WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDITS
What Works and Where?

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Women's Safety Audits: What Works and Where?

Foreword

In many cities women and girls face violence not only in their homes and in relationships, but also in public spaces due to poor urban design and poor management of public spaces. Whether it is due to threats, intimidation, harassment, sexual attacks or rape, all aggression seriously inhibits women from moving around the city because they feel unsafe. Women and girls are often targets of violence due to their vulnerability, and this vulnerability perpetuates their position in society.

One of the ways in which women can feel safer and fully benefit from the services and resources cities can offer is to actively seek changes in their physical environment by working together with municipal authorities and other community institutions and groups. The Women's Safety Audit is a tool that enables a critical evaluation of the urban environment. The Women's Safety Audit tool was first developed in Canada following the recommendations of the 1989 report on violence against women and has further been developed by UN-HABITAT in the cities of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Dar es Salaam, Abidjan, Nairobi and Warsaw.

Women's Safety Audit is a tool that increases awareness of violence against vulnerable groups and helps users and decision-makers understand how men and women experience the urban environment in different manners. It gives legitimacy to women's concerns and is an effective tool for building community safety. However, in order to replicate this model, careful attention must be given to the cultural and social context in which it will be implemented. The place of women, not only in the city and public areas, but also at the heart of society, needs to be considered.

The Women's Safety Audit tool can lead to modification of the design, planning and management of public spaces in order to contribute to reducing the feelings of insecurity and victimisation. It can be instrumental in making public spaces safer and more accessible for women and girls. Frequent safety audits followed by progressive action to implement the findings should be routine in city crime prevention policies.

Preliminary results from the 2007 Global Assessment on Women's Safety found that the most frequently used international tool is the women's safety audit. Therefore, Women in Cities International, in partnership with UN-HABITAT, undertook this comparative evaluation study of women's safety audits. The aim was to identify what works, in what contexts and what kinds of concrete outcomes might be expected from the use of safety audits. The evaluation looked at considerations of design changes to suit context and the strengthening of women's involvement in local planning and governance.

The results of this evaluation study provide vital information that are relevant to the implementation of safety audits in cities throughout the world and in the eventual development of guidelines for local authorities on implementing women's safety audits.

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ABSTRACT

Preliminary results from a 2007 global survey of 163 local government-community partnerships on women's safety found that the assessment and action tool most often used is the women's safety audit. The women's safety audit tool is used to assess sense of safety by identifying the factors that make women feel safe and unsafe in the public domain. Based on these results, recommendations are made for increasing women's sense of safety and use of public space, by firstly, improving various elements of the built environment and secondly, changing community behaviours and local government policies. The women's safety audit tool also seeks to increases civic participation in local governance. Safety concerns are identified from the perspective of groups that are most vulnerable to experiencing violence, such as women, seniors (including elderly women), children and people with disabilities. Safety audits can be used to evaluate many different environments, including neighbourhoods, parking garages, public transit, and parks.

Women's Safety Audits: What Works and Where? is an international comparative assessment that provides relevant information for the implementation of future safety audits, and aims to fill a current void. Results are also intended to influence the development of a set of guidelines for local authorities to refer to when considering the use of the women's safety audit tool. This report examines best practices, local adaptations, positive and negative outcomes and suggestions for future use of the women's safety audit tool based on a review of the literature as well as surveys and interviews with organizations around the world that have used the tool.

SEARCH TERMS

women's safety audit / women's safety audit tool / safety audit / exploratory walk / safety survey / crime prevention / city planning / personal security / evaluation / assessment women / safety / transit safety / campus safety / urban renewal / urban regeneration / community safety / citizen participation

ACRONYMS USED IN THIS REPORT

ACDP - Association Congolaise des droits de la personne Humaine
BCCSC – British Columbia Coalition for Safer Communities
CAFSU – Comité d'action femmes et sécurité urbaine
CISCSA - Centro de Intercambio y Servicios Cono Sur Argentina
CVRD – Cowichan Valley Regional District
EFUS – European Forum on Urban Safety
FCM – Federation of Canadian Municipalities
ICIWF – Information Centre of the Independent Women's Forum
IWPR – Institute for Women's Policy Research
METRAC – Metropolitan Toronto Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children
MSP – Making Safer Places
PUKAR – Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action and Research
RTPI – Royal Town Planning Institute
Sida – Swedish International Development Corporation
TTC – Toronto Transit Commission
UN-HABITAT – United Nations Human Settlement Programme
UNIFEM – United Nations Development Fund for Women
WACAV – Women's Action Centre Against Violence (Now known as WISE)
WDS – Women's Design Service
WICI – Women in Cities International
WISE – Women's Initiatives for Safer Environments (Formerly WACAV)
Women IANSA – Women's International Network on Small Arms

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1. INTRODUCTION

The original Women's Safety Audit was developed in Canada in 1989 by the Metropolitan Toronto Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC). Building on the policy processes, developed by other organizations using different kinds of audits, METRAC created the Women's Safety Audit as a gender-specific response to growing concern about violence against women and women's feelings of insecurity. Since 1989, METRAC's women's safety audit has been used widely both nationally and internationally. It has been disseminated and adapted by groups of women all over the globe. Today, this tool exists in many different formats and is used in a range of environments. No longer the singular creation of one organization, the women's safety audit is a dynamic participatory concept that exists in a constant state of modification and improvement.

In general, the women's safety audit process, as it is based on the Metropolitan Toronto Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children's tool, requires participants and community or government organizers to research local areas and determine which places are unsafe or feel unsafe for women. Once a place has been identified as insecure, a group of local women - preferably regular users of the space, walk through it with a checklist, observing and identifying factors such as inadequate or absent lighting or signage, or negative graffiti messages, which make them feel unsafe. After walks have been completed, a report is produced and presented to local government officials and other key decision-makers. From this point it is hoped that the changes recommended in the report will be implemented and insecure areas will become more safe places everyone in the community. Beyond encouraging physical environmental changes, the women's safety audit aims to empower women to take ownership of public space and participate in local decision-making. Moreover, by focusing on women's perspectives, it is hoped that the tool can identify how environmental factors cause insecurity for other marginalized populations, who may be overlooked by mainstream planning professionals, many of whom are likely to be male, able-bodied, and middle-class.

The strength of the women's safety audit lies in its participatory process. By supporting and legitimating the use of women's firsthand accounts and knowledge in municipal decision-making, this tool has the unique ability to portray the emotional and physical experiences of residents whose views are often marginalized to key-decision makers. What is more, this portrayal involves often-neglected groups as direct stakeholders and contributors to decision-making practices. Unlike other types of audits, the women's safety audit seeks not only to identify and rectify security concerns, but also to enable a variety of citizens to actively contribute to and improve their communities.

In 2007, Women in Cities International, Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina, the Huairou Commission, and UN-HABITAT Safer Cities Programme identified and contacted groups working to improve women's safety around the world, soliciting their feedback on the work of their respective organizations. Preliminary results from this research in the 2007 Global Assessment on Women's Safety found that the tool most often used internationally is the women's safety audit. Unfortunately, very few audits have ever been subjected to formal evaluation, making it difficult to identify failures and successes for subsequently improving the tool.

Responding to this need, Women in Cities International (WICI), at the request of UN-HABITAT Safer Cities Programme, has undertaken a comparative assessment of women's safety audits. The results of this assessment, Women's Safety Audits: What Works and Where?, provides valuable information for the successful implementation of future safety audits. It also aids in the development of guidelines, or as a technical guide, for local authorities.

This research aims to:

1. To identify what works in what contexts, using the women's safety audit as a tool for preventing urban violence as well as empowering, and increasing women's involvement in governance.

2. To identify what kinds of concrete outcomes result from the use of women's safety audits in terms of changes to the built environment; changes to practices in the area (social environment); changes to policies (policy environment); changes in who uses the space audited and their sense of security; and changes to crime or victimization levels.

2. METHODOLOGY

Several different methods were used to gather information for this international comparative analysis, including a literature review, email, face-to-face and telephone interviews using an open-ended questionnaire survey. These variety of methods were employed in order to reflect the many different experiences that women and organizations have had with the women's safety audit tool. The literature review and survey results comprise separate sections of this report. A final section summarizes the overall results and conclusions.

2.1 Literature Review

A comprehensive literature review formed part of this research project. This review served as the base for developing a sense of perceived good practice. It also allowed Women in Cities International (WICI) to identify research gaps, which were then addressed with information gathered in the survey phase. Additionally, the review helped WICI target groups from which to solicit feedback. Research drew on international literature as much as possible, although there is a concentration of information coming from North America and Western Europe (Figure 1). Part of the reason for this may be that different terms are used to describe the women's safety audit process in different parts of the world. Further, the literature assessed was primarily in English, with a few exceptions in French. Three additional sources that were consulted did not deal with women's safety audits per se (European Forum for Urban Safety [EFUS] [2007]; Gorman [2007]; and Sutton and Cherney [2002]), but with

safety audits in general, with no specific gendered focus. Information from these sources was included in the report where it was relevant to the issue of the safety audit process as it pertains to women.

Journal articles and conference papers, books, community organization / non-profit organization / non-governmental organization reports, safety audit guides and reports, government reports and web sites were all referred to (Figure 2). In total 69 sources, published between 1989 and 2008, were used.

2.2 Survey Interviews

The first phase of this project consisted of a preliminary survey of six organizations about their experiences using the women's safety audit tool. The survey consisted of a series of open-ended questions. These exchanges took place via email (4) and telephone interviews (2). The contact organizations were chosen for the broad perspective that they were able to bring to the study. Being based in different regions of the world (UK, Russia, Tanzania, India and South Africa), the contexts in which the women's safety audits were used varies widely, providing an interesting base for assessing what works and where. Furthermore, these organizations were selected on the basis of their ability to demonstrate concrete changes in the physical, political and/or social environment as a result of their women's safety audits. They were interviewed on their particular experiences of challenges, processes and factors that allowed them to achieve their successes. Results from this preliminary phase were compiled by

FIGURE 1: Literature review sources by region

Canada and the United States (49%)

Western Europe (33%)

Africa (9%)

Australia (3%)

India (5%)

Eastern Europe (1%)
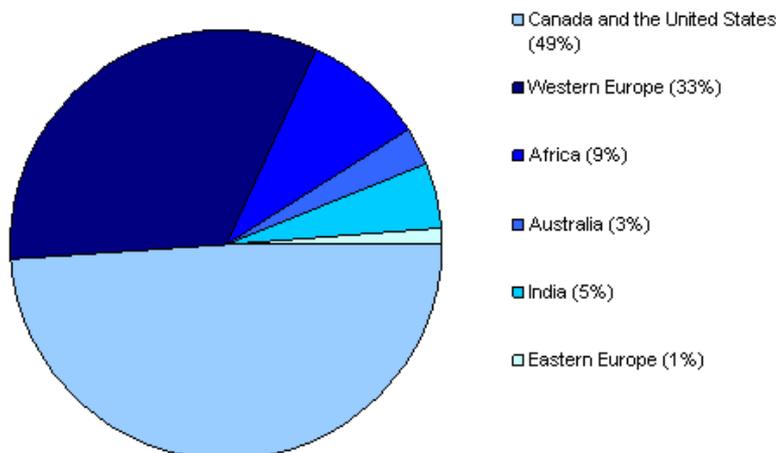
FIGURE 2: Literature review sources by type

- Journal articles and conference papers (41%)
- Books (20%)
- Community, non-profit and non-governmental organization reports (20%)
- Safety audit guides and reports (14%)
- Government reports (4%)
- Web sites (1%)
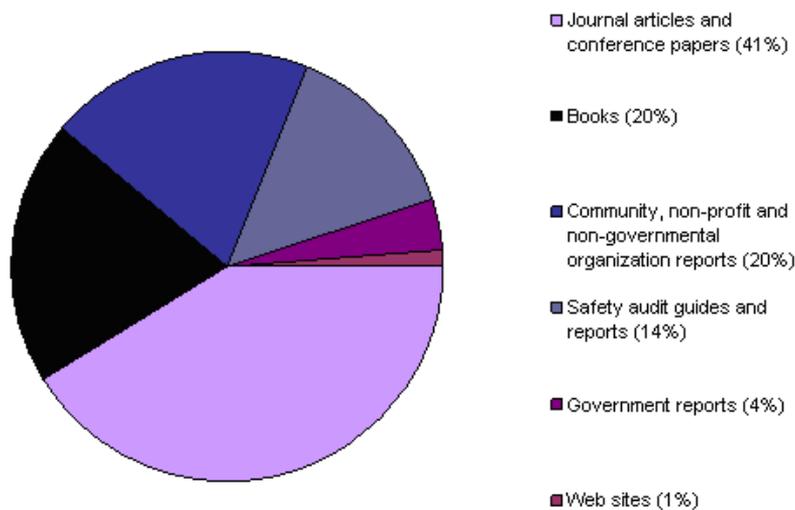
Dr. Carolyn Whitzman (University of Melbourne), Professor Caroline Andrew (University of Ottawa) and Dr. Margaret Shaw (International Centre for the Prevention of Crime), all of whom are board members of Women in Cities International, and will be published in a forthcoming edition of Security Journal.

