Citizenship and sustainable development

Investigating disability and inclusive landscapes

Citizenship investigations can take many forms, as Rob Kitchin demonstrates. He presents activities designed to encourage students to consider the ways in which disabled people are geographically excluded, and suggests ways to be more inclusive.

The ideas of social justice and citizenship have been key themes in many aspects of human geography since the early 1970s. Broadly, social justice studies have examined the distribution of material goods and power between people in society, asking whether social distributions are fair and just, and how that society might be re-arranged into a more just configuration. For example, David Harvey (1996) and David Smith (1994) have explored inequalities between people in cities and in relation to housing conditions, poverty, and access to employment and services, the reasons why such inequalities exist, and how this uneven development might be addressed. Citizenship builds upon notions of justice, and concerns the civil and welfare rights a State's subjects can expect – in other words what rights you can expect as a citizen of a country. Traditionally, questions relating to social justice and citizenship in western societies, whether something is good or bad, right or wrong, fair or unfair, has been avoided within the school curriculum. However, ideas of inclusion now form part of the secondary school curriculum, and the programmes of study in citizenship at key stages 3 and 4 seek to encourage students to think about political, moral and social issues.

This article demonstrates how disabled people are often denied the same levels of citizenship, experiencing reduced levels of social justice in comparison to non-disabled people specifically by focusing on access to the built environment. It can be argued that in many western countries, disabled access to the built environment is only partially legislated for, therefore there is only partial obligation to provide access. Consequently disabled people only have partial citizenship, i.e. they only have partial rights to move about towns and cities. As well as detailing some of the problems, this article also considers ways in which students as geographers might intervene and try to make their environment more inclusive.

Disability, geography and exclusion

It is only since the mid-1990s that there has been a sustained attempt to start to map out the geographies of disability in relation to social justice, citizenship and exclusion (for an overview see Park et al., 1998 and Kitchin 2000). Despite this late start, a number of different issues have been investigated (Figure 1), although each of these topics is still highly under-researched.

What each of these investigations has revealed is that disabled people, by and large, experience different geographies from non-disabled people. In many cases, this might be expected. For example, people with visual impairments perceive the geographies differently than those with full sight and wheelchair users cannot, for practical reasons, travel through many wilderness areas. Problems arise, however, when disabled people experience different geographies through no fault of their own. For example, it is now commonly argued that if a wheelchair user cannot enter a building it is because the building is inappropriately designed, not because of their impairment. In other words, it is the geography – the way the built environment is designed and built – that excludes many disabled people from full access to the towns and cities they live in.

What the studies in Figure 1 reveal is that there are a variety of ways in which disabled people are discriminated against in society, all of which lead to the production of very different geographies (Figure 2). The four points in Figure 2, indicate that there is an imbalance in how disabled people are perceived and treated. In other words, there is an imbalance in social justice and citizenship between disabled and non-disabled citizens.

Access to the built environment

There are many ways in which the urban environment disables people. For example, it is common for pavements to have kerbs at crossings rather than pavement-cuts and tactile markings,

Figure 1: Some of the disability issues that geographers have examined.
1. Lack of access to power: Disabled people are generally under-represented in political positions at all levels (local, regional, national and international) and therefore lack a platform to give their views and change society.

2. Lack of access to social well-being: Disabled people are generally under-represented in housing, denied access to private and public transport, and find it difficult to take part in mainstream social activities such as visiting the pub or cinema through poor provision and weak laws.

3. Lack of access to employment: Disabled people are often excluded from the labour market through discriminatory practices and poor levels of mobility. Where they do gain access it is usually in marginal positions undertaking low-paid, low-skilled work often on a part-time basis. This denies many disabled people prosperity and wealth, and their associated power.

4. Stigmatisation through media images: Disabled people are often portrayed in the media as abnormal, "freaks of nature" or charity 'cases'. This presents negative stereotypes that mean that many non-disabled people view and treat disabled people in unfair and discriminatory ways.

