

UNTIL THE DOOR IS CLOSED?: WOMEN'S FEAR OF CRIME IN ANKARA

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CEYDA BECERİKLİ

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submitted by **CEYDA BECERİKLİ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in Sociology, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Ayşe SAKTANBER
Head of Department
Department of Sociology

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Barış KUYMULU
Supervisor
Department of Sociology

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Ayça KURTOĞLU (Head of the Examining Committee)
Acıbadem Mehmet Ali Aydınlar University
Department of Sociology

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Barış KUYMULU (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology

Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut BEŞPINAR
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Ceyda BECERİKLİ

Signature:

ABSTRACT

UNTIL THE DOOR IS CLOSED?: WOMEN'S FEAR OF CRIME IN ANKARA

BECERİKLİ, Ceyda
Master of Science, The Department of Sociology
Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Barış KUYMULU

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The main objective of this study is to examine women's fear of crime in urban public space as a spatial reflection of patriarchal relations that affect women's everyday experience of urban public space. This study endeavors to understand how women's fear of crime affects their experience of urban public space, namely the use of public space, safety concerns, mobility opportunities, mechanisms of coping with it in the case of Ankara by presenting findings based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with twenty-one women were conducted in face-to-face through using a feminist standpoint theory as a methodology. Women's fear of being exposed to crime differs from the fear of being exposed to male violence, sexual assault and harassment and limits their free use of urban public space. In this regard, this study aims to understand how women experience the geography of urban public space with their mental maps of safety and how they deal with the fear of being exposed to crime through women's actual experiences. As the research findings support, women's fear of crime differentiates their experience of urban geography from that of men and ensures the perpetuation of the patriarchal status quo in society. In this context, the aim of the study is to ensure the development of a comprehensive framework for the understanding of the urban public space and of gender relations.

Keywords: fear of crime, women, public space, urban, male violence

ÖZ

KAPI KAPANANA KADAR MI?: ANKARA'DA KADINLARIN SUÇ KORKUSU

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Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, kentsel kamusal alanda kadınların günlük deneyimlerini etkileyen ataerkil ilişkilerin mekansal bir yansıması olarak kadınların kentsel kamusal alandaki suç korkusunu incelemektir. Bu çalışma, metodoloji olarak feminist duruş kuramı kullanılarak yirmi bir kadınla yüz yüze gerçekleştirilen yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatlara dayalı bulgular sunarak, kadınların suç korkusunun kentsel kamusal alan deneyimlerini, yani kamusal alan kullanımını, güvenlik endişelerini, hareketlilik olanaklarını ve bununla başa çıkma mekanizmalarını Ankara örneğinde nasıl etkilediğini anlatmaya çalışmaktadır. Kadınların suça maruz kalma korkusu, erkek şiddeti, cinsel saldırı ve tacize maruz kalma korkusundan farklıdır ve kentsel kamusal alanı özgürce kullanmalarını sınırlar. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma, kadınların kentsel kamusal alan coğrafyasını zihinsel güvenlik haritalarıyla nasıl deneyimlediklerini ve suça maruz kalma korkusuyla nasıl başa çıktıklarını kadınların gerçek deneyimleri üzerinden anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma bulgularının da desteklediği gibi, kadınların suç korkusu erkeklerin kentsel coğrafya deneyimlerinden farklılaşmakta ve toplumdaki ataerkil statükonun devamını sağlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın amacı, kentsel kamusal alan ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin anlaşılması için kapsamlı bir çerçevenin geliştirilmesidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: suç korkusu, kadın, kamusal alan, kent, erkek şiddeti

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As we step out of the house on a fine evening between four and six, we shed the self our friends know us by and become part of that vast republican army of anonymous trampers, whose society is so agreeable after the solitude of one's own room. For there we sit surrounded by objects which perpetually express the oddity of our own temperaments and enforce the memories of our own experience.

(Woolf, 1930)

1.1. Research Problem

This study aims to reveal the extent of the fear of crime that women in Ankara experience in urban public spaces. It focuses on their anxieties and concerns about safety, options for mobility, strategies for coping with such fears, and the ways in which these fears manifest in their daily routines. Additionally, it examines how the physical environment contributes to this fear. The thesis mainly aims to examine the impact of women's fear of crime on their daily lives, including their spatial mobility and behaviors in the city, while exploring women's actual experiences through narratives that highlight inequalities in the use of the city. Using the feminist standpoint theory, this analysis examines the influence of fear of crime on women within urban public spaces. By creating a comprehensive framework for comprehending gender relations and urban public space, the goal of this study is to ensure improved understanding and analysis.

The main concern of this study is to explore the experiences that distinguish the daily lives of women in urban public spaces from those of men. The primary motivation behind this investigation is that women exhibit considerably higher levels of fear of crime and anxiety regarding their safety in the city when compared to men. As a result, this elevated risk of crime among women restricts their public space use,

prompting them to adopt various coping mechanisms with this fear. The fear experienced by women in urban public spaces may be due to a variety of underlying factors, including class, gender, age, marital status, ethnicity, and race.

However, many studies and research support that the fear of crime prevents women from freely using the public space (Pain, 1991; Riger and Gordon, 1981; Valentine, 1989; Day et al., 2003; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2005) and that the social function of this fear is to control them (Pain, 1991; Riger and Gordon, 1981; Valentine, 1989; Kern, 2020). Therefore, the most significant factor that distinguishes women's fear of crime from that of other groups in society is that the fear has a social function of keeping them at home. This is achieved through the fear of male-inflicted violence, sexual assault, harassment, rape, and the threat of male violence. However, some scholars pointed out that the safety concern in public space is not limited to the violence experienced in public space, but is also related to the violence experienced in the private space (Koskela, 1997; Pain, 1991). It is also conceivable to think of the limitations experienced by women in their use of urban space and their concerns about security in Turkey, with the male violence against women and women's murder, which has increased significantly especially in cities recently, and even what has recently started to be called femicide.

1.2. The Significance of the Study

Fear of crime is a phenomenon that affects the behavior and attitudes of individuals in daily life and their quality of life in terms of psychologically, socially, and economically. In this sense, the high fear of crime negatively affects the quality of life of individuals and may limit their participation and mobility.

The safety concerns and fear of crime experienced by women in urban public space are different and higher than that of men. Women's fear of crime, especially sexual assault, and male violence, hinders their freedom to use and participation to the public space. For this reason, I aim to render understandable the fear of crime and the reasons women experience in the urban public space, the inequalities that women experience in terms of their use of the city, and how it affects their daily experiences,

by supporting them with women's narratives in the findings of my research and studies in the fields of feminist geography and criminology. It is important to examine the reasons for women to use urban public space with limitations, and to see the visibility of gender inequalities through space and their connections with women's social control in society.

There are various studies on fear of crime in Turkey in the academic literature (see Mühürçüoğlu, 2010; Kosukoğlu, 2011; Gökulu, 2011; Çardak, 2012; Öztürk, 2015; Köklü and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2017; Yedikardeş, 2017; Boztoprak, 2021; Ünal-Reşitoğlu, 2017; Temurcin, Kilic, & Aldirmaz, 2020; Yirmibeşoğlu and Ergun, 2015). The studies on fear of crime are mostly researches that aim to measure fear of crime through quantitative methods through structured questionnaires and prove that women's fear of being exposed to crime in the urban public space is high. Therefore, the main concern of these studies is to quantify the degree of fear, which is often explained by establishing a relationship between fear and the physical characteristics of the space. On the other hand, there are limited studies that focus on women's experiences of everyday in the public space, through women's safety concerns and their visibility in the urban public space, from the perspective of feminist geography (see Alkan, 2005; Tuncer, 2014; Lordoğlu, 2016; Tandoğan and İlhan, 2016; Büyüknisan, 2021; Uşaklılar, 2022).

The aim of this study is to investigate the effects of women's fear of crime on their use of public space. I do so with an attempt to obtain more in-depth and detailed information through qualitative methods in line with the feminist research principles and by adopting feminist standpoint epistemology. The significance of this study, therefore, is that it attempts to understand the fear of crime experienced by women in public space by giving priority to their voices, expressions, and words. More simply, this study aims to answer the following questions: How do women with different social, economic, and cultural backgrounds experience urban public space in gendered terms? What are some of the factors that differentiate the ways in which women use urban public spaces? How do the fears of male-inflicted crime in urban public space affect women's physical and geographical mobility? How do women deal with this fear of crime and with what mechanisms, ways, tactics, and strategies?

In this direction, this study aims to examine the effects of fear of crime on women's lives in terms of participation and use in urban public space, in line with the narratives they conveyed and the coping methods they developed, based on their own experiences.

In the light of these, studying women's fear of crime in everyday urban public space by using the theoretical approaches of feminist social scientists will contribute to the relative lack of academic literature in Turkey, and the significance of this is considerable because it mainly raises three major issues:

a) The conventional fields of criminology and the sociology of crime previously neglected an examination of women. It was not until the emergence of second-wave feminism and feminist scholars that women were included in their discourse. Men have dominated the construction, production, and dissemination of criminological knowledge and subjects of inquiry (Morris & Gelsthorpe, 1991; Kahle, 2017). During the 1960s, the field of criminology began including female offenders as a topic of study. Concurrently, there was a growing focus on instances of male violence and harassment against women. As Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988) pointed out, male violence against women is a new area of criminology that has not yet been theorized. The traditional criminological approaches have been so far removed from women's actual experiences that they would describe women's fear of crime as irrational, unrealistic, and paradoxical. Against the failure of traditional criminology that neglects structural causes, it is therefore an essential intervention to explain that this fear functions as a form of social control of women and enables men to maintain the status quo in society.

b) Essentially, working on women's fear of crime offers a convenient space to examine and render visible the relationship between gender and spatial formations, and to reveal the relationship between the two. The theme of the separation of public and private spaces, which serves to reveal the subordinate position of women and the relationship between gender and space, shows how a patriarchal society defines gender roles, which further contribute to the maintenance of the stratification of the sexes in the experienced physical space in the cities. Therefore, the social function of

women's fear of exposure to male violence, sexual harassment, and rape in maintaining this distinction sheds light on the relationship between space and gender.

c) The subject matter of women's fear of crime in public spaces highlights the degree to which women's daily encounters in urban public areas are realized within certain possibilities and constraints. By investigating how women experience and cope with fear of crime in urban public spaces, a study on women's visibility in the city and the specific conditions under which they live can be conducted. What creative strategies do individuals use to navigate public spaces or what measures do they take to avoid them in their daily lives?

1.3. Outline of the Thesis

In Chapter 1, I provide a brief introduction to the thesis, and I explain its significance as well as its potential contributions to academic literature. After that, in Chapter 2, I provide a literature review on the fear of crime and present a detailed review of studies on women's fear of crime. Then, in Chapter 3, I provide a detailed discussion and explanation of the method I used in the field and applied to the thesis. Following this, Chapter 4 focuses on the discussion of how women's fear of crime affects their daily lives in urban public spaces and their relations with the city based on the findings from their narratives. In line with the main purpose of this thesis, I discuss the geography of women's experiences of fear and violence and how they deal with the fear of crime in the urban public space. Lastly, I provide a brief conclusion in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The Definition of Fear of Crime

Fear of crime is a significant social problem that contributes to urban discontent and is influenced by various factors within the urban areas. It, therefore, arises from recognizing the potential danger of a location or the possibility of being attacked by another person. The fear results from a combination of direct or indirect experiences, memories, and daily interactions with others. Fear of crime requires individuals and communities to react prudently and sensitively to actual or potential criminal activity. This significant issue impacts social and individual experiences with fear of crime in urban public spaces. The significance of public spaces as a basic component of the urban surroundings, embracing streets, pathways, passageways, and additional accessible zones such as workplaces, cafes, parks, schools, and entertainment venues, emphasizes the need to address this matter. The issue of crime is crucial, as it inhibits mobility, interaction, and participation in urban public spaces, ultimately reducing individuals' quality of life. Therefore, this problem is concerning as it causes ongoing anxiety and changes in behavior, including avoiding specific places at particular times, decreasing participation in outdoor activities, carrying self-defense tools, or even moving to another place.

The concept of fear of crime was used to understand and explain the reactions of society to criminal behavior. Nevertheless, fear of crime is a phenomenon that has been studied by many disciplines over the years, such as criminology, psychology, sociology, city planning and social geography. Studies conducted by various disciplines have brought many different views and approaches to this subject. For this reason, it is difficult to make a consensus definition of fear of crime.

Previous studies on fear of crime aimed to measure individuals' anxiety about crime exposure and their reactions to it, often assessing levels of fear by posing leading questions such as "How concerned are you about becoming a crime victim?" or "How safe do you feel when you're alone in your neighborhood after dark?". The purpose of using such questions to measure the fear of crime is to ascertain the overall level or frequency of individuals who fear becoming a crime victim. On the other hand, these survey inquiries have received considerable critique, as they are accused of reflecting perceptions of the likelihood of victimization, rather than truly measuring fear of crime. As Ferraro and LaGrange (1987, p. 76) indicate: "A person who says he or she would not feel very safe may not be afraid at all, but simply aware of the relative risk. Thus such a person may avoid walking alone in their neighborhood at night and not really manifest any fear of crime."

Investigating crime as a general category and asking leading questions to the participants hindered the studies from reaching detailed results on fear of crime in the early days of investigation. Hence, during the initial stages of investigating fear of crime, studies were limited in explanatory power due to their narrow scopes, which covered only certain types of crime, small-scale datasets, and monolithic structures (Moore and Jonathan, 2006).

In general, fear of crime refers to a sense of fear and vulnerability arising from the perceived threat of criminal victimization. That is, this emotional distress reflects the belief that one is at risk of becoming a victim of crime. Rachel Pain (2001) the definition of fear of crime comprises emotional and practical reactions from both individuals and communities, in response to disorder and criminal activities in any given location. This highlights the substantial impact such concerns have on daily life. In fact, this fear can have adverse emotional effects on individuals, generating feelings of isolation, vulnerability, and ultimately, negatively impacting their well-being (Hale, 1996). Further, in Carol Brooks Gardner's words: "public places can engender a characteristic set of incivilities that can injure an individual's self-esteem either fleetingly or, since the occurrence of these incivilities is repetitive and recursive, more momentarily and even permanently" (1995, p. 8).

Fear of crime significantly impacts an individual's quality of life. It yields adverse consequences in the form of social, psychological, and economic negative effects. As a result, one may take expensive precautions to feel more secure. Some individuals may opt for residing in affluent areas or gated communities due to the perception of increased safety. Alternately, others may choose to supplement their personal security by installing surveillance systems, alarms, or purchasing additional locks. Additionally, crime-related anxieties may result in individuals altering their habitual activities, such as avoiding certain venues. Fear can undermine communal bonds and transform certain public spaces into prohibited areas (Hale, 1996). It leads to atomized individuality rather than a sense of community. People who are afraid of being exposed to crime may have a tendency to stay indoors more, especially after dark. On the other hand, they also tend to limit their behavior by going to safe places at safe times when they go out. They may tend to avoid activities they perceive as dangerous such as using some types of public transport, and going to certain forms of public entertainment activities. In addition, it can cause temporary or permanent damage to the psychology of the person. It makes people feel vulnerable, weak, and alone. In fact, it has negative effects on individuals such as anxiety, stress, insecurity, incompatibility, alienation, withdrawal, introversion and even psychological disorders (Stafford, Chandola, & Marmot, 2007). It, therefore, may highly lead to damage to a person's mental and social wellbeing.

2.2. Theoretical Approaches on Fear of Crime

Theoretical Approaches

There are several academic approaches to the study of fear of crime across disciplines. This section aims to provide a critical review on the evolution of theoretical approaches on fear of crime within crime studies across social scientific disciplines. It is noteworthy that differing perspectives on fear of crime possess varying degrees of limitations. Therefore, while I will be summarizing their development and main arguments, I will do so by revealing their problematic aspects, which will direct the discussion towards my main arguments as to how to conceptualize women's fear of male-inflicted crime and the ways in which it shapes women's use of urban public spaces.

2.2.1. Victimization Perspective

The victimization perspective contains two approaches in itself: one is direct (Skogan, 1987; Liska et al., 1988) and the other one is indirect victimization perspectives (Lavrakas and Lewis 1980; Arnold 1991; Klecha and Bishop 1978; Gates and Rohe 1987, Garofalo, 1979). Direct victimization occurs when a person personally experiences being victimized. On the other hand, indirect victimization refers to the situation where a person has undergone vicarious victimization. This happens because besides direct victimization through crime, an individual can also undergo vicarious victimization through the media, news, second-hand information, witnessing a crime, or hearing about violent crimes, and so such experiences can affect a person's fear of crime.

2.2.1.1. Direct Victimization

Direct victimization perspective claims that there is a direct relationship between fear of crime and victimization. That is, the rate of fear of crime of the individual who is the subject of the crime is higher than that of someone who does not directly experience the crime. From this perspective, being a direct victim of a particular crime affects the perception of crime and is a factor that affects the fear of crime (Skogan, 1987; Liska et al., 1988). Additionally, Skogan's findings revealed that "people who are victimized a) think there is more crime around, b) are more worried about being a victim, and c) do things to protect themselves, probably as a consequence of their experience" (1987, p. 152).

On the other hand, some studies that investigated how personal victimization plays a role in fear of crime found no supporting evidence of a strong relationship between the two. Skogan and Maxfield (1981), for example, found that there is a weak relationship with personal experience of victimization and fear of crime. Further, Garofalo (1979) deduced that fear of crime is not simply a reflection of the risk or experience of being a victim. In fact, Baker et al. (1983) found no direct effect of personal victimization experience on fear of crime. However, the majority of samples they investigated were victims of property crime.

While there is some debate surrounding the impact of direct victimization on fear of crime, it is generally accepted that personal victimization can indirectly affect one's perception of crime. Therefore, victimization can potentially alter people's perspectives on crime and lead to increased vigilance. Being a direct victim of crime can make one more prudent and cautious, but whether it makes them more fearful is still up for debate (Hale, 1996). Experiencing victimization may cause individuals to display more cautious behavior and alter their perceptions of crime accordingly.

2.2.1.2. Indirect Victimization

In contrast to direct victimization, indirect victimization is the perspective that hearing of victimization of others a person knows them, or hearing of victimization from other kinds of sources will increase a person's fear of crime (Lavrakas and Lewis 1980; Arnold 1991; Klecha and Bishop 1978; Box et al. 1988; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Gates and Rohe 1987). According to Taylor and Hale,

a criminal event sends out 'shock waves' that spread throughout the community via local social networks. People who hear about a crime become indirect victims in that their levels of fear increase. Local social contacts serve to amplify the fear-inspiring impact of local crime. The indirect victimization model thus attempts to bring crime and fear into correspondence by adding a crime 'multiplier' (1986, p. 156).

The indirect victimization perspective seeks to establish a correlation between crime and fear by scrutinizing the impact of regional social connections. People who have been subjected to crime or have witnessed criminal activities often exchange information via local social networks. According to Taylor and Hale (1986), local social networks magnify the impact of victimization. As a result, individuals with more connections within the community are more likely to experience increased fear of crime.

For Hale, "if one can make comparisons between oneself and the victim this will reinforce one's sense of vulnerability" (1996, p. 105). Therefore, this is because individuals may be able to empathize with the victimization experienced by another

person, potentially leading them to the consideration of coping strategies in response to feelings of physical, economic, or emotional vulnerability.

2.2.1.3. Media Effect

Individuals who consume crime news through both traditional and alternative sources, such as social media, are susceptible to vicarious victimization and may experience fear in response to crime. This occurs regardless of their local social connections. The media's role as one of the factors affecting fear of crime has been the subject of much debate (Heath, 1984; Koomen et al., 2000). Most of the previous works have indicated a relationship between fear of crime and consumption of criminal victimization news (Näsi et al., 2000; Heath, 1984).

For instance, Koomen et al. (2000) examines the frequency of crime news by the mass media according to the level of fear of crime and states that "the more the mass media report about crime, the more readers become afraid of crime feared" (p. 922).

According to Smolej and Kivivuori (2006), individuals who consume various types of crime news tend to have heightened fear levels towards violent crime. Additionally, studies have revealed a connection between viewing crime news, avoidance behavior, and an increased fear of victimization. To be more precise, those who read tabloid headlines regarding crime news exhibit more avoidance behavior and are more likely to experience elevated levels of fear regarding becoming a victim of violence (Smolej and Kivivuori, 2006). Fear of violence can cause avoidance behavior, limiting a person's ability to go certain places or at certain times, leading to changes in daily routines and socialization habits. Individuals may exhibit avoidance behavior due to information obtained from external sources that highlights the characteristics of a particular area, or due to increased perceptions of risk and fear of crime in that area.

Furthermore, the researchers found that active media consumption affects levels of fear, and that the more prevalent the use of social media and other alternative information sources, the greater the likelihood that participants would report feeling

afraid of street violence (Näsi et al., 2020). On the other hand, Koomen et al. (2000) emphasizes that the impact of fear-inducing characteristics in crime news dissemination within the mass media on fear of crime hinges on source reliability. Therefore, the reliability of the news source also factors in the experience of fear among the public.

The implications of findings of Liska and Baccaglini's (1990) work demonstrate that the impact of local stories in the newspaper are more likely to have a stronger relationship with fear of crime compared to non-local stories. As noted by Heath (1984), reading crime news in newspapers allows for making downward comparisons. The ratio of local crime reports to non-local crime reports is largely influenced by editorial decisions rather than the local crime rate. Randomness and sensationalism are factors that contribute to increased fear when crimes occur in immediate surroundings, but reduced fear when they occur elsewhere (Heath, 1984).

2.2.2. Vulnerability Perspective

The victimization perspective alone cannot sufficiently explain the increased fear of crime faced by socially disadvantaged groups, like women and the elderly. Conversely, the vulnerability approach posits that fear of crime and victimization do not have a straightforward correlation. Instead, the victimization perspective shows that direct victimization is the foremost factor that contributes to fear of crime. The victimization perspective posits that fear of crime is largely influenced by experiences of direct victimization. In contrast, the vulnerability approach asserts that an individual's fear of crime is dependent on their perceived risk of victimization and their capacity to cope with potential harm resulting from victimization, rather than the experience of victimization itself. The vulnerability perspective suggests that specific social groups feel an elevated fear of crime due to their perceived vulnerability. This perspective highlights that individual circumstances serve as a primary catalyst for fear towards crime.