After the literature review had commenced, the preliminary survey was modified to elicit the most concise and detailed responses possible. The survey was translated and disseminated in French, English, and Spanish, in an attempt to be as inclusive as possible. In the discussion of the surveys below, the responses have been formatted to the framework of the revised survey, allowing for comparative analysis. (See Appendix 1 for the revised survey).

Respondents were initially identified and contacted based on the responses they provided for the 2007 Global Assessment on Women's Safety. Results from the literature review allowed Women in Cities International to identify additional organizations to contact, as did the use of a snowball method which occurred when WICI and Huairou Commission members disseminated information about the project. In all, 43 organizations were contacted. Of these, three replied that they did not undertake women's safety audits, and another organization completed the survey but did not actually mention doing a safety audit, making their responses irrelevant for this research. Therefore, 39 organizations that were contacted were actually qualified to answer the survey.

Of these, a total of 18 organizations volunteered their feedback, including 17 email exchanges and 1 face-to-face interview, for a response rate of 46.1% (See Appendix 2 for a list of respondents). Respondents represented a diverse group from different regions (Figure 3), including members of non-governmental and community organizations, municipalities, and UN-HABITAT's Safer Cities Programme (Figure 4).

2.3 Limitations of the Assessment

Time constraints imposed upon the completion of this project and difficulty in networking with other organizations because of language barriers or lack of information about their activities were among the most important factors that prevented the collection of a greater number of surveys. Nevertheless we were successful in soliciting feedback from a total of 18 different organizations from around the world who reported on their use of women's safety audits.

Their survey consisted of a series of open-ended questions and was administered by way of email, telephone, and face-to-face interviews. It was originally thought that open-ended questions would result in detailed responses, thus providing reliable feedback on the different experiences of organizations around the world in using the women's safety audit. Though this did occur to a certain degree, responses varied in terms of the level of detail provided and questions were sometimes interpreted in different ways, yielding responses to some questions that were not always comparable.

FIGURE 3: Survey respondents by region

- Africa 33%
- Canada 28%
- Latin America 11%
- Europe (including Russia) 11%
- India 11%
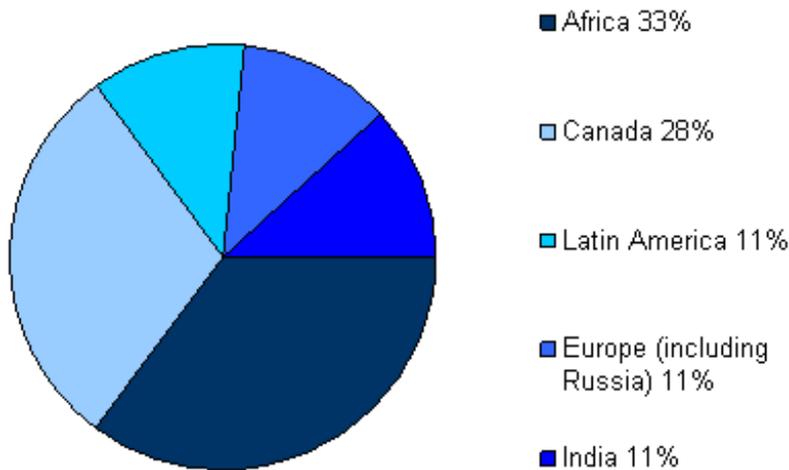
FIGURE 4: Survey respondents by group membership

- Community and non-governmental organizations 76%
- Municipalities 12%
- UN-Habitat Safer Cities Program 12%
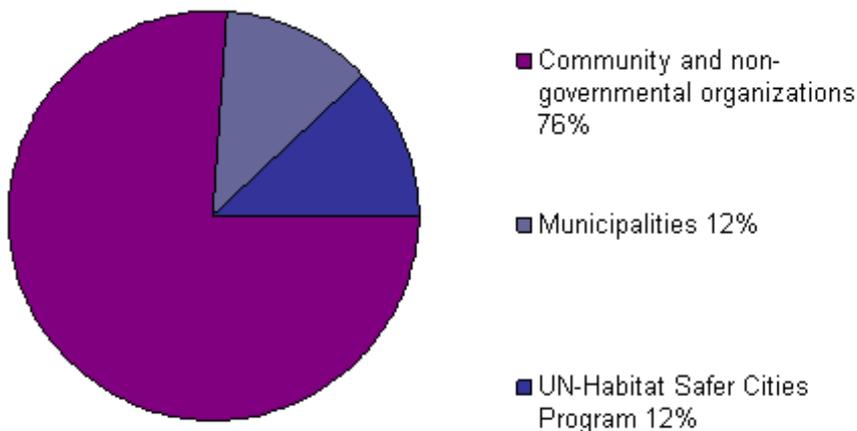
While we acknowledge that the overall survey coverage is far from comprehensive, a wealth of valuable information exists in the surveys that were received. This information provides a base to analyse how organizations from different regions use the safety audit tool, what organizations that have used the tool find successful and unsuccessful, and where the results of other parts of this report converge and diverge with on-the-ground experiences.

2.4 Operationalized Terms

Several terms used within this report are subject to varying definitions in the literature. The following definitions have been provided here to clarify the intended meaning of these terms as they are used in this document:

- *Local women experts:* One of the guiding principles of the women's safety audit is that women are experts of their own sense of safety and of knowledge in the spaces that they use. Therefore, throughout this document, women who participate in the safety audits are referred to as 'local women experts'.

- *Professionals:* Professionals exist in the public and private sector. This term is applied to any person who is trained and has experience in a professional field. The opinions held by professionals are usually considered authoritative because they have been informed by the standards, regulations, and expectations of their profession. Examples include urban planners, architects, and academics.

- *Key decision-makers:* A key decision-maker is any person whose power, influence, and training give them influence over public decisions. This term is most often applied to government officials but can include other actors such as policy-makers, police, union leaders, or urban planners.

- *Marginalized groups:* Any group of people whose access to power or services is limited as a consequence of a shared characteristic such as: gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, race, religion, disability, geographical area, etc .

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 PRACTICES THAT WORK

a) Focusing on the local level

Based on a review of the available literature, a recommended practice for the women's safety audit stresses the importance of the entire process, from initial research through to implementation and follow-up. Within the literature, there is agreement that audits should focus on the specificity of the individual community in which they are performed. In this way, the locally-specific expertise of residents can be best utilised (Andrew, 2000; Whitzman, 2008). Moreover, local consideration enables safety audit participants to identify the day-to-day challenges women face. For example, during audits in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, a wide variety of issues unique to the region, such as healthcare concerns and lack of infrastructure, were identified as factors that make local women feel unsafe (Mtani, 2000; 2002; Dean, 2002).

A local focus also highlights the important role of municipal governments in improving safety and of community organizations, which often possess a wealth of useful knowledge and influence (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; Women's Contact Society, 2005). Walklate recommends audit groups gauge the power dynamic within their region and seek out those local bodies with the greatest capacity for change (2001).

b) Engaging government support

Government support and follow-up is considered essential for the success of women's safety audits. This is because governments, especially at the local level, usually have great control over the community and its resources (UN-HABITAT, 2004; Andrew, 1995; Kallus and Churchman, 2004). In order to obtain and sustain government support, it is recommended that local women experts ensure there are mechanisms for the provision and implementation of gendered initiatives in place within government structures (Greed et al, 2002; Booth, 1996; Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; Whitzman, 2007a). It is also recommended that local women experts become politically active or engage those who already are (Andrew, 1995). Networking with all levels of government to secure maximum resources (Andrew,

1995; Women's Contact Society, 2005) and framing the women's safety audit as beneficial for all citizens (Greed et al., 2002) are other proposals for successful government engagement.

Once the safety audit has been conducted, the findings can be used to solicit governments to make changes. This could be done through the direct integration of audit recommendations into public work plans and policy, or by informing contractors bidding for public projects of audit results (Dean, 2002).

c) Involving professionals and key decision-makers

Most sources concur that involving key decision-makers and professionals (including both elected and regular government officials) is beneficial for the women's safety audit. The influence that key decision-makers possess can help in conducting the audit and in implementing recommended changes (Whitzman, Andrew and Shaw, 2008). Engaging decision-makers from the beginning of the audit process, so that they are "in the loop", appears to be a successful way of securing meaningful participation (Booth, 1996).

Including professionals (public workers, planners) from the public and private sector provides further aid. Organizations and/or individuals who already possess connections to key resources can quickly and effectively connect the audit team with what they need (Booth, 1996; Gilroy and Booth, 1999; Women's Action Centre Against Violence Ottawa-Carleton [WACAV], 1995). A trained and neutral facilitator can act as a bridge between different members of the audit team or between the audit team and external parties (Andrew, 1995; Booth, 1996; Whitzman, 2008). Whitzman, Andrew and Shaw note that the inclusion of trained professionals can also lend an air of legitimacy to the entire audit process (2008; Butler-Kisber, 1993). In addition, professionals can offer advice and knowledge about their respective fields. For example, in KwaMakhutha, South Africa, a women's safety audit team solicited support from the construction field in requesting spatial improvement proposals from women-owned construction companies (Women in Cities International, 2004, p.28).

d) Researching women's security

To gain the recommended support for a women's safety audit from professionals and key decision-makers, most literature suggests conducting research on women's security in the area beforehand. By doing this, the impact of women's actual and perceived sense of personal insecurity can be discussed in more concrete terms. Researching a wide range of material is advised so that a complete picture of the situation is presented (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002). Possible sources of information include police reports, hospital statistics, and victim and witness support service interviews. The European Forum on Urban Safety proposes using comparisons between countries or communities to provide a relative perspective on an area's safety status (2007, p.19). When taking this approach, it is recommended that areas with similar socioeconomic standing are compared.

Several sources suggest engaging audit participants and/or residents in the research process. Such engagement could take the form of interviews to obtain first-hand, qualitative accounts of how secure women feel (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002). In Petrozavodsk, Russia, participants used observation sheets to note how audit areas are regularly used (Whitzman, Andrew and Shaw, 2008). In India, local women experts created subjective maps to visually express their perceptions of various locales (Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action and Research [PUKAR], 2008). Research on women's personal security was collected in England by having participants rate their impressions of different areas on a Fear-o-meter (Kapadia and Robertson, 2005, p.2) and with mind maps (Kapadia and Robertson, 2006, p.54). Also in England, local women experts documented male-female usage ratios in certain regions and used the data to supplement their findings (Kapadia and Robertson, 2006, p. 54). Finally, in Durban, South Africa, women used diaries to record their personal experiences of violence. This method "provided a level of detail that cannot be attained in an interview or focus group" (Whitzman, 2008, p.171) and pinpointed locally-specific issues as well as women's working solutions for them.

e) Creating a collaborative community structure

In order to successfully engage local citizens, different levels of government, key decision-makers, and professionals, it is necessary to create a collaborative structure. This means that all members of the audit process must agree on its value for the community as well as its objectives (Venkatraman, 2000; Dean, 2002; Butler-Kisber, 1993; Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002). Effective partnerships can be created by combining the resources and initiatives of like-minded organizations (Venkatraman, 2000; METRAC, 1991). Potential sources for networking include non-profit organizations, the business community, Aboriginal groups, victim assistance workers, family support workers, school districts, food banks, lesbian and gay groups, the faith community and more. Examples of creative partnerships include operating joint audits with local police to cover large areas, or engaging university students as researchers in exchange for practical experience (Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993; Dean, 2002). In African safety audits, participation from male community members has been encouraged as a way of recognizing that "men play a critical role in defining women's experience and as such need to be involved" (UN-HABITAT, 2004, p.48). Also of note, in Dar es Salaam and Toronto, Canada, preliminary meetings between professionals, decision-makers and local women experts were organized. During these meetings, all members had the opportunity to share ideas face-to-face and reach a mutual understanding (Mtani, 2002; Smaoun, 2002; Wekerle, 2005).

When a collaborative community structure is formed, it is recommended that enough time be given to establish trust and effective working relationships between groups (Booth, 1996; Whitzman, 2008). As always, when conducting the women's safety audit, it is generally agreed that emphasis should be placed on the expertise of the women themselves. Thus, it is critical that professionals and others learn with and from audit participants, rather than playing a solely advisory role (WACAV, 1995; Gorman, 2007).

f) Representing the community, especially the most vulnerable

Because local women are the central players in women's safety audits, available literature emphasizes the importance of ensuring their meaningful and representative participation. Many creative strategies have been employed to make the audit process accessible and accountable to women of different ages, income levels, ethnicities, languages, abilities and sexual orientations. Outreach work is encouraged to connect with a number of different audiences (Venkatraman,

2000; Federation of Canadian Muncipalities [FCM], 2004; WACAV, 1995; Reeves, 2003); to help, choose an approach that targets the women who most use the area being audited. A variety of tactics to publicize the audit and encourage feedback, such as media coverage, letters, and door-to-door canvassing, are recommended. In Australia, publicizing in unconventional venues where women gather, such as swimming pool changing rooms and ethnic grocery stores, has proven effective (Whitzman, 2007b, p.27). In Dar es Salaam, in-depth local expertise was ensured by involving only those women who had lived in the area for five years or more (Smaoun, 2002, p.13).

