3.5 Exclusionary public space

of the overseeing role of children by adult strangers, and to a growing tendency to see the presence of children in public space as a threat to public order (Shonfield n.d.: 11). The development of car-dominated urban form may be partly to blame and has been extensively criticised, not least by 'New Urbanists' who argue that suburban environments too often dictate that only one lifestyle is possible; to own a car and to use it for everything (Duany *et al.* 2000: 25). But the way that existing environments are managed is likely to be just as culpable, and means that space for the pedestrian has increasingly been cut back and starved of investment in favour of space for cars.

Moreover, some heavy users of public space have been very actively denied access to it, or parts of it, prominent amongst which are the poor, homeless, and teenagers. Exclusion because of fear or an inability to consume are discussed below, and teenagers are excluded for both these reasons. But teenagers are also excluded because of their pastimes, the

most written about being skateboarding which is regarded by some as anti-social because of the conflict it creates with other groups and because of the damage it does to street furniture (Johns 2001).

Rather than actively designing for and managing such activities, the strategy is more often to banish such uses to dedicated spaces, and to design, or if not manage, them out of shared spaces. However, as Malone (2002: 165) has argued, 'It has become obvious from research that skate ramps and other youth-specific spaces on the margins of city centres are less than appealing places for young people (especially for young women)'. In such places teenagers experience problems of safety and security and feelings of exclusion, whilst what they desire in a public space is 'social integration, safety and freedom of movement' (Figure 3.6).