At a common sense level people who feel unable to protect themselves, either because they cannot run fast, or lack the physical prowess to ward off

attackers, or because they cannot afford to protect their homes, or because it would take them longer than average to recover from material or physical injuries might be expected to 'fear' crime more than others (Hale, 1996, p. 95).

Skogan and Maxfield (1981) argue that there is much more fear than actual victimization and this fear cannot be explained by crime statistics alone or by individual victimization experiences in view of the fact that this fear is related to the types of behaviors people take to deal with crime and their capacity to cope with crime. Individuals think about how and to what extent they will cope with the consequences of any type of crime because of the fact that “fear can reflect anticipation of the consequences of attack” (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981, p. 72).

The personal vulnerability of crime is analyzed by Skogan and Maxfield (1981), dividing them into two categories: one is physical and the other one is social vulnerability. Physical vulnerability means “openness to attack, powerlessness to resist attack, and exposure to traumatic physical (and probably emotional) consequences if attacked” (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981, p. 69). According to this approach, women and the elderly people, for example, may feel unable to cope with a physical attack compared to another social groups.

The social dimension of personal vulnerability defines that “people are socially vulnerable to crime when they are frequently exposed to the threat of victimization because of who they are, and when the social and economic consequences of victimization weigh more heavily more upon them” (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981, p. 73). There may be a lack of access to the resources needed to deal with the consequences of crime. In access to these resources and facilities, race and income can be decisive factors.

2.2.2.1. Gender

There is a paradox between the level of fear and the level of actual risk regarding women's high fear of crime and their actual risk of victimization. The fear of risk paradox asserts that although women and the elderly are less likely to become

victims of crime, they tend to have a greater level of fear of crime compared to others. Many studies indicate that while men may be more susceptible to crime, women often report a heightened fear of victimization (Stanko, 1995; Hale, 1996; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Warr, 1985; Smith, 1988; LaGrange and Ferraro, 1989; McGarrell et al., 1997).

The vulnerability perspective posits that the main reason women and the elderly experience greater fear of crime is due to their increased vulnerability. According to this perspective, feeling vulnerable to crime is the driving factor behind women's heightened fear of crime.

On the other hand, it is also worth noting that women's crimes are less likely to be reported than men's. Women are often targets of sexual assault and violent crimes, but they tend to report these incidents at a lower rate (Smith, 1988; Stanko, 1995; Hale, 1996). However, the high level of women's fear of crime has led to assumptions that their fears are irrational and based on false consciousness, despite previous studies reporting extremely low rates of violence against women. This perspective has since been criticized for neglecting structural causes of male violence and perpetuating the idea that women are fundamentally weak and passive victims (Stanko cited in Pain, 1993).

Another aspect to consider is that the sexual assault and violence or the threat of these may effect on women's fear of crime. Despite the fact that women report lower incidence of victimization of crime, they are more likely to be sexually assaulted. The issue is further complicated by studies utilizing a worldwide measure for fear, which creates ambiguity in comprehending the distinct and culturally specific forms the fear of crime assumes (Hale, 1996). Warr (1985), for instance, conducted a mail survey in Seattle and discovered that rape was the most feared crime among women out of a list of sixteen crimes. These findings suggest that the discussion of women's fear of crime often centers around sexual harassment and rape. Namely, the "shadow of sexual assault hypothesis contends that women's higher fear of crime is due to a fear of rape which casts its shadow over a range of other crimes" (Hirtenlehner & Farrall, 2014, p. 1168). Ferraro (1996) calls it the Shadow Hypothesis, which argues

that “sexual assault may shadow other types of victimization among women” (p. 669). Although women and men have almost the same level of fear of being subjected to any type of crime other than sexual crimes, women’s fear of sexual assault, in particular rape, is the basis of their fear compared to men because sexual assault and rape cause both physical and emotional trauma for many years. Furthermore, Ferraro argues that any criminal act for women brings along the risk of sexual harassment. For instance, a thief breaking into a woman's home means that for a woman, it also risks being raped.

Several feminist scholars have opened up the discussion of rape and fear of rape as “a universal condition of women” (Jeffreys, 1990, p. 171). As Susan Brownmiller pointed out how sexual violence, particularly rape, has traditionally assisted maintaining the patriarchal status quo as an acceptable form of punishment for women who transgressed a norm in society. The rape, for Brownmiller, is “nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear” (1975, p. 15). The use of sexual violence as a form of social control ensured the persistence of uneven power relations between men and women in space. To put Griffin's words, “rape and the fear of rape are a daily part of every woman's consciousness” (1971, p. 27).

The conventional crime studies do not fully capture the scope of covert crimes against females, particularly sexual assault. Women experience sexual violence and harassment from non-strangers, including their spouses, partners, male relatives, and colleagues, yet these incidents remain largely unreported and unrecorded. Domestic violence is not counted in official statistics, and women frequently decide not to report sexual harassment by non-foreigners for various reasons. The experience of domestic threat and crime is crucial to comprehending women’s sense of insecurity in both their homes and the outside world. Therefore, crime studies often fail to consider women's perspectives on the threats they face in their daily lives, including violence from men within their own families and communities. The anxiety and worry that women experience about these dangers extends beyond the fear of stranger danger in public spaces (Stanko, 1995).

2.2.2.2. Age

Age is another significant factor in the vulnerability perspective of fear of crime. The impact of crime on the quality of life of elderly individuals and their fear of crime have been the subject of several studies in criminology. Early studies indicate a direct relationship between age and fear of crime, with older people reporting higher levels of fear compared to younger age groups. In fact, people become more afraid as they get older, which is why older adults are more likely to report fear of crime than their younger counterparts (Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Braungart et al., 1980; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Garofalo, 1981; Ollenburger, 1981). The fact that there is a possibility that the elderly group may not be able to show physical resistance to physical assault or harassment compared to other age groups. For instance, Ollenburger's investigation also supported that the elderly people have the highest fear of crime compared to all other categories, and also showed that "the difference in fear of crime between rural and urban elders is much greater than the differences between urban and rural for other age categories" (1981, p. 110). In fact, Clemente and Kleiman (1976) asserted that "it is reasonable to argue that for older people fear of crime is even more of a problem than crime itself" (p. 207).

Despite early studies that claimed a positive correlation between fear of crime and age, recent research shows that older people are not more scared than younger people (Yin, 1982; Ferraro, 1995; Ziegler & Mitchell, 2003) and that the assumed risk of crime may be higher than previously thought (Pain, 1995). Findings from the current studies show that older adults do not always experience higher levels of fear of crime and victimization than younger people; in contrast, the sample of older adults reported significantly less fear of crime than their younger age groups (Ferraro, 1995; Ziegler & Mitchell, 2003). Although there are studies that provide some support for this widespread belief, as Yin (1982) suggests: "fear of crime should not be viewed as the most serious problem facing the elderly" (p. 244). The main reason for these recent studies to reach this conclusion is related to how the fear of crime is measured (Ferraro & LaGrange, 1992) and the construction of the old age category (Pain, 1997). Issues such as what age range the elderly category corresponds to, and the expectation that the elderly are afraid of crime have led to misinterpretations about the elderly.

The correlation between old age and fear of crime has been challenged by highlighting other factors that impact the experience of aging. It would, therefore, be misleading to assert a positive correlation between age and fear of crime while ignoring the influences of variables such as social class and physical surroundings. The subsequent excerpt from Pain describes the impact of such characteristics on crime fear: “The structure of class, gender and race ability is the key determinants of how older people experience old age” (in Powell and Wahidin 2008, p. 95).

2.2.2.3. Socioeconomic Status

Other potential contributors to fear of crime include income, race, and education, as evidenced in studies. Research suggests that ethnic minorities, those with lower incomes, and those with less education tend to experience greater levels of fear compared to their wealthier, white, and more educated counterparts. A deficiency in material and social resources could hinder their ability to handle victimization on a personal level, whereas insufficient contacts, organizational capacity, and political networks might impede their capacity to cope with victimization on a communal level (Hale, 1996). All this will increase the sense of helplessness and vulnerability and, consequently, the fear of crime.

Clemente and Kleiman (1976) found out that people who have a high level of socioeconomic status express less fear of crime than people who have a low level of socioeconomic status. The findings of the study are that in the under 65 group, 47% of those with earnings less than \$7,000 per year were afraid, compared to only 36% of those with incomes greater than \$7,000 (Clemente & Kleiman, 1976). As a result, while income is seen as a determining factor in both age groups, it is more important for the non-aged groups than for the elderly (Clemente and Kleiman, 1976).

The elevated level of crime-related anxiety perceived by ethnic minorities, those in lower socioeconomic groups, and individuals with limited education could be due to environmental factors since they tend to dwell in regions with higher crime rates compared to other areas. It has been posited that individuals with low socioeconomic status might defend themselves less, both physically and socially. The lack of

financial resources to purchase extra home security measures undoubtedly raises the level of fear among individuals. In addition, limited economic and social status may impede access to legal knowledge and representation, leading to an increased likelihood of ineffective coping with criminal victimization.

There are institutional and individual reasons why ethnic minorities express a greater fear of crime. These groups may encounter racism in their daily lives, leading to lower levels of trust and belief in the political, judicial, and law enforcement systems compared to other groups. Consequently, they may experience higher levels of fear and anxiety. For example, Brunton-Smith and Sturgis (2011) discovered that at a national level, Black and minority ethnic groups usually report more fear of crime than the White majority. However, in areas with greater ethnic diversity, Black residents report significantly less fear of Whites.

2.2.3. Incivilities Perspective

The incivilities perspective posits that fear of crime is influenced by specific environmental factors and indicators. This results in fear of crime irrespective of one's experience or perceived vulnerability to crime. According to this view, individuals interpret these environmental factors and these assessments of risk become a significant factor affecting fear of crime. Namely, this perspective in the literature on fear of crime aims to assess individuals' perceptions of crime in their communities by examining the issue through a communal lens.

The incivilities perspective aims to comprehend the relationship between fear of crime and the cues individuals receive from their living environment- both physical and social. These cues, which have been labeled in diverse ways, are significant in shaping how individuals perceive their surroundings. Signs of incivility that indicate social disorder in the local environment, as perceived by individuals, may include abandoned buildings, vandalism, graffiti, dilapidated areas, abandoned vehicles, shattered glass, noisy gatherings, condemned residences, public alcohol consumption, and the use of illicit drugs in neighborhoods. In the literature, these are called “environmental clues” (Box et al., 1988), “perceived neighborhood problems”

(Gates and Rohe, 1987), “incivilities” (Hunter, 1978), “signs of crime” (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981), “disorder” (Skogan, 1990), “early signs of danger” (Stinchcombe et al., 1980), “cues to danger” (Warr, 1990), “broken windows” (Wilson and Kelling, 1985), “urban unease” (Wilson, 1968). At the same time, it should be stated that Taylor (1999), who noted that there are different understandings of the incivilities thesis and traces its evolution in the literature, notes that over time the focus has shifted from the effects of incivility on the individual to an increasing emphasis on ecological processes and community change. However, this thesis generally argues that physical and social disorder in society causes fear of crime, due to the erosion of social order or certainty, rather than crime itself. This can be explained as follows:

Fear in the urban environment is above all a fear of social disorder that may come to threaten the individual. I suggest that this fear results more from experiencing incivility than from direct experience with crime itself. Within areas of a city incivility and crime may in fact be empirically correlated. As such, incivility would then be a symbolic cue to the heightened possibility for more serious criminal victimization. Independent of this empirical question, incivility may still produce greater variation in fear than does crime because of its relative frequency in daily experience of urban dwellers (Hunter as cited in LaGrange et al., 1992, p. 313).

LaGrange et al. (1992, p. 312) define the concept of incivilities as “low-level breaches of community standards that signal an erosion of conventionally accepted norms and values.” The main point of this approach is the elimination of specific social norms and structures. Individuals perceive disordered social behaviors and physical environments as threats, which increases their safety concerns. Meanwhile, social, or physical disorders may increase fear of crime – though their improvement could subsequently lessen it. Environmental improvements, such as removing graffiti from walls and cleaning vacant buildings, can decrease fear of crime (Wilson and Kelling, 1982). Wilson and Kelling (1982) have been argued in the broken windows theory that the social environment plays a crucial role in establishing social order and informal social control.

Furthermore, social and physical disorders in the immediate environment are reported to be even more influential than the person's actual experiences. Biderman et al. (1967) reported that “attitudes of citizens regarding crime are less affected by

their past victimization than by their ideas about what is going on in their community-fears about a weakening of social controls on which they feel their safety and the broader fabric of social life is ultimately dependent” (p. 160). For this reason, Hunter and Baumer (1982) stated the significance of social integration at the street level to eliminate the community-fears. On the other hand, people may become more afraid of being victims of a violent act when they sense their immediate surroundings as threatening on the assumption that the heightened social integration scares people less (Hale, 1996).

The incivilities perspective asserts that fear of crime is an expression of the loss of control over the local environment and the powerlessness felt towards it. Namely, social and physical incivilities are perceived as indicators of noncompliance with public behavior norms, in which disordered individuals are seen as unpredictable and potentially violent, and linked to a perceived high risk of victimization (McGarrell et al., 1997). It is associated with a feeling of insecurity and anxiety caused by the social and physical deterioration in the immediate environment, weakening of traditional norms, worsening social life, the decreasing social integrity and solidarity at the street level.

One critique of the broken windows theory is its focus on identifying and persecuting those who are seen as presenting a danger to society (such as the homeless, gang members, or those who congregate in abandoned spaces). This approach can influence a community's quality of living and suggest that it is on the verge of collapse. Additionally, this perspective appears to strengthen the connection between crime and structural inequality by singling out neighborhoods that are already plagued by social and physical disorders. It stigmatizes individuals showing signs of disorders and those who are perpetrating by portraying them as deviant, unsettling, and unwanted. Policymakers and authorities classify communities as “broken windows areas” that require targeted interventions, serving as a legitimate basis for policy formulation and police regulation. The broken windows theory argues that broad police discretion is necessary for effective crime prevention, even if it results in civil rights violations (Stewart, 1998; Jefferson, 2016). As Wilson notes, “arresting a single drunk or a single vagrant who has harmed no identifiable person seems

unjust, and in a sense it is. But failing to do anything about a score of drunks or a hundred vagrants may destroy an entire community” (1995, p. 132). Therefore, through the implementation of broken windows policing, many communities have been marginalized and targeted by zero-tolerance policing. Stewart (1998) says:

The renewed popularity of quality-of-life concerns is primarily the result of new community and problem-oriented policing philosophies. These philosophies call for police officers to focus less on battling more serious crimes and more on ‘prevalent and low-key troubles’ like abandoned buildings, chronic vandalism, loitering youths, unsafe parks, and gangs (p. 2252).

This often leads to minority communities that require assistance from authorities but are instead unfairly impacted by policing and law enforcement. Kramer (2012) further argues that the broken windows theory of urban decline is shaped by the political and economic elites' capacity to legitimize their aim of developing city landscapes that reflect bourgeois principles of valuable and, hence, exploitable areas. Kramer (2012) contends that minor public disorders such as graffiti, noise, and unruly behavior conflicts with the goal of transforming urban spaces into profitable commodities, or in other words, ‘growth machines’. Such disorder is perceived as a threat to commercial interests. This perspective offers a biased defense of gentrification spaces that are deemed ‘incivil’ and ‘disordered’. These spaces are said to reflect the cultural and aesthetic values of the economic and political elite, based on their definition of a beautiful and ordered space, as well as how to regulate these areas. With the power to determine what is considered ‘legitimate’, the group also has the power to label others as deviant and disorderly if they do not share its aesthetic vision or engage in activities it dislikes (Peršak and Di Ronco, 2017). Hence, the incivility approach towards the fear of crime reflects solely the viewpoint of the upper class on crime, fear, and beauty, and attempting to enforce it on other social groups and exert control.

2.2.4. The Community Concern Perspective

In accordance with McGarrell et al. (1997), fear of crime is mostly discussed in terms of actual and vicarious victimization, vulnerability, and disorder; however, less

attention has been paid in the literature to some other potential inhibitors of fear of crime like social control and social integration.

The community concern perspective is one of the models utilized to study fear of crime. This approach actually is interested in the social conditions that contribute to an individual's fear of crime. Further, this comprehension increases the understanding of fear of crime in its social context. It, therefore, analyzes an individual's fears of crime within the context of the neighborhood or community as opposed to solely focusing on personal characteristics.

This viewpoint contends that certain social events and situations can influence people's perspective and their trust in society. Consequently, people's unfavorable perceptions of social structure and conditions can impact their social confidence and make them feel less secure. Social and physical incivilities may exacerbate concerns about community disintegration and weakened neighborhood relations. As a consequence, a crime committed within a society is expected to have significant social and consequential impacts, as well as direct effects on the victim. In accordance with the community concern perspective, fear of crime can be therefore defined as the result of the erosion of social order or social control in a local community (McGarell et al., 1997; Lewis and Salem 1986).

The link between fear of crime and the environment in which people reside is a widely debated topic. Research suggests a positive correlation between the fear of victimization and population density as well as the size of society. Thus, individuals residing in large cities experience a significantly higher level of fear compared to those living in suburban or rural areas (Clemente & Kleiman, 1977; Miethe & Lee, 1984). It may be argued that the demographic makeup and changing dynamics of the population contribute to fear of crime in urban areas. Along with other factors, it is suggested that fear of crime is also impacted by urban planning and city management (Souza, 2005).

Urban neighborhoods may have a lack of strong community boundaries and solidarity, which hinders the formation of a community identity. In these

neighborhoods, fear of crime may be heightened by frequent residential mobility, which prevents the development of relationships between individuals. The creation of social support and solidarity mechanisms that reduce fear of crime is hampered by this type of mobility (Taylor & Hale, 1986). It lies in the assumption that social control and social solidarity in a community are something that reduces crime and therefore fear of crime.

This perspective argues that the fear of crime is mainly linked to the shortage of social, economic, and political resources in a local community. Consequently, it affects the way people living in a community perceive crime and their view on the general issues of the area, ultimately leading to increased fear of crime. Additionally, a lack of these resources in a local community result in a more extensive fear of crime in general. This is due to research indicating a relationship between a community's ability to control its environment and the level of fear towards crime (Hale, 1996). Namely, there is a judgment that the government and official authorities in society cannot provide collective security. Taylor and Hale suggest that "... incivilities are fear-inspiring not only because they indicate a lack of concern for public order, but also because their continued presence points up the inability of officials to cope with these problems" (1986, p. 154). The assumption that social control and social solidarity in a community is something that reduces crime and therefore the fear of crime is also criticized as it can be a political tool that serves the purpose of achieving social control through coercion in that community. What is more, similar to the "broken windows theory" the community concern perspective also puts the blame of crime on the shoulders of the people who are often victimized by these crimes as they live in these environments. By linking the quality and the quantity of social relations with the frequency of crime, such perspectives lead to what it may call a 'double victimization' of the community members.

2.2.5. Risk Assessment Perspective

A psychological viewpoint on the link between emotional and cognitive assessments of fear of crime is developing in order to investigate emotional reactions or responses to the perceived threat of being victim of any type of criminal activity. The personal

assessment of likelihood is the most significant attribute. Further, as Ferraro (1995) suggests, such predictions are a key predictor of fear, mediating much of the effect of ambient perceptions of symbols that a person associates with the concept of crime. This is because it is important not only to measure fear of crime as a problem, but also the need to measure crime risk perception for Ferraro (1995). Since the fear of crime increases the perception of crime risk, and it is a significant determinant of fear of crime.

Ferraro's risk assessment perspective posits that fear of crime cannot be attributed to a single factor, but is influenced by a range of societal and individual factors. Consequently, this perspective examines not only the impact of demographic and environmental variables on fear of crime, but also considers how these variables are subjectively perceived by individuals. The risk assessment perspective examines individuals' perceptions and how they influence their fear of crime. In this regard, fear of crime is not solely a result of objective factors, but also shaped by the perceived risk resulting from subjective evaluations. In accordance with this viewpoint, Ferraro aims to elucidate the process by which individuals socially construct risk perceptions. This is achieved through the combination of social interactionist sociology with elements of incivility. This is because risk perception mechanisms are crucial to understanding how and why fear originates. Therefore, Ferraro's (1995) results suggest that perceived risk is the strongest predictor of fear of crime and constrained behavior. Although scholars generally agree that fear of crime includes feelings, thoughts, and actions centered on the individual's subjective threat of criminal victimization, examining fear of crime at the individual level rather than in a broader social context can lead to misinterpretations.

Thereafter, I have made an effort to provide a literature review of women's fear of crime together with previous studies of criminology and current studies that are operating in the disciplines of feminism, geography and criminology.

2.3. Women's Fear of Crime

Prior investigations have empirically confirmed that there is a considerable relationship between gender and fear of crime, and thus there is a long establishment

that among a number of factors and influencing characteristics of fear of crime, the most salient one is gender (Akers et al. 1987; Braungart et al. 1980; Clemente and Kleinman 1977; Ferraro 1996; Lebowitz 1975; Liska et al. 1988; Stafford and Galle 1984; Warr 1984). A great number of studies have noted that women express higher levels of fear than men (Akers et al. 1987; Braungart et al. 1980; Clemente and Kleinman 1977; Ferraro 1996; Lebowitz 1975; Liska et al. 1988; Stafford and Galle 1984; Warr 1984). Previous studies have reported that women consistently report an average of three times more fear of crime than men (Kelly & DeKeseredy, 1994), notwithstanding the fact that conventional surveys indicate that young men are at the highest risk of being victimized. Tjaden and Thoennes (1998) also reported that men are about eleven times less likely than women to be “forced to do something sexual” in their life span.