Other strategies include holding audits and audit meetings at times and places that are convenient and safe for local women. It is recommended that child care and transportation be provided so that family obligations and accessibility issues do not limit participation (FCM, 2004; Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; METRAC, 1991). To communicate with refugees or immigrants throughout the procedure, a cultural interpreter can be used to explain background concepts (WACAV, 1995). It may also be helpful to simplify audit material so that it is suitable for different reading levels (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002).

g) Establishing a dedicated team and clarifying responsibilities

North American sources especially value the establishment of a dedicated audit team that is responsible for seeing the entire procedure through from start to finish. Women's Action Centre Against Violence claims that teams should approach audits "as a process, not a one-time event" (1995, p. 25). As such, choosing a respected individual or organization to lead the process can facilitate coherent planning and follow-ups (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; Whitzman, 2008). Alternatively, hiring an individual as an organizer can help in making sure that all tasks will be completed, if there is a risk that volunteers will become "burnt out" (British Columbia Coalition for Safer Communities [BCCSC], 2001; Whitzman, 2008). Whether the individuals and organizations responsible are hired or volunteer, continuous contact between the core audit team and other participants promotes commitment and progress among all parties (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002). To facilitate long-term project success, the document Final reflections from

the Action for Neighbourhood Change Project, also suggests that successors be trained for key organizing positions (Gorman, 2007, p.17).

In addition to the core group, the roles and responsibilities of everyone involved should be clarified (BCCSC, 2001; WACAV, 1995). This can enable potential conflicts and duplications of responsibility to be identified and eliminated immediatly (Venkatraman, 2000; Cowichan Women against Violence Society, 2002). Also, distinguishing everyone's role what guarantees that resources will be easily accessible and responsibilities can be properly delegated (Kapadia and Robertson, 2006; BCCSC, 2001).

h) Confidence-building and education

Safety audit success has been partially attributed to confidence-building and education measures, especially in Australia and the United Kingdom. Instruction on lobbying, group work, mapping and leadership have been provided to local women experts so that they possess the required skills to complete all aspects of the safety audit (Venkatraman, 2000; Phaure, 2004; Making Safer Places, 2003). Also, team-building meetings and exercises provide an opportunity for audit groups to learn how to work together (Booth, 1996). Extending education to government bodies and other organizations is likewise recommended in order to raise awareness of women's safety concerns and requirements (WICI, 2004; JAGORI, 2008; Comité d'action femmes et sécurité urbaine [CAFSU], 2002).

i) Setting realistic goals

In North America, there appears to be special emphasis on setting realistic goals for the women's safety audit. Firstly, this means acknowledging that no one person can do everything and that responsibilities must be divided up and delegated (YWCA Harbour House, 2008). Secondly, sources emphasize that audits and audit recommendations should focus on achievable goals in order to effectively use limited resources (EFUS, 2007; Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; Andrew, 2000). In the beginning stages, assessing and gathering enough resources for the entire audit can help in deciding what is and is not possible (YWCA Harbor House, 2008; Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002).

Once feasible goals for a women's safety audit have been set, it is advisable to divide them into long-term and short-term categories. Afterwards, initial efforts can be focused on the short-term goals that are easier and quicker to achieve. The momentum and experience gained from early action can then facilitate movement towards more difficult and time-consuming goals (Whitzman, 2008; BCCSC, 2001; Kapadia and Robertson, 2006).

j) Timing for change

Once an appropriate audit team is created and reasonable goals are set, timing should be considered. If an audit is conducted in a favourable political and/or economic climate, it is much more likely to succeed. For example, if construction or renovation is occurring, safety audit recommendations involving physical changes are more likely to be implemented because the resources for change have already been allocated (WACAV, 1995). Likewise, if changes are suggested during a period in which there is public support for women's issues, it is more probable that the government of the day will support the implementation of a local audit's recommendations (Whitzman, 2007a; Andrew, 1995).

k) Making follow-up meaningful

There is widespread agreement about the necessity of sustained action after a women's safety audit has been conducted. As previously noted, this may mean taking quick and decisive action on a short-term goal in order to establish momentum.

Creating a clear, consistent and professional report on audit findings is recommended (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; Whitzman, Andrew and Shaw, 2008). Before the report is completed, it should be reviewed by local women experts and other participants to make sure that all viewpoints are represented accurately (-Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002). In some places, it may be appropriate to replace or supplement the report with another form of communication. For instance, audit participants from the Making Safer Spaces Project have communicated their results using storyboards, songs and photography (Kapadia and Robertson, 2005; Phaure, 2004).

After a report or other summary of the safety audit has been completed, it should be shared with professionals, elected officials, non-government organizations, service providers, and the community at large. The media, planning policy bodies and the business community are all possible addressees. Creativity is encouraged in order to reach as wide an audience as possible. For example, in India, safety audit results were disseminated to the local planning and architecture school in order to influence the youngest generation of local professionals (Whitzman, Andrew and Shaw, 2008).

Continued follow-up is crucial once a report has been released (Paquin, 1998). Lobbying the government for policy changes and continuing contact with the media are advised (Kapadia and Robertson, 2005; Dean, 2002). Requiring deadlines and setting measurable outcomes for recommendations to be implemented can facilitate success as well (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993). Evaluation of the audit's results is also critical. By completing an evaluation and sharing the findings, audit teams provide an opportunity for other groups to learn from and build on current practice (Dame, 2004; UN-HABITAT, 2007a).

Finally, several sources recommend remaining patient throughout the audit process. It is noted that solid working relationships between different individuals and organizations take time to develop (Whitzman, Andrew and Shaw, 2008; Gorman, 2007; Dame, 2004). Moreover, it is common that changes do not occur immediately after recommendations have been made. Indeed, Dame observes, "It is critical to remember and understand that change is not final, and that it can (and does) move backward, sometimes more quickly than it was moved forward. The work is generational: it must be approached slowly and gradually" (2004, p.30). Therefore, it is recommended that any evaluation of the effectiveness and other outcomes of an audit account for a long-term timeline (Whitzman, 2002a).

3.2 POSITIVE OUTCOMES

a) Physical environmental changes

In many cases, women's safety audit reports recommend changes to the physical environment. Ranging in scale from small, easily implemented gestures to large, costly demolitions, these are the most apparent

results of the audit process. It appears that most audits conducted resulted in some level of physical environmental change. Some alterations as a result of audit recommendations include: lighting and signage amendments; the installation of convex mirrors and emergency phones; the redesign or addition of pedestrian paths; the redesign or relocation of transit stops and subway exits; and the demolition or clean-up of derelict districts (UN-HABITAT, 2004; Paquin, 1998; Smaoun, 1999; CAFSU, 2002; FCM, 2004). In an innovative twist on environmental change, a kiosk was erected in British Columbia, Canada as a result of safety audit activity. Serving as an information site for various community issues, including violence prevention, the kiosk is an example of how all members of the community benefit from the implementation of women's safety audit recommendations (Whitzman, 2008, p. 122).

b) Increased awareness

Aside from physical environmental changes, there are other, less-obvious positive results reported from the use of the women's safety audit. Several sources describe how the audit process has increased awareness of the effects of violence on both women and the community at large. Kapadia and Robertson note that the audit gives women a public forum in which to share personal experiences of violence and insecurity (2006). In addition, Whitzman observes that initiatives like the women's safety audit intensify knowledge about security "through international dissemination, which is a two-way process. Ideas start in one place, are modified in another place, and often return strengthened by these modifications" (2006, p.25).

The women's safety audit also demonstrates how the same physical environment can be experienced differently by different members of the community (Viswanath, 2006; WACAV, 1995; Women's Contact Society, 2005). Specifically, the audit can draw attention to how discrimination is manifested in the physical environment (Booth, 1996; Andrew, 2000). For example, in India it was noted that basic infrastructure for safety was completely absent in slum areas, but present elsewhere (Viswanath, 2006)

By drawing out these concerns, the women's safety audit highlights why violence against women is a community-wide issue. This is done through emphasis on the connection between community space and personal security (Kapadia and Robertson, 2006).

Moreover, the audit shows how the entire community can work together to improve women's, and thus the community's, security (Women's Action Centre Against Violence, 1995).

c) Community development

The women's safety audit appears to increase participants' interest in their communities. This could, in part, be because the audit gives participants an opportunity to assess their area and envision its potential (Andrew, 2000). In particular, British literature highlights how the women's safety audit has increased participants' interest in their locale. It seems that as women experts engage with their area, they become aware not only of security concerns, but also of generally positive aspects of the area, such as diversity and character (Making Safer Places, 2004). Moreover, women experts, planners and other participants have made positive new contacts with other residents as a result of safety audits (Kapadia and Robertson, 2006; Phaure, 2004). The process also generates new relationships between organizations, governments and service providers (Whitzman, 2008; Wekerle, 2005). These networks further benefit women by increasing their awareness of and access to many community resources (Whitzman, 2006).

The new partnerships formed as a result of the women's safety audit have generated support for new and existing initiatives. In Montreal, Canada, Comité d'action femmes et sécurité urbaine (CAFSU) reports that the audit process drew local women experts together with community organizations in order to implement recommendations (2002, p.51). Also in Montreal, women's safety audits contributed to the inclusion of women's safety as a subject considered by the organization Tandem Urban Safety (FCM, 2004, p.44). Meanwhile, in Toronto, new initiatives grew out of the work and relationships created by safety audits. These include afternoon guided walks in High Park and various activity days (Whitzman, 2002a, p.312). What's more, in Africa, safety audits generated discussion about the underlying socioeconomic causes of insecurity among women. As a result, increased community-wide actions were undertaken to combat issues of public drinking, unemployment and more (Smaoun, 2002; EFUS, 2007).

Lastly, in some cases, the women's safety audit has created new jobs in the community including onsite transportation staff, organizers, researchers, and

women's planning advocates. In Durban, South Africa, local women in particular benefited from job creation when they were hired specifically to work on infrastructure development (Whitzman, 2006, p.24). Also of note in Africa, job creation programmes were instituted as a response to a local lack of safe women's work. Additionally, efforts to organize unemployed youth resulted from women's safety audit recommendations (UN-HABITAT, 2004, p.59).

d) Participant skill, confidence and legitimacy

Participants report gaining new skills, confidence and feelings of legitimacy as a result of the women's safety audit. The Making Safer Places Project notes that local women experts have learned how to use cameras, interview, and work in groups. The Project also reports that participants have acquired a greater understanding of government structures, design elements and leadership (Making Safer Places, 2003; 2004; 2005; Phaure, 2004).

In addition to a new skill set, many women describe an increased sense of confidence and/or security as a result of the women's safety audit. Evaluating public space and creating recommendations for public change enhances women's sense of social importance. Additionally, this work gives participants more faith in their ability to create public change. In some cases, this appears to relate directly to an enhanced sense of political obligation and/or ownership of public space (Booth, 1996; Gilroy and Booth, 1999; UN-HABITAT, 2007b). Also, through meeting other people in the area (Phaure, 2004) and through learning how others use and negotiate public space, participants have reported feeling more secure as the result of conducting an audit (Making Safer Places, 2004).

The increased confidence noted by local women experts is further complemented when audits are accepted as legitimate by local decision-makers (CAFSU, 2002; WACAV, 1995). In particular, in Petrozavodsk, Russia, the value of local women experts was acknowledged when the city invited them to act as supervisors and advisers in the community (Hague et. al., 2006). Because of this kind of public support, the expertise contributed by local women can go on to positively inform the work of planners and other groups in the future (Andrew, 1995; CAFSU, 2002; WACAV, 1995).

e) Publicity and funding

All participants involved in women's safety audits have the opportunity to gain experience and positive publicity (WACAV, 1995). Furthermore, this positive publicity, combined with the actual audit results, can provide women's organizations and citizens with a strong basis from which to lobby the government for improved action on women's issues (Kapadia and Robertson, 2006; Venkatraman. 2000). For instance, in England, the attention from the audit process is reported to have increased the publicity of women's roles in public planning (Booth, 1996). Moreover, in Africa and the United Kingdom, notoriety from women's safety audits has generated increased funding for different cities (Whitzman, Andrew and Shaw, 2008).

3.3 PRACTICES THAT DO NOT WORK AND NEGATIVE OUTCOMES

a) Loss of gendered focus

Several sources contend that when safety audits lose their gendered focus, they become less successful. One possible reason for this is that women tend to use space in more varied and complex ways than men (balancing childcare, work or school, and/or elder care)(Petrie and Reeves, 2005, p.3). Thus, if it does not consider a woman's perspective of an area, a safety audit is likely to neglect assessing all of its potential uses. Women's Action Centre Against Violence (WACAV) claims that non-gendered audits are more likely to be co-opted by professionals for positive publicity rather than for any real change. As such, they are also more likely to lose support (1995, p.31). Attempting to institute a gendered safety audit in a community with little concern for women's issues is considered especially difficult (Greed et al. 2002; Shaw and Andrew, 2005). This is because little support exists to maintain action where no mainstream committees, organizations or policies exist to promote a gendered social perspective (Bashevkin, 2005; Whitzman, 2007a). This is a special concern in areas where there is no history of gendered policy or where other growth issues take priority (Dame, 2002).

b) Lack of resources and support

A majority of regions identified lack of resources as a barrier to project success. As previously mentioned,

human, information and financial resources are all required to undertake a women's safety audit. Without an experienced individual or group dedicated to the task, it is difficult to organize and sustain audit components (WACAV, 1995; Dame, 2004). Moreover, if there are no experienced or trained participants in the audit, it may be hard to convince decision-makers of the legitimacy of the group's recommendations (Butler-Kisber, 1993). It is also possible that disagreements between participants could stop progress if no facilitator is available (Dame, 2004). In general, without enough human resources, it is also likely that those who are working on the audit will become burnt-out and discouraged. This seems to be especially true if only volunteers are involved (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002).