Figure 2: Four ways in which disabled people are discriminated against.

for cash machines to be placed too high for wheelchair users, and for places to be linked by inaccessible public transport (Figure 3). Even where there is provision for disabled people, it is often separate or different from non-disabled provision. For example, accessible public toilets are mostly separate from able-bodied toilets, and theatres and cinemas generally restrict wheelchair users to certain areas within the auditorium, usually towards the front or the sides. As a consequence, disabled people often encounter many more problems of mobility than non-disabled people.

All of the problems detailed above can be tackled with relative ease. For example, steps can be complemented with a ramp, cash machines can be placed lower, buildings can have lifts fitted, buses can be adapted, and so on. This reveals that the built environment is rarely 'natural' but is the product of people's values and actions. Indeed the built environment does not just occur – it is carefully planned. As such, if we wanted to make accessible environments, we could. The fact that environments are not accessible reveals important insights into how we, as a society, view and value disabled people. To geographers such as Rob Imrie (1996), inaccessible environments suggest that urban planning expresses a form of 'design apartheid' whereby planners, architects and building control officers are guilty of constructing environments which 'lock' disabled people out. This occurs, he suggests, because planners and architects are more interested in how a building looks or how it will be used by the majority of users, failing to consider the needs of disabled people. Here, environments and buildings are designed as if all people are the same (non-disabled). He argues that those that build and shape the environments we live in need to re-think the ways in which places are designed in order to make society more inclusive.

Investigating access

There are a number of ways in which the figures in this article can be used in the geography classroom. In the school buildings and grounds and for local fieldwork:

- Geography teachers can ask key stage 3/4 students to study both the photographs shown in Figure 3 and the brief description of how, even in cases where kerbs have been lowered, the environment is still inaccessible to wheelchair users. This could be followed by a whole class discussion to clarify the issues. Students could then use this information and a simplified version of the access audit (Figure 4) to map accessible/inaccessible places for wheelchair users around the school buildings/grounds. They will need to decide on appropriate symbols and include a key on the map.

- Using the quotes in Figure 5 and a modified version of Figure 4, groups of key stage 3 or 4 students can make a second survey of the school grounds/buildings with the visually-impaired person in mind.

- Students could then suggest ways in which the school environment could be made more accessible for a wheelchair user and a visually impaired person.

- The evidence could be presented either as a display, a presentation to the class or as a report to the head teacher.

- As a follow-up activity, groups of key stage 3 and 4 students can use these experiences as well as Figure 4 and large-scale maps to gather evidence of accessibility and inaccessibility in an urban area (Figure 6). In the field, they should identify areas of good and bad practice, i.e. where kerbs are lowered, or where steps are painted in different colours. In this case, the information gathered could be sent to the local planning office. The report could also take account of the views gathered from local people with disabilities, e.g. groups and/or individuals with specific needs. However, students should be instructed to respect people's privacy and/or anonymity at all times.

Figure 3: Examples of inaccessible environments. Photos: Rob Kitchin and Newbridge Access Group.
One way in which to find out how accessible an environment is, is to undertake an access audit. Take a walk around your local shopping centre and using the checklist below undertake an audit of:

- How many disabled people are there in relation to non-disabled people?
- How people with physical and sensory impairments would get to the shopping centre (e.g. public transport accessible, are there disabled parking spaces)?
- How accessible the areas between the shops are for people with physical and sensory impairments (e.g. are there steps but no ramp, is there loss of street furniture)?
- How accessible, both from the street and once inside, the shops are to people with physical and sensory impairments (e.g. are the aisles wide enough for a wheelchair, are there lifts between floors)?
- How the shops provide for people with learning and developmental disabilities (e.g. are the visual signs easy to understand and are items on sales colour coded)?
- How many specialised services are provided in the immediate area (e.g. is there a shop mobility scheme, are there accessible toilets)?

The checklist below should help you focus on specific areas.