Early explanations in resolving women’s fear were basically based on three central paradoxes: i) the fear-risk paradox, ii) the paradox between experience of violence and experiences of fear, and iii) the spatial paradox. The fear-risk paradox points out that women’s high levels of fear of crime contradicted the level of actual victimization risks (Balkin 1979; Gordon et al 1980; Hough and Mayhew 1983). The risk-fear paradox posits that women have a lower risk of becoming victims of crime, but experience higher levels of fear of crime compared to men. This paradox arises due to the prevalence of violence, which leads to heightened concern about violence among women. The spatial paradox is when women perceive the public space to be hazardous, despite most crimes against women occurring in private spaces.

The explanations provided in resolving these key paradoxes are mainly focused on what was seen as the social and physical vulnerabilities of women compared to men (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Riger et al. 1978), the threat of sexual assault and rape (Warr, 1985; Ferraro, 1996; Gordon and Riger, 1989, Fisher & Sloan, 2003), and its social function of women’s fear is to control them (Riger and Gordon, 1981; Brownmiller, 1975; Griffin, 1971; Kern, 2020). Moreover, women's inhibited use of public space (Pain, 1997; Valentine, 1989) and their use of precautionary behaviors (self-protective behaviors and avoidance behavior) to cope with urban crime (Riger et al., 1982; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981) are central to most investigations. Some

have explained women's fear of crime in public spaces by saying that women are socialized to be afraid of public spaces, of strangers and of men, and that they are also socialized to be dependent on men (such as brothers, fathers, male relatives, partners), and also socialized to be able to respond to crimes against themselves (Gilchrist et. al., 1998). Furthermore, it has been proposed that women's responsibility for and thus concern about their children increases their fear of crime (Smith, 1989). Additionally, another group of feminist geographers, urban planners and designers have focused the historical origins and results of living in the man-made environment that excludes women from urban designing, financing, policy setting, and decision-making processes (Matrix, 1986; Darke, 1996; Greed, 1994; Kern, 2020). They mainly gave an emphasis that fear is a product of the physical environment which plays a major role in its creation (Little et al., 2005). Their suggestions primarily focus on improving the physical factors in city creation and design. Specifically, these efforts aim to strengthen women's sense of safety and security through carefully designing various aspects of the city.

It has been suggested that women's heightened fear of crime is due to their increased physical and social vulnerability compared to men. Consequently, the vulnerability perspective posits that individuals' fear of crime becomes heightened when they feel vulnerable to its occurrence. Individuals who perceive an inability to defend themselves through physical, social, or economic means may experience heightened vulnerability and report increased levels of fear in response. Conversely, those who feel capable of protecting themselves and managing the consequences of victimization are likely to experience lower levels of fear. The gender gap in fear has been explained through the vulnerability perspective, which emphasizes women's inferiority in terms of physical, social, and economic power compared to men. It has been stated that women have less physical strength and competence than men, and therefore being less able to protect themselves against male perpetrators makes them more vulnerable to crime (Hindelang et al., 1978; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981). Trying to explain the manifestation of gender inequality in society, which is the basis of women's fear of crime, in terms of traditional gender traits will not lead to the right results, and in fact will contribute to the perpetuation of these traits.

Women's greater fear of crime is also associated with gender role-socialization (Garofalo, 1981), which proposes that stereotypical female personality traits, such as shyness, passivity, weakness, and dependency, that result from women's socialization, make them prone to be fearful and feel socially vulnerable (Smolej & Kivivuori, 2006; Moore & Trojanowicz, 1988). This gender role-socialization teaches, reiterates, and reinforces the idea that women have an inability to defend themselves against the offense without the help and support of males. Whilst women are socialized to depend on others, relying on intimacy, family, and friends for protection and support, men are raised to value self-esteem, self-sufficiency, and independence, often limiting their appearance of trusting others (Franklin & Franklin, 2009). It has been reported that women are generally socialized by being taught to fear strangers, and potentially dangerous situations or unfamiliar places (Brownmiller, 1975; Koss et al., 1994; Schwartz & DeKeseredy, 1997). Further, the socialization of women encourages them to be open about their fears, while the socialization of men does not. As a result of this, male respondents have a tendency to under-report their fears in surveys than females. In other words, men's fears, like women's, are much more likely than they are to be victims, contrary to what has been reported (Riger et al., 1978).

Women, who are lacking the material (e.g., wealth and income) and social resources (e.g., social, and political networks), may experience increased social vulnerability (Franklin & Franklin, 2009). Their marital status, for example being a single mom or widow, may put them in a vulnerable position both economically and socially. Lack of education is a prominent factor that renders women vulnerable. The absence of progress in education creates an absence of social resources that help combat victimization. Therefore, women become more susceptible to it. It is well-documented that women, racial and ethnic minorities, those in poverty, and those who are uneducated or undereducated report higher levels of fear of crime than their male, White, wealthy, and well-educated counterparts and this trend has been consistently reported in research over time (Baumer, 1978; Clemente & Kleiman, 1977; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Taylor & Hale, 1986; Covington & Taylor, 1991).

This vulnerability perspective, however, has been criticized for failing to consider the structural causes of men's violence against women, for the reason that it suggests the claim that women are inherently weak, and passive born victims (Stanko, 1985). I, therefore, assert any perspective that misses the relationship between patriarchy and space will be inadequate to explain women's fear of crime.

The fear-risk paradox is the foundation for explanations of women's fear. Women's high levels of fear of crime contradict the level of actual victimization risks, leading to the conclusion that women's fear of crime is irrational. Consequently, women are often perceived as irrational in general and their fears are thought to be subjectively based rather than objective (Stanko, 1987). As Rachel Pain (1997) puts it, these explanations were far from being political and spatial perspectives. Most of these explanations tended to see it because of too much to put forward women's vulnerabilities rather than focusing on gender inequality in society and the power relations that are reflected in the public space. This has resulted in failing to represent women's actual experiences of physical and sexual assault (Stanko, 1988).

In accordance with Stanko (1988), it is difficult to identify cases of violence against women because conventional criminological research tends to focus on cases of street crime that take place outside the home rather than on those that take place behind closed doors. Valentine (1989) argued that the attachment of fear to public places reproduces the traditional understanding of gendered roles and places regarded as appropriate for women's use. It has been demonstrated that the fear-victimization paradox is misleading, leading to a non-representative way in which criminologists perceive and evaluate crimes against women (Stanko, 1988). This is because the early national crime surveys failed to capture instances of women being victimized by intimate male partners, as they were not specifically designed to uncover cases of physical and sexual abuse inflicted by a spouse, former spouse, boyfriend, or relative (Smith, 1988). This is important to grasp in order to comprehend women's fear of crime. Thus, these initial explanations fall short in disclosing the real threats of women's exposure to violent crime, male aggression and violence against women, and the subordinate status of women in society.

This type of fear has a substantial influence on the lives of women, imposing a variety of physical and social restraints with repercussions for quality of life, independence, and spatial and mobility opportunities (Gordon & Riger 1989; Hanmer & Saunders 1984; Stanko 1990; Valentine 1989). Women not only exhibit a higher level of fear towards crime than men, but they also tend to adopt more preventative measures that can potentially constrain their personal lives and freedom in some way (Riger et al., 1982). Two kinds of precautionary behaviors were mainly determined: one is avoidance behavior to decrease exposure to risk and other one is risk management behavior by using defensive strategies and tactics in the event of a potential danger or a feeling of a threat (Skogan and Maxfield, 1980; Riger et al., 1982). Avoidance behavior entails actions such as not going out alone at night, isolating oneself, not answering the door, not attending events, and decreasing outdoor activities. These actions are taken to reduce the risk of becoming a victim of crime by avoiding certain places, situations, and times that are believed to pose a high risk. Conversely, risk management behavior involves striving to deal with perceived risks when avoidance is not feasible. This includes carrying protection items like pepper spray or a pocketknife or taking self-defense courses. This fear can lead to actions such as taking longer routes or relocating to other neighborhoods or cities perceived as safer.

This fear of women was generally long-established a connection with the fear of sexual assault and especially rape. Even Warr (1984) says that for most women, “the fear of crime is fear of rape” (p. 700). Margaret Gordon and Stephanie Riger (1989) even called women's fear of rape is the “female fear”. This fear, for geographer Rachel Pain, “ought to be taken as more a pervading state of alertness than a momentary terror” (1993, p. 65). Similarly, Stanko (1985) defined that the fear of rape is “the ever-present terror” (p. 34). In *Against Our Will*, Susan Brownmiller (1975) has widely covered this subject and defined rape is “a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep a women in a state of fear” (p. 15). This, for Brownmiller, is an instrument of social control of women. As a result of this fear, women control themselves by restricting their use of public space and taking more security measures to protect themselves than men. This, in turn, maintains a male-dominated social system by restricting women's freedom and making them

dependent on men for protection. This fear is conceptualized as a way for men to dominate and perpetuate women through sexual assault and rape (Brownmiller, 1975; MacKinnon, 1984). As Brownmiller emphasizes it, rape is a crime that affects all women, regardless of whether they are actually the victims or not. Further, Griffin (1971) has described how compelling the fear of being a victim of this crime affects all women: "I have never been free of the fear of rape. From a very early age I, like most women, have thought of rape as part of my natural environment-something to be feared and prayed against like fire or lightning" (p. 3).

For instance, Warr (1984) found through a Seattle postal survey that women fear rape more than any of the other sixteen crimes on the list. This fear stems from the possibility of sexual assault, as noted by Ferraro (1996) regarding women's victimization experiences. Namely, the "shadow of sexual assault hypothesis contends that women's higher fear of crime is due to a fear of rape which casts its shadow over a range of other crimes" (Hirtenlehner & Farrall, 2014, p. 1168). Ferraro calls it *Shadow Hypothesis*, which argues that "sexual assault may shadow other types of victimization among women" (1996, p. 669). Both genders experience comparable levels of concern towards non-sexual offenses. Nonetheless, women mainly fear sexual assault, especially rape. For instance, if a burglar enters a woman's residence, she is at peril of being sexually assaulted on top of other felonies. Thus, during any type of criminal activity, women are at additional risk of sexual harassment. Rape is a vital "perceptually contemporaneous offense," according to the sources (Warr, 1985) in women's fear of victimization, that is, the fear of rape contributes to many fears of other crime types. Women's fear of sexual assault increases their fear of other types of crime, and therefore women are afraid of every one of the crimes (Bitton, 2015). The fear of rape might be expected to be correlated with other forms of fear and contribute in some way to the explanation of the fear of other types of crime. Rape, therefore, can operate as a major crime among women, particularly among young women, with the highest rape rate, increasing fearful responses to other crimes.

The cost of rape and sexual assault results in detrimental physical, psychological, and emotional consequences for women. It is crucial to acknowledge these harmful

effects on victims of rape and sexual assault. The physical repercussions of rape comprise pregnancy, sleep and appetite disturbances, menstrual irregularities, sexually transmitted infections, vaginal discomfort, and other non-genital injuries (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974; Goodman et al., 1993). It has been reported that the most predominant psychological symptoms of rape are heightened fear and anxiety (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974). Other mostly reported possible psychological health consequences of the rape victimization are depression, posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms, sexual disorders, and suicidal ideation (Atkeson et al., 1982; Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974). The aftermath of the responses entails feelings of guilt and shame, a sense of worthlessness, fatigue, low self-esteem, insecurities regarding sexual attractiveness, and sexual dysfunctions (Atkeson et al., 1982; Katz & Mazur, 1979). Moreover, most women who are rape victims experience social victimization as a result of negative reactions by their families, friends, and social networks (Hockett & Saucier, 2015). Therefore, this is also called the second rape (Madigan & Gamble, 1991) and the second assault (Martin & Powell, 1994), as it creates a victimization after the crime itself again.

The other paradox is the idea that there is a high level of concern about violence among women because of the prevalence of sexual violence crime. Women's high levels of fear are associated with the victimization of violent crime. It has been revealed that victims of crime often express more levels of fear than non-victims (Liska et al. 1988; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Smith and Huff 1982), and so there is a relationship between prior victimization and fear of crime (Skogan, 1987). However, this relationship is not as strong as expected (Haynie, 1998).

Notwithstanding the claim that there is a direct relationship between exposure to crime and fear of crime, many studies have revealed that the groups with the lowest crime rate, especially women and the elderly, have the highest fear of crime (Stafford and Galle 1984). Many individuals may have a fear of crime, even if they are not victims of any crime. At this point, Pain (1993) says, if it is true that a high level of violence causes a high level of fear, it can be expected that men would be equally afraid in light of the prevalence of violence against them. On the other hand, since men are taught to be fearless, they may not be inclined to express their fears.

Another explanation for women's high levels of fear is that the cognitive processes of men and women are different (Smith, 1997). Unlike men, women generalize across situations (Smith and Torstensson 1997); that is, what is called a “temporary generalization” is that victimizations that occurred relatively long ago in the past have an impact on current fear (Smith, 1997). Here, it is stated that the development of fear of crime in individuals is a cumulative process that takes place over a much longer period (Pain, 1995). Hence, women's apprehensions that are unique to specific circumstances do not originate from any specific situation. Consequently, it has been contended that due to this factor, women might perceive a higher risk. This explanation portrays the fear of crime as a product of individuals’ cognitive mechanisms. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, scrutinizing the matter at the individual level disregards structural disparities. The social function of women's fear of crime is often overlooked, which aims to keep them at home, exert control over them, and maintain patriarchal relations.

Hale (1996) states that fear of crime is much higher than the rate of exposure to crime. This means that many people who are not directly exposed to crime may have a fear of crime through indirect victimization. Even though both direct and indirect victimization experiences have an influence on fear of crime (Rader et al., 2007), fear of crime is not simply understood through victimization, and various sources of individuals also determine the rate of fear of crime.

The geography of women's fear highlights the differentiation between their perceptions of danger in public and private spheres. Furthermore, there is a discrepancy between the location where most physical and sexual violence against women occurs and the places where a majority of women feel fearful of violent crime. Despite the prevalence of domestic violence and sexual assault perpetrated by known male perpetrators, many women view public spaces as dangerous and private spaces as safe. Most women are more worried about being exposed to crime in public space (Hanmer and Saunders 1984; Valentine 1989), and they report greater fear of danger in public space more than in private space (Valentine, 1992).

Despite the fact that women are more likely to be victimized by people they are familiar with, women report fear of the danger posed by stranger men. Namely, it seems that women are most afraid of a sexual assault by an aggressor who seems unknown, unfamiliar, and unpredictable. This fear of strangers has been called “stranger danger” (Scott, 2003). This is because women are brought up by being told not to talk to people they don’t know and being afraid of strangers and men. Beginning from their childhood, warnings and imposed judgments that constantly disturb them and may increase the fear of crime in women.

Smith and Torstensson (1997) explained this by what they called a “geographical generalization”, arguing that the fear of violent crime in public spaces is influenced by victimization in private places. Pain argues (1995, p. 594): “[...] experience and knowledge of abuse from known men do not only create concern about further domestic attacks for a significant minority of women. They can also have the effect of heightening women's perceptions of their personal risk more broadly, and especially outside the home.” Therefore, the threat and crime at home is vital to understand women's fear of crime and their perception of danger on the outside. This is because if a woman is afraid of her male intimate partner like husband or boyfriend, it is very possible that the woman is afraid of a stranger man (Smith, 1988). In this regard, it is necessary to take a closer look at violence in the private space in which intimate partner and familial violence and sexual offenses are common.

The public-private dichotomy has been one of the major themes of feminist theory and political struggle. The long-standing discussion on the theme of the distinction between public and private spaces has served to reveal the subordinate position of women and the relationship between gender and space.

The distinction between public and private spheres has become central to modern industrial society since the industrial revolution. The production of goods moved from households to factories, creating a separation between the work-production area and the household. The separation of work and home life, the rise of cities as commercial hubs, and the association of the workplace with men have contributed to

this division. Consequently, publicity has become linked to masculinity while privacy is associated with femininity. Naturally, there is an association between masculinity and the public, economic, and political domains, while femininity is linked with the private, reproductive, and domestic spaces. Therefore, this organization of urban space “both reflects and influences the sexual division of labour, women's role in the family, and the separation of home life from work”. (McDowell, 1983, p. 62). The usage of the words public and private is to indicate the distinction between the state and market economy and the family and the household. As a result of this distinction, it provides to reinforce and maintain gender inequities in society.

The creation of gendered space is a prominent aspect of modern socialization. The distinction between public and private spaces has been employed to legitimize the subjugation of females and to reinforce gender and sexual divisions by maintaining patriarchal power structures within society. Furthermore, this notion revolves around the implementation of idealized separate spaces for organizing day-to-day life within society. While the concept of private space typically encompasses family, intimacy, the domestic sphere, reproduction, and unwaged labor, the idealization of public space is often tied to the marketplace, waged labor, production, the state, and civil society (Duncan, 1996).

The spatial division separating the inner sphere of the home from the outside world had, however, a symbolic significance that did not correspond precisely with the spatial division. Certain out-of-home activities, such as visiting with or ministering to the needs of kin or community or taking part in the affairs of church or charitable organizations, were also permitted to women. Thus the separation is more adequately understood as a separation between two worlds governed by different norms and values (Nicholson as cited in Bondi and Domosh, 1998, pp. 270-271).

Thus, this distinction presents a set of proscribed norms and values. Consideration as interconnected areas was recommended over treating the spatial separation doctrine as a distinct boundary. The legitimacy of men's presence in both private and public spaces, as well as women's historical inclusion in public spaces, demonstrate that these spaces are interconnected. Women's daily experiences reinforce the division

between public and private spheres, where the private space is traditionally associated with femininity and the public space with masculinity. However, this division can also reinforce societal gender roles. Therefore, it is crucial to approach these distinctions with flexibility and constantly reevaluate them (Acar Savran, 2004). It is important to recognize the porosity between public and private spaces and avoid assuming a strict division between them. Therefore, the notion that our society's fundamental framework is built on the division between private, familial boundaries and the public space of the state and its policies holds some truth and some falsity (Bondi, 1998).

Nevertheless, the dichotomy between women and the public sphere has evoked negative connotations, and women going out has been perceived as a significant threat to the order of society (Tuncer, 2015). They are considered to be "open persons" in public (Goffman, 1963). The harassment, for Gardner, is asymmetrical and omnipresent, and it takes a gender-specific form because women are "situationally disadvantaged in public spaces" (1995, p. 16). This is because a social function of women's fear is "the control of women and it limits our use of public spaces, shapes our choices about work and other economic opportunities" (Kern, 2020, p. 273). This perpetuates the heteronormative patriarchal capitalist system that confines women to the private sphere of home, with the responsibility of domestic work, within the nuclear family structure. Therefore, it is a highly influential system that advantages men and effectively maintains the status quo (Kern, 2020).

Alkan (2005), in her study conducted in Ankara, it was found that almost half of women's spatial experiences in the city are confined to their homes and neighborhoods. The research indicates that almost half of the women who utilize urban public spaces view the street as a place where they fulfill their domestic obligations. Conversely, a significant proportion of women use public spaces to visit their relatives' homes and families. As a result of this study, the mobility of women in urban public spaces is limited due to the care and other responsibilities imposed on them (Alkan (2005).

Similar to Alkan, Tuncer (2014) states that the practice of going out of the house is not independent of the relations within the household. In her study focusing on women's experiences of everyday urban public space in Ankara between the 1950s and 1980s, Tuncer (2014) noted that in general, women's experience of going out is only through the mediation of a third person, especially an older family member or husband, and that this changes quite slowly from generation to generation.

In her study which she conducted in İstanbul, Lordoğlu (2016) attempts to reveal the gender inequalities experienced by single women in Istanbul's areas populated by social groups possessing different cultural and class characteristics. Security concerns encountered during city use are used to achieve this. Common concerns and fears are evident despite differences in age and life stages. Single women are not given adequate attention by state social policies, thereby excluding them from social support mechanisms. Lordoğlu's (2016) research highlights the significance of neighborhood recognition for some single women in terms of security. However, for those who do not share the same values as the community, the neighborhood's surveillance becomes a source of pressure which limits women's attitudes, behavior, and mobility.

On the other hand, it is stated that the anonymity that the city provides to women with its heterogeneous structure offers women a liberating advantage (Wilson, 1992), the opportunity to hide (Wekerle, 1985), more job opportunities and the chance of accessing various social activities and many opportunities (Kern, 2019). It is specified that the anonymity in the city, especially in the metropolises, when compared to rural areas, indicates a chance for the emancipation of women in urban public spaces.

From this point of view, Wilson (1992) proposes that the city should not be perceived as a dangerous and disorderly region where women and others should be largely excluded for their own protection. Koskela (1997) argues that fear is socially constructed and the conceptualization of women's fear of crime hinders women's self-confidence and courage. In fact, stating that it is necessary to focus on courage as well as fear, she considers women's daily spatial practices as women's resistance

practices. Those women who take to the streets with 'bold walk' are taken as active actors in the space: women actively take possession of the space, actively shape and produce the space (Koskela, 1997).

In the line of this point of view, Uşaklılar (2022) focuses on women creating temporary safe spaces for themselves through feminist activism, which is considered a proactive strategy. She conceptualizes the Feminist Night March, which is held once a year in Beyoğlu, as women are gaining spatial confidence through feminist activism and women's temporary takeover of space.

I believe that women demonstrate assertive and proactive approaches in everyday urban public spaces, and it is important to highlight their bravery as well as their fears. In contrast, exploring women's daily encounters with public spaces and their constant fear of crime, rather than an annual march, would provide greater insight into the connection between gender and urban environments. Contrary to popular belief, cities do not provide an advantage for women. Rather, urban environments bring experiences that are intertwined with myths and teachings stemming from gender role beliefs and societal norms. These experiences may limit women's use, mobility, accessibility, visibility, and contribute to an ongoing sense of anxiety in everyday life.