Even with sufficient human resources, lack of other resources may make audit completion difficult. For instance, in Israel, a dearth of official data regarding women citizens is considered a barrier to conducting a well-researched audit (Kallus and Churchman, 2004, p.203). A simple lack of funding, either public or private, can also prevent an audit's completion (WACAV, 1995; Whitzman and Perkovic, 2008). Difficulty in securing funding or other support from outside bodies has been attributed to too little political interest/feasibility and/or too much competition with other interests (WACAV, 1995; Whitzman, 2006; Phaure, 2004). Also, in reference to grassroots organizations, Dean notes, "Highly-regulated government procedures can hinder [success,] since they slow sanctions and the transfer of funding" (2002, p.3).

c) Deficient representation

Russian, English and Canadian sources have all reported difficulties in involving representative groups of women in safety audits. For Russia, Hague et al. point out that trouble occurs because a "culture of dialogue is often lacking" (2006). Thus, it may be that safety audits are not able to bring together diverse groups of women in areas where no common values or needs are perceived to exist. In Canada, several cultural and/or social barriers have been identified as impeding participation. For instance, some women may be less likely to participate in safety audits held at night because they do not feel comfortable leaving their homes at that time (WACAV, 1995, p.24). Or, if someone is an immigrant or refugee, they may not feel entitled to give their opinion about politicized

matters (Whitzman, 2002b). Other possible barriers identified include lack of child care, shyness/lack of confidence, mistrust of public bodies, language issues, lack of transportation, lack of time, isolation, and poor health (Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; Dean, 2002; WACAV, 1995; Paquin, 1998).

d) Professional co-optation

Sources from all regions mention the danger of resources for the women's safety audit being co-opted by professionals. This can occur in situations where the specialized knowledge that professionals possess is considered more valid than the experiential knowledge of other audit participants (Whitzman, 1995). The replacement of local women's expertise with that of professionals' delegitimizes the women's viewpoints. In Toronto, this issue occurred when safety audit recommendations were not implemented until "a 'professional' consultant's report, and an erasure of gender-specific language" were implemented (Whitzman and Perkovic, 2008).

Another difficulty Women's Action Centre Against Violence reports is that decision-makers may only institute the audit's recommended changes which suit their own careers or values (1995). This again devalues the intrinsic worth of local women's expertise. Similarly, it seems that women's safety audits are sometimes conducted by public bodies for positive publicity. In these cases, the audit recommendations are quickly forgotten about once the initial act has occurred and public attention has waned (JAGORI, 2008; Wekerle, 2005).

e) Problematic diversion of resources

Concern that the women's safety audit diverts important resources away from other community causes is expressed throughout the literature. In some communities, changes recommended by safety audits have conflicted with aesthetic or service regulations and values (Trench and Jones, 1995; Whitzman, 2002a). Also, as Whitzman points out, recommended changes can restrict the freedom of other groups who use public space, such as homeless people or homosexual park users (2002a, p.315). Meanwhile, Indian literature expresses apprehension about design changes strengthening the creation of a surveillance society (Phadke, 2005, p.59). Finally, Prevention without politics? The cyclical progress of crime

prevention in an Australian state, draws attention to the fact that while citizens participate in crime prevention strategies, the private sector simultaneously becomes burdened with greater responsibility for public security (Sutton and Cherney, 2002, p.327).

f) Failure to follow-up

North American material repeatedly mentions the negative impacts of poor follow-up procedures after the women's safety audit has been conducted. If, after an audit is complete, recommendations are ignored or forgotten, local women experts are likely to feel discouraged and ineffectual (Whitzman, 2002b; CAFSU, 2002). Moreover, if changes are not implemented, women may feel more insecure in their environments than before they began the audit. There also appears to be concern that participants in women's safety audits will develop unreal expectations about how quickly recommendations will be implemented and even about using the tool as a way to eliminate insecurity or even crime from the community completely (Chaaban, 1995; WACAV, 1995; Whitzman, 2002b).

Concern is also expressed because insufficient attention is sometimes given to evaluating clear outcomes and outputs from the women's safety audit process either in terms of a careful, logical analysis or scientific evaluation of impacts (WACAV, 1995; Whitzman, 2002b; 2007a; Whitzman and Perkovic, 2008). This is problematic as positive and negative practices about the use of the tool are difficult to establish without feedback. Moreover, lack of evaluation has meant it is rare to find material describing how the women's safety audit can be adapted to locally-specific circumstances, or the extent to which it may have impacted real insecurity and crime patterns.

In the available literature, the reasons given for lack of follow-up evaluation all coincide with the rest of this section. To recapitulate, they are: loss of gendered focus; lack of resources and support; deficient representation; professional co-optation; and ineffectual diversion of resources.

3.4 EVALUATION QUESTIONS

a) Is the women's safety audit a valuable crime prevention tool?

Although all literature points to positive outcomes

from the women's safety audit, the question of its worth as a crime prevention tool is repeatedly raised. Phaure points out that gender theory, when applied to the result-driven field of crime prevention, can seem to lack any concrete outcomes (2004). Certainly Whitzman notes that actual statistics regarding the success of safety audits in reducing crime are difficult to find. Reasons cited for this occurrence include lack of resources, difficulty in measuring complex social phenomena, and political resistance (2006). Whitzman also observes that people often feel as though the resources and efforts used for women's safety audits divert "energy from more substantive community issues related to violence and crime" (2002b, p.110).

However, if the evaluative focus on crime prevention moves from the concrete to the conceptual, several sources highlight how the women's safety audit is successful. For instance, by giving community members an opportunity to envision a safer community, the safety audit provides a concrete perspective from which to generate crime prevention initiatives. Moreover, this perspective is likely to delve beyond physical causes of crime and identify social and environmental determinants (Andrew, 2000). Also, much literature emphasizes how safety audits allow women to feel as though they have "reclaimed" public space (Kapadia and Robertson, 2006; Booth, 1996; Venkatraman, 2000). This, in turn, increases the number of women who use public space. This effect could conceivably change how areas are used and reduce the amount of crime which occurs in them. Accordingly, it may be that when tools highlight this deeper, socio-economic level of crime prevention, their full potential is realized (Whitzman, 2002b).

b) Are professionals and key decision-makers too involved in women's safety audits?

There is some divergence within the literature as to the value of involving professionals and key decision-makers in the audit process, and to what extent. When it comes to implementing audit recommendations, it is unlikely that any one group can work alone. Therefore, the participation of these parties is necessary to some degree. What is more, for the gendered perspective of a women's safety audit to infiltrate mainstream policy processes and develop community networks, the involvement of professionals and key-decision-makers is indeed desirable. However, many claim that too much professional involvement dominates the

legitimacy and expertise of women residents (Wekerle, 2005; Whitzman and Perkovic, 2008; WACAV, 1995). Because women have a unique perspective on their area and are able to express this perspective in a singular way, important information and methods are lost when professional expertise and the demands of decision-makers take over an audit (Kapadia and Robertson, 2005; Shaw and Andrew, 2005; UN-HABITAT, 2004). In particular, when the generalized knowledge of professionals countermands that of local women, the opportunity to adapt the women's safety audit tool to different communities is lost (UN-HABITAT, 2007a).

What is more, the involvement of certain professionals may hinder the implementation of audit recommendations. This has been the case in instances where politicians or other decision-makers use the audit as a way to gain publicity. In so doing, they may only commit resources to changes which they agree with or which will further their careers (Greed, et al., 2002; Wekerle, 2005; WACAV, 2005).

Nevertheless, literature from all regions acknowledges the usefulness and even necessity of involving professionals and key decision-makers throughout the audit process. The British Columbia Coalition for Safer Communities (BCCSC) and the Cowichan Valley Safer Futures Program agree that employing a professional staff member from the public service is beneficial for women's safety audits (BCCSC, 2001; -Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002). Butler-Kisber claims that the involvement of key administrators in a campus audit at McGill University contributed support and legitimacy to the project (1993). Moreover, it appears that Comité d'action femmes et sécurité urbaine (CAFSU), the Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, Gilroy and Booth, Venkatraman, Dean and the Women's Contact Society all concur that involving professionals and key decision-makers is important to increase the resources and support available to audit groups (CAFSU, 2002; Cowichan Women Against Violence Society, 2002; Gilroy and Booth, 1999; Venkatraman, 2000; Dean, 2002; Women's Contact Society, 2005).

c) Does the women's safety audit really benefit marginalized groups?

There is no congruency within the literature as to the amount the women's safety audit actually benefits marginalized groups. Since women's safety audits are supposed to represent all local women in an area and draw attention to the security concerns of other marginalized groups, this should be a point of strength for the tool. While everyone seems to agree on the importance of including a diversity of women in audits, there is little information on the success of such inclusion. Rather, there is a wealth of references citing the difficulty of involving various populations (Booth, 1996; Dean, 2002; WACAV, 1995; Whitzman, 2002b; Whitzman and Perkovic, 2008; Wekerle, 2005). In addition, Whitzman, Andrew and Shaw point out that gentrification may have taken place in areas where safety audit recommendations have been implemented. Because gentrification tends to push out rather than include marginalized groups, this counteracts the mandate of the women's safety audit to create a community which is safe and welcoming for all members (2008). Therefore, it would seem that more work needs to be done before this tool can claim to be truly beneficial to a diverse cross-section of local residents.

d) Is the cost of "designing out" crime worth it?

Finally, the available material varies as to its assessment of whether or not the benefits of environmental crime prevention outweigh its costs. Certainly, most literature agrees that there are many positive outcomes resulting from women's safety audits (see above). Referring to a campus-wide McGill University audit, Butler-Kisber claims the process is "fundamental to the quality of all academic life" (1993, p.4). Nevertheless, concerns are raised about how the women's safety audit and its focus on public safety infringes upon the rights of the private citizen. Whitzman mentions that safety audits have the potential to place the spatial priorities of women over those of other groups. As touched on above, using the example of homosexual park users, Whitzman demonstrates how the security needs of women, who want to reduce the likelihood of sexual violence against women conflict with the needs of other groups, who use public spaces as meeting places for sexual rendezvous (2002a, p.315).

Sutton and Cherney also point out those methods of crime prevention which rely heavily on citizen participation encourage governments to shift the task from the public pocket onto private citizens (2002). Moreover, Phadke makes several salient points about how the results of the women's safety audit contradict its original intent. In this analysis, the shift occurs where the needs of women as autonomous citizens are

replaced by generalized needs of women as they are perceived in the public realm.

> *How does one argue the need for better public policy - one that offers infrastructure such as improved street lighting, more women friendly public transport, more accessible policing -without necessarily suggesting that complete surveillance is the only solution to concerns around women's safety? How can one argue the legitimacy of the desire to court risk and insist that risk should be a matter of choice (for marginal citizens as well) rather than be thrust upon them by short-sighted planning and policies? How does one move towards dismantling the norms that ensure the control of female sexuality through the binary of respectable and non-respectable women? How can we assert that women are at risk in public spaces while simultaneously rejecting representations that project women only as victims in need of a protection that inevitably moves towards restrictions, surveillance and control? (Phadke, 2005, p. 59).*

Thus, although a majority of the literature agrees that the women's safety audit reclaims the individual voices of women citizens, there still appears to be debate about how these individual voices are perceived and what outcomes they are used to support.

3.5 SUGGESTIONS AND NEW DIRECTIONS

Although there is a general lack of detailed evaluation of the women's safety audit, there have been some suggestions for improvement scattered throughout the literature. Firstly, the UN-HABITAT report Preventing gender-based violence in the Horn, East and Southern Africa: a regional dialogue recommends that more women be hired in policy-making and other key decision-making roles in order to facilitate a gender-sensitive and safe workplace for audit recommendations to be proposed and implemented in (2004). A second and related suggestion comes from Western Europe. Phaure advises that local safety audits be closely linked with national and international crime prevention policy so that recommendations are well-received by practitioners and decision-makers (2004). Thirdly, Women's Action Centre Against Violence (WACAV) suggests that the women's safety audit tool be adapted to accommodate other spatial considerations, such as the more private, domestic sphere of housing environments (1995). This is supported by Whitzman, who stresses the need for the audit to treat all causes of gender-based crime, whether public, private or socio-economic (2007b). WACAV also proposes that more measures be taken within the process to include those women who are most vulnerable to crime (1995). Furthermore, Butler-Kisber argues, "We need to develop ways to 'audit' contexts from the 'bottom up' and to extend these audits" (1993, p9). This would seem to encompass the previous two points, noting that the women's safety audit is a tool which should be applied in as many different contexts as there are opportunities for gender-based violence, and that it should focus its efforts on those who feel the effects of this violence most. Finally, WACAV recommends that safety audit guides provide more direction on follow- up strategies, including ways for women to evaluate actual public policy and procedure (1995).

