilities and habitual routines
100 exchanged within the community. Previous research has identified the importance of

101 neighbourhood as places of meaningful ‘encounters’, where engaging with and coming into
102 face-to-face contact with others can facilitate a sense of connection within community;
103 thereby conferring a local insider status (Hay, 1998 cited in Finlay et al., 2018, p. 3). More
104 importantly, place familiarity not only reinforced participants’ physical, social and
105 autobiographical attachment or *insideness* (Rowles, 1983) to their neighbourhood but their
106 sense of security and safety. Knowing that neighbours were looking out for each other was an
107 important factor affecting perceptions of place and older adult’s activities, as illustrated in the
108 following quotes:

109

110 I’d rather walk round here at two-three in the morning than go up the town and walk.
111 Everybody knows everybody else, even the older ones. They’ve got their families
112 here, and they know who they are. I think we feel safer because we know who we
113 know. [...]. We feel safe in our own community (67-year-old female, Craigmillar,
114 Edinburgh)

115

116 This is a tight-knit community, everybody knows everybody. Everybody knows
117 everybody’s business, you can’t do nothing. But it’s good to know that you can walk
118 out your door, you’re going to be safe (60-year-old female, Easterhouse, Glasgow)

119

120 This notion of neighbours looking out for each other was not defined as emotional
121 ‘closeness’ or interpersonal intimacy but as a source of dependence in times of adversity (*e.g.*
122 being taken ill, needing help moving heavy items), which provided residents with a sense of
123 security and safety when ageing in the community. In this sense, the social connections that
124 older adults developed within the immediate community imbued place with protective
125 qualities. In the following quote, this form of place protection was visible when older adults
126 would intervene to ensure the wellbeing of other residents:

127

128 I’ve got another friend who lives about 100-yards away in a tenement. He was taken

129 ill in Princes Street some months ago [...] anyway bottom line is we swapped keys
130 and things. He has a routine; most people do get into a routine. If I don't see him for a
131 day or two I'll go and rap on the door (72-year-old male, Morningside, Edinburgh)

132

133 As indicated earlier, positive perceptions of safety and security are conducive to developing a
134 stronger sense of community, which is evident in participants' accounts of 'being looked
135 after' or 'being known' in their neighbourhoods. Older adults living in more deprived
136 communities were more likely to report a stronger sense of place familiarity and feelings of
137 safety, and were much less apprehensive in using the neighbourhood, particularly in the
138 evening (*i.e.* Baguley, Craigmillar, Easterhouse). Conversely, it was in the least deprived
139 communities where place insecurities were more acutely felt. In neighbourhoods
140 experiencing social segregation (*e.g.* Govanhill) there was a weaker place familiarity and
141 higher perception of insecurity; and for many it was the eroding of social support in old age
142 that led to feelings of unsafety and vulnerability.

143

144 **Paradoxical vulnerability and public space**

145 According to the 'fear of victimisation paradox' older people tend to report greater levels of
146 perceived insecurity/unsafety whilst experiencing lower victimisation rates, when compared
147 to other social groups (Hough & Mayhew, 1983 cited in De Donder, Buffel, Dury, De Witte,
148 & Verté, 2013, p. 918). Participants' accounts regarding perceptions of crime echoed such
149 paradox as only very few participants had actual experience of crime. Older adults' feelings
150 of insecurity often stemmed from concerns about place maintenance and physical and social
151 features of the environment; concerns they constantly negotiated in terms of their changing
152 physical bodies and social support to access and use urban space. Place insecurities were
153 centred around 'vulnerability'; a reflection of the participants' perception of their capacity to
154 avoid crime or defend themselves in dangerous/risky situations (Allik & Kearns, 2016).

