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One small step beyond prospect and refuge: Incorporating anxiety-related variables in models of environmental safety perception

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One barrier in studying environmental safety perception is that the concept of sense of safety is ill-understood and defined differently by different authors. Sense of safety is often equated with fear of crime. Fear requires the perception of an identifiable threat in the immediate environment, but in most pedestrian situations threats are largely unseen and dormant. Sense of safety thus, in our opinion, is best defined in terms of anxiety which results from the perception of potential threats. With dormant and potential unseen threats, a person must judge the safety of a situation on the basis of the available, but often ambiguous, information in the environment. Research aimed at identifying the relevant physical cues that make an environment to be judged as safe have mostly been based on Kaplan and Kaplan's preference-matrix model, or Appleton's prospect-refuge theory; the latter of which in general provide most consistent results. This research demonstrates that environmental qualities that increase prospect, and / or reduce concealment and entrapment increase a pedestrian's sense of safety. Models based on Appleton's functionalist theory, however, do not link safety-related information processing to the concept of anxiety, although recent studies have demonstrated that trait anxiety moderates how heavily people weigh prospect-related information. In the present study, we made a first but small step to extend models based on Appleton's theory with two psychological concepts linked to anxiety: predictability and perceived control. We expect environments that are perceived to be unpredictable (e.g., because prospect is low) or that offer little control over current or impending social situations (e.g., because entrapment is high) to be perceived as less safe (and thus more prone to elicit anxiety).

The aims of the present study were (a) to develop and test a brief 6-item self-report instrument to assess the predictability and perceived control of urban environments, and (b) to test whether the effects of prospect, concealment and entrapment on perceived environmental safety are mediated by predictability and perceived control. For this purpose, a convenience sample of 45 participants rated 100 photographs of nocturnal urban environments on predictability and control. These evaluations were subsequently combined with an existing dataset containing evaluations of the same stimuli on prospect, concealment, entrapment, and safety.

Confirmatory factor analysis using structural equation modelling revealed that we did not succeed in clearly differentiating between the two variables, with the control items also loading on the predictability variable. In addition, we found an unexpected high correlation between the two latent variables of r = 91 despite these being evaluated by two different groups of participants. In a second series of structural equation models, we tested whether the effect of prospect, concealment and entrapment on safety was mediated by predictability and perceived control. Despite limitations in the measurement of the various environmental appraisals, the results provided preliminary evidence of full mediation.