Again, it is important to note that the fear of crime, which aims to oppress women through harassment, rape, and violent threats, creates a divisive problem. Women utilize both creative and avoidant strategies to manage fear of crime in public spaces, reflecting both their bravery and fear. The fear of crime in everyday life prompts various coping mechanisms that require both courage and fear. However, it is worth exploring why women consistently shoulder the burden of being brave and cautious.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

In this section, first, I explain the purpose of the study and the research questions that I addressed while conducting the research. Thereafter, I describe the criteria that influenced the choice of the research methodology, the decision to use qualitative research methods (e.g., in-depth interviews) and non-probability sampling techniques (e.g., convenient and snowball samplings) and the advantages of the methods chosen for this investigation. After this, I summarize the process of creating a questionnaire design, and sampling. In this chapter, I also provide a table of participant profiles that displays detailed information on the respondents.

3.2. The Aim of the Study and Research Questions

The main purpose of this thesis is to address the geography of women's fear of crime based on the narratives of women's common experiences in urban public space. In this context, the scope of this thesis is how women's fear of crime affects their daily lives in urban public spaces and their relations with the city. Accordingly, the fear of crime experienced by women who are living in Ankara for at least five years is investigated. The reason why I chose women who have lived in Ankara for at least five years in my sample is that they have a good knowledge about the geographical structure of the city, and they have witnessed the social, cultural, and physical changes in the city. In line with this purpose, the main questions that the research tries to address can be defined as follows:

- 1) How do women's fear of crime and its effects on the use of urban public space operate in their everyday life?

2) How do women deal with fear of crime in the urban public space?

3.3. Method

The findings of the study will be based on women's concrete experiences as empirical evidence because of the fact that it "provides a potential grounding for more complete and less distorted knowledge claims than do men's" (Harding, 1987, pp. 184-185). For this reason, the study will conduct by prioritizing women's standpoint that underpins feminist knowledge. With the adoption of feminist standpoint epistemology, it provides us to "see and understand the world through the eyes and experiences of oppressed women" (Brooks, 2007, p. 55). This is because this path puts women at the center of research and starts from their lives and experiences to build scientific knowledge (Brooks, 2007). In this vein, the feminist standpoint gives us the opportunity "to use women's experiences as a lens through which to examine society as a whole" (Brooks, 2007, p. 59). That is why this perspective prioritizes women's actual, lived, and concrete experiences and bases them as empirical evidence in the production of scientific knowledge.

Feminist standpoint theory is a way of understanding the world that takes women's lived experience as this is the ultimate 'credibility criterion' of knowledge claims (Collins in Brooks, 2007, p. 56). The understanding gained from women's experiences enables comprehension of their secondary societal status. This phenomenon occurs because of the subjugated role of women in society and their ability to possess a dual consciousness. Women can create knowledge regarding the social reality of their circumstances and provide a more objective assessment. As per the idea of "strong objectivity," women are better suited than men to provide accurate, comprehensive, and objective evaluations of social reality due to their subordinate position. Women's this "distinctive social position" makes possible a "view of the world that is more reliable and less distorted" than that available to the "ruling class" or men. (Jaggar cited in Brooks, p. 66). Therefore, according to the concept of strong objectivity, a woman's portrayal of reality is more objective and unbiased than the dominant representations that reflect the male perspective.

Women's oppressed status in society and the development of a double consciousness resulting from their unique position creates the foundation for strong objectivity.

Initiating the process of building knowledge from the actual experiences of women ensures that certain regions of the world are not overlooked, as women are capable of comprehending both their personal views and behaviors and those of the dominant groups. The master can only maintain the illusion of independence and consciousness due to their dependence on the slave. This dependency undermines their supposed autonomy. While the slave must be aware of not only their own world but also that of their master to maintain their existence, the master remains unaware of the slave's world due to their privileged position. Moreover, just as many men are unaware of their dependence on female labor that sustains their dominance, the master is ignorant of their reliance on the slave. Feminist standpoint scholars argue that women possess a double consciousness due to their membership in an oppressed group, allowing them to maintain a dual awareness of both their own experiences and those of men. Consequently, women are able to act as mediators between two worlds, while men tend to overlook women's daily activities. Women actively acknowledge both their own and men's activities. It has been argued that women's experiences provide a more accurate reflection of social reality than men's experiences.

In addition to taking women's experiences as a source of scientific knowledge, what can be considered as another radical attitude of feminist thinkers is to take emotions into consideration. In general, most explanations failed to take into account women's experiences, opinions and emotions, and even operated to devalue their fears and their causes. For instance, emotion has been disregarded not only because it is the opposite of reason, but also because it is usually associated with irrationality (Jaggar, 1989). In fact, in Western tradition, not all individuals were viewed as emotionally equal. The dominant group members were associated with reason while the subjugated groups- women and people of color- were associated with emotions. For feminists, it is vital to present this information objectively to establish the credibility of discussions on emotions. This is because, as Alison M. Jaggar (1989) noticed, "from Plato until the present, with a few notable exceptions, reason rather than

emotion has been regarded as the indispensable faculty for acquiring knowledge” (p. 151). In accordance with the pillars of Enlightenment thinking, the individual, which is also called the centered subject, is considered a rational and reasonable man. For this reason, the modernist paradigm “has privileged the idea of the individual, a person who is assumed to be conscious, whole, self-directing, reflective, unitary, and transparent” (Milovanovic, 1997, pp. 6-7). Despite the understanding of the modernity paradigm that attaches importance to reason and rationality, what is meant that belong to Western upper-middle-class white male, feminist epistemology and methodology opposed by giving place to emotion as well as experience. Therefore, Jaggar (1989) pointed out that “the recognition that emotions play a vital part in developing knowledge enlarges our understanding of women's claimed epistemic advantage” (p. 171). As with addressing the actual experiences of women, Alison Jaggar (1989) notes indicate that subordinate groups, especially women and people of color, show more pronounced emotional responses compared to those of the ruling class. This is because “subordinated people have a kind of epistemological privilege in so far as they have easier access to this standpoint and therefore a better chance of ascertaining the possible beginnings of a society in which all could thrive” (Jaggar, 1989, p. 168). Therefore, it is one of the main agendas of feminist social science to take the lives and experiences of women as a source of scientific knowledge, in their own words, and to create a theory based on women's actual experiences and language.

By adopting a feminist standpoint epistemology in a methodological manner, this thesis will explore the connection between women's fear of crime and their relationship with public spaces in urban areas. The research will unveil three fundamental principles of the feminist method, the first of which is to utilize women's lived experiences as a basis for scientific inquiry. Because scholars who advance feminist epistemology argue that addressing women's lived experiences is crucial for knowledge production. This is because, as Patricia Hill Collins says, “when making knowledge claims about women, we must always remember that it is women’s ‘concrete experience’ that provides the ultimate ‘criterion for credibility’ of these knowledge claims” (as cited in Brooks, 2007, p. 56) instead of the experiences of men, which is the dominant one. Whereas men’s lives have been mostly

recognized by male social scientists for centuries, women's lives and experiences have remained invisible. As Sandra Harding noted, "far from inhabiting a single society, women and men appear to live in different worlds, but it is only the men's world that social sciences takes to be the social world" (1986, p. 89). It was realized that sociological theory and methods did not match what women actually experienced. For this reason, the necessity of alternative ways of thinking to build knowledge emerged. This new model is important because it has been claimed that "research that begins from women's everyday lives as members of an oppressed group will lead to knowledge claims that are less partial and distorted than research that begins from the lives of men in the dominant groups" (Harding as cited in Brooks, 2007, p. 66). For this reason, they prioritize women's actual experiences, which reflect more accurately social reality than men's.

The second feature of the feminist standpoint method is the rejection of hierarchical relationships during knowledge production. This requires both the researcher and the researched participant to engage in critical thinking and introspection regarding power dynamics. As a result, feminist thinkers have long scrutinized the positioning of the researcher as the knowing subject. Feminist research has critiqued the idea of research being entirely objective and impartial, and has demonstrated the influence of power dynamics between the researcher and research subjects on knowledge production. In contrast to the modernity paradigm's claim to universal and objective truth, feminist methodology prioritizes the positioning of knowledge. All knowledge is shaped by the particular contexts or conditions in which it is generated.

Therefore, feminist methodology highlights the significance of self-reflexivity practice, which initiates with the researcher showcasing their personal positionality. It requires a critical awareness of the economic, political, social, and cultural aspects of their background, education, and existence in society, and how they influence their intellectual orientation and worldview.

Being aware of your position as a researcher is an essential part of understanding the situated or located nature of knowledge. In feminist studies, it is argued that researchers' knowledge is partial, and their positionality is shaped by a mix of

various factors such as gender, race, sexuality, class, nationality, and how researchers see and interpret the world is limited in time and space (Mullings, 1999). As Rose (1997) claims that knowledge is produced under completely different conditions and that these conditions somehow frame knowledge production itself, and this also applies to researchers' own positioned positioning. To build reflexivity in the research process, researchers need to acknowledge their own position in knowledge creation, pay more attention to their own knowledge and sensitivities, and carefully observe the effects of their own biases, values, and individual involvement. In other words, researchers must dialogue with themselves and make a critical self-evaluation of their position while recognizing the impact their positioning has on the research process and the final outcome. As Harding (1987) puts it, "to come to understand the historical construction of race, class, and culture within which one's subject matter moves requires reflection on the similar tendencies shaping the researcher's beliefs and behaviors" (pp. 31-32). Hence, a non-hierarchical relationship between the researcher and researched is one of the distinctive features of feminist research and methodology.

The third feature of this research is women's emancipation, which is the main focus, and so the goal of feminists is to struggle against the oppression and exploitation of women and at the same time to work for the emancipation of women. Feminism involves organizing and taking action to empower women and improve society, utilizing the mobilizing power of knowledge. Feminist scholars strive to produce knowledge and provoke resistance against oppression faced by women. Solutions are implemented to tackle obstacles and integrate theoretical knowledge with practical application. The feminist research agenda centers on the emancipatory role of knowledge. As an illustration, Abigail Brooks (2007) cites Harriet Jacobs in her work. Jacobs' personal account of enduring sexual exploitation as a female slave spurred the abolitionist movement in the North. Therefore, people started to understand slavery from the viewpoint of enslaved women, creating an influential basis to fight against the oppressive system (Brooks, 2007). As a result, it is very important to reveal the power of women's personal experiences to give an explanation of the whole society. As Nielsen stated, "without the conscious effort to reinterpret reality from one's own lived experience—that is, without political

consciousness—the disadvantaged [women] are likely to accept their society's dominant world view" (Nielsen as cited in Brooks, 2007, p. 62). Otherwise, the unifying power of knowledge is also not provided because by sharing these personal experiences, many women can understand how political their own experiences are. Furthermore, it is important to point out why social scientific research should serve the emancipation of women. This is because prioritizing the needs of marginalized and oppressed groups, with a specific emphasis on advancing women's empowerment, is imperative in academic research. Studies have often served as a tool to reinforce and validate the influence of privileged elites, warranting a shift in focus towards vulnerable demographics and their needs.

In other words, to date, research conducted by men for men has legitimized the current societal status quo between men and women. The goal of women's emancipation has been adopted to address this issue. The feminist methodology was necessary to bring about radical change against the oppression and exploitation of women. This is because "making a method 'feminist' implies politicizing a methodology through feminism" (Moss as cited in Sharp, 2005, p. 305). Furthermore, drawing attention to the politics of not only the research process but also qualitative data analysis, Gibbs (2007) says: "the qualitative researcher, like all other researchers, cannot claim to be an objective, authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text of their research reports" (p. 91).

Additionally, feminist scholars criticize the research methodology, the separation of theory and practice in positivism, and the principle of value neutrality. The development of feminist studies methodology arose from positivism and its criticisms. If feminist social scientists use the methodologies of this dominant positivist-rooted social science theory, they risk becoming the very tool of oppression they seek to criticize. Therefore, feminist methodology should prioritize theory and practice, also known as praxis. This is why Maria Mies' methodological guideline for women's studies is so valuable. Mies (1983) begins her well-known article by stating "new wine should not be poured into old vessels" and offers seven methodological guidelines for women's studies: 1) the researcher should strive for conscious impartiality; 2) the relationship between the researcher and the subjects

being researched should prioritize a perspective from below rather than above; 3) the researcher should actively participate in movements and actions that advocate for women's emancipation; 4) feminist research should aim to challenge and change the current societal norms; 5) research should serve as a conscience, guiding methodologies with the goal of elevating oppressed subjects to become the objects of their own research and actions, specifically within the context of women and social scientists; 6) a thorough methodology must include the examination of both the individual and social history of women; 7) it is important for women to come together and share their experiences in a collective manner.

Surely, feminist research and methodology, as Ramazanoğlu and Holland call their books, are the result of “challenges and choices” to date. Consequently, it is implausible that feminist methodology does not entail a social change agenda. In essence, the methodological principles of conducting feminist research require a commitment to promoting social change and engaging in the pursuit of women's emancipation, and the research process should be viewed as a chance for researchers and participants to gain awareness (Mies, 1983).

3.3.1. Qualitative Research

The reason for choosing qualitative methodology is its structure that allows for the deep exploration of reasons, thoughts, and feelings on the subject matter of women's fear of crime in urban public space in the case of Ankara. This way of conducting research makes it more possible to build a scientific knowledge construction through the women's actual experiences in their own words, in line with the principles of feminist research acquired by the thesis. Given the challenging nature of fear 'measurement' and the various problems posed by the quantitative survey, qualitative research methods appear to be more appropriate for this delicate and complex issue than it seems. Because this study does not aim to measure women's degrees of fear, instead it aims to understand women's fear geographies, the cumulative experiences that affect this, and their methods of coping with this fear. In this regard, qualitative research techniques have been used to reach a more detailed and deep understanding of women's highly gendered experiences in urban public space.

3.3.2. In-depth Interviews

As, it is stated before, I had conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with open-ended questions while the study was conducted with twenty-one women who have been living in Ankara for the purposes of this thesis. In accordance with this, the research findings are based on narratives from semi-structured in-depth interviews with twenty-one women who have been living in Ankara. Throughout the study, the real names of the interviewees were not included, considering the anonymity of the women I interviewed, instead pseudonyms were used.

The reason for selecting in-depth interviews is their utility in examining sensitive subject matters, such as physical, sexual assault, and violence. In-depth interviews create a foundation for mutual social interaction by instilling ease and encouraging openness (Oakley, 1981; Pain, 1993). These specific topics can be difficult to discuss and share, even if the interviewee has experienced them before. Instead of preparing a rigid set of questions as in structured interviews, I focused on the central themes to be explored in semi-structured interviews, which included pre-set open-ended questions so that the interviewees could contribute and extend on the subject matter. In this way, a collaborative approach in which both the interviewer and the interviewee can shape the process is aimed.

3.3.3. Design of Questionnaire

The questionnaire is designed as a semi-structured set of pre-arranged open-ended questions around two central themes. Interview questions were prepared to explore two central themes related to the subject matter: a) women's everyday experiences in urban public space, and b) women's fear of crime.

The first section of the questionnaire was prepared to learn the demographic characteristics of the interviewees. In this regard, the aim of the first part of the questionnaire consists of questions about women's demographic information in terms of age, occupation, education status, marital status, and accommodation type. Here, it also tried to find out which districts in Ankara they work, study, and live in to

determine which routes they use most, and in which districts they are mostly located. In the following sections, I tried to determine why they were mostly in these districts.

The second part of the questionnaire aims to investigate women's experiences in urban public space through questions interrogating their use of public space, the use of public transportation, precautions, or strategies they take, their opinions on the physical structure of the city, and their participation in entertainment or any type of outdoor activities. With all this, it also tries to reveal the mental maps of women's senses of safety and anxiety in the use of public spaces in Ankara.

The questionnaire's closing section seeks to comprehend the fear of crime among women by inquiring about their direct and indirect victimization experiences, as well as their perceived likelihood of being victimized. Additionally, their comprehension of danger and criminal activity, its origins, locations, and types are explored. This section concludes with an open-ended question for women to express their opinions.

3.4. Sampling

Initially, the objective of this research was to develop a reliable and valid sample of women possessing self-defense knowledge to investigate the relationship between self-defense training and women's use of public urban spaces, along with their fear of crime. However, due to insufficient data derived from Ankara, Turkey, and time constraints, this study had to be modified accordingly to investigate alternative subject matter.

I, therefore, put out a public call for participants in women's solidarity groups and student networks on Facebook and WhatsApp groups especially in order to reach young and single women staying in student housing and dormitories. I used both snowball and convenient sampling techniques to reach married or divorced older women who have different demographic profiles who are not in my personal network so much. This is a non-probability sampling technique in which data are obtained from a readily accessible group of people. The reason for that researchers select the sample instead of random selection, focusing on accessibility and expediency even if

it does not accurately represent the entire population. The main criterion I look for in the sample selection process is to pay attention to the diversity of factors such as women's age, education level, marital status, geographical difference within the city. This is because I wanted to make sure that I had a diverse and representative group of respondents to meet the objectives of this study. On the other hand, it is difficult to claim representativeness due to the limited number of interviewees. These interviews took place between the end of October 2022 and mid-February 2023, and I conducted all the interviews face to face and in places preferred by women where they felt comfortable, but mostly took place in public space. The ages of the interviewees were between 20 and 58 years with an average age of 35. Six of the interviewees are married, two of them are divorced and thirteen are single. Educational levels of the interviewees also range from being a primary school graduate to having a master's degree.

Finally, the thesis's empirical data were generated from face-to-face interviews with a sample of women who have resided in Ankara for at least five years. The study employed semi-structured, in-depth interviews conducted in-person using both snowball and convenient sampling methods. I endeavored to comprehensively grasp women's fear of crime and its impacts on their everyday experiences of utilizing public space, mobility opportunities, and geography. I selected a sample of women who have resided in Ankara for at least five years to ensure their greater awareness and a deeper knowledge of the city's geographical structure and spatial layout. The women's sample was well-suited to study the correlation between fear of crime and women's use and participation in urban public space, considering their potential observation of social, cultural, and physical transformations within Ankara.

Table 1. Participants' profile

Nickname	Age	Marital Status	Level of Education Degree	Occupation	Accommodation Place
Leyla	25	Single	Graduate Degree	White-collar worker	Demetevler
Sevgi	25	Single	Graduate Degree	Student	Balgat
Beyza	24	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Bar worker	Esat
Aksu	36	Single	Graduate Degree	White collar worker	100. Yıl
Atiye	26	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Unemployed	Yenimahalle
Dirmit	53	Married	Bachelor's Degree	Retired nurse	Batıkent
Gonca	31	Married	Bachelor's Degree	Lawyer	Tunalı
Ceylan	24	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Lawyer	Etimesgut
Zehra	53	Married	Primary School	Housewife	Demetevler
Güneş	25	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Student/Bar worker	Bahçelievler
Seyyal	53	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Cafe owner	Ayrancı
Hande	58	Married	Bachelor's Degree	Unemployed	Ayrancı
Berfu	47	Divorcee	High School	Blue-collar Worker	Etlik
Hena	54	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Retired	Yukarı Dikmen
Işık	20	Single	Undergraduate Student	Student	Kolej
Yeşim	27	Single	Graduate Student	Student	GOP
Ekin	22	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Social Worker	Keçiören
Kader	23	Single	Bachelor's Degree	Pharmacist	Altındağ
İsmigül	44	Married	Primary School	Housewife	Yenimahalle
Simay	34	Divorcee	Bachelor's Degree	White-collar worker	Bahçelievler
Fahriye	50	Married	Primary School	Housewife	Çubuk

CHAPTER 4

WOMEN'S FEAR OF CRIME AND URBAN PUBLIC SPACE

A woman walks down a city street. A man whom she does not know makes an obscene noise or gesture. She counters with a retort or ignores him and walks on. This is a common enough sequence of events. It happens every day of the year. (...) Superficially, this is a simple, ordinary encounter. But beneath the surface is a complexity of feeling, thought, and intention that, despite two decades of feminist theorizing and two millennia of women writing about women, we have just begun to decode. Hidden in this complexity are the personal and political contradictions of women's lives, making the experience of street hassling the quintessential moment of femininity in our culture.

(Dimen, 1986, pp. 3-4)

The concept of fear of crime is typically defined as a sensation of apprehension and unease that stems from a sense of being in danger. Consequently, it is a phenomenon that exerts a substantial influence on individuals' daily experiences, encounters, and daily actions. It gives rise to various social, psychological, and economical costs. In Gardner's words, "public places can engender a characteristic set of incivilities that can injure an individual's self-esteem either fleetingly or, since the occurrence of these incivilities is repetitive and recursive, more momentously and even permanently" (1995, p. 8). Unequal power dynamics in society and space influence the fear of crime experienced by different social groups. Consequently, the level of fear varies based on factors such as gender, age, class, race, as well as time and location. Research shows that women experience higher levels of fear of crime compared to other groups. This fear is a result of male violence, as male aggressors perpetrate most acts of violence against women. Fear of crime as a means of ensuring social control of women perpetuates inequality and constrains the use of space. As Leslie Kern pointed out, women's "socially reinforced fears keep them from fully inhabiting the city and from making the most of their lives on a day-to-day basis" (2019, p. 337). For this reason, women's fear of being exposed to crime, which

shapes their everyday life practices because of this ever-present threat day by day in the cities, which are “patriarchy written in stone, brick, glass, and concrete” (Darke, 1996, p. 88).

Despite the view that women's fears are based on their false consciousness, unfounded anxieties, and/or irrational thoughts, feminist scholars have opened the discussion of rape and fear of rape as “a universal condition of women” (Jeffreys, 1990, p. 171). One of the leading texts for the concept of rape, Susan Brownmiller's book *Rape: Against Our Will* (1975) outlines how sexual violence, particularly rape, has traditionally assisted maintain the patriarchal status quo as an acceptable form of punishment for women who transgressed the norm in society. The rape, for Brownmiller, is “nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear” (1975, p. 15). The use of sexual violence as a form of social control ensured the persistence of uneven power relations between men and women in the space. To put Griffin's words, “rape and the fear of rape are a daily part of every woman's consciousness” (1971, p. 27). Therefore, the causes of women's fear stem from wider structures and systems in society rather than their internal, irrational causes and unrealistic fears.