155 Additionally, older adults often wanted to exert control and their right to use public space,
156 especially if physical barriers (*e.g.* potholes, fruit stands, business boards) and social barriers
157 (*e.g.* disorder, insensitivity and lack of respect) made it a hostile environment, yet often felt
158 unable to do so. Many older adults felt unsafe and wary when moving around the community
159 which impacted their confidence to manage situations:

160

161 When you're older you're more vulnerable. I'm finding I'm losing that bravery, if you
162 like. You feel more vulnerable as you're getting older and I can feel it now more. It's
163 a terrible world, isn't it! [...] now I'm less likely to say something. I don't know
164 whether it's because it's getting worse now or whether it's just because I'm getting
165 older (67-year-old female, Rusholme, Manchester)

166

167 In this sense, feelings of vulnerability in the community were built on and perhaps
168 contributed to a culture of fear. Notions of embodied capabilities combined with
169 environmental attributes also contributed to assessments of community and social insecurity,
170 as expressed below, where the emotional impact of negotiating physical space were also
171 evident.

172

173 I don't have the same confidence as I did when I was 70, you know? I just try to keep
174 aggravation away, but for some reason [...] I seem to draw them to me. [...] When I
175 was 70 I didn't mind that because I knew I could handle it, but now I couldn't handle
176 it, you know? I can't go out now (86-year-old male, Morningside, Edinburgh)

177

178 If you're going to visit friends, to the shops, to clubs, you've got all these things to
179 negotiate. Like dangerous roads, snow and ice, whatever, the distance involved and so
180 on [...] it's just that, oh god, you know, do I need all that grief? (78-year-old female,
181 Partick, Glasgow)

182

183 Pavements and kerbs were particularly problematic for those with mobility and visual
184 impairments, and some mentioned that street spaces failed to reflect the needs of older adults
185 in terms of supporting accessibility and inclusivity. Uncertainty about what spaces were safe
186 to walk on and changing environmental conditions were considerations for participants when
187 thinking about safety and age-friendly communities:

188

189 I fell over and that was because of an uneven pavement and so I've become very wary
190 about where I walk. [...] But also taking them up so regularly and laying them down
191 and so even though you might think one month "Oh, this bit's a bit uneven", the next
192 month it'll be that bit (66-year-old female, Leith, Edinburgh)

193

194 For many, 'fear of falling' created a barrier to leaving the home. This embodied and
195 environmentally situated vulnerability and consequent lack of confidence had social
196 implications as older adults chose to 'stay in' and withdraw rather than engage in the
197 neighbourhood; many felt socially excluded. Fear of falling was also evident when using
198 public transport. Many participants felt that that there was a lack of sensitivity amongst
199 transport providers and users which often discouraged use:

200

201 It's terrible on the buses. I have to say to them [*drivers*] 'will you let me sit down
202 please before you move'. I don't use the buses now, although I've got my bus pass.
203 I'm frightened now of falling again, you know, especially the buses when they jerk
204 and there's people behind you and they push you (92-year-old female, Baguley,
205 Manchester)

206 These accounts support Goldsmith's (2011) notion of 'architectural disability', where the
207 design of public space confronted older adults with barriers and hazards, making the
208 environment uncomfortable and unsafe to use, which exacerbates self-perceived

209 vulnerabilities and excludes older adults from participating in the community. Responding to
210 these place insecurities, some participants developed specific strategies to negotiate public
211 space.

212

213

214 **Place appropriation and managing place insecurities**

215 Older adults' accounts of perceived insecurities around public space evidence the influence
216 of embodied and situated environmental factors on behaviours with many adopting place
217 'avoidance strategies' (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981) to manage safety-related issues. For
218 instance, the presence of obstacles in the street often forced many participants - especially
219 women – to come out at certain times of the day or take alternative routes to reach their
220 destination. Some even avoided using local shops and cash-machines for fear of being
221 mugged, whilst others would consciously map 'safer' routes by walking on well-lit streets or
222 avoiding certain zones of the neighbourhood that were deemed 'no-go' areas. For others,
223 strategies included adopting modes of travel that meant they spent less time traversing public
224 space, such as taxis or relying upon friends and family as a mode of transport. The following
225 quotes illustrate some of those strategies:

226 Tomorrow night I've got a cook session meeting, but I get a lift up and a lift back
227 because the meeting is at night at 7:30 and I don't like hanging about bus stops at
228 night. So, one of my friends in the church comes and collects me for that and brings
229 me back home (78-year-old female, Partick, Glasgow)