**Parking and approach:**
- Is well signposted and easy-to-find car park
- Designated car spaces for disabled people that are close to the building
- Trained staff available to help disabled people (with signs to indicate so)
- Accessible path from car park to buildings (e.g. dropped kerbs)
- User-friendly path for people with sensory impairments (e.g. tactile paving)
- Obstacles (e.g. bollards/street furniture) highlighted by colour contrast and tactile surfaces

**Entrances to buildings:**
- Provision of both steps and ramp
- Handrails provided on both sides of steps/ramp
- Doorbell can be reached by all
- Audible/tactile/visible intercom
- Easy-opening door
- Level threshold across doorway
- Door width sufficient to allow wheelchair access

**Reception and facilities:**
- Appropriate height of reception desk
- Adequate seating
- Publicly accessible toilets
- Map of site including levels of accessibility

**Circulation areas:**
- Adequate directional signage (tactile as well as visual)
- Corridors wide enough
- Level fire exits
- Suitable floor surface
- Tactile paths/guides

**Vertical circulation:**
- Lift large enough to accommodate wheelchair
- Doors open wide enough
- Appropriate height of control panel
- Appropriate alarm/phone height
- Audible and visible signage
- Suitable dimensions of treads/insets of stairs
- Handrails to both sides of stairs and in contrasting colours
- Stair nosing (edge of step) of contrasting colour


**Figure 4: Undertaking an access audit.**

Other geographers, including myself (Kitchin, 1998), have considered the messages that these inaccessible environments communicate to disabled people. As Napolitano writes:

'Good inclusive design will read positive messages to disabled people, messages which tell them: 'you are important', 'we want you here'; and 'welcome'... If the way that disabled people are expected to get into a building is round the back, past the bins and through the kitchen, what does that message communicate? How will it make a disabled person feel?' (1995, p. 33).

Here it is argued that the landscape is 'written' as a text, containing messages that we can read (see Cresswell, 1996 for an introduction). We have all been taught how to create and read such messages, whether it is being apprehen-

**Figure 5: Potential access solutions suggested by people with visual impairments. Source: Kitchin et al., 1998a, p. 43.
Making an accessibility map

Using the information you collected as part of Figure 4, create an accessibility map of your local shopping centre. The map should try to be as inclusive as possible and will thus contain information suitable for people with different disabilities (e.g., wheelchair users, reduced mobility, visually-impaired). You could create maps dedicated to particular groups and then merge them. Text should be in plain English and accompanied by visual logos (you may need to invent some) so that someone with a learning disability can understand the labelling.

Make sure you include details about the three parts of access: getting there, getting between the buildings, and moving about in the buildings.

The map should communicate issues of accessibility as clearly as possible, so take note of the following:

- provide a reference and a title (e.g., Accessibility Map of Metro Centre Shopping Centre);
- display at an appropriate size so that visual interpretation is easy and text readable;
- make sure the map is uncluttered and contains the necessary information at an appropriate scale;
- include a legend, scale and north arrow.

Map symbols

**SURFACES**

- Smooth
- Rough
- Gravel
- Tactile surface

**PARKING/CROSSING**

- Designated space
- Underground space
- Shading
- Pavement Crossing (Zebra)
- Bollard (with lights)
- Bollard for no crossing

**ON-PAVEMENT**

- Filled
- Non-Filled
- Unfilled
- Paved
- Grass
- Pavement
- Trench
- Kerb
- Road
- Non-pavement
- Steps
- Curve
- Ridge

**OFF-PAVEMENT**

- Good
- With step
- Steps inside
- Steps or lift outside or steps inside

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**Towards a more inclusive environment**

The argument being developed is clearly that there is a need to build a more inclusive society, that is, a society that has an enlarged concept of citizenship which respects and values all its members, including disabled people. As illustrated above, disabled people are often disabled by the fact that society in general, through its attitudes and actions, actively excludes them. Disabled people do not have the same access to what most people would consider basic rights such as education, housing, transport, employment, and the built environment.