With the adoption of a feminist approach, the relationship between women's fear and geography began to be investigated. Women's fear of crime constraints their behavior and opportunities in their daily lives. The focus on “women's inhibited use and occupation of public space” led to the conclusion that it is a “spatial expression of patriarchy” (Valentine, 1989, p. 389). They pointed out that women's use of space is a reflection of hetero-patriarchal capitalist society, with many feminists and social geographers drawing a new framework and broadening the issue of women's fear of crime. For instance, Matrix, which is known as the collective, consists of a group of feminist architects and designers, discusses the historical origins and results of living in the man-made environment as a woman in their substantial book named *Making Space: Woman and the Man-Made Environment* in 1986. The main aim of this book is to shed light on architects “how the environment is a problem for women” and to assist women in “understanding their own relationship to the built environment” (Matrix, 1986, p. 8). The book addresses the male domination in urban design,

financing, policy-making, and decision-making processes. It provides evidence of how women are excluded from participating in these processes. One of the main critiques of the book highlights the construction of buildings that prioritize economic and political interests over social needs. Additionally, the paper analyzes the importance of housing issues for women, as a housing opportunity reflects societal attitudes toward women's status. Therefore, it is a prominent study, which discusses how architects and urban planners are “placed as women in a man-made environment and to use that knowledge to subvert it” (Matrix, 1986, p. viii).

All in all, throughout history, the dichotomy between women and the public sphere has evoked negative connotations, and women going out has been perceived as a significant threat to the order of society (Tuncer, 2015). They are considered to be “open persons” in public (Goffman, 1963). The separation of public and private spaces underlies gendered usage of physical spaces, as public places connote productivity and dominance, associated with male domains, and private spaces with reproduction, associated with female domains. This spatial perspective sheds light on how gender roles are shaped by patriarchal societies, reinforcing gender inequality in physical spaces (Siwach, 2020). That is why there is an apparent relationship between gender and space. As Massey suggests, “restructuring gender politics means reimagining their geography” (1994, p. 182).

For many years, criminology studies have described women’s fear of crime as disproportionate, paradoxical, and even irrational. This is because even the rationality was associated with the men. As aforementioned, the paradox is that women report significantly higher levels of fear of crime than men, yet crime statistics routinely show that women actually have lower victimization rates than men; so, this is why it is usually referred to as a paradox.

Three main explanations are usually given for this paradox. First, gender roles mean that women are more likely to admit their fears. Gender stereotypes often associate vulnerability with women and fearlessness with men. This may explain why women are more inclined to report fear of crime in surveys, while men may struggle to acknowledge their true level of fear. Another explanation for this gender gap in fear

is that sexual assault or rape is a fear that primarily affects women. This statement holds widespread acceptance, given that rape is vastly underreported globally. This is because surveys typically cover intimate partner and marital rape, and the fact that these forms of rape are not considered crimes by both the state and society makes it difficult for women to report them. Rape is severely underreported, and it is actually the type of crime that women fear the most, which helps to explain why they report more fear but fewer incidents. The third explanation examines what is considered a crime and what does not count. This argument suggests that the difference is not just about the difference in levels of fear of crime, but also about how this type of crime is defined and measured: crime and victimization studies and legal frameworks systematically exclude more likely forms of violence and harassment. This is evidenced by the data behind the paradox: sexual harassment is not included in victimization surveys. This type of analysis raises the possibility that what we see is not paradoxical at all, but the result of a male understanding of what constitutes a crime as the norm (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020).

Women's daily experiences of the city and urban public spaces are shaped by constraints and inhibitions resulting from patriarchal relations in society. The sexist practices and gender-based exclusions that result from this situation not only differentiate women's relationships with urban spaces and institutions from those of men, but also make them more unequal and disadvantaged social position in society. For this reason, women's experiences of urban public space develop under the influence of gendered power relations created by the heteropatriarchal system.

Numerous societal factors restrict women's safe and unfettered entry, use, and engagement in urban spaces. Principally, there exist unequal gender relations due to a patriarchal culture. Furthermore, urban planning and services are governed by sexist and/or gender-blind practices that exclude women from decision-making processes and fail to consider them.

Studies conducted in feminist geography and urban studies have emphasized that the fear of exposure to crime is determinant, especially in women's public space experiences, and that the fear of being exposed to physical and verbal violence,

stalking, sexual harassment, and rape is much higher than that of other groups. For this reason, they emphasized that women's access to and participation in urban space is restricted (Riger and Gordon, 1981; Koskela, 1997; Lordođlu, 2016; Pain, 1991; Valentine, 1989).

Women's constant fear of crime and security risks while in urban public spaces constitutes a highly gendered urban experience. It can be argued that women's fear of being exposed to crime, specifically sexual harassment, and assault, reflects patriarchy's spatial manifestation, which perpetuates and reinforces the limitations on women's use of urban public spaces, potentially leading to their exclusion from urban public life. Urban public space, as a reflection of patriarchal relations, creates a significant fear of crime and a concern for women's safety and sense of security, which ultimately influences their behavior and attitudes in the urban environment.

The main subject of this study is that women's fear of crime in the urban public space and the fear of crime they feel are different and more than men's. Women's fear of crime in the urban public space can have many different reasons, such as class, age, gender, race, marital status. On the other hand, women's insecurity in the urban public space and their fear of crime stem from male violence and also the threat of male violence.

It is supported by many studies and research that fear of male violence, sexual harassment, sexual assault, and rape prevents women from freely using the urban public space and provides limited urban mobility, access, and use (Pain, 1991; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Valentine, 1989, Koskela, 1997; Lordođlu, 2016).

In this section, the objective is to analyze the factors contributing to women's fear of crime in urban public spaces, and the subsequent gender inequalities in their use of public space. This analysis is supported by relevant findings from criminology and feminist geography studies, as well as the results of recent research in this area.

Addressing the reasons for women's restricted use of urban public space and their fear of being exposed to crime is important in terms of making visible the visibility

of gender inequalities through space and most importantly, its relationship with women's social control in society. However, it is pointed out by many studies that the security concern experienced is not limited to the violence experienced in the public space, but is also related to the violence experienced in the private space (Koskela, 1997; Pain, 1991).

In line with the relational approach of feminist geographers, it emerges as an area where gender inequalities gain visibility and diversity through space, and in this sense, gender and space constantly construct each other. In other words, the fear of crime experienced by women in the urban public space is the experience of the mutual construction activity between space and gender inequalities by women. There are various studies on the fact that the security concerns experienced by women in the city cause them to limit their use of public spaces and their behaviors (Massey, 1994; Pain, 1991; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Valentine, 1989, Koskela, 1997; Lordođlu, 2016; Kern, 2020).

The fear that women experience in the city, in the public space, race, ethnicity, class, age, gender, etc. may arise from many different experiences. Despite these differences, another extension of male violence, which can be considered as a common form of intimidation and social control, is sexual harassment and sexual assault in both private and public spaces. At this point, the limitations of women's use of public spaces eliminate the possibilities for them to move freely, benefit from some opportunities in the city, and have an equal say with men in decisions about the city (Koskela, 1997; Mehta, 1999; Pain, 1991; Valentine, 1989).

As one of the structures that make up the patriarchal system, male violence aims to provide a form of men's power over women and social control of women. In studies on rape, which is another practice of male violence, the fear of being raped by women, whether they are victims or not, is another visible aspect of male violence in terms of limiting women's actions. This fear prevents women from being on the streets at night, from using the city holistically, and imposes limitations on their behavior. This situation, supported by research, limits the active participation of

women in the public spaces of the city due to the fear they experience (Riger & Gordon, 1981).

Gender-based violence and safety concerns are inherent in the everyday urban experience of women. In urban public spaces, women must maintain constant vigilance and adjust their behavior and actions to avoid danger and reduce the risk of exposure to crime. While these adaptations, often consisting of physical and spatial constraints aimed at reducing the risk of crime exposure, particularly perpetrated by men, limit women's freedom and mobility in the city, they also establish an imperceptible “safety work” that becomes part of women’s daily routine (Kelly, 2012).

Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) discusses the safety work women perform, especially in public spaces, to prevent violence. This type of work can become an automated, instinctive response. Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) highlight safety work as a form of invisible labor and discuss how it is perceived. It argues that safety work is viewed as a characteristic of women instead of an action performed by women. Women are expected to undertake safety work, which results in gender-biased expectations that significantly shape their conduct and attitudes in public spaces.

Leslie Kern’s work suggests that women's fear of crime is connected to the asymmetrical relationship between city design and women. As a feminist urban geographer, Kern analyzes the inequalities and oppressive structures present within cities, revealing the gendered nature of urban spaces from an intersectional feminist perspective. Kern (2020) explores how social, physical, economic, and symbolic barriers significantly shape a woman's encounters in her daily life while in urban public spaces, drawing from her personal experiences. In the book, the author explores specific topics in each chapter, including motherhood, friendship, activism, solitude, personal space, and safety. In the fifth chapter, called the “*City of Fear*,” Kern states that women's fears mainly occur in three major forms. The first form is a social one, such as not going to an event because it is late at night. The second one is psychological, like self-blaming when they are exposed to crime somewhere. The latter is for economic reasons, as women prefer to live in an expensive neighborhood

for as long as they can afford it, as it is considered to be safe. For Kern (2020), “the social function of women’s fear is the control of women, and it limits our use of public spaces, shapes our choices about work and other economic opportunities” (p. 273). Leslie Kern (2020), therefore, argues that all of this serves to maintain the hetero-patriarchal capitalist system in which women are confined to the private space of the home and take responsibility for domestic work within the institution of the nuclear family: it is a very powerful system that benefits men and ensures that they maintain the status quo in a very effective way.

During the research fieldwork, I conducted in-depth interviews with 21 women aged between 20 and 58 in Ankara. Participants had varying education levels, ages, marital statuses, housing types, and occupational statuses. I divided my questions into two main categories: everyday experiences in urban public spaces and fear of crime in urban public spaces, giving them a platform to share their personal experiences during our individual interviews. All interviews were conducted in-person at locations chosen by the interviewees. In the first part, I obtained information on mobility, attitudes, and participation in the public sphere by asking questions on streets, school campuses, workplaces, and public transportation. In the second part, I delved deeper by asking about the reasons behind interviewees’ fear of crime and safety concerns in their daily lives.

The field data indicates that females invest a considerable amount of time and effort into ensuring their safety, both physically and mentally, and utilize various methodologies to avoid crime. Women implement diverse strategies as a measure to cope with the apprehension of crime in public spaces in their everyday routine. It has a few self-defense techniques to deal with any attack from someone, but most are common. In addition to this, when I asked them questions about exposure to crime in public space, each of them answered more than one without hesitation. What is even more interesting is that although I used a common meaningful word from the bar, such as being exposed to crime, when I said to the respondents being exposed to crime, they all thought of male violence. Although the word crime covers many types of crime, such as theft, violence and harassment, the women interviewed most often thought of being exposed to sexual violence and sexual harassment. In general, just

elderly women thought the crimes such as extortion and thefts which do not include sexual harassment and male violence. On the other hand, despite the differences, there are a lot of similarities in their narratives.

In what follows, I will discuss the various ways in which women cope with the fear of crime in public space. In doing so, I aim to analyze how fear of crime affects women's experiences in gendered public space and how women have developed various methods to deal with it. Additionally, I have made an effort to analyze findings specific to the Ankara example.

4.1. Women's Ways of Coping with Urban Public Constraints: Avoidance and Creative Strategies

In this section, I will discuss the ways in which women cope with the constraints of the urban public space, reflecting their own words from the interviews that were conducted. While showing that women's methods of coping with the constraints of urban public space and their experiences in urban public space differ, I will also discuss women's fear of crime on the axis of gender and space.

Women have ways of coping with the constraints of the urban public space, and each of the women I interviewed mentioned many ways. However, it can be said that these methods mostly involve behaviors of avoidance and creative strategies. The findings of this study show that women's fear of public crime leads them to limit their use of public space; it can even lead to an almost complete withdrawal from the public space. On the other hand, the findings also show that women have creative strategies of resistance in order to be present in public space. In their daily life in public space, they have developed creative strategies to develop themselves in order to reduce or prevent their exposure to a possible crime.

4.1.1. Going Out with An Accompany

Almost all respondents reported being accompanied by someone or something to help them cope with their fear of crime in urban public areas. For many, this

accompaniment is a prerequisite for leaving their homes. Rather than avoiding public space altogether, they view this strategy as a creative solution. As a result, women are forced to navigate public spaces through small, and deliberate actions. In this section, I will describe strategies for coping with fear of crime while accompanied by someone or something.

For all the women I interviewed, the phone and headphones, the charging of the phone, the proximity to the phone, the applications on the phone, whether to wear a headset or not are of vital importance while they are out. They are trying to keep their phones close to them and within easy reach in order to be able to call their relatives or friends immediately and ask for help in case of a possible crime. One of them stated that the KADES application, which is an emergency response application prepared by the General Directorate of Security in order to prevent acts such as violence and harassment against women and children, is on her phone. There are those who hold the phone close to be able to press that application quickly. However, instead of this state-supported application, the tendency to seek help from people they know through other applications is in the majority.

Moreover, when women are walking alone on the street or using public transport alone - especially in a taxi, they pretend to be talking to someone on the phone in order to feel more secure at that very moment. Here is how Ekin explains why she is doing this:

When I get into a taxi, I usually text the number plate to one of my family, or my brother, or close friends, and if I am alone, I am a little hesitant. Frankly, I am a little hesitant at the late hour, but if I am going to wait for the bus, as I said, if it is a difficult situation, I take a taxi. I also pretend to be on the phone, as if I am trying to create a safe environment for myself. I usually pretend I am on the phone and pretend I am talking to someone in my family. But it makes me feel a little less anxious. I want the taxi driver to think that I am not alone and that someone is waiting for me. (Ekin, 22)¹

¹ Ben taksiye bindiğimde de genelde hemen plakasını ailemden birine, ya abime, yakın arkadaşlarıma mesaj atıyorum ve tek başıma biraz çekiniyorum. Geç saatte açıkçası biraz çekiniyorum ama otobüs bekleyeceksem dediğim gibi sıkıntılı bir durumsa dediğim gibi biniyorum. Onda da ya telefonda konuşuyormuş gibi yapıyorum, sanki güvenli bir ortam yaratmaya çalışıyorum kendime. Genelde telefonda konuşuyormuş gibi yapıp sanki böyle ailemden birisiyle konuşuyormuş gibi

It, therefore, is a technique frequently used by women to pretend to be talking on the phone and more importantly to create the impression that someone is waiting for them at the end of the road while talking on the phone because they know that being a single woman makes them a target, they try to reduce their increasing anxiety in this way.

In addition to talking or pretending to talk to someone on the phone, especially young women reported that they mostly share their live location or license plate of the vehicle to friends or relatives via mobile applications such as WhatsApp. Yeşim explains the reason behind it as follows:

If the clock is ticking, I will definitely send a live location to one of my friends. Not that they can come and rescue me if something happens, of course, but at least I want to be found if something happens to me. (Yeşim, 27)²

For women, the decision of whether to wear headphones or not is significant. Some women feel safer using headphones, as it prevents them from noticing verbal abuse or whistles. On the other hand, other women see it as a tactic to not wear headphones while walking alone, in case a possible criminal exposure arises, and they need to take immediate action. However, both strategies aim to cope with male violence and abuse. Despite varying strategies and reactions among women, the root cause of their fear of crime is typically attributed to male violence and sexual harassment.

On the other hand, women were accompanied by something, but they did not carry precautionary items such as pepper spray, electroshock weapon, pocketknives or something like this. Some of studies indicate that women carry such tools in case they are being exposed to crime in order to respond to the perpetrators (Uşaklılar, 2022; Tandoğan & İlhan, 2016; Çardak, 2012, Ünal-Reşitoğlu, 2017; Temurçin,

yaparım. Ancak o şekilde biraz olsun daha az tedirgin hissedebiliyorum. Taksici yalnız olmadığımı ve beni birinin beklediğini düşünün istiyorum.

² Eğer saat geçse, arkadaşlarımdan birine kesinlikle canlı konum gönderirim. Bir şey olsa gelip hemen kurtarabileceğinden değil tabi ama en azından bana bir şey olursa bulunabilmek istiyorum.

Kılıç & Aldırmaz, 2020). However Respondents indicate that they do not carry a self-defense tool with them, or they are hesitant to do so. Only one respondent mentioned carrying needles because they had experienced harassment on public transportation. This aligns with the “Purple Needle Campaign” that began in Turkey in 1989 to raise awareness about street harassment that inhibits women’s urban mobility and puts a stop to sexual harassment.³ Currently, she claims not to have anything on her person. This is due to both a lack of knowledge about how to operate said tools and a fear of potential consequences that may arise from their use.

Another coping mechanism that almost all the women I talked to stated is that they were accompanied mostly by a male person who can be their friends, husbands, partners or one of the family. In this way, they reduce their fear of being exposed to crime by going out with someone who can accompany them instead of going out alone. This actually makes them dependent on someone to be outside. For instance, Gonca mentions that it is very comforting for her to be accompanied by her husband, but on the other hand, getting used to it is a self-destructive thing:

My house is one street away from the Kolej intersection, it is give or take 150-200 meters to my house. At night, what anybody might need, let's say the still water is going short at home – there is no home delivery by phone back then. When the time that I go to even the nearest grocery store to get a bottle of water, I have often been verbally abused and insulted many times. I mean, it is like so anxious... For example, if it is late at the night, I always walk with my phone in my hand. I mean, I pretend like I am talking to someone... or after marriage, which is actually not a very correct statement, after being with someone, it actually makes me feel comfortable to be accompanied by him in that sense [over the phone], I do not even like to do this that much. I mean, I feel that I need it. Because once you get used to it, it feels really scary to go back to that old one. (Gonca, 31)⁴

³ <https://catlakzemin.com/2-kasim-1989/>

⁴ Kolej kavşağından bir sokak aşağıdayım, belki evime mesafe 150-200 metredir. Gece, mesela bir insanın ihtiyacı ne olabilir, evinde su biter, o zaman böyle telefonda söyleme işleri de yok. Aşağı markete inip bir su almak bile o mesafede defalarca belki işte laf atmalar, sözlü tacizlere çok uğramışımdır. Yani hani o kadar çok böyle tedirgin... Mesela hep geç bir saat ise telefon elimde yürürüm. Yani hani biriyle konuşuyormuşum gibi olsun ya da işte evlendikten sonra yani bu da aslında çok doğru bir ifade değil ama hayatımda biri olduktan sonra hani çok sevmediğim halde böyle bir şeyi aslında onun bu anlamda eşlik etmesi beni rahatlatıyor. Yani buna bir ihtiyaç duyduğumu hissediyorum. Çünkü buna alıştıktan sonra tekrar o eski hale dönmek gerçekten ürkütücü geliyor.

Ceylan also reported that her father always walked her home, even for short distances. This was a source of humiliation for her. She even described the self-destructive impact of being unable to do it independently:

The thing I do most often when I walk down that road, maybe 100 steps from the station to my house, each time I was either phone my father or calling my father into the road if I was coming down. He was waiting for me where I was going to go down and we were going home together, for that 100-foot distance. I am a grown-up person, needing someone to walk such a short distance is humiliating on the other hand. (Ceylan, 24)⁵

Women find it both contradictory and self-destructive that women need a man's company to be able to exist safely in public space. As Kern (2019) pointed it, the fear “keeps us, in what is perhaps an actual paradox, dependent on men as protectors” (p. 147). Nevertheless, they prefer it, if possible, as they feel more secure when accompanied by someone who could be their friends, relatives, husbands, or boyfriends. This means that the larger the group of friends, or the larger the group of people they know they are going out with, the safer they will be. As a result, they use it as a tactic to bypass the chance of being subjected to any criminal activity.

4.1.2. Not Going Out As A Strategy

Avoidance is one of the main behavioral changes that women can adopt. Women avoided going out alone, avoided staying out late at night, avoided ‘unsafe’ streets, avoided unfamiliar places, even if it meant limiting access to education, entertainment, and other opportunities. Some studies mentioned two types of precautionary behaviors (Skogan and Maxfield, 1980; Riger et al., 1982). One behavior is risk management, which utilizes defensive strategies and tactics to handle potential danger. The other is avoidance behavior, which aims to decrease exposure to risk or danger. When women engage in either of these behaviors, their attitudes may reflect both approaches. Women exhibiting avoidance behaviors tend to seclude

⁵ En sık yaptığım şey o yoldan yürürken mesela durak ile evimin arası belki 100 adım falan. Her seferinde ya babamı arıyordum ya da aşağı in geliyorum diye babamı çağırıyordum. O aşağı inip benim ineceğim yerde beni bekliyordu ve birlikte eve dönüyorduk, o 100 adımlık yer için. Kaç yaşında insanım, bu kadar kısa bir yolu yürümek için birine muhtaç olmak aşağılayıcı bir yandan da.

themselves by staying indoors, avoiding leaving their home alone, refraining from answering the door, abstaining from attending social events, and reducing their outdoor activities to minimize their likelihood of experiencing criminal acts. Women steer clear of locations, circumstances, and times suspected of posing a high risk of victimization. As a consequence, they use public spaces sparingly and experience isolation more frequently than men.