230 It shook me a little bit [incidence of crime] but then I thought I'll go in future along
231 the main street where it's lit-up. That's why I take the car often at night and park it.
232 I'm now fairly sensible with where I walk and when I walk in the dark (67-year-old
233 female, Didsbury, Manchester)

234

235 Others opted for walking on busy streets because to them an increased street-life reduced
236 perceived insecurity and supported their engaging in public spaces:

237

238 I think that because you feel comfortable in where you live you also feel safe in where
239 you live. We all work on the principle the more people who are out walking the safer
240 it is, the better it is. And we're of an age where we aren't doing Kung Fu anymore
241 (78-year-old female, Rusholme, Manchester)

242

243 Negative media portrayal and stigma attached to certain places also had an impact on the way
244 participants navigated, appropriated or felt marginalised in public space. Although some
245 older adults internalised social representations of their neighbourhood as an unsafe and
246 dangerous place, others were keen to challenge this in a clear attempt to change people's
247 perceptions of insecurity whilst others preferred not to dwell on negative stigma:

248 Craigmillar has a terrible reputation but I've never once felt threatened, news have
249 been negative towards us. People don't like it. It's an assumption people make. (60-
250 year-old female, Craigmillar, Edinburgh)

251

252 It doesn't worry me. There are people who do, and people read their newspapers and
253 read horrible things and think that could happen here. I can't be bothered with that. I
254 really can't (80-year-old female, Partick, Glasgow)

255

256 Some older adults deliberately used the so-called 'invisibility' of old age to their advantage
257 when navigating public spaces - invisibility makes them feel safe. As one 65-year-old woman
258 in Govanhill mentioned: "young guys standing in the corner don't see me, it's like I'm in
259 another plane". Others often adopted specific strategies to remain 'visible', which some felt

260 had the potential to objectify and stigmatise older adults by highlighting weakness and
261 vulnerability, as illustrated below:

262 A lady in the community now has had to buy herself a high vis vest to cross the road
263 because she's terrified that the traffic won't see her. It's stigmatising, isn't it? She's
264 not said anything about that, but that's my perception of it. And buses tend to not stop
265 for her either if they don't see her. So that's why she does it as well (65-year-old
266 female, Rusholme, Manchester)

267 **Concluding discussion**

268 Drawing on theoretical understandings relating to perceptions of insecurity/safety and the
269 impact of the built and social environment on people's sense of place, in this article we
270 analysed older adults' experiences of vulnerability and marginalisation in public space across
271 nine neighbourhoods in the UK. A qualitative methodology was employed to explore the
272 varied nuances of older adults' lived-experiences of urban place insecurities, and thus it is
273 crucial to consider the study's context when interpreting the findings as these primarily
274 reflect the research participants' views and perceptions.

275

276 In line with the literature (Baum & Palmer, 2002; Day, 2008; Lund, 2002; McGinn et al.,
277 2008; Michael, Green, & Farquhar, 2006), our findings emphasise the central role of the
278 physical and social features of the urban environment in shaping perceptions of safety and
279 security in the lives of older adults. Participants' responses to feeling insecure often
280 compromised the ability to navigate outdoor spaces and access community settings;
281 disrupting their social interactions, behaviours, routines and habits in the community.

282

283 The findings revealed the need to shift towards a broader understanding of perceptions of
284 safety and security, beyond notions of 'fear of crime' to including factors such as
285 accessibility and usability of public space, and involvement with other residents. A strong

286 sense of place familiarity and autobiographical attachment, or what Rowles (1983) termed
287 ‘insiderness’, provided older adults with positive perceptions of safety/security. Participants
288 living in more deprived communities were more likely to report stronger sense of place
289 familiarity and much less apprehension in using the neighbourhood, which encouraged
290 feelings of inclusion and protection. This finding contradicts previous research that suggest
291 that levels of support, trust and feelings of safety tend to be lower in disadvantaged areas
292 (Allik & Kearns, 2016). In neighbourhoods where social segregation was prominent and
293 perceived place familiarity was lower, participants often expressed fear of using outdoor
294 spaces.