4. SURVEYS RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION AND LIMITATIONS

The following is a synthesis of the results of the eighteen survey responses received by Women in Cities International (WICI). As mentioned in the methodology section, the information provided here represents the opinions of representatives from governments, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, and UN-HABITAT's Safer Cities Programme coordinators (See Annex 2 for a complete list of respondents). Survey respondents were mainly from the following regions: Africa (6), Canada (5), Europe (including Russia) (3), India (2), Latin America (2).

The survey was administered by way of email, telephone, and face-to-face interviews and consisted of a series of open-ended questions. The basis for the selection of open-ended questions was to provide consistent feedback about the different experiences of organizations around the world in using the women's safety audit. However, as mentioned in the Methodology section, some challenges arose as a result, notably the level of detail provided by the different organizations varied. In addition, different organizations sometimes interpreted the questions in different ways, yielding responses to some questions that were not always comparable.

4.2 OVERALL USE OF SAFETY AUDITS

METRAC (Toronto, Canada) has been doing women's safety audits for 19 years, making this the group that has used them for the longest period of time, followed by the Cowichan Valley Safer Futures group (British Columbia, Canada), Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal and the Women's Design Service (WDS, London, United Kingdom), who have been conducting audits since the mid-1990s.

Fourteen groups provided information on the number of safety audits in which their organizations participated. These figures varied by one to more than one hundred. Safer Cities Dar es Salaam was very specific in their response reporting doing one audit in Kurasini and another in Ilala Mchikichini, and two audits in Manzese in 2002. They further mentioned that a third audit had been done in the area in 2007 by a Master's student. Others responded more ambiguously, stating that they had done "many" audits or simply detailing the geographical area audited. Certain groups, notably

METRAC and Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal, report that it would be extremely difficult to estimate the number of audits they have participated in given that they have been using the tool for so long. Conversely, some other groups had very tight, specific timeframes within which they worked, such as UN-Habitat Warsaw which completed three audits within a one month period.

> **METROPOLITAN TORONTO ACTION COMMITTEE ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN (METRAC) TORONTO, CANADA**
> On recent experience in conducting women's safety audits
>
> *"From 2000-2005, METRAC has sponsored an annual Community Safety Night (CSN), in partnership with the City of Toronto, which has resulted in audits in more than 140 neighbourhoods across the city. CSN provided an opportunity for diverse communities to evaluate the safety of their neighbourhoods, make important recommendations, and work together to create safer spaces for everyone.*
>
> *Since 2005, METRAC has trained community residents and staff to lead audits in their neighbourhoods in Toronto, which has resulted in over 25 neighbourhood audits."*
>
> *- Narina Nagra, Safety Director, METRAC, 27 June 2008*

Some groups emphasized the effort they made to ensure that the audits were comprehensive, such as the Association Congolaise des droits de la personne Humaine (ACDP), which reported that the time it took to audit the three locations they chose was one or two months per site. The Women Non-Governmental Organization DAGROPASS in Bubanza, Burundi, spent 15 days auditing each of their three sites. JAGORI in India also strived to be wide-ranging, conducting 25 women's safety audits for a comprehensive study of different areas in Delhi.

Finally, other groups specified the duration of the audit, such as the YWCA Montreal group which completed "one or two" such audits in the downtown area and stated that each audit took approximately three hours to complete.

4.3 ORIGINS OF INTEREST IN WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDITS

Metropolitan Toronto Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC), based out of Toronto, Canada, pioneered the women's safety audit in 1989. The group then inspired women in Montreal to translate and adapt the audit. Afterwards the use of the audit spread throughout Canada and internationally (Table 1).

The Canadian origins of this tool were reflected in many answers, with ten respondents citing that they first heard about women's safety audits through Canadian sources. Specifically, five cited METRAC, two mentioned having attended the 2002 International Seminar on Women's Safety in Montreal, one received training by a Canadian woman, one cited the Comité d'action femmes et sécurité urbaine (CAFSU) , Montréal, and another cited a handbook produced by

TABLE 1 - INFORMATION SOURCES FOR THE WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDIT

	Canada	UN-HABITAT	Other
Canadian Respondents	5	0	0
European Respondents	2	1	0
Latin American Respondents	0	0	1
African Respondents	2	2	1
Indian Respondents	2	0	0

the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM). Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal, who produced the CAFSU guide Guide d'enquête sur la sécurité des femmes en ville (1993), said that they themselves were influenced by the Toronto experience. One group cited the Ville de Lévis, Quebec, as a source of information and inspiration on undertaking women's safety audits.

UN-HABITAT was named by four respondents as the source of their initial knowledge about women's safety audits. Of these, three groups cited UN-HABITAT's Safer Cities Programme specifically. It is worth mentioning that all of these groups received training and/or financing from UN-HABITAT and worked in partnership with them to complete the audits.

Finally, the Asociación para la Vivienda Popular in Colombia, cited Red Mujer y Hábitat de América Latina (CISCSA) and another group cited the Women's International Network on Small Arms (Women IANSA) as a source of information, while two others did not provide a specific answer to this question.

PROGRAMME FEMMES ET VILLE - VILLE DE MONTRÉAL,
MONTREAL, CANADA
On identifying the women's safety audit as a useful tool

Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal was the only organization to respond in detail about the needs that instigated the use of women's safety audits in their community. The audit was used after the City of Montreal held a public consultation about its public plan. During this consultation a collective of women produced a memoir on women's needs in the city. Within this memoir, the issue of women's security arose as a top priority. These actions secured commitment on the part of the municipal government to address the issue. From here the group went on to use an array of methods, including the women's safety audit, to make Montreal more secure for women especially and for all citizens in general.

- Interview with Anne Michaud International Expert and consultant, and former Coordinator of the Programme Femmes et ville de la Ville de Montréal (1992-2004), 5 September, 2008

4.4 DIFFERENT ROLES PLAYED BY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDIT PROCESS

We asked respondents to identify the different roles they played during the women's safety audit process. This question was added to the final survey, so there are no responses for the first six groups. Of the ten groups that did respond, a total of 36 roles were identified, clearly indicating the need for facilitating groups to wear many different hats. One group, METRAC, cited no less than 11 roles that they played during the audit process. The most common answers can be loosely grouped as: support, advocacy and training. The Gender & Space Project, Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action and Research (PUKAR), in particular, went beyond training audit groups and used the results from their audits to educate post-secondary planning students as well. Collaborating for implementation, adapting the process, and awareness-raising were all roles mentioned frequently, as were coordination, lead role, and participation (Table 2).

TABLE 2: ROLES OF RESPONDENT ORGANIZATIONS DURING WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDITS

	Support, Advocacy and Training	Implementation, Adaptation and Awareness-Raising	Coordination, Leadershipand Participation
Canadian Respondents	5	2	3
European Respondents	0	1	0
Latin American Respondents	0	0	0
African Respondents	3	3	2
Indian Respondents	2	2	2

4.5 USING AND ADAPTING AUDIT TOOLS

To support their organization's role or roles, ten organizations reported using a safety audit guide to lead them through the process. The Women's safety audit Guide published by METRAC was used by four groups to facilitate the safety audit process, making it the guide most commonly mentioned by respondents. Again, a strong Canadian influence is apparent in the dissemination of women's safety audit guides and tools. In fact, the only other guides that were specifically mentioned were the safety audit guide produced by Women's Action Centre Against Violence- (WACAV, now known as WISE – Women's Initiatives for Safer Environments) in Ottawa, Canada who adapted the METRAC guide, and the Guide de Lévis, which was largely inspired by the guide created by women in Montreal, itself a translation and adaptation of METRAC's women's safety audit guide. A further three respondents mentioned being influenced by more than one guide, though they did not mention any by name. One such respondent clarified that they did not use an existing guide per se, but were "heavily influenced by simplified versions from Canada", without specifying any one guide. Finally, the Women's Non-Governmental Organization DAGROPASS, Bubanza, Burundi, stated that they used the 'Arts des marionettes', though no further information was given about this source.

Ten groups confirmed that they adapted an existing guide before using it in their own city or context. Project Douala plus sûr, for example, reported combining and adapting a few existing tools. Reasons for adaptation were primarily contextual, maintaining that revisions were made to reflect local women's particular reality, which included removing, replacing, or adding questions, changing the language to make it accessible for different women users. Both Indian groups, JAGORI and Gender & Space Project, PUKAR, state that they adapted their audit guides to better fit with their overall project objectives.

In the case of Cowichan Safer Futures Program in British Columbia, Canada, they decided to create their own guide – Cowichan Valley Safety Audit Guide (1999) that they felt was more appropriate given their particular rural situation. Women NGO DAGROPASS, Burundi, -adapted the safety audit guide to deal with conflict situations, focusing on identifying 'gender strategies' for their resolution. This group referred to the guide as the "peace solution by men and women together".

Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal created their own audit guide in French – Guide d'enquête sur la sécurité des femmes en ville (1993). This guide reorganized the key points of the original METRAC guide into the "Six Principles of Design from women's point of view" in order to help local women citizens identify solutions to safety problems. This guide has gone on to be translated into several languages and has been used for training purposes by the European Forum on Urban Safety (EFUS) and UN-HABITAT.

METRAC confirmed that their guide is in a constant state of revision and adaptation, striving to ensure that it is as relevant as possible for the groups who use it. For example, this group has translated their Safety Audit Guide into five languages: Chinese, French, Punjabi, Spanish, and Tamil. The guide has also been adapted to reflect the particular reality experienced by different cultural groups in the city in an effort to include the diversity of Toronto women in the audit process. In addition, METRAC reported developing a Youth Safety Audit Survey as a violence-prevention resource for Toronto youths aged 13-21.

4.6 PARTICIPATING IN WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDITS

Responses to the question of who participated in the audits varied widely depending on the number of audits completed, with the Safer Nairobi Initiative (a joint initiative of the City Council Nairobi and UN-HABITAT's Safer Cities Programme), the Cowichan Valley Safer Futures Program, Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal and Women NGO DAGROPASS in Burundi reporting "hundreds of participants" and Centre Femmes l'Anchrage of the Ville de Lévis, Canada reported less than ten.

Four respondents pointed to differences in the composition of their own groups from one audit to the next, while another four specified that different people were involved at different stages. For example, one group mentioned greater municipal representation nearing the end of the process, when recommendations began to be implemented. The group from Dar es Salaam mentioned that it was the participants themselves who suggested splitting up into groups of ten in Manzese, thus forming two groups, with an additional five people forming the group in Kurasini and three teams with an unknown number of members in Ilala.

Insofar as gender is concerned, fourteen respondents specified the gender of participants from the community, though all but two did not mention the gender of other actors, such as police officers and decision-makers, etc. It appears that women formed all or the majority of most audit groups.

Eight groups specifically reported including marginalized populations. Besides community members, several other actors were specifically mentioned as audit participants . These include:

- organization staff members;
- journalists and photographers;
- community leaders, mayors, and City Hall representatives;
- young men and women;
- observers;
- police officers (one group specifically mentioned the involvement of women officers) and park wardens;
- local ward and sub-ward leaders
- extensions officers at the ward level as well as municipal officers
- planners and practitioners;
- UN staff members and NGO staff members;
- representatives of the private sector.

Of particular note, UN-HABITAT's Safer Cities Programme in Dar es Salaam, described how they solicited involvement starting from the top of the bureaucratic ladder with municipal management, and moved down through wards and committees to local women.

4.7 CHOICE OF TIME AND/OR LOCATION OF AUDITS

Three groups volunteered information about the calendar year their audits were conducted in. They all responded that audits had been conducted in the past eight years. Three groups reported conducting audits on an ongoing basis (METRAC, Women's Design Service (WDS) and the Cowichan Valley Safer Futures Program). Five groups described evening audits, while three groups conducted audits during the day. Moreover, six respondents indicated that they plan to or have been conducting audits during both day and night (Table 3). Groups who mentioned auditing both day and night did so in response to needs identified by their respective groups. This dual auditing process also allowed groups to assess how lighting changes at different times of the day affected locations and visibility.

The location and scale of safety audits varied greatly between survey respondents, with thirteen groups conducting audits in more than one location. With the possible exception of one case, all safety audits have been conducted in what may be considered 'public' space, such as:

- parks and gardens;
- tunnels;
- neighbourhoods;
- cemeteries;
- mountains;
- rivers;
- town centres;
- transport interchanges;
- parking lots;
- streets and pedestrian crossings;
- train stations
- mini-bus-taxis
- bus stops; and
- campuses

The most 'private spaces' assessed by the Safer Futures Program, Canada were commercial buildings.