The fear of crime in public space, which women experience differently from men in the city, and the consequent safety concern, restrict their use of public space. So much so that many women even consider not going out at all as a coping strategy. For instance, the housewives I interviewed stated that they do not go out of the house unless they have to go out, as a strategy to protect themselves from being exposed to crime. Zehra states like this:

I never go out because I am afraid. I am not going out because I am nervous, I am afraid. Or there will be someone with me, I will go out like that. If not, I cannot go out. I am not going out. I do not go out unless it's necessary. For example, we downloaded the KADES application to the phone, just in case we had to use it. I always keep my phone close to me. (Zehra, 53)⁶

I think there is a general discomfort. Do I lack that old courage or has it gotten a lot more sinister? Maybe it has not become seriously uncanny, but I am conscious, something to see it a little more. The streets were already uncanny, but this discouraged me, for example. I mean, even at very short distances, with these measures we just talked about, I can go back now, I can say okay, this time is enough. It is also something that restricts social life. Always having your mind elsewhere, or for example, if someone comes and picks me up from where I sit, it is comforting or if he will drop me off, but we just said that public transportation, taxi if it is late, now even taking a taxi late at night, even that idea gives me a slight nervousness. I got into the taxi, I am informing that I got off now, and it is not like that in my case, normally in the daily life of men, their husbands are pressured, their fathers are pressured; I am not someone who is pressured neither by my own family nor by my wife to go out on a night like this, not to do that. So I am not so restricted at all, I am much more comfortable. I grew up in Antalya before here. I was actually more comfortable there. I am telling you, it is a process

⁶ Ben korktuğum için hiç çıkmıyorum dışarı. Çıkmıyorum çünkü tedirgin oluyorum korkuyorum. Ya da yanımda birisi olacak öyle çıkıcam. Öyle olmayınca çıkamam. Dışarı çıkmıyorum. Zaruri olmadıkça dışarı çıkmam. Mesela, telefona KADES uygulamasını indirdik en son mecbur kalırsak onu kullanırız diye. Telefonumu hep en yakınımda elimde tutuyorum hep.

that I do on my own, and it is a process, so unless I feel comfortable, you do not understand anything because you sit down after a while. After a while, anxiety might be more accurate, it also prevents me from enjoying where I am. So I am not as social as I used to be. I am not as comfortable as before. So I am not that confident about going out anymore. (Gonca, 31)⁷

What is striking about Gonca's statements is that although she does not feel the pressure and control of the men around her, she experiences the fear of crime in public to such an extent and lives to such an extent that she does not want to go out. The fact that the female body and its existence in public space is subject to masculine control and pressure, without the pressure of a masculine figure such as a father, brother, husband, and this internalization of the woman in a way that allows her to self-discipline, shows the reflection of the power of patriarchy on the space. This shows that fear of crime not only restricts women's use of public space, but also causes them to 'discipline' their own bodies and behaviors.

Women who have avoidant behaviors are mostly older women but the crime that causes their fear of crime is different from others. As I stated before, whereas earlier studies argued that people become more fearful as they get older (Clemente & Kleiman, 1976; Braungart et al., 1980; Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Garofalo, 1981; Ollenburger, 1981), recent studies suggest that older people do not always report higher levels of fear of crime and victimization than younger people, and even report less fear of crime than young people (Ferraro, 1995; Ziegler & Mitchell, 2003). My findings are also consistent with the results of recent studies.

⁷ Genel bir rahatsızlık hali var bence. O eski cesaretim mi yok ya da çok daha tekinsizleşti mi? Belki ciddi anlamda tekinsizleşmemiştim ama ben bilinçlenmişimdir, biraz daha bunu göreceğim şeyde. Zaten tekinsiz sokaklar ama bu benim cesaretimi kırdı mesela. Yani çok kısa mesafelerde bile bu az önce konuştuğumuz tedbirlerle, hani artık döneyim tamam, yeterli bu saat tamam diyebiliyorum. O da haliyle sosyal hayatı kısıtlayan bir şey. Sürekli aklının başka bir yerde olması ya da mesela biri beni oturduğum yerden gelip alacaksa bu rahatlatıyor ya da beni bırakacaksa ama az önce dedim ya toplu taşıma, geç saat ise taksi, artık gece geç saatte taksi kullanmak bile, o fikir bile hafif bir gerginlik veriyor bana. Bindim taksiye, şimdi indim diye haberdar ediyorum ve yani işte şey gibi bir durum da değil bendeki, normalde erkeklerin gündelik hayatta eşi baskılar, babası baskılar; ben ne kendi ailemden ne de eşimden böyle bir gece çıkma, şunu yapma diye baskı gören biri değilim. Yani çok sınırlandırılmadım hiç, çok daha rahatım. Antalya'da büyüdüm buradan önce. Orada daha rahattım aslında. Diyorum ya biraz kendi kendime yaptığım bir süreç ve şey bir süreç bu, yani içim rahat etmedikçe bir süre sonra oturduğundan da bir şey anlamıyorsun. Bir süre sonra kaygı daha doğru olur belki, bulunduğum yerden keyif almamı da engelliyor. Dolayısı ile eskisi kadar sosyal değilim. Eskisi kadar rahat değilim. Yani o kadar özgüvenli değilim artık bu dışarı çıkma konusunda.

In this study, I interviewed 7 female participants aged 45 and over, ranging from 47 to 58. The sample size of this study may not be large enough to prove this, but I would like to point out that they all have common narratives. In line with their narratives, no positive correlation was found between aging and increased fear of crime. They became less afraid of the risk of exposure to crime in public spaces than respondents aged 20-45, and the type of crime they feared exposure changed.

The older females among those interviewed expressed concern over theft, extortion, or being deceived by someone, unlike their younger counterparts. The majority of young women are apprehensive about experiencing physical assault, sexual harassment, catcalling, being followed, and rape. Due to their age, older women believe they are less likely to be a victim of sexual harassment. These women and society as a whole tend to label older women as simply “old,” lacking the recognition of their female identity.

Not quite knowing what to expect next. It is like he is tricking you. He says keep that bag with you. Not knowing what that bag will cause. Not knowing why the other person came. But I am not young anymore, what would he do with me? (Dimit, 53)⁸

Therefore, the notion that women's sexuality diminishes with aging and they become less visible in the eyes of society can be effective in reducing their fear of becoming victims of crime. However, the fact that old age is perceived as a weakness and thus makes them more vulnerable to various forms of exploitation, including theft, extortion, and fraud, indicates that they are at a higher risk of victimization. Consequently, there appears to be no significant correlation between the rise in age and the growth in apprehension towards criminal activity.

Women not only limit their use of public space due to fear, but also adjust their appearance, clothing, and behavior in order to cope. Depending on the level of fear they experience, women alter the time and route they take when traveling through

⁸ Ne geleceğini bilemiyorsun pek. Mesela seni kandırabiliyor. Şu çanta sende dursun diyebilir. O çantanın ne getireceğini bilemiyorsun. Karşıdakinin niçin geldiğini bilmiyorsun. Ama, bu saatten sonra beni ne yapacak ki?

public spaces, as well as make changes to their own bodies and behavior. The departure and return times from public spaces, as well as the route taken, are critical concerns. Objective limitations include avoiding side streets, utilizing main routes or familiar paths, refraining from crossing dimly lit paths, and adhering to public transit schedules when on the street. This highlights the significant disparities between women's experiences in public spaces and those of men, emphasizing how gender permeates urban public spaces.

It is essential for women not only to restrict the use of the urban space to certain places and times, but also to restrict behavior and dress. This situation, considered a form of social control over women in feminist debates, can hinder women from living independently, working in specific jobs, and socializing without the protection of family, community, or men.

4.1.3. “*The Less I Look the Better*”: The Fear of Public Harassment

In addition to violent crimes like rape, assault, and murder, which women are frequently exposed to in public spaces, men's personality traits and behaviors, such as body language and posture, also influence women's security perceptions (Gardner, 1995). Public harassment, which includes men's rudeness like yelling, insulting, and nonverbal behavior, allows men to exercise their privileges of space and control over women. Street harassment encompasses an array of both verbal and non-verbal actions, such as wolf-whistling, shouting, touching, catcalling, winking, leering, stalking, and commenting on women's physical appearance. It is important to note that these behaviors can have negative effects on the individual being harassed and contribute to a hostile environment.

As Gardner puts it, the public harassment experienced by women is rejected and ignored by the legal authorities.

Public harassment includes pinching, slapping, hitting, shouted remarks, vulgarity, insults, sly innuendo, ogling, and stalking. Public harassment is on a continuum of possible events, beginning when customary civility among strangers is abrogated and ending with the transition to violent crime:

assault, rape, or murder. Women can currently experience shouted insults, determined trailing, and pinches and grabs by strange men and be fairly certain that no one not the perpetrator and probably no official will think anything of note has happened. Thus, public harassment is a sort of civic denial. (Gardner, 1995, p. 4)

Women are making effort to make themselves physically invisible in public and make strategic decisions to avoid the risk of exposure to any sexual harassment and assault: changing routes home, using headphones, sunglasses, putting on a shawl, choosing seats on public transport, avoiding side streets, using main streets or familiar roads, not crossing poorly lit streets, not using underpasses, not making eye contact with an unknown man, walking quickly, trying not to attract attention, not wearing short dresses. For instance, Leyla says that she always prefers women when she needs something to avoid contact with men she does not know when she is in the public space:

For example, I sit next to the woman from the empty seats on the subway or on the bus. I am waiting for a woman to pass by the road when I ask someone for directions. I know that it is on a very absurd level now. But I would even ask a woman for a lighter to light my cigarette. (Leyla, 25)⁹

I found that the woman I interviewed thought they needed to be less visible to feel safe. They said they tried not to attract too much attention when they were in public spaces. This can be given as an example, from changing their clothes and physical appearance to trying to avoid eye contact with men while walking on the street or on public transport. Thus, fear of being harassed in the public sphere not only limits women's mobility, but also greatly influences their body language and attitudes in these moments of limited mobility.

Simay tells how she tried to hide herself, to make herself invisible in the apartment where she lived as a single woman:

It is such a strange thing... On the one hand, I wanted to meet the neighbors, the shopkeepers, get along with them, and leave a 'good' impression on them,

⁹ Mesela metroda, otobüste boş koltuklardan kadının yanına otururum. Birine yol mu soracağım yoldan bir kadının geçmesini bekliyorum. Biliyorum, artık çok absürt bir seviyede bu. Ama sigaramı yakmak için çakmağı bile bir kadından isterim.

on the other hand, being invisible... I do not want them to see or know me, because if they do not know about me, they can't bother me, so they do not know that a woman lives here alone. I sneak in and out of my own house so I do not run into neighbors at my feet. (Simay, 34)¹⁰

Sevgi talks about trying to appear reasonable person as a strategy and she actually tries to hide her femininity by pretending to be childish. In this way, she thinks that can reduce the likelihood of exposure to crime.

My strategy is to appear reasonable. For example, someone asked me, 'What are you doing on the street at this hour?' and I said in my best family girl voice 'I am going to see my childhood friends, my brother.' I gave a ridiculous answer. It is like it is not a very good strategy, but I am trying to look very reasonable at that moment. I guess I am trying to look like, you know, I am a nice person. I try to act like a person they do not see as a threat. (Sevgi, 25)¹¹

Lastly, the fear of public harassment severely limits women's physical and geographical mobility. Not only does it reduce a woman's sense of safety and comfort in public places, but it also restricts her freedom of movement and deprives her freedom and safety in public. This affects women's attitudes, behaviors, and physical appearances. As a result, women avoid certain places, specific times, and activities in order to avoid being exposed to the male violence, specifically sexually assault and harassment.

4.1.4. To Practice or Not To Practice Self-Defense

Self-defense training provides women with physical and psychological capabilities. The workshops and courses teach how to withstand physical attacks, including

¹⁰ Şöyle garip bir şey aslında... Bir yandan komşularla, esnafla tanışmak, iyi geçinmek, 'iyi' bir izlenim bırakmak istiyordum onlarda, diğer yandan da görünmez olmak... Beni görmesinler tanımasınlar istiyorum, beni bilmezlerse rahatsız da edemezler, burada tek başına bir kadın yaşadığımı bilmesinler. Kendi evime gizlice girip çıkıyorum ayak ucunda komşulara rastlamamak için.

¹¹ Benim stratejim makul görünmek. Mesela işte bana biri "Bu saatte sokakta ne işin var?" demişti ve en iyi aile kızı sesimle "Çocukluk arkadaşlarımı görmeye gidiyorum abicim" demiştim saçma sapan bir cevap vermiştim. Hani sanki bu da sanki çok iyi bir strateji değil ama o an çok makul görünmeye çalışıyorum. Sanırım şey görünmeye çalışıyorum, hani bakın ben iyi biriyim. Onların tehdit olarak görmediği bir insanmış gibi davranmaya çalışıyorum.

punches and kicks. In addition, they help overcome socialized tendencies towards fear, helplessness, passivity, and low self-esteem. Participants also gain a sense of awareness of their right to protect and defend their bodies, and acquire the ability to deal with attacks. Individuals can acquire skills to prevent physical attacks, and learning these skills and dealing with the aftermath of a violent attack can increase their self-confidence and decrease their fear of crime. It is crucial to note that awareness of self-defense skills does not guarantee a woman's safety, but it can provide them with a degree of strength to cope with the consequences of an attack instead of assuming the position of a victim. The rationale behind the potential victimization of women lies in societal processes that sustain their inferior status. Gender role socialization reinforces passivity in women and prevents men from admitting fear, resulting in behaviors that affect their reflexes when responding to an attack and create physical and psychological vulnerability. Self-defense courses can be a useful solution to overcome the victimization role.

Self-defense is the act of protecting oneself from a perceived threat, involving countering danger or harm and using force to safeguard one's well-being against an attacker. Feminist self-defense is different from traditional self-defense methods, as it equips women with tools to effectively combat persistent violence directed towards them. Furthermore, it helps prevent gender-based violence by providing mental, emotional, and verbal strategies in addition to physical ones. These aids assist individuals in countering physical attacks, discrimination, harassment, and aggression from both acquaintances and strangers. A notable aspect of feminist self-defense is that it encompasses more than just physical defense, distinguishing it from other approaches. Furthermore, the program endeavors to provide comprehensive support with practical tools for enhancing self-esteem, improving mental resilience, and effectively responding to challenging situations. The primary aims of self-defense training courses include:

(1) to identify the realities and myths regarding sexual assault and violence against women; (2) to provide information that will support the basic attitudes and attributes of self-defense, including assertiveness, awareness, self-reliance, confidence, and physical fitness; (3) to establish ways for students to learn how to identify threatening and high-risk situations; (4) to

provide skill-building activities that incorporate mental, vocal, and physical self-defense techniques; (5) to provide strategies for specific situations that may occur on campus; and (6) to provide information about resources available to women who have been or may be abused or assaulted. (Cummings, 1992, p. 185).

The evaluations of the outcomes of women's participation in self-defense training reveals several favorable results, such as reduced fear and anxiety as well as enhanced self-confidence, self-efficacy, assertiveness, physical competence, and fighting skills (Brecklin, 2008; Follansbee, 1982; McCaughey, 1997; Ozer & Bandura, 1990; Hollander, 2004). More importantly, another significant outcome of self-defense training is that it does not restrict women's mobility or freedom, as does many other prevention strategies and advice to women. On the contrary, it may lead to increase the mobility of women in the public space and thus increase their visibility. Most women adopt avoidance behaviors (such as refraining from walking alone at night or going out unless absolutely necessary) to reduce the risk of exposure to any type of crime. Avoidance behaviors limit women's participation and use of public space. Women who participate in self-defense training exhibit fewer avoidance behaviors and engage in more participatory behaviors compared to those who do not participate in the training (Brecklin, 2008; McCaughey, 1997; Ozer & Bandura, 1990; Hollander, 2014).

The primary objective is to enhance women's status by promoting strength, mobility, and an active lifestyle, notwithstanding the societal conditioning that often portrays them as passive victims due to sex role socialization. Feminist self-defense as a strategy for preventing victimization differs from other services provided to battered women and rape survivors or “avoidance myths”, which are traditional recommendations that discourage women from actively resisting personal attacks (Searles and Berger, 1987). Cultivating self-awareness and a sense of self-worth is essential in self-defense training, especially for people who have encountered unfair treatment. Responding to an attack is affected by societal norms and gender roles, which could result in feelings of both physical and psychological vulnerability.

In Turkey, the struggle of feminists against male violence in Turkey gained new dimensions in the 2000s. In the struggle against femicides since the 2000s, women

who have claimed their lives by practicing self-defense have come to the fore. In the early 2010s, the three women became symbols of the discussions on self-defense: Yasemin Çakal, who had to kill her husband who systematically abused her in order not to die in 2014, Nevin Yıldırım, who killed her rapist in 2012, and Çilem Doğan, who had to kill her violent husband who forced her into prostitution in 2015. In 2015, the journal *Feminist Politika* gave place to “women who take care of their lives” in their 28th issue. The issue includes the interviews conducted with Çilem Doğan and Yasemin Çakal and correspondences the magazine had with Nevin Yıldırım.

Throughout 2015, the İstanbul Feminist Kolektif (İFK) reported on the news of women who injured or killed their husbands, ex-husbands, boyfriends, relatives, or stranger males. Between January and October 2015, İFK published the stories and case processes of women who had to defend themselves in order to survive, with its monthly report titled “Women Take Care of Their Lives.” In this way, the reports made visible the women who resist violence and defend themselves. These monthly reports which prepared by the İstanbul Feminist Kolektif, and the stories of women who take care of their lives, were compiled, and then published by Güldünya Publishing under the title *Kirpiğiniz Yere Düşmesin: Kadınlar Hayatlarına Sahip Çıkıyor* in 2016.

These women are still in prison, as I write these lines. Therefore, although feminist organizations or other institutions such as some municipalities try to ensure that women learn self-defense by organizing self -defense trainings and courses, there is both unawareness and fear of practice in self-defense techniques.

All interviewees stated that they do not carry self-defense tools such as pepper spray or a penknife. There are two main reasons why they do not carry them. The first reason is that they all said that they did not have the knowledge to use these tools. They said that if they had this knowledge, they might carry it.

No, I do not dare it. I actually thought about that a lot. It is like there is a little pepper spray in the bag, but there must be some information on how to use it for me, as well. So I do not want to think about the backlash of this at all. For example, can I use this right now? What if I go forward while using

*it? I mean, because how can I tell you, we have all been through it, it has happened to me before, for example, you are being harassed on the street, someone is yelling at you. I got stuck so much that I did not know what to do, I did not know what that person in front of me could do to me. So it is not just in studentship, it happened during my internship period, even when I started my career. In other words, if I remove something from a tool that I cannot use, I do not really approach them because of the fear that the result may be worse. (Gonca, 31)*¹²

But more importantly, they also said that they do not use these tools because they are afraid of the consequences of using them. It is a situation where they are afraid of accidentally injuring or killing the person on the other side, because if the attacker is killed while women are practicing self-defense, the practice of self-defense by women is not accepted by the legal authorities.

*Here is the thing, I carried pepper spray for a while. Then I left it. What bothers me more than that, is that you constantly think that what you carry is the weapon you want to use, so it should be more convenient. You know that pepper spray will not actually be enough, because what can it do to anyone? It just prevents a little harassment. It can prevent physical or verbal abuse. But since you know that you will be different, someone else, after a while you start to think that I should carry a pocketknife with you. And that's against someone I'm not a person who can use a knife. If I use it, who knows what will happen next? But your brain is starting to instill that in you. You are actually starting to manipulate yourself. I must do more. Here I have to protect myself more. You start to think about it and there is no end to it so there is no end to improving the weapon you use. That's why it starts to make no sense to me after a while. Because you're going to be exposed to something and you want to resist it. But the ways you want to resist are the ways that will cause more trouble. After a while I gave up on it completely. Pepper spray etc., I do not carry it. (Ceylan)*¹³

¹² Yok, ona cesaret edemiyorum. Aslında çok düşündüm bunu. Hani çantada ufak bir biber gazı bir şey olması ama bana yani bunun için de kullanmaya dair bir bilginin olması lazım gibi. Yani bunun ters tepme durumlarını hiç düşünmek istemiyorum. Ben mesela o anda bunu kullanabilir miyim? Kullanırken ya ileri gidersem? Yani çünkü nasıl diyeyim sana hepimiz yaşamışızdır, daha önce benim de başıma geldi, sokakta taciz ediliyorsun mesela, biri sana laf atıyor. O kadar çok kilitleyip kaldım ki, yani ne yapacağımı bilemedim, o karşıdaki insan bana ne yapabilir bilemedim. Yani bu sadece öğrencilikte değil; staj dönemimde, hatta mesleğe başladığım zamanda da oldu. Yani dolayısı ile kullanamadığım bir aracı bir şeyi çıkarsam onun sonucu daha kötü olabilir kaygısıyla aslında çok yanaşmıyorum onlara.

¹³ Şu var, bir dönem biber gazı taşıdım. Sonra bıraktım onu. Bundan öte canımı sıkın şey şu, sürekli olarak taşıdığın şeyin kullanmak istediğin silahın yani daha elverişli olmasını gerektiğini düşünüyorsun. Biber gazının aslında yeterli olmayacağını biliyorsun, kime ne yapabilir çünkü. Küçük bir tacizi önler sadece. Fiziksel yada sözlü tacizi önleyebilir. Ama daha farklı, daha başkası olacağını bildiğin için bir yerden sonra şunu düşünmeye başlıyorsun yanında çakı da taşmalıyım. Ve bunu ben bıçak kullanabilecek bir insan değilim birine karşı. Kullarsam da kim bilir ne olur sonra?

If the attacker dies while the women are defending themselves, they are reluctant to defend themselves for fear of accidentally injuring or killing the other person, as their practice of self-defense will be punished by the state. For this reason, women tend to prefer not to use defensive or precautionary tools such as pepper spray or cutting tools.

From a distance, women's narratives can be seen to fit into the vulnerability perspective, which suggests that some groups have a greater fear of crime than other social groups because they feel more vulnerable. From this perspective, an individual's fear is linked to their anticipation of the consequences of the attack, and how and to what extent they think about coping with the consequences of a crime. Personal vulnerability to crime can be divided into physical vulnerability and social vulnerability. Physical vulnerability refers to susceptibility to attack, powerlessness to resist attack, and exposure to traumatic physical consequences if attacked (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Social vulnerability is defined as people who are socially vulnerable to crime when they are frequently at risk of victimization because of who they are and the social and economic consequences of victimization outweigh them (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). There may be a lack of access to the resources needed to deal with the consequences of crime.