295

296 Our findings also identified the ways in which older adults developed strategies in response
297 to feelings of place insecurity. Whilst some withdrew from community in response to feeling
298 insecure, others adopted specific strategies in relation to place use. This suggests that far
299 from being passive actors in response to insecurity, older adults consciously adopt place
300 response mechanisms and re-negotiate spaces in different ways (*see* De Donder et al., 2013;
301 Sandercock, 2000; Wood et al., 2008). In determining solutions and interventions, it is
302 important that the knowledge and experience of older adults are effectively utilised to design
303 and deliver age-friendly cities which are safer and more secure; a key aspect that has also
304 been highlighted in Buffel’s (2018) work as a means of co-researching with older adults. This
305 will allow older people a greater sense of community and opportunities to come together to
306 identify strategies to support engagement in urban spaces.

307

308 Lastly, notions of place were deeply embedded in the experiences of older adults. Whilst
309 sense of place and aspects of place attachment, identity and belonging have been afforded
310 attention in the literature, there has been a lack of empirical work exploring these concepts in

311 relation to the design and delivery of age-friendly cities and communities. Although
312 prevention and policing services are important, we need to find ways to support people to feel
313 more confident and secure in their communities through approaches to place management
314 that reflect individual and collective responses to the use of urban space. This requires a
315 closer articulation of place in the design of interventions that support active ageing in the
316 community.

317

318 **Acknowledgments**

319 We thank the participants for their generous involvement during the course of this project and
 320 acknowledge the financial support of the Economic and Social Research Council
 321 (ES/N013220/1). There are none conflicts of interest.

322

323 **References:**

- 324 Allik, M., & Kearns, A. (2016). “There goes the fear”: feelings of safety at home and in the
 325 neighborhood: The role of personal, social, and service factors. *Journal of Community*
 326 *Psychology*, 45(4), 543–563.
- 327 Amin, A. (2006). The Good City. *Urban Studies*, 43(5–6), 1009–1023.
- 328 Baum, F., & Palmer, C. (2002). “Opportunity structures”: urban landscape, social capital and
 329 health promotion in Australia. *Health Promotion International*, 17(4), 351–361.
- 330 Bornioli, A., Parkhurst, G., & Morgan, P. L. (2018). The psychological wellbeing benefits of
 331 place engagement during walking in urban environments: A qualitative photo-elicitation
 332 study. *Health & Place*, 53(August), 228–236.
- 333 Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research*
 334 *in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101.
- 335 Buffel, T, De Donder, L., Phillipson, C., De Witte, N., Dury, S., & Verté, D. (2014). Place
 336 Attachment Among Older Adults Living in Four Communities in Flanders, Belgium.
 337 *Housing Studies*, 29(6), 800–822.
- 338 Buffel, Tine. (2018). Social research and co-production with older people: Developing age-
 339 friendly communities. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 44, 52–60.
- 340 Cattell, V., Dines, N., Gesler, W., & Curtis, S. (2008). Mingling, observing, and lingering:
 341 Everyday public spaces and their implications for well-being and social relations. *Health*
 342 *and Place*, 14(3), 544–561.
- 343 Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods*
 344 *Approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- 345 Day, R. (2008). Local environments and older people’s health: Dimensions from a
 346 comparative qualitative study in Scotland. *Health and Place*, 14(2), 299–312.
- 347 De Donder, L., Buffel, T., Dury, S., De Witte, N., & Verté, D. (2013). Perceptual quality of
 348 neighbourhood design and feelings of unsafety. *Ageing and Society*, 33(6), 917–937.
- 349 Farrall, S. D., Jackson, J., & Gray, E. (2009). *Social Order and the Fear of Crime in*