Reasons given for auditing specific locations also varied. In the case of JAGORI, audit locations were chosen to represent the full scope of areas women used. Therefore, residential areas with different social classes, markets, commercial and industrial areas, universities, railway and subway stations, parks, and more were all audited. Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal began by choosing audit locations targeted by participating citizens and community groups. Later on, areas were chosen because public investments were already being made there to improve public space. This helped identify areas that already had improvement resources allocated to them. In another example, the Centro de Intercambio y Servicios Cono Sur Argentina (CISCSA) Programa Regional Ciudades sin violencia hacia las mujeres, ciudades seguras para tod@s (Regional Programme - Cities without violence against women, cities safes for everyone) reports auditing the routes local women use in their daily routines as the spatial basis for their work. This was done in an effort to "recontextualize" familiar areas from a women's security perspective.

TABLE 3: TIMES WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDITS WERE CONDUCTED

	Day	Night	Both day and night
Canadian Respondents		1	4
European Respondents			1
Latin American Respondents	1	1	1
African Respondents	2	2	
Indian Respondents		1	

CISCSA, PROGRAMA REGIONAL CIUDADES SIN VIOLENCIA HACIA LAS MUJERES, CIUDADES SEGURAS PARA TOD@S, ROSARIO, ARGENTINA

On using the women's safety audit to recontextualize everyday space

"Between February and May 2007, neighbourhood recognition walks took place with five groups of neighbours, the majority of whom were adult women and youth from the Distrito Oeste (West Disctrict). The walks took place at the neighbourhood level in order to follow the daily paths taken by the women (to the school, to the public transportation route on certain roads or avenues, to the health centre, etc.).
We changed the name 'Women's Safety Audits' to 'Neighbourhood Recognition Walks' in the spirit of returning to get to know (or get to know again), the spaces in which we live and travel through every day, from another lens, a different perspective."
- Maite Rodigou, CISCSA, Programa Regional Ciudades sin violencia hacia las mujeres, ciudades seguras para tod@s, April, 2008

KZN VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN NETWORK, DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

On why they chose to audit KwaMakhutha

"Most of the [KwaMakhutha] people are unemployed and live below the bread line, which also adds to issues of social crime. Organizations in this area are also scattered and unable to address issues of common interest as a community. Their skills of understanding on violence against women and HIV/AIDS are limited. Their ability to access information is also limited due to no access to funding and limited resources. The community needs the support of local government to implement interventions in addressing all these issues. This community is just another number when it comes to government interventions. "

- Cookie Edwards, Director of the KZN Network on Violence Against Women, March 2008

The Centre Femmes l'Ancrage, Lévis, Canada, reports choosing their areas because of the multiple levels of analysis available (lighting, shrubs). Other grounds given for choosing specific locales include:

- the space feeling insecure and/or isolated;
- the space being a political and/or highly visible area in which to conduct this type of activity;- the space being used by marginalized groups; or
- the space was chosen by an outside committee.

4.8 FUNDING AND RESOURCES

The degree to which groups were able to secure funding to support the women's safety audits also varied greatly, from no funding at all, as was the case for five groups, to METRAC succeeding in obtaining core funding for its audit programme from the City of Toronto. Most groups fell somewhere in the middle with seven organizations reporting conducting audits with funds derived from larger project budgets, and another three groups reporting having received funding specifically for safety audits. In the case of Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal, funding was obtained by the City of Montreal to publish their safety audit guide.

While not every respondent reported how much money they collected, among those who did, numbers

ranged from USD250 to USD500,000 over three years. Other sources of funding include:

- Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida);
- UN-HABITAT;
- UNIFEM;
- Government of British Columbia, Canada;
- various local governments; and
- Canada's National Crime Prevention Centre (NCPC).

4.9 SHARING RESULTS AND REACTIONS

All of the groups surveyed affirmed that they reported the results of their safety audits to authorities. METRAC also reports sharing its results with the audit group itself. Specific authorities listed include:

- local and municipal governments
- UN-HABITAT;
- urban planners;
- municipal directors
- public service administrators;
- municipal urban guards;
- social promoters;

- community organizations;
- the business community;
- the tourism industry;
- donors;
- security providers;
- union directors.

Methods of reporting fall into three categories – written reports, presentations, and workshops (Table 4). Five groups stated that they created specific reports, while METRAC has created its own Safety Audit Report Cards to present audit results (available on its web site). Women NGO DAGROPASS in Burbanza, Burundi included results in newsletters, as well as publishing victim testimonies. The CISCSA, Programa Regional Ciudades sin violencia hacia las mujeres, ciudades seguras para todos' audit results were presented as part of a larger project document.

Seven groups have publicly presented their results, either in conferences, seminars or through the media. Two organizations shared their findings during workshops. One group, Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal, was already part of the municipal government and used this vantage point to connect with community groups.

TABLE 4: HOW RESPONDENTS PUBLICLY REPORTED THEIR RESULTS

	Written Material	Presentations	Workshops
Canadian Respondents	1	2	
European Respondents		2	
Latin American Respondents			
African Respondents	4	3	2
Indian Respondents	2		

Though nine organizations replied ambiguously about how the authorities responded to their recommendations, six confirmed having received a positive response from reporting to authorities. In particular, Association Congolaise des droits de la personne Humaine (ACDP) in the Congo reports having a quick and positive response after sharing results with tourist and security services, as well as area administrators. Also of note, Gender & Space Project, PUKAR stated that many of the recommendations from its audit reports pertaining to lighting at railway stations were incorporated by the railway corporation authorities who received them. For JAGORI, the women's safety audits yielded a partnership with the Public Transport Commission which led to increased safety training for bus drivers.

Safer Cities Dar es Salaam described following up on its recommendations in order to get financial support to implement some immediate and initials changes, referred to as 'quick wins' (eg. Street naming, waste collection) and reported receiving some immediate funding to implement recommended changes. This group also describes having recommended changes incorporated into public project plans such as upgrading schemes, as well as having authorities "engage more people", call for environmental cleaning, and support community security groups.

Some organizations also commented on the difficulties they have had in engaging with local authorities. The KZN Network on Violence against Women (Durban,

South Africa), Safer Cities Dar es Salaam, Centre Femmes L'Ancragage (Ville de Lévis), METRAC and UN-HABITAT Warsaw all reported difficulties in securing follow-up action from authorities. Safer Cities Dar es Salaam even stated that they had to re-submit a report before action was taken. The KZN Network in South Africa further qualified that it is currently trying to identify the appropriate actors to contact. They report having had numerous meetings with Safer Cities Durban, however, at present the report has not yet been formerly acknowledged and their proposals have not been met in any meaningful way.

Two groups, Women NGO DAGROPASS in Burundi and Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal in Canada reported receiving negative responses as well as positive reactions. One lesson noted by Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal was that the response was more positive when local politicians themselves participated in the women's safety audits.

In order to address difficulties in presenting audit results to authorities, three groups offered additional advice on tactics:

- The Safer Nairobi Initiative recommends a great deal of follow-up action and specialized human resources on the part of those conducting the audit in order to receive a positive response.
- METRAC Toronto follows up with participants to determine if support is needed in taking action with their city council after the initial audit has been done.
- Safer Futures British Colombia and Women's Design Service (WDS) in the UK always conduct their work in partnership with local governments in order to ensure that they are part of the implementation process.

WOMEN'S DESIGN SERVICE (WDS),
UNITED KINGDOM
On ensuring decision-maker support

"We never do MSP [Making Safer Places] audits unless we already have decision makers on board and know that there is some funding available for improvements. It is far too demoralising for the women to use all their time and local knowledge and have nothing happen. So the results are given to the 'client'."

- Wendy Davis, Director of WDS, March 2008

Finally, six organizations commented on the amount of time taken for authorities to respond. This ranged from 48 hours to a "general long time". On average, the wait time appears to be just over two months.

4.10 ENVIRONMENTAL AND POLICY CHANGES

Thirteen survey respondents provided information on reported changes in policy on the environment as a result of the recommendations made following the women's safety audit. Of these, ten report instituting physical environmental changes, and nine report changes in local policies or practices as a result of audit recommendations. The most common physical change mentioned was improved lighting. Other changes included:

- unblocking foot paths;
- destroying/rerouting unsafe paths;
- improving public signage;
- providing public water and toilet facilities;
- removing old cars from public areas;
- generally improving upkeep of public areas;
- redesigning waiting areas and/or exits for public transit;
- redesigning pedestrian hand rails for greater visibility in a highway overpass;
- redesigning landscape elements for better access and visibility;
- installing elevators for greater accessibility;
- installing transparent bus shelters; and
- providing intercoms in public transit areas.

COWICHAN VALLEY SAFER FUTURES PROGRAM,
DUNCAN, CANADA
On making huge community change

"The audits resulted in over 500 recommendations to address immediate physical improvements to enhance accessibility, community programming improvements, and long term strategies for community planning to integrate personal safety into policies and processes that guide development in the region.

In partnership with the Cowichan Valley Regional District (C.V.R.D.) and member municipalities, a process was developed for implementing audit recommendations and to make personal safety a regular consideration in all local government processes. We have mobilized the community at all levels about the issues and ways in which communities can work together to foster changes.

Hundreds of recommendations have been implemented in communities of the district to address women's basic needs for safety and accessibility, ranging from physical, to social and community planning changes:
- Development and incorporation of community safety principles and policies into long term planning and development processes, to ensure ongoing attention and sustainability.
- Improvements to physical environments to reduce obstacles and opportunities for violence and enhance accessibility for women and other marginalized groups.
- Development of new, and enhancement of existing, community services and programming to address community and social development"

- Terri Dame, Consultant with the Safer Futures Program, July 2008

In terms of policy and/or practice change, there were a number of unique responses.

- Safer Cities describes "sensitization campaigns done by the women against crime".
- Asociación Para la Vivienda Popular, Colombia said that women are now participating in decisions regarding local policies, plans, projects and programmes which involve personal security. Also, this group reports local government support for the production of drawings and posters which identify areas deemed unsafe for women.
- METRAC has been involved in creating a best practices guide for safety in underground garages, used by the City of Toronto. METRAC has also worked with the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) to implement policies and procedures addressing harassment on public transit, as well as general safety standards. Additionally, METRAC reports working on emergency response procedures on university campuses.
- Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal report that a formal follow-up process was developed within the municipality to respond to audit recommendations in a similar fashion to other community requests.
- Finally, JAGORI describes two policy and practice changes. Firstly, working in partnership with the South Delhi Auto Union, 5000 stickers were printed regarding women's safety. These were distributed by the union organization. Secondly, the Delhi Transport Corporation worked with JAGORI to provide gender sensitization programmes for over 1000 drivers and conductors.

CISCSA, PROGRAMA REGIONAL CIUDADES SIN VIOLENCIA HACIA LAS MUJERES, CIUDADES SEGURAS PARA TOD@S, ROSARIO, ARGENTINA

On re-appropriating public space

"In a square in one of the neighbourhoods we walked through, one of the spaces that was identified by the women as making them feel unsafe was largely occupied by men who were consuming alcohol or drugs and where there was a lot of vandalism. In this space, we created a mural. Completed by the women themselves in a square in the neighbourhood Barrio Hipotecario, the mural carried the message: 'More women in the street.' 'Cities safe for everyone without fear and without violence'. The images and the slogan were designed by the women, and were reproduced in a local arts and events newspaper with such features as festivals, games and dances, etc. Since then, no one has written anything on the mural, thus demonstrating respect for all of the work that the women did in the neighbourhood, and in the message it represents. Furthermore, boys and girls and adolescents have returned to occupy the space using it for games and meeting with friends."

- Maite Rodigou, CISCSA, Programa Regional Ciudades sin violencia hacia las mujeres, ciudades seguras para tod@s, April, 2008

In terms of evidence of people's changed use of space as a result of the audit, six groups responded positively, though with little detail, and this is largely anecdotal material rather than survey-based. Centre Femmes L'Ancrage, Lévis states that women are more aware when they use public space, both of how it looks and of their accountability as citizens. Similarly, Centro de Intercambio y Servicios Cono Sur Argentina (CISCSA) recounts that women have become empowered using space as "security experts" and that this has generated interest among other women in the area. Furthermore, the Safer Nairobi Initiative (SNI) reports that more people, including women, are using public space. The SNI also mentions that people stay out later at night in the city.

Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal noted that positive changes to the subway exits as a result of women's safety audit recommendations and were noted by citizens and municipal actors alike. They believe that such recognition promoted public awareness of the necessity of women's participation in planning.

Safer Cities Dar es Salaam claims that crime levels have dropped. On an arguably more negative note, they also report that, as a possible partial result of the audit and its implemented recommendations, a gentrification process is occurring in local areas. Thus, neighbourhood improvements are driving up property values and local people are selling their property and moving elsewhere. They do, however, question whether this is a direct result of the audit or reflective of a broader trend that occurs when land value rises.

Lastly, four respondents described how the safety audit process affected their organizations. Women NGO DAGROPASS in Burbanza, Burundi mentions simply that the audit experience was positive for their organization. Two other responses were very positive, mentioning how the women's safety audit allowed for the organization to build its network and expand the scope of its work. ACDP in the Congo states that as an organization, it found that though the work was very hard and the staff was very tired after the process was over, it did result in putting them in contact with more people. The Safer Nairobi Initiative reports to having "overwhelming" amounts of requests for support from the community. This group also described increased interaction with vulnerable groups, youth, and women from informal settlements, increased sensitization, and an enhanced ability to prioritize local projects.