From this point of view, the vulnerability perspective simply argues that the reason for women's increased fear of crime is that they feel vulnerable to crime. But in the in-depth interviews with women, it seems that fear is not a result of individual vulnerability, but rather of structural reasons. This does not take into account the view that crimes experienced by women are less likely to be reported than those experienced by men. This is because women are often victims of sexual assault and violent crime, but are typically less likely to report it. However, the high level of fear of crime among women has led to assumptions that women's fear must be irrational

Ama beynin sana bunu aşlamaya başlıyorsun. Kendi kendini manipüle etmeye başlıyorsun aslında. Ben daha fazlasını yapmalıyım. İşte kendimi daha çok korumalıyım. Bunu düşünmeye başlıyorsun ve bunun bir sonu yok yani kullandığın silahı geliştirmenin herhangi bir sonu yok. O yüzden bir yerden sonra bana mantıksız gelmeye başlıyor. Çünkü sen bir şeye maruz kalacaksın ve buna karşı koymak istiyorsun. Ama karşı koymak istediğin yollar daha çok sıkıntıya sokacak yollar. Bir yerden sonra onu tamamen bıraktım. Biber gazı vs. taşıyorum.

and based on their false consciousness, or that women's fear is related to their vulnerability, despite the extremely low rates of violence against women reported in earlier studies. That is why the vulnerability approach has since been criticized for suggesting that women are fundamentally weak and passive victims by neglecting the structural causes of male violence.

A common response by the women I interviewed to fear of crime is that they think that they cannot cope with any crime at that moment. Many of them feel that there is nothing they can do when exposed to such an attack or assault because they state that they lack the means and rights to deal with the possible consequences of the attack. My respondents think that there is no order that protects them legally and that the ties that can help them socially are eroding. In fact, for these reasons, they feel weak and powerless in dealing with crime.

I am afraid of all of them. In fact, I was walking the other day, and a man was walking in parallel with me. I thought, what would I do if this man attacked me? I have been thinking about this a lot lately. I am always so afraid. Hearing catcalls happens very often. Especially when on public transport. In the first year of university, I was walking with a friend to the subway and two people started following us. While we were thinking about what to do, they came very close to us and my friend had pepper spray and she sprayed pepper spray. It was the most frightening moment of my life. I can never forget him. That is why I am still afraid to walk with a girlfriend at night. What will I do if it happens to me again? I was near my own house, I was going to get on the bus, someone was following me. I was so tense that I could not do anything and wandered around the house. It was a familiar neighborhood. After following me for a long time, I got into the last shoe, but I hesitated for too long to ask for help because I do not think they will help either. (Yeşim, 27)¹⁴

¹⁴ Ben hepsinden korkuyorum. Hatta geçen gün yürüyorum bir adam da benim paralelimde yürüyor. Düşündüm ki yani bu adam üstüme gelse saldırsa ne yapacağım? Son zamanlarda bunu çok düşünüyorum artık. Hep çok korkuyorum. Laf atma çok başıma geldi o çok sık oluyor. Özellikle toplu taşımadayken. Üniversitenin ilk senesi bir arkadaşım ile yürüyoruz metroya ve iki kişi bizi takip etmeye başladı. Biz ne yapacağız diye düşünürken, çok yaklaştılar bize ve arkadaşımın yanında biber gazı vardı o biber gazı sıktı. Hayatımın en çok korktuğum anıydı. Onu hiç unutamıyorum. O yüzden hala çok korkuyorum gece bir kız arkadaşım ile yürümek. Başıma bir daha gelir mi gelirse ne yaparım. Kendi evimin yakınlarına çıktım otobüse binicetim biri beni takip ediyordu. O kadar gerildim ki hiçbir şey yapamadım evin çevresinde dolandım. Tanıdık bir mahalleydi bağırırsam yardıma gelirlerdi ama bağırmadım acaba ben de bir sıkıntı var diye düşündüm. Uzun süre beni takip edince en son ayakkabıcıya girdim ama yardım istemekten çok uzun süre çekindim çünkü yardım edeceklerini de sanmıyorum.

This evidence indicates that women's fear of crime stems from structural factors, rather than individual weaknesses or unrealistic perceptions. As discussed earlier, the vulnerability perspective attributes fear of crime to personal circumstances, rather than examining the broader social context. The vulnerability perspective explains the gender gap in fear by emphasizing that women have less physical, social, and economic power than men. This approach attempts to clarify the social gender inequalities that underlie women's fear of crime based on traditional gender characteristics. The suggestion is that, due to their lower physical strength and competence in comparison to men, women are less able to protect themselves from male offenders, and therefore, are more vulnerable to crime. However, this view neglects the existence of male violence and patriarchal power in society.

Therefore, it is quite easy to interpret women's fear of crime through their vulnerabilities, and this provides a way to maintain gender roles. In this regard, in order to perpetuate the oppressed status of women, there is collaboration between the state and the male-dominated society. While men who commit violence against women are not punished, or under-punished, women can be punished even when they protect themselves during self-defense. Therefore, although there are organizations and activities that promote self-defense, there are obstacles to its dissemination and implementation by women.

4.1.5. Mental Mapping the Safety in the Urban Public Space

Most women only go to certain places on their mental map that they consider safe. They are actually located in a very small part of the city because they are using the places even the districts they know. For many, there is a tendency to feel safer in urban public spaces where different groups of people are present, and as lively spaces are less likely to be the scene of crimes against women, there are a variety of activities that bring vitality to these spaces. Places such as Ayrancı, Tunalı, Bahçelievler, university campuses (METU, Bilkent) and campus environments are perceived as safe because of the presence of people, men and women of different ages and backgrounds, as well as shops and hawkers operating throughout the day.

Women felt safer because the presence of people meant they were more likely to get help, so they almost did not go out of these places.

Kızılay, Ulus, does not seem so uncanny to me. Since there are more people, more lively, and at least there is a constant flow, it does not feel that dangerous. Although many people think otherwise. (Ceylan, 24)¹⁵

I was living in Eryaman last year and then I moved to Kolej because it is close to the school. I can compare Eryaman with Çankaya. This (Çankaya) is a very busy place, there are places that are always open, so I prefer this place. Because the place where I lived in Eryaman was quieter and where older people lived, so there would be no noise after 9-10 o'clock. The quietness of that place created some uneasiness. (Yeşim, 27)¹⁶

However, the increased presence of people does not always mean that they are more likely to get help. Although places like Ulus, Sıhhiye, Kolej, Kızılay, Çukurambar are lively and populated, they are mostly neighborhoods that they do not consider safe. Women state that they do not feel safe in these districts even during the daytime, and they do not go unless they have to. For this reason, the presence of “like-minded people” is a distinguishing factor. When looking for a house or going out to socialize, women tend to look for people who think like them. They describe areas where they do not feel obliged to change their clothes, where they think that they can help them in a possible problem, and where there are more ‘like-minded’ people.

But in my daily life, for example, I use Sıhhiye because of my job, I change my own clothes if I am going to Sıhhiye. I mean, if I'm changing my clothes while going somewhere, I think it is a bit of an uncanny place. Here in Ayrancı, the financial situation is a little better. Here, the upper parts of the GOP are better in that sense, but other than that, I have difficulties in Ulus, I have difficulties in Sıhhiye, I tidy up my clothes when I go to Mamak, but frankly, I

¹⁵ Kızılay, Ulus, o kadar tekinsiz gelmiyor bana. İnsan sayısı daha fazla olduğundan, daha canlı olduğundan en azından sürekli bir akış olduğundan oralar da o kadar da tehlikeli gelmiyor. Birçok kişi aksini düşünse de.

¹⁶ Ben geçen sene Eryaman'da yaşıyordum sonra Kolej'e taşındım okula yakın olduğu için. Ben Eryaman'la Çankaya'yı kıyaslayabilirim. Burası (Çankaya) çok işlek bir yer, sürekli açık olan yerler var o yüzden burayı tercih ederim. Çünkü Eryaman'da oturduğum yer daha sakin ve daha yaşlı insanların yaşadığı bir yerdi o yüzden saat 9-10dan sonra hiç ses olmazdı kimse olmazdı. Orasının sessiz olması bir tedirginlik yaratıyordu.

do not go anywhere else. I mean, I do not go out much because I can find a social opportunity on my own street. I usually meet with my friends in those places, they also prefer it. What happens when I go out, if there is such a place to sit in Ayrancı, Bilkent, there are more outlying districts than that, but it is very limited. So once, twice a year. Mainly in my neighborhood, almost on my street. I can say that I am not even leaving. (Gonca, 31)¹⁷

I specifically preferred Ayrancı. I have been here for like 10 years. I was in Dikmen before, I spent my childhood in Keçiören. Batıkent was also a relatively safe place, but Dikmen was not like that. We deliberately chose Ayrancı, we came thinking that we could find people similar to ourselves. (Hande)¹⁸

Now I went to high school in the Yenidoğan District, Çiğçin. Frankly, those places seem very uncanny to me. I preferred not to leave school a lot, except for using the shuttle bus. I was coming with the shuttle and leaving with the shuttle. I have never walked on its streets. (Ekin)¹⁹

Although the separation of safe and unsafe places is very variable and transitive, Ayrancı and Tunalı districts are considered safer due to reasons such as neighborhood solidarity and demographic structure of the population. In addition, many women frequently state that they prefer not to go to Kızılay ‘anymore’. Kızılay has always been described as a place to go to in the past. Interviewees state that they no longer prefer to go because of its changing structure both after the explosions and the Gezi Park protests.

The down side of Kolej and Kurtuluş does not feel very safe. Tunalı sounds very reliable and comfortable, it comes as a livable and walkable place. Esat

¹⁷ Ama hani gündelik hayatta mesela Sıhhiye’yi kullanıyorum işim gereği, kendi kıyafetimi giydiğim şeyleri Sıhhiye’ye gideceksem değiştiriyorum. yani bir yere giderken giyimime kuşamımı değiştiriyorsam bence orası biraz tekinsiz bir yerdir. İşte Ayrancı’nda biraz daha mali durumu daha iyi. İşte GOP’un üst tarafları biraz daha o anlamda iyi ama onun dışında kötü diyebileceğim işte Ulus’ta zorlanırım, Sıhhiye’de zorlanırım, bir kısım işte Mamak’a gittiğimde kıyafetime çekidüzen veririm ama onun dışında çok bir yere de gitmiyorum açıkçası. Yani hani bir sosyal imkanı kendi sokağında bulabildiğim için çok fazla dışarı çıkmıyorum. Arkadaşlarımla da genelde o taraflarda görüşüyorum, onlar da tercih ediyorlar. Dışarı çıktığımda da nispeten neresi oluyor, Ayrancı, Bilkent hani böyle oturulacak bir yer varsa da hani ona göre daha dış semtler ama o çok kısıtlı. Yani senede bir defa, iki defa. Ağırıklı olarak semtimde, hatta neredeyse sokağında. Hani oradan bile çıkmıyorum diyebilirim.

¹⁸ Özel olarak Ayrancı’yı tercih ettim. 10 yıldır falan buradayım. Ben daha önce Dikmen’deydim, Keçiören’de çocukluğum geçti. Batıkent de güvenli bir yerdı nispeten ama Dikmen öyle değildi. Ayrancı’yı bilerek tercih ettik, kendimize benzer insanlar bulabileceğimizi düşünerek geldik.

¹⁹ Şimdi ben liseyi Çiğçin taraflarında okudum. Yenidoğan Mahallesi’nde. Oralar açıkçası çok tekinsiz geliyor bana. Okuldan mesela servis kullanmak dışında çok çıkmamayı tercih ediyordum. Servisle gelip servisle gidiyordum. Hiç yürümedim sokaklarında.

is a place that makes me nervous. I had coded the 100. Yıl in my head is a very comfortable place. I stayed in Çayyolu for a while, while I was doing my internship. The place I was staying was almost deserted, so it was not a place where I felt safe either. I do not prefer to go alone, I usually want to have someone with me. I am afraid if something happens to me, there are too many police officers in Kızılay, it makes me nervous and it is not a place where I feel comfortable. We used to go to Kızılay a lot, but now we do not prefer it, we go to Tunalı more often with my group of friends. (Işık, 20)²⁰

When I go to Kızılay, my confidence is getting less. I go to Kızılay if necessary, for shopping and looking for books. Other than that, we do not go to Kızılay much anymore. We usually go to Bestekar and Tunalı to socialize. Kızılay seems very complex and chaotic, so I do not prefer it. (Yeşim, 27)²¹

On the other hand, the distinction between safe and unsafe also changes over time. While young women often describe college campuses as safe, the experiences and recollections of college students in the 1980s are different. Women who studied in Ankara during the 1980s do not remember the university campuses as a safe place, they recall the political unrest, conflicts, and the oppression of both the police and military that occurred following the military coup in 1980. It was a tumultuous time for the country.

I entered the university in 1982, there was an incredible oppression at that time when there was a complete revolution. We were a small school, there was only one building, we went out to the tiny garden, there would be an identity check on the way back inside. They even interfered with us wearing jeans etc. It was a very oppressive system. There were political camps in schools. We were being traded. When it is a small school, everybody knows everybody. For example, they opened an investigation for even the slightest

²⁰ Kolej ve aşağı tarafı Kurtuluş vs çok güvenli gelmiyor. Tunalı çok güvenilir ve rahat geliyor yaşanabilir yürünebilir bir yer olarak geliyor. Esat beni geren bir yer. 100. Yıl kafamda çok rahat bir yer olarak kodlamıştım. Çayyolu'nda kalmıştım bir süre staj yaparken, kaldığım yer yok ıssız geliyordu o yüzden orası da güvende hissettiğim bir yer değildi. Ben tek gitmeyi çok tercih etmiyorum genelde hep biri olsun istiyorum yanımda. Başıma bir şey gelir mi korkum oluyor, çok fazla polis oluyor Kızılay'da bu beni tedirgin ediyor ve rahat hissettiğim bir yer değil. Eskiden Kızılay'a çok giderdik ama şimdi tercih etmiyoruz arkadaş grubumla daha çok Tunalıya gidiyoruz.

²¹ Kızılay taraflarına geçtiğimde o güvenim gittikçe azalıyor. Kızılay'a gerekliyse gidiyorum, alışveriş ve kitap bakmak için olabilir. Onun dışında Kızılay'da pek oturmuyoruz artık. Genelde Bestekar ve Tunalı taraflarına gidiyoruz sosyalleşmek için. Kızılay çok karmaşık, kaotik geliyor o yüzden tercih etmiyorum.

movement. Our school was not very safe. Over the years, our freedom has been restricted, especially for a group. (Seyyal, 53)²²

In addition to this, women who have studied at provincial universities have a different view of the university campuses. Women who have studied at provincial universities do not define the university campus as safe, on the contrary, it is a period they almost do not want to remember. For instance, Ceylan, who studied at Kırıkkale University, conveys her safety concerns during undergraduate degree as follows:

I never felt comfortable at school. I studied at the provincial university, I studied in Kırıkkale, and I always felt that the incoming students were not very bright or enlightened children, and they were not inquisitive people. I feel as uncomfortable at school as I feel on the subway with a mini skirt today. Again from the same issue, because you are a certain thing to them. For them, you are an object that they want to reach for a period of time and they evaluate you based on that. I did not feel comfortable at school either. Let me tell you something about this. There, for example, at school, I dressed so unfeminine during my study. Because I was in the 2nd year of university just at this time, when a professor who was incredibly older than me took a lecture. So I went with pantyhose underneath and a miniskirt on top and it was a little cool. When I came in, he said to me, girl, you make me shiver. And he is in the middle of everyone in the amp. I did not realize he was harassing it at first. I thought he said it because it was cold. But it also felt strange, because it was such a strange sentence. If he had seen a male student, I do not think he would have said that, or he would have said it differently. When I realized this, I could not wear anything again during university after that day. (Ceylan, 24)²³

²² Ben 1982 girişliyim üniversiteye, tam ihtilal olmuş o dönem inanılmaz bir baskı düzeni var. Küçük bir okulduk tek bir bina var sadece, küçük bahçeye çıkıyoruz geri içeri girerken kimlik kontrolü olurdu. Kot pantolon giymemize bile karıştırlardı vs çok baskıcı bir sistemdi. Okullarda siyasi kamplaşmalar vardı. Fişleniyorduk. Küçük okul olunca herkes herkesi biliyor. En ufak bir hareketimizde bile soruşturma açıyorlardı mesela. Çok güvenli değildi bizim okulumuz. Yıllar içinde özgürlüğümüz kısıtlandı özellikle bir grup için.

²³ Okulda hiç rahat hissetmedim. Taşra üniversitesinde okudum, Kırıkkale’de okudum ve gelen öğrenciler çok parlak ya da aydın düşünceleri olan çocuklar değildi ve sorgulayan kişiler olmadıklarını her seferinde hissettim. Bugün mini etekle metroda ne kadar rahatsız hissediyorsam okulda da aynı şekilde o derece rahatsız hissediyorum. Yine aynı meseleden, çünkü onlar için belli bir şeysin. Onlar için bir dönem boyunca ulaşılmak istenen bir nesnesin ve bunun üzerinden değerlendiriyorlar seni. Okulda şundan da rahat hissetmiyordum. Buna dair bir şey anlatayım. Orada mesela okulda o kadar böyle kadınlıktan uzak giyindim ki okuduğum süre boyunca. Çünkü benden inanılmaz yaşça büyük bir profesörün dersine tam da bu dönemlerde, üniversite 2. sınıftaydım. Böyle altımda külotlu çorap, üstümde mini etekle gittim ve hava biraz serindi. İçeri girdiğimde bana içimi titretiyorsun kızım dedi. Ve amfide herkesin ortasında yani. Bunu başta taciz ettiğini anlamadım. Hava soğuk olduğundan söylediğini sandım. Ama bir yandan da tuhaf geldi, çünkü çok tuhaf bir cümleydi. O, bir erkek öğrenci görse bence bunu söylemeyecekti, ya da söylediği şeyi farklı şekilde söyleyecekti. Bunu anladığım zaman o günden sonra bir daha hiçbir şey giyemedim üniversite boyunca.

It is not the right approach that the security concern on the street is seen as the problem of insecurity only as the problem of the neighborhoods on the wall. Women living in different districts stated that they had similar concerns in the 'family' neighborhoods called 'safe' or in the districts that refer to classrooms by stating that they were 'decent'. In fact, when I asked them about the neighborhoods, they define safe and insecure, they first said the neighborhoods that they coded in their minds as safe and insecure. They said that they found districts such as Tunalı and Ayrancı safe, Ulus, Kolej and Sincan insecure; however, most of the past crime exposure experiences were where they were considered safe spaces during the interview. Although many of them are in the neighborhoods they encode the mobility area safely, the places where they take precautions due to security concerns correspond to the same place.

This is because the geographies of fear are primarily linked to the social perceptions of danger and threat. Fear often shapes people's mental maps, and thus their daily geographies, and these mental maps are cumulative constructs that are built and accumulated over a lifetime, that a person uses to make daily decisions (England & Simon, 2010). These mental maps, therefore, can be constructed in any way, but are particularly informed through direct or indirect experiences, daily contact with people, the media and so on. The notions of fear and safety vary depending on many factors, especially one's own social and material position, from insufficient lighting of the road to the very secluded neighborhood. As Pain pointed out, "For individual women the spatial separation of feelings of fear and safety may well be experienced as particular localities, or conversely there may be no clear physical boundaries to what is 'safe' and 'unsafe'. It is of greater significance, though, to study on a broader scale how these spaces are constructed, what they represent, and how cumulatively they might affect women's lives." (1991, p. 417). As a result, the distinction between safe and unsafe is not sharply demarcated. In the next section, I will likewise discuss the ambiguity of mental maps and the relationship between home and outside.

The direct victimization perspective posits a direct correlation between fear of crime and victimization. Specifically, individuals who have been victimized have a higher likelihood of being targeted for future crimes than those who have not experienced

victimization. Being a victim of a specific crime, according to this viewpoint, impacts one's perception of crime and increases fear levels. Individuals who have been victims of crime are more likely to take precautions due to their experience, as they are concerned about being exposed to crime.

While there are controversial studies on the influence of direct victimization on the fear of being exposed to crime, it is widely agreed that direct victimization has an indirect effect on crime perception. This is because being a direct victim of crime can make you more cautious and watchful, but whether it makes them more fearful is still debatable. As a result, being a victim of crime can make people more cautious and change their views of crime, but there is little evidence to support the claim that being a victim of crime makes people more fearful of crime.

Most women I interviewed mentioned about their past actual experiences which are all about related to the direct victimization of sexual harassment in urban public places. They still remember it with the same effect, even if it is an experience, they have had a long time ago. Seyyal conveys her past experience:

I was so exposed, from trying to touch it to pulling out his phallus and running after me in the apartment. I have had a lot of harassment, it is a very scary thing. I ran up a few floors. He started to follow me from the bus, I looked at him and he came behind me with his genitals removed. The fear of death must have been something like that. I am almost 60 years old and I still do not forget. (Seyyal, 53)²⁴

However, it would not be correct to accept the argument that being a direct victim of crime increases the fear of crime. On the other hand, there are many women who state that they have a high fear of being exposed to crime, even if they have not been a direct victim of the crime.

As already discussed, indirect victimization, as opposed to direct victimization, is the belief that hearing of another person's victimization or being victimized from other

²⁴ Ben çok maruz kaldım, dokunmaya çalışmaktan erkeklik organını çıkarıp apartmanda peşimden koşanına kadar çok maruz kaldım. Bir sürü taciz olayı yaşadım çok ürkütücü bir şey. Birkaç kat yukarı koşarak çıktım. Otobüsten itibaren takip etmeye başladı beni bir baktım cinsel organını çıkarmış arkamdan geliyor. Ölüm korkusu böyle bir şeydi herhalde. Neredeyse 60 yaşına geldim hala unutmuyorum.

sources increases one's fear of being exposed to crime (Lavrakas and Lewis 1980; Arnold 1991; Klecha and Bishop 1978; Box et al. 1988; Skogan and Maxfield 1981; Gates and Rohe 1987).

In this regard, the indirect victimization viewpoint examines the role of local social relationships to identify the crime-fear link. Victims and witnesses of illegal activities share information through local social networks. Taylor and Hale (1986) concluded that social networks channel the impacts of victimization and make individuals with more local relationships in the community more fearful of crime. Making similarities between oneself and the victim will strengthen one's sense of vulnerability. Because persons who are unable to protect themselves physically, monetarily, or emotionally may envision themselves in the victimization scenario of another person and consider how they might deal with crime. This is because people can imagine themselves in the situation of another person's experienced victimization and think about how they can cope with crime because of the feeling of not being able to protect themselves physically, economically, or emotionally.