- 350 *Contemporary Times*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 351 Finlay, J., Franke, T., McKay, H., & Sims-Gould, J. (2015). Therapeutic landscapes and
 352 wellbeing in later life: Impacts of blue and green spaces for older adults. *Health &*
 353 *Place*, 34, 97–106.
- 354 Finlay, J., Gaugler, J. E., & Kane, R. L. (2018). Ageing in the margins: expectations of and
 355 struggles for ‘a good place to grow old’ among low-income older Minnesotans. *Ageing*
 356 *and Society*, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X1800123X>
- 357 Goldsmith, S. (2011). *Designing for the Disabled: The New Paradigm*. London: Routledge.
- 358 Hardyns, W., & Pauwels, L. (2010). Theoretical perspectives on community social cohesion
 359 and crime. In L. Pauwels, W. Hardyns & M. van De Velde (eds), *Social disorganisation,*
 360 *offending, fear and victimisation: findings from Belgian studies on the urban context of*
 361 *crime*. (pp. 59–76). The Hague: Boom Juridische Uitgevers.
- 362 Lund, H. (2002). Pedestrian Environments and Sense of Community. *Journal of Planning*
 363 *Education and Research*, 21(3), 301–312.
- 364 McGinn, A. P., Evenson, K. R., Herring, A. H., Huston, S. L., & Rodriguez, D. A. (2008).
 365 The Association of Perceived and Objectively Measured Crime With Physical Activity:
 366 A Cross-Sectional Analysis. *Journal of Physical Activity & Health*, 5(1), 117–131.
- 367 Michael, Y. L., Green, M. K., & Farquhar, S. A. (2006). Neighborhood design and active
 368 aging. *Health & Place*, 12(4), 734–740.
- 369 Pain, R. (1997). Social Geographies of Women’s Fear of Crime. *Transactions of the Institute*
 370 *of British Geographers*, 22(2), 231–244.
- 371 Phillipson, C. (2007). The ‘elected’ and the ‘excluded’: sociological perspectives on the
 372 experience of place and community in old age. *Ageing and Society*, 27(3), 321–342.
- 373 Rowles, G. D. (1983). Place and personal identity in old age: Observations from Appalachia.
 374 *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3(4), 299–313.
- 375 Sampson, R. J. (2012). *Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood*
 376 *Effect*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- 377 Sandercock, L. (2000). When Strangers Become Neighbours: Managing Cities of Difference.
 378 *Planning Theory & Practice*, 1(1), 13–30.
- 379 Scharf, T., Phillipson, C., & Smith, A. (2003). Older people’s perceptions of the
 380 neighbourhood: Evidence from socially deprived urban areas. *Sociological Research*
 381 *Online*, 8(4). [https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-](https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-18444379369&partnerID=40&md5=412a6576789e73430831553663759dc2)
 382 [18444379369&partnerID=40&md5=412a6576789e73430831553663759dc2](https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-18444379369&partnerID=40&md5=412a6576789e73430831553663759dc2)
- 383 Skogan, W. G., & Maxfield, M. G. (1981). *Coping with crime: individual and neighborhood*

- 384 *reactions*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- 385 Valera-Perregas, S., & Guàrdia-Olmos, J. (2017). Vulnerability and perceived insecurity in
386 the public spaces of Barcelona. *Psycology*, 8(2), 177–204.
- 387 Varela, C. I. (2008). *La cuestión de la “sensación de inseguridad” en adultos mayores de la*
388 *ciudad de Buenos Aires: posibilidades de apropiación de los espacios públicos desde*
389 *una perspectiva etaria*. (2). <https://doi.org/10.4000/pontourbe.1910>
- 390 Warr, M. (1984). Fear of Victimization: Why Are the Elderly More Afraid? *Social Science*
391 *Quarterly*, (65), 681–702.
- 392 Wiles, J. L., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., & Allen, R. E. S. (2012). The meaning of
393 “aging in place” to older people. *Gerontologist*, 52(3), 357–366.
- 394 Wood, L., Shannon, T., Bulsara, M., Pikora, T., McCormack, G., & Giles-Corti, B. (2008).
395 The anatomy of the safe and social suburb: An exploratory study of the built
396 environment, social capital and residents’ perceptions of safety. *Health and Place*,
397 14(1), 15–31.
- 398