Projet Douala plus sûr, on the other hand, reports that while the safety audit was a positive experience, lack of interest from local authorities has meant that the approach is not currently being used.

4.11 EVALUATION OF WOMEN'S SAFETY AUDITS

Seven groups report undergoing or being in the process of undergoing a formal evaluation. Unfortunately, no group was able to send a copy of a formal evaluation report. Safer Futures, British Columbia, and METRAC, Toronto the two organizations that have conducted the greatest number of safety audits, appear to have the most well-established and varied evaluation techniques. Both report using surveys, oral feedback, and focus groups. METRAC additionally has used community consultations as well as interviews/ meetings with key stakeholders. Neither organization provided information about the results of their evaluations. METRAC qualified that it was difficult to quantify evaluations done on a year-to-year basis.

Aside from Safer Futures and METRAC, ACDP in the Congo underwent an evaluation by group discussion, whereby initial negative results were obtained and actions were instituted to rectify the problems. No further details were given. Women NGO DAGROPASS in Burundi also mentions a formal evaluation by their executive committee using a focus group. Results here were positive but again, no details were provided.

Other organizations who indicated that evaluations had been or were being done were YWCA Montreal, WDS in London, and the Information Centre of the Independent Women's Forum (ICIWF) in Moscow. Once more, no particulars were included.

Finally, Projet Douala plus sûr, Cameroon, undertook an informal verbal self-evaluation. During this process, mutual desire to share the experience was established and participants agreed that the audit taught them many things about identifying safety problems and adequate solutions.

4.12 OVERALL ACHIEVEMENTS

Most (15) organizations reported overall achievements as a result of the women's safety audit, though only three respondents indicated why they chose to highlight

certain accomplishments. Each answer specified a different positive feature of the safety audit process, although Women NGO DAGROPASS simply noted it was positive for their organization.

Many groups commented on how the experience empowered women who participated in the safety audits. Montreal's YWCA highlighted how they empowered women through "positive and constructive action". Centre Femmes L'Ancrage in Lévis, Canada claims the audit gave women a sense of importance and responsibility with regards to the well-being of other women as well as other citizens in the community. CISCSA, Programa Regional Ciudades sin violencia hacia las mujeres, ciudades seguras para tod@s reports that the audit process was empowering for both women and the community at large. The organization also noted that it found the process successful because it was based on local, everyday experiences.

Other organizations pointed to the sensitization of other members of the community to the issue of women's safety as being the greatest achievement of the audits. Asociación para la Vivienda Popular, Columbia pointed out how their audit activities increased the sensitivity of women's organizations, civil servants, and local officials towards the issue of women's safety, which in turn allowed for the building of a participatory agenda where women representing grassroots organizations participated in the discussion process of the Development Plan for the City of Bogotá. Notably, Projet Douala plus sûr decided that for them, the audit process' greatest achievement was to enable young boys and men to willingly participate. This point in particular was deemed successful because it increased interaction between groups and because it drew attention to the difference spaces in which women felt unsafe and, therefore, avoided using. This was acknowledged by the men who confirmed that very few women use the identified spaces after dark. Finally, JAGORI considers their greatest success to be instigating public debate about women's safety in Delhi. Responding to public debate about its safety audits, the group considers the attention in itself a success. A similar conclusion was reached by UN-HABITAT Warsaw Office:
UN-HABITAT,

> **WARSAW, POLAND**
> On positive outcomes
>
> *"Greatest achievements include special attention given to the theme 'violence against women in public spaces' (the safety audit was indeed largely disseminated through the Polish media - tv, radio, writing press) and to participatory planning methods (approach still rarely implemented in Poland). It also demonstrated to the Warsaw local authorities the willingness and availability of residents to participate in the local decision-making process. "*
>
> *- Przemyslaw Bobak, Information and Programme Management Officer, UN-HABITAT Warsaw Office, July 2008*

For Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal, greatest successes include: women getting together and sharing common experiences (because this is not normally validated in mainstream society); making women more aware of their environments (because this can end women's sensory isolation); and developing the potential for more women to participate in civic life. Partnerships developed between the municipality, women's groups and local actors supported many successful actions on women's safety.

For its greatest audit achievement, Safer Futures, Canada, listed two examples. Firstly, it mentioned how an audit led to the creation of a community development society to enhance programming in an isolated rural area. Secondly, the organization mentioned its close partnership with the municipality, and a resulting community and social development plan that was created by the partnership.

METRAC provided a large list of its accomplishments using the safety audit process since 1989. Some of these include: pioneering the women's safety audit process, adapting the audit to become a more inclusive community action tool, having the City of Toronto's Safe City Committee recommend that the METRAC audit process be performed in neighbourhoods all over the city, and developing and implementing a best practice guide for safety concerns in underground garages.

Safer Cities Dar es Salaam felt that the city's inclusion of the audit process to upgrade settlements with funds from the World Bank was a huge success. Moreover, this group reported that their programme that provides seed capital to initiate safe income generation projects for women with unsafe professions was also noteworthy. The group maintains that both results are important in dealing with the physical and social causes of women's insecurity.

Other achievements of the women's safety audits:

- The Womens's Design Service (WDS), UK argued that the greatest achievement of safety audits, for them, was "combining local knowledge with built environment expertise".
- The Safer Nairobi Initiative noted that safety audits raised the profile of safety as an issue to be routinely considered in any major planning process.
- The Information Centre of the Independent Women's Forum (ICIWF), Russia felt that local women's groups gained new knowledge and experience. This was successful because it increased the influence that grassroots women's groups had over city policy and created a good partnership between local women and police.

4.13 OPPORTUNITIES, CHALLENGES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Eight organizations provided responses about the greatest changes they would make to the audit process, were they to carry out future audits. Of these, two were not clear enough to be included in this summary. Four of the remaining five responses agree that making changes to follow-up procedures would be desirable in the future. This sentiment was expressed variously as:

- obtaining results as fast as possible;
- giving participants more time to make sure follow-up is completed;
- holding evaluation meetings after the initial audit is done to motivate participants to follow through;
- finding a way to keep records of activities after they are completed;
- appointing a leader among audit participants to ensure follow-up; and
- documenting and distributing results more widely to affect larger populations.

Other changes suggested include:

- consulting more with marginalized women, for example to understand why they avoid areas when night falls;
- giving participants more time to complete the audit;
- limiting the organization's facilitating role;
- involving institutions of higher learning in order to be more scientific and credible;
- reaching out more to Community Services Organizations (CSO); and
- involving the media more proactively.

Interestingly, when asked about the main opportunities and challenges for women's safety audits, some responses were not explicitly classified as '"challenges" or "opportunities", and could be considered as either one or the other. This occurred in four survey responses. For example, the Cowichan Valley Safer Futures Program responded "to convey how the audit process leads to community development and policy changes and not just physical changes; and to sustain support for women's safety (for instance, past the novel interest stage)". These points can be considered opportunities presented by the audit process, or considered challenges incurred by the audit process. Therefore, it should be noted that the following information is the result of the authors' attempt to correctly classify, sometimes, ambiguous information.

Financial resources emerged as the greatest challenge facing groups undertaking women's safety audits. This was further qualified as the ability to mobilize resources to begin an audit, as well as the ability to mobilize resources for sustaining the process and seeing recommendations through to implementation. Lack of transportation, training and equipment needed to complete the audit were all cited as consequences of inadequate resources. Arguably, underlying this challenge is difficulty in mobilizing political will for supporting women's safety, an issue mentioned explicitly by three groups.

This leads to another common challenge noted in the surveys – having tangible evidence that recommendations were being implemented or, at the very least, that the municipality demonstrated that they are responding to the needs and recommendations put forth by the organizations. Obstacles to political support may be socio-political and rooted in traditional attitudes about gender or the belief that the safety audit tool only concerns women and is therefore

relevant for them only. When these assumptions occur, governments and other key decision-makers fail to see the larger implications for improving the safety of the community at large.

A few additional difficulties in completing audits were mentioned by METRAC. This included data collection, incomplete audits, difficulty in assessing results, and inability to track results and changes on an ongoing basis as particular challenges. Finally, two respondents mentioned the difficulty of mobilizing participants to take part in the audits.

SAFER CITIES DAR ES SALAAM, DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA
On not giving up

"I think it is a good tool, which can be used in different areas such as schools, playing fields, and which should involve everyone. When the community is attached to the results and recommendations (i.e. feels a sense of ownership over them), it is possible for the community to mobilize and begin to initiate the implementation process before even beginning to request funding. However, it is important that the local authorities respond to the needs and recommendations of the people even if only on a low scale.

To the people (women) of Canada, I would say it is possible to audit even unplanned settlements as long as the community, especially the women, are concerned with their safety and are willing to participate. I am saying this because during our fieldwork on safety audits in Johannesburg, we were assigned to audit an area called Alex, which is a slum in bad shape when compared with most Canadian cities. The safety audit tutor said, "this cannot be audited, the solution is to pull down the whole settlement and plan afresh". But I was looking at her wondering in myself saying, 'how can we pull down 75% of our cities in Tanzania to assure safety...?'"

- Anna Mtani, Coordinator, Safer Cities Dar es Salaam, March 2008

The survey responses highlighted how the opportunities presented by audits illustrate the tool's potential to address and rectify ongoing social challenges. It appears that women's safety audits shed light both on safety issues faced by women and on opportunities

for the community at large to ensure its own safety. Association Congolaise de droits de la personne Humaine and CISCSA mentioned that the audits led to increased awareness and increased willingness on the part of women who had not taken part in the audit process to do so in the future. Interestingly, four groups mentioned that when women and members of vulnerable groups work alongside stakeholders and municipal representatives, it leads to mutual understandings of the expectations and experiences of different groups across gender and class lines.

Four groups also mentioned that by soliciting women to participate not only in the identification of the elements that increase their fear of crime, but also in the solutions for increasing their sense of safety, women are empowered and able to participate in decision-making processes that would otherwise have excluded them. The audits further provide women with an opportunity to gain a sense of control over their security and their environment. These groups express more of this sentiment by claiming that women's perspectives on audit recommendations ensure that local responses are more relevant and meaningful. In other words, making communities safer for women makes communities safer for everyone. Reiterating some of the aforementioned points, groups alluded to using the women's safety audit as an opportunity to build partnerships with municipal representatives and community stakeholders, as well as to demonstrate how the participatory process leads to community development and policy changes beyond the built environment.

The easy adaptability of the audits for meeting the needs of different groups – across countries, class, or perceived vulnerability, was underscored as providing a great opportunity for the further development of women's safety audits. This means that the tool is easy to introduce to others and one respondent suggested that it would be easy to mainstream it in planning schools.

Some final pieces of advice stressed that:
- it is important to sustain meaningful relationships with local stakeholders throughout the entire process, including implementation. This should include ongoing knowledge-sharing in the form of briefing sessions;

- groups should always strive to include representatives from those who are the most vulnerable to safety concerns, in order to ensure that audit recommendations respond to their needs;
- sufficient time should be allowed for any group to gain capacity to undertake a women's safety audit;
- focus should be placed on choosing audit areas that already have resources allocated to them for improvement;
- women's safety audits should be customized to suit the local environment, culture and policies;
- always use the local media;
- emphasize community mobilization; and
- whenever possible, information about the women's safety audit process should be made available to others so the methodology can be used by everyone, popularized, and scaled up.

5. BRINGING LITERATURE AND LOCAL EXPERIENCE TOGETHER

On the basis of the email, telephone, and face-to-face survey interviews and literature review, several common themes emerged. Importantly, a mutually reinforcing relationship exists between these information sources, although each component provided alternative perspectives on similar information and outcomes. The good practices, positive outcomes, challenges and negative outcomes mentioned in the literature review, are all reinforced and validated by the survey and interview responses, reflecting on-the-ground experience from different groups and organizations .

This reinforces the importance of using complementary sources to provide a more in-depth and well-rounded analysis of the use of women's safety audits. The variations in analysis identified in the literature review, however are not all reflected in the survey and interview results. Nor are most of the suggestions from the literature review. Nevertheless, there are other, different, suggestions for improving the women's safety audit tool provided within the survey and interview section.

Firstly, the survey responses from Africa, Latin America, Eastern and Western Europe, and North America confirm the literature review's perspective on the women's safety audit as an internationally disseminated tool. It is worth noting once more that the bias within both sections of this report towards French, English and Spanish-speaking countries reflects the limits of the networking and language capabilities of the authors at this time.

The literature review of "Practices that Work" outlines a collected set of procedures that reportedly facilitate women's safety audits. Each of these practices was repeatedly noted as successful in published sources, and often confirmed by at least one and up to four other survey and interview responses as beneficial. In particular, "involving professionals and key decision-makers", "representing the community", "setting realistic goals", "creating a collaborative community structure" and "making follow-up meaningful" were all emphasized by survey and interview respondents.