If society is to become more inclusive then the built environment needs to be made more accessible. Making the environment more accessible and recognising the need to cater for disabled people is now a legal obligation in the UK for service providers and employers as part of the Disability Discrimination Act (1995). Because of their focus of study, and the skills they possess, geographers are in a key position to help the government and concerned citizens to identify particular problems and issues, determining what structural changes in the environment are needed, and helping to enforce legislation. A number of inclusive projects can be initiated in relation to fuel detailed in Figure 1. One such project, which builds on the activities outlined above, is to produce accessibility maps of the local area as suggested in Figure 6. These highlight particular access issues that need to be addressed, and provide aids to local disabled people so they can plan more efficient spatial mobility. Such maps could also be used as evidence to lobby local councils, planning and design bodies for changes to the built environment.
Below is an extract from Ben Elton’s novel Gridlock. Read the extract and then answer the following questions:

1. How is Deborah portrayed in the passage?

Deborah [using a wheelchair because of a car accident] would come to realise that the only thing missing from doorways, steps, lifts, escalators, curbs, etc., in London, were neat signs saying Achtung! No Disabled People Allowed ... For Deborah, once a warm and vibrant human being, exuding personality and soul, had become a fire hazard. Fire hazard, and specifically a fire hazard. Not obstruction, embarrassment or damn nuisance, but fire hazard.

The reason Deborah was so specifically a fire hazard was that in those two little words, the abled bodied community let itself off the hook. It would of course be ludicrous to deny someone access to a theatre or pub because their chair would be difficult to get up a flight of stairs, or because they might occupy more space than walking customers and hence are less profitable. On the other hand, to deny someone access because they are a fire hazard - well, there is a sensible and public spirited action. There is a fast route to the moral high ground if ever there was one ...

Should, Deborah, or anyone similarly afflicted, be so selfish as to complain about their effective ostracism from social and cultural life, what would she be doing but wishing pain or death upon the abled-bodied community. And let us face it, it is not their fault that she is in a wheelchair.

It’s the possibility of a panic that worries us’ people would patiently explain to Deborah. 'You have to ask yourself what your situation would be in the case of a rush or stampede.'

Very occasionally Deborah attempted to argue her corner, pointlessly though she knew it to be.

'Listen bud,' she had said, as politely as she could manage, to the slightly puny young man who was refusing to sell her a ticket to a play to be performed in an upstairs room of a pub ... It is Saturday afternoon OK? And I have just negotiated the entire length of Oxford Street. I dealt with it all; the tone deaf [idiot] playing two of the three chords of “Blowin’ in the wind”, who kindly had his guitar case full of five pence bits spread across half the pavement ... I have got around ten broken paving stones that the council kindly put there to trip up blind people and snag wheelchairs. I have avoided the 1.5 million tourists standing in groups wondering how they just managed to pay £5.00 for a can of coke ... I have circumnavigated the thousands of thugs from the city in pretend Armani suits who can’t see you because they are so busy talking into their portable phones. So they bash you in the knees with their stupid brief-cases, with reinforced steel corners, that are absolutely essential to protect the bag of crisps and a copy of Penthouse, which is all they have inside the case ... I have detoured round the gangs of bored youths who hang around ... outside each and every one of the identical fast food outlets offering identical [trash] in a bag and Tennessee Fried Dog; the crocodile of French schoolgirls with their beautiful Benetton jumpers tied round their waists, just at a nice level to get caught in the face; the endless men who stop dead directly in front of me to turn round and look at the French schoolgirls; ... the road works; the billiards; the steaming piles of plastic bin liners; the taxis taking a little known short cut along the pavement; the bloke who stands around with a sandwich-board saying eat less meat and protein; and the strange bearded tramp waving his arms around and screaming [get lost] at everybody. All these things I have dealt with today, in a [blooming] wheelchair, bud. I think I could just about handle 25 assorted teachers and social workers making for the door in an upstairs pub.

2. What sorts of access problems does Deborah encounter?

Figure 6: An example of a representation of a disabled person and access issues. Note: Text in square brackets has been modified for language.

Conclusion

The work of geographers around the world has shown that disabled people have more limited citizen rights than their non-disabled counterparts, particularly in relation to access to the built environment. As this article indicates, inaccessible environments are not 'natural' they are made by people and can, with some forethought, be constructed in an accessible form. Although legislation has started to change the landscape, it is slow and partial. There are many opportunities for geographers to help speed up the process of developing inclusive landscapes in the form of more accessible environments by providing practical solutions that will help improve the quality of life of some disabled people. In doing so geography students will be contributing to a more inclusive society as active citizens.

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<td>Centre for Accessible Environments: <a href="http://www.cae.org.uk/">http://www.cae.org.uk/</a></td>
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