"Positive Outcomes" highlighted in the literature review were similarly confirmed by at least one survey or interview response. Two outcomes – "participant

skill, confidence and legitimacy" and "community development" – were stressed in six surveys and/or interview responses. Additionally, other positive outcomes not cited in the literature review were mentioned by survey or interview respondents. For instance, Centre Femmes l'Anchrage, Ville de Lévis pointed out that the women's safety audit increased the sense of responsibility women feel for each other, and ICIWF, of Russia mentioned that the audit process raised the profile of grassroots organizations at a national level.

Not every point in the "Practices that Do Not Work and Negative Outcomes" section of the literature review was supported in the survey or interview responses. Specifically, "loss of gendered focus" and "professional co-optation" were not mentioned as problems. Although it is worth mentioning that the organizations selected to contribute to the surveys and interviews were chosen on the basis that they had identified as using the women's safety audits, which could explain why "loss of gendered focus" was not deemed to be an issue for them. However, "lack of resources and support", "deficient representation" and "failure to follow-up" are all obstacles that were repeatedly mentioned by survey and interview respondents.

The "Variations in Analysis" section of the literature review attempts to draw out differences of opinion about the women's safety audit. Most of the differences in opinion noted in published material were not apparent within the survey and interview responses. For example, there was no specific mention within the responses of the negative impacts of professional co-optation. UN-HABITAT Warsaw's did note, however, that they would like to be less involved in the process next time so community members can take the lead. Similarly, the debate within the literature about the value of crime prevention if it infringes on personal freedom was not mentioned by survey respondents.

The literature review mentions that different sources have different opinions about whether or not the women's safety audit is an effective crime prevention tool. Safer Cities Dar es Salaam reports that crime levels have dropped in their area as a result of the women's safety audit process, suggesting that the tool can prevent crime. The literature review also raises questions on whether or not women's safety audits

really benefit marginalized groups. UN-HABITAT Warsaw reported experiencing difficulty in involving a representative group of women. Safer Cities Dar es Salaam made it clear that the safety audit tool, as it was used in Canada, was not applicable to the slums of Tanzania. Furthermore, this group reported in their survey that the audit process may have contributed to neighbourhood gentrification, which pushed local residents out. In general, only seven survey or interview respondents stated that marginalized groups were involved with their audits. All of these points, when taken together, do seem to support the view that women's safety audits do not always provide as many benefits for marginalized groups as they may hope.

Globally, however, evidence of the degree to which marginalized groups are included in the safety audit processes remains very limited, making it difficult to deduce anything conclusive for the moment. More detailed case studies could help fill this void and would allow for greater and more in-depth examination of the question. This remains true for a number of the issues that arose in this assessment, which in turn points to a need for more research to be done on safety audits in order to provide some solid systematic evidence.

In the final section of the literature review, "Suggestions and New Directions", several options for improving the effectiveness of the women's safety audit tool are given. Of these options, three are reiterated in the survey responses. The recommendation that the safety audit be considered a tool for addressing the public, private and socioeconomic causes of gender-based insecurity, is reflected by five surveys or interviews which mention the potential of audits to address community security in a holistic way. The proposal mentioned by Women's Action Centre Against Violence (WACAV) in the literature review, that more measures be taken to include marginalized groups in the audit process, is addressed by four separate organizations in the surveys or interviews. WACAV also suggests in their published work that more guidance be provided for audit groups to successfully follow-up and evaluate their projects. METRAC, UN-HABITAT Warsaw, the Safer Nairobi Initiative, Projet Douala plus sûr, Centre Femmes L'Anchrage, YWCA Montreal, Programme Femmes et ville - Ville de Montréal and Asociación Para la Vivienda Popular all underlined the importance of improved follow-up procedures in their surveys or interviews.

While the majority of issues raised in the surveys and interviews coincided with those arising from the literature review, each section does discuss the women's safety audit from a different angle. In general, the literature review draws out more theoretical concerns regarding the use of the audit as a tool, while the surveys and interviews provide first-hand accounts of how safety audits affect women, organizations and their communities and some of the practical concerns they had to deal with.

6. CONCLUSION

This report was produced with the aim of providing a detailed analysis of the use and impacts of the women's safety audit tool. Taking into account first hand experiences through surveys and interviews and review of literature, the results represent knowledge and understanding from four different regions of the world. Women in Cities International, in partnership with the UN-HABITAT Safer Cities Programme, feel that this work highlights the successes and limitations of the women's safety audit tool, especially with reference to "what works where". Moreover, by bringing together this information, it is anticipated that the network of those who can and have benefited from this tool will be strengthened and expanded. This report also aims to fill the dearth of information, and promote better evaluation on this widespread and well-used concept.

Overall, Women's safety audits: What Works and Where? provides a more thorough and extensive assessment of the women's safety audit tool than has previously been undertaken. With mutually reinforcing information, both the surveys and the literature review suggest that common opinions and practices are beginning to emerge around the women's safety audit and especially about its flexibility and adaptability to different contexts, urban settings and local requirements. Many strengths, regional adaptations, challenges, outcomes and analyses of the tool have been identified. Some of the main conclusions are summarized below.

- The women's safety audit tool has been internationally disseminated and used by communities in North, South and Central America, Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia;
- the women's safety audit tool is most useful when it forms part of a long-term audit process involving several steps including research and evaluation;
- many different kinds of groups have utilised the women's safety audit, including governments, non-profit and community organizations, and women's groups;
- it is possible to adapt the women's safety audit tool to suit different places and populations;
- practices that enable women's safety audits to achieve good outcomes include:
  - maintaining a local focus
  - building partnerships with governments, professionals and other key decision-makers before, during and after the audit process;
  - researching women's security in the area to be audited prior to undertaking an audit;
  - creating and maintaining meaningful collaboration among all groups involved;
  - ensuring audit groups are representative of local residents and groups;
  - organizing a core audit team and clarifying responsibilities;
  - providing opportunities for participants for confidence-building and education;
  - setting realistic goals; and
  - ensuring that a follow-up process is in place;
- positive outcomes resulting from women's safety audits are:
  - physical environmental and policy changes;
  - greater awareness within the community of personal security issues;
  - increased skill sets, confidence, employment and political influence of audit participants and other community members; and
  - positive publicity and/or increased funding for groups and communities;
- some challenges the women's safety audit tool still faces include:
  - loss of emphasis on the gendered aspect of space and personal security;
  - limited resources and/or support to conduct women's safety audits;
  - difficulty in representing marginalized groups within audit teams;
  - the weakening of resident women's participation as a result of professional co-optation of the audit process; and
  - a lack of follow-up and/or evaluation once an audit has been completed;
- there is debate, especially in the available literature, as to whether the women's safety audit is a valuable crime prevention tool, or if it influences levels of fear of crime;
- the benefit of extensive involvement by professionals and key decision-makers in the audit process is still debate-able;
- the women's safety audit tool may not assist marginalized groups as much as it is intended to; and
- one of the main objectives of the women's safety audit, to "design out crime", may put

other groups, including some women, at risk for loss of liberty by infringing on their rights.

Looking forward, there are many promising directions for the development of this resource. Firstly, because one of the main challenges of this report is language barriers (both in terms of translation of literature and surveys and for research terms), further work in this area could expand to include more material from non-English, Spanish, or French-speaking countries, particularly in Asia and Eastern Europe. With reference to the debated impact of women's safety audits on marginalized groups, more and better evidence needs to be collected, including more detailed case studies and evaluations. Further, regarding the general lack of evaluation and detailed assessment of good practices of the women's safety audit tool, it is particularly important that groups using this resource begin to network with others, and communicate and evaluate the results of their own audit experiences. Such communication will facilitate future analyses regarding regional adaptation, and tools created by particular groups. Finally, concerning the women's safety audit tool itself, it appears that there is room for further adaptation and improvement to make it more responsive to private spaces, housing units, and a greater variety of socio-political groups.

In light of these results, some preliminary recommendations can be made for future use and dissemination of the women's safety audit tool:

1. *Women's Safety Audits: What Works and Where?* should be disseminated by UN-HABITAT to all of the Safer Cities programmes that it funds

2. *Women's Safety Audits: What Works and Where?* should be made available as a downloadable document on the UN-HABITAT website

3. A two-page document summarizing practices that do and do not work should be created in several languages. This should also be made available on the UN-HABITAT web site.

4. UN-HABITAT and METRAC should put together information on women's safety audits in languages other than French or English. This information should be made available on the UN-HABITAT website.

5. UN-HABITAT, in conjunction with UNIFEM, should support further evaluative research internationally on the impacts of safety audits (changes to the built environment, changes to policies, changes in gendered use of public spaces, and changes in levels of crime insecurity, and victimization).

While it does not claim to be a scientific evaluation of the women's safety audit tool, this report illuminates the state of the tool as it is being used today by groups around the world. It is hoped that this provides a jumping off point for others to develop better applications, and increase the potential of the women's safety audit tool, so that it may evolve into a more successful community-building and crime prevention tool.

APPENDIX 1 - ENGLISH VERSION OF FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Evaluation of Women's Safety Audits: use and effectiveness

Please respond to the following questions, based on your experience with safety audits.

Name:
Position and Organization:
Address:
Telephone:
Email:

The Audit Itself

1. How many safety audits has your organization participated in?
   If you have participated in more than one safety audit, please indicate approximately how many, where they occurred, and over what period of time.

2. How did your organization first hear about women's safety audits? When did you start using them, and in response to what perceived needs?

3. Describe your organizations' role in the safety audit(s): did you participate? Lead? Train people to lead? Advocate for action on the recommendations?

4. Did you use a published tool to guide your safety audit (eg. Women's Safety Audit Guide developed by METRAC, Toronto, Canada), and if so, which one did you use?

5. If you used an existing tool, did you adapt it to better suit your reality? If so, how did you adapt it and what kinds of adaptations were made?

6. Who has been involved in the safety audit(s)?
   a. How many people?
   b. Does this include members of vulnerable or marginalized groups? If so, describe.
   c. Women only or mixed gender?
   d. Community members only or 'decision makers' as well (eg. police officers, city planners, politicians, etc.)? Please be specific.

7. When did you do the women's safety audit(s)? What time of day or night?

8. Where did you audit? What was the scale (Building? Neighbourhood - / - district? City centre? Other?) Why did you choose this or these location(s)?

9. Did you receive funding for the audit(s), and if so, from whom and how much?

Results and Evaluation

10. Did you share the audit results with any authorities? If so, please describe the type of communication and interaction your organization had with the authorities.

    How long did it take to get a response?

Were the responses positive? If not, how long and by what mechanisms did you get a positive response, or did the response remain negative?

11. What kinds of Environmental and Policy changes did your audit accomplish?
    a. Were there any changes to the built environment? Describe.
    b. Were there any changes to local policies or practices? Describe.
    c. Can you provide any anecdotal evidence of people's changed use of the place as a result of the audit? Describe.
    d. How has it affected your organization? Describe.

12. Did you undergo any formal evaluation of the audit (if so, please send us a copy; if not please skip to question 13)?
    a. who conducted the evaluation?
    b. what form did the evaluation take? (eg. survey, oral feedback, focus group, etc.)
    c. what were the overall results of the evaluation?

13. What do you think was the greatest achievement of the audit process and why?

14. If you had a chance to do it again, what would be your biggest change and why?

15. Based on your experience, what do you think are the main opportunities and challenges for women's safety audits? Do you have any advice for others?

16. Do you know of any other organizations that have used the women's safety audit tool? If so, we would be very thankful if you would be so kind as to either pass along this questionnaire to them or forward us their contact information.

Thank you in advance for your participation in this research and do look forward to reading your responses. Please do not hesitate to contact us with any questions or comments.

APPENDIX 2 - LIST OF RESPONDENTS

Original six interviewees

Elizaveta Bozhkova, Information Centre of the independent Women's Forum (ICIWF), Moscow, Russia

Wendy Davis, Women's Design Service (WDS), United Kingdom

Cookie Edwards, KZN Network on Violence against Women, Durban, South Africa

Anna Mtani, Safer Cities Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Shilpa Phadke, Partners for Urban Knowledge, Action and Research (PUKAR), Mumbai, India

Kalpana Viswanath, JAGORI, Delhi, India

Additional interviewee

Anne Michaud, International Expert and consultant, on the basis of her experience as former Coordinator of the Programme Femmes et ville de la Ville de Montréal (1992-2004)

Survey Participants

Lise Aubin, Ville de Lévis, Québec, Canada

Przemyslaw Bobak, UN Habitat Warsaw Office, Warsaw, Poland

Marisol Dalmazzo, Asociación para la Vivienda Popular (AVP), Colombia

Terri Dame, Cowichan Safer Furtures, Cowichan, British Columbia, Canada

Elijah Agevi, Safer Nairobi Initaitive, Nairobi, Kenya

Sofia Monserrat, Mara Nazar, Maite Rodigou, Centro de Intercambios y Servicios Cono Sur-Argentina (CISCSA), Rosario, Argentina

Joséphine Mukamusoni, Women's NGO DAGROPASS, Bubanza, Burundi

Narina Nagra, Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC), Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Claude Ngomsi Meutchehe, Safer Cities Douala, Douala, Cameroon

Annie Nturubika, Association Congolaise des Droits de la personne Humaine, Democratic Republic of the Congo

Diana Pizzuti, YMCA des Femmes, Montréal, Québec, Canada

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