The thing I am afraid of is that if a man comes, I get very scared. There was also a girl in our class, a thief had broken into her house. That is why the girl's psychology is broken or something. She was having tremors and she was right. Because meeting one-on-one in the room feels very bad to me. For example, if a thief comes and leaves the house, I would say that a thief has come or something, but I would say, I am glad I did not meet him. The sight of the thief seems terrifying to me. The whole thing about coming face to face with him and even thinking he is going to do anything is so scary. (Kader, 23)²⁵

The findings of the thesis confirm “the shadow of sexual assault hypothesis”, which proposes that women's fear of higher crime rates is due to their fear of rape and sexual violence, which casts its shadow over a range of other crimes. Despite the fact that women and men have almost the same level of fear of all non-sexual crimes,

²⁵ Korktuğum şey şu, hani bir erkek gelse yani çok korkarım. Bir de bizim sınıfta bir kız vardı, evine hırsız girmişti onun. O yüzden kızın psikolojisi falan bozuldu yani. Titreme atakları yaşıyordu ve hani haklı da yani. Çünkü birebir karşılaşmak odasında çok kötü geliyor bana. Mesela hırsız gelse gitse evden, haa hırsız gelmiş falan derim ama şey derim, iyi ki karşılaşmadım. Hırsız görme olayı çok korkunç geliyor bana. Onunla yüz yüze gelme olayı ve hani yani bir şey yapacağını düşünmek bile çok korkutucu.

women's fear of male violence, particularly rape and sexual assault, is greater. This is because for women, any criminal act carries with it the risk of sexual harassment; for example, if a thief breaks into a woman's home, the possibility of not only being robbed but also raped increases the fear of crime. Sexual violence, particularly rape, has helped to maintain the patriarchal status quo and social control on women. The use of sexual violence as a form of social control also ensures the perpetuation of unequal power relations between men and women in space.

4.2. Until The Door Is Closed?

In this part, I aim to discuss what is seen as a spatial paradox in women's fear of crime. It has always been seen as a paradox that although the place where women are most exposed to crime is the private space, the place where they fear being exposed to crime the most is the public space. This was used as a tool to trivialize women's fear.

During the interviews, almost all women I interviewed without exception report that they feel safer at home than in public space. They described being at home as safe, peaceful, and comfortable. More importantly, they stated that it is where they are like themselves.

Fear of being exposed to crimes such as male violence, stalking, sexual harassment, and assault in public spaces leads women to avoid communal areas and rush home. Respondents shared their constant fear and unease until they could close their doors. Common precautions discussed include retrieving keys ahead of time, notifying someone of one's route home, and taking quick strides. The timing and transportation arrangements for returning home while women are outside is a concern that occupies much of their thinking.

Even if it is the safest neighborhood in the world, I am not talking about the feeling that I came to the street of the house and felt relieved. I closed the outer door, after that with a sense of relief; Ok, now I am home, such a sense of relief. Even as I close that door, I cannot tell if someone is coming from behind or not, whether I am in, okay, am I safe, I feel that way. (Gonca, 31)²⁶

²⁶ Dünyanın en güvenli semti bile olsa evin sokağına geldim rahatladım diye bir duygudan bahsetmiyorum. Dış kapıyı kapattım, ondan sonra bir rahatlama hissinden; tamam artık evime

Actually, I try to explain this to men sometimes, in case they understand, but I get nervous even until the apartment door is closed. Someone will enter from the back, is there anyone on the street? If there are few people and it is night time, I feel very insecure. (Sevgi, 25)²⁷

The house is a bit more our own and a safe space. A space where we can lock the doors and close the windows. The street is not a place where we can do that. The street is open to everyone. (Beyza, 24)²⁸

It is like I am holding my breath all the way without realizing it. I look behind me and check to see if anyone is coming, if anyone is following me. I try not to make eye contact while walking on the street, especially with men. Until the door of the apartment is closed. (Aksu, 36)²⁹

This raises the question: So are women safe after the door is closed? In other words, are public and private spaces so sharply separated from each other?

“This is how I feel safer at home because of close neighborly relations and having people I can make my voice heard. But on the other hand, for example, my husband travels to and from the city a lot because of his work. This summer, in my house, there is no such mezzanine, first floor or ground floor, for example, we talked a lot with my husband, can you sleep with the windows closed, summer is hot, the weather is unbelievable, I refused for the first few days, but then a serious state of uneasiness, If something happens, you know theft or something, people don't think about it at all. After a while, you know, is there such a subconscious or something in the head, if there really is a possibility, I am in my own house, am I safe, I mean, I did not feel very safe, I almost spent a summer with the door and window completely closed and the heat exploded like this. . So I don't think we feel completely safe anywhere. I cannot do the thing, I do not know when there is no one at

geldim, öyle bir rahatlama hissi. O kapıyı kapatırken bile arkadan biri geliyor mu, gelmiyor mu, girdim mi, tamam güvende miyim, öyle tam anlamıyla hissettiğimi söyleyemem.

²⁷ Aslında bunu bazen erkeklere de anlatmaya çalışıyorum belki anlarlar diye ama ben apartman kapısı kapanana kadar bile tedirgin oluyorum. Arkadan biri girecek, sokakta biri var mı. Eğer az insan varsa ve gece vaktiyse kendimi çok güvensiz hissediyorum.

²⁸ Ev biraz daha bize ait ve güvenli bir alan. Kapılarını kilitleyebileceğimiz, camlarını kapatabileceğimiz bir alan. Sokak bunu yapabileceğimiz bir yer değil. Sokak herkese açık.

²⁹ Sanki tüm yol farkında olmadan nefesimi tutuyorum. Arkama bakıp kontrol ediyorum, biri geliyor mu, beni takip eden var mı diye. Yolda yürürken göz teması kurmamaya çalışıyorum özellikle erkeklerle. Ta ki apartmanın kapısı kapanana kadar.

home, you fall asleep in the living room, you cannot fall asleep. First I get up and lock my doors, windows and so on, then only.” (Gonca, 31)³⁰

Conventional crime studies generally do not account for crimes against women committed by acquaintances, such as spouses, fathers, partners, relatives, and male colleagues. Additionally, surveys often fail to inquire about crimes committed in private spaces. Women are less likely to report instances of sexual harassment by non-strangers for several reasons, including the exclusion of domestic violence from official crime statistics. However, understanding the sense of insecurity that women feel outside home requires being aware of the threat and guilt that women face at home. As a result, crime studies ignore what women say about the dangers they face in their lives, including violence from men in the home and family, and fear and anxiety about danger are associated with danger from outsiders (Stanko, 1995).

In 2022, for instance, when 334 women were killed by men, 63% of the women were killed at home and the rest in public space, and almost 90% were killed by a man they knew (such as their husband, former husband, ex-boyfriend, relative, father, son, brother) (KCDP, 2022). The rate remains consistent with previous years. However, women often report high levels of anxiety regarding crime occurring in public spaces, specifically fear of victimization by unknown males. Consequently, it can be suggested that fear serves a social purpose by reinforcing gender norms that compel women to remain at home and under male control.

The relationship between women’s safety concerns and fear of exposure to male violence in the public space and the violence women experience in the private space is a substantial discussion that draws attention to the public-private space dichotomy.

³⁰ Şöyle, evde yakın komşuluk ilişkilerinden, hani sesimi duyurabileceğim insanların olmasından dolayı bir tık daha güvende hissediyorum ve yine dediğim gibi yani oturduğum semt bir tık daha beni rahatlatıyor, hani o demografik yapı. Ama öte yandan mesela eşim çok şehir dışına gidip geliyor işleri sebebiyle falan. Bu yaz yani benim evimde böyle bir ara kat, birinci kat ya da giriş kat da değil, mesela biz eşimle şeyi çok konuştuk, camları kapatarak uyuyabilir misin, yaz sıcak, inanılmaz bir hava var, ilk birkaç gün reddettim ama sonra ciddi bir tedirginlik hali, bir şey olur mu olmaz mı, hani hırsızlığı falan insan hiç düşünmüyor bu durumda. Bir süre sonra hani böyle bir bilinçaltı mı artık kafada mı şey oluşuyor, hakikaten bir ihtimal bir şey olursa hani kendi evimdeyim, güvende miyim, demek ki çok güvende hissetmiyordum ki ben neredeyse bir yazımı böyle kapı pencere tamamen kapalı ve hani böyle gerçekten sıcaktan patlayarak geçirdim yani. O yüzden bence hiçbir yerde tamamıyla güvende hissetmiyoruz. Ben şeyi de yapamıyorum, evde biri olmadığında böyle ne bileyim salonda uyuya kalırsın ya, yok uyuyakalamazsın. Önce bir kalkarım kapımı pencerelerimi falan kilitlerim, ondan sonra ancak.

The distribution of women's fear exposes the differentiation between public and private spaces in their perception of danger. Furthermore, there exists discordance between the locations where most physical and sexual violence against women takes place and where most women are apprehensive of violent crime. Notwithstanding the fact that most physical and sexual aggression is inflicted by familiar men within the residence, the majority of women deem public areas as unsafe and private areas as secure. Women tend to have a greater apprehension of being exposed to crime in public spaces (Hanmer and Saunders, 1984; Valentine, 1989), and they report experiencing more fear of danger in public areas than in private areas (Valentine, 1992).

Despite women being more susceptible to victimization from individuals they are acquainted with, they express concern about the possibility of danger from unfamiliar people. As a matter of fact, women appear to have a heightened apprehension of being sexually assaulted by an assailant that is enigmatic, unfamiliar, and unpredictable. This fear of strangers has been called “stranger danger” (Scott, 2003). This is because women are brought up not to talk to people they do not know and to be afraid of strangers and men. From childhood, warnings and imposed judgments are constantly bothering them and can increase women's fear of crime. The public-private dichotomy has been one of the major themes of discussions of feminist theory and political struggle. The ongoing discourse regarding the differentiation between public and private spaces has brought attention to the subordinate status of women and the correlation between gender and space.

The feminist criticism of the public-private division has aimed to expose ties between patriarchal power in both spheres by illuminating the association between those spaces, and so it emphasizes that liberation cannot be achieved solely through either of these spaces (Bora, 2010). My findings also show that women’s fear of sexual harassment and sexual crimes in public space notwithstanding, they are also unable to feel completely safe at home, and that the porosity between public and private spaces also applies to patriarchal violence.

4.3. The Corner Snatching: Escape from the State

Many socio-political factors come to the fore that affect the safe and unsafe separation of women in Ankara districts over time: the Gezi Park protests of 2013 and the bomb explosions in the autumn of 2015. Women explained the change that took place in Kızılay as a result of these events. Many women talked about the change and the *fall* of Kızılay. They underlined that Kızılay used to be a safe area, but now they have *lost* Kızılay, especially in the last ten years. They talked about Kızılay, which can be considered the center of Ankara, by dividing it into two as before and after the Gezi Park protests. Especially older women stated that Kızılay and even Ulus used to be safe and comfortable places to visit, socialize and entertain compared to now. Many remember the times when it was possible to walk around the streets of Kızılay and even be on the street. They underline that there are times when the streets are crowded with people and everyone can socialize with each other, share and have fun. They emphasize that it is not just a place where you can go to the cafes, bars and restaurants, but it is also a place where you can live on the street. They say that the bomb explosions caused fear in many people and they never made their way to Kızılay again. Respondents state that the Gezi Park protests and the increased presence of the police have made Kızılay and its surroundings apolitical, and therefore they do not feel safe. Aksu describes it like this:

It has changed a lot. Kızılay was our safe place before Gezi. We were walking around very confident that nothing would happen, which was when I was very young. In spite of that, I used to wander until the dead of night and there used to be a place where you could go and take shelter in the smallest thing, those party things on Konur Street, I do not know what, the smallest thing. With the deployment of this police to Kızılay, a section actually went up from Kızılay. They mostly went towards Tunalı and Ayrancı. And since they do not host political types here, I actually feel much more insecure at Kızılay. (Aksu, 36)³¹

³¹ Çok deđiřti. Kızılay Gezi öncesinde güvenli alanımızdı. Hiçbir şey olmayacağına çok emin dolaşırdık, ki o zaman benim yaşıım çok küçüktü. Ona rağmen gecenin körlerine kadar gezerdim ve hani en ufak bir şeyde işte eskiden Konur sokaktaki o parti şeyleri, bilmem neleri, en ufak şeyde gidip sığınabileceğın bir yerler vardı. Bu polisin Kızılay'a konuşlanması ile aslında bir kesim Kızılay'dan yukarıya çıktı. Daha çok Tunalı'ya ve Ayrancı'ya doğru çıktı. Ve politik tipleri de burada barındırmadıkları için aslında çok daha güvensiz hissediyorum ben Kızılay'da.

One of the women I interviewed described the relocation in Ankara, the corner snatching so to speak, as follows:

For example, all of these people have disappeared from the street. The explosions were very effective. After the explosions, a very large part of my social circle has excluded their involvements in Kızılay and they did not return. Many people were into such things, like a closed and gated complex in Eryaman, a closed and gated site in Batıkent or Çayyolu. There is a serious flow to Çayyolu. I mean, it is such a problem. For example, me in Ulus... Now, the Ulus İş Han and Anafartalar Project have caused some of the tradesmen there to get out, but the tradesmen there have actually been there for give or take 40 years, 50 years, and when this neighborhood culture is destroyed, everything becomes more insecure. Seğmenler used to be such a safe zone for me, we used to go at night, drink, and walk alone. I think it is a bit of, like, the 100. Yıl is experiencing the same thing, there are women living more comfortably here, there was a flow like as we should go there. And now the Seğmenler are also abandoned. The crowd there also shifted to Portakal Çiçeği. Something like this happens all the time, we change places, there is always someone who does this, and we run away. In such a situation, either people who are not very like us, there is a situation of escaping from harassment or, as I said, there is a situation of escaping from the state. Because you can not maintain the old neighborhood culture. It is like this. (Güneş, 25)³²

This relocation actually shows that women are afraid not only of male violence, but also of state violence. When they lose the area where they feel safe, they try to create a safe area by moving, but this corner grabbing offers them a limited space in which to exist in the urban public space.

The profile of people walking and sitting on the street has changed a lot. It has become an immigration area. There has been a lot of change in other

³² Mesela bu insanların hepsi sokaktan çekildiler. Gene patlamalar çok etkili oldu. Patlamalardan sonra benim çok büyük, çevrem çok büyük bir kısmı Kızılay ile ilişkisini kesti ve geri dönmüyorlar. Herkes böyle şeylere kaydı birçok insan, Eryaman'da kapalı güvenli site, Batıkent'te kapalı güvenli site, Çayyolu. Çayyolu'na ciddi bir akış var. Böyle bir sıkıntı oldu yani. Mesela Ulus'ta da ben... Şimdi Ulus İş hanı ve Anafartalar projesi oradaki esnafın bir kısmının kaçmasına neden oldu ama oradaki esnaf aslında 40 yıldır belki 50 yıldır orada ve bu mahalle kültürünü yok ettikçe aslında daha güvensiz oluyor her şey. Seğmenler mesela; Seğmenler de eskiden çok böyle güvenli bölgeydi benim için, gece giderdik içerdik, tek başıma da giderdim. Bu şeyin biraz şey olduğunu düşünüyorum, 100. Yıl da aynı şeyi deneyimliyor, burada daha rahat yaşayan kadınlar var, oraya gidelim gibi bir akış oldu. Ve şu anda Seğmenler de terkedilmiş durumda. Portakal Çiçeği'ne kaydı oradaki kitle de. Sürekli böyle bir şey oluyor, yer değiştiriyoruz, sürekli işte birileri geliyor biz kaçıyoruz. Bu işte ya yani çok bizim gibi olmayan insanlar bir tacizden kaçma durumu oluyor ya da işte dediğim gibi devletten kaçma durumu oluyor. Çünkü eski mahalle kültürünü sürdürüyorsunuz. Öyle.

districts, they have become conservative. It is as if there are groups that come specifically to occupy the areas, as if they are coming for the purpose of disturbing. For example, Seğmenler Park used to be very beautiful, but now people who interfere with our lives have started to come. Young people used to make music there, and now they do not go there anymore. Cops and watchmen have also increased, they are also a factor. Now in the last month, my daughter had a fight with the taxi driver twice. The taxi driver said that if you have drunk alcohol, I will get you out of my car. They went to the police station twice and said that their statements cannot be taken because they have had a few drinks. Such things happen. (Fahriye, 50)³³

The presence and abundance of the law enforcement officials, therefore, is a factor that increases and triggers women's fear of crime. Most of the participants state that they see the areas where they exist as unsafe and dangerous places.

As I mentioned, it was a police officer who gave me one of the abuses I cannot forget. In no way do I think that this issue will be resolved with the increase of the law enforcement of such a state. It does not even cross my mind to ask them for help, both the policeman and the watchmen are men. (Kader, 23)³⁴

The reason for women's fear of state violence is that the state ensures the maintenance of the male-dominated status quo. One reason the interviewees feel this way is because the decision to repeal the Istanbul Convention in Turkey was made by a presidential decree issued on March 20, 2021, and published in the Official Gazette. The Istanbul Convention's objective was to safeguard women against all forms of violence and discrimination, promote gender equality, establish a comprehensive framework, policies, and measures for these purposes, and enhance international cooperation. The Convention acknowledges that violence against women stems from historically unequal power dynamics between the genders. This

³³ Sokakta gezen ve oturan insan profili çok değişti. Göç alan bir semt oldu. Diğer semtlerde çok değişiklik oldu, muhafazakarlaştılar. Özel olarak sanki alanları işgal etmek için gelen gruplar var sanki rahatsız etmek amaçlı geliyorlar. Mesela Seğmenler Parkı eskiden çok güzeldi şimdi bizim yaşamımıza müdahale eden kişiler gelmeye başladı. Gençler orada müzik yapardı vs şimdi artık gitmiyorlar oraya. Polisler ve bekçiler de arttı, onlar da bir etken. Şu an son 1 ayda, kızım iki kez taksiciyle kavga etmiş. Taksici alkol almışsınız sizi indiricem arabamdan demiş. İki kez karakolla gitmişler ve alkollü oldukları için ifadeleri alınmaz demişler. Böyle olaylar yaşıyor.

³⁴ Bahsettiğim gibi zaten unutamadığım tacizlerden birini bana yaşatan bir polis memuruydu. Hiç bir şekilde bu meselenin öyle bir devletin kolluğunun arttırılması ile çözüleceğini düşünmüyorum. Onlardan yardım istemek aklımdan bile geçmiyor, polis de bekçi de erkek.

disparity creates an environment in which men possess superiority over women, leading to both discrimination and a stigma against women's progress. In this regard, the Convention aimed to provide preventive measures, effective protection for women, implementing Law No. 6284, and an effective system for punishing male violence against women.

The We Will Stop Femicides Platform (Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu) has been tracking and sharing data on femicides in Turkey since 2010. The platform insists that in the last 13 years, the only year in which femicide decreased was 2011, when the Istanbul Convention was signed. On the other hand, they reveal that there has been a serious increase in femicide and suspicious deaths of women since discussions about withdrawing from the Istanbul Convention began. In accordance with the reports of the We Will Stop Femicides Platform, in 2020, 300 women were murdered by men and 171 women were found suspiciously dead (KCDP, 2020). In 2021, 280 women were killed by men and 217 women were found suspected dead (KCDP, 2021). In 2022, 334 women were killed by men and 245 female suspects were found dead. In 2023, so far 138 women have been killed by men (KCDP, 2023). Women were killed in various ways, mostly with firearms, sharp objects, beating, being dropped from a height, being burned to death. As I mentioned earlier, the punishment of women who practice self-defense to avoid being killed or subjected to violence shows that the state, rather than men, is maintaining the male domination over women in society. Beyza Doğan, for example, filed 35 complaints against her male perpetrator. However, she was killed by the perpetrator because the state did not pay attention to her complaints and did not take the necessary precautions and measures. As a result, the lack of action to address the rise in femicide and impunity has led to a decline in women's trust in the state and law enforcement officials. Finally, the decision to repeal the Istanbul Convention for Turkey by presidential decree on the grounds that it allegedly threatens 'our family values' is a testament to the kind of male-dominated family that the Turkish state represents and ensures.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis presented the findings from twenty-one in-depth interviews with women who have witnessed the social, physical, and political changes in Ankara for at least five years. The main subject of this study has been women's fear of crime in urban public space, and the main purpose of this thesis has been to address the geography of women's experiences of fear and violence, based on the narratives of women's common experiences in public space. In this context, the scope of this thesis has been how women's fear of crime affected their daily lives in urban public spaces and their relations with the city. In this direction, the fear of crime experienced by women in urban public spaces was investigated. For this purpose, the main questions that the research attempted to answer could be defined as follows: i) How do women's fear of crime and its effects on the use of urban public space vary in their everyday life? ii) How do women deal with fear of crime in the urban public space? The main argument of the thesis is that women's fear of being constantly exposed to crime and security risks in the urban public space presents a highly gendered urban experience. This situation significantly affects the behavior and attitudes of women in urban public space and restricts their mobility. More importantly, there is a social function of this fear which is to control women and keep them at home.

Simply put, the reported higher levels of fear of crime among women compared to men, despite women having lower victimization rates based on crime statistics, has been a topic of debate for a long time. This discrepancy has been viewed as a paradox, and some have argued that women's fear of crime may not be rational. The aim of my thesis was to corroborate with the previous research findings and the personal accounts of women surveyed that women's fear of crime in the public sphere is greater than men's, and that the fear of male violence leads them to restrict their use of public space.

In the accounts of the interviewed women, the fear of crime in the city is observed as a reflection of patriarchal power structures in spatial contexts. The insecurity in the urban environment is associated with apprehension about male violence, sexual harassment, and sexual assault, which significantly curtails women's utilization of public spaces. Given factors such as age, education, marital status, type of housing, and economic conditions, a widespread fear of crime and safety concerns is presumed. This is supported by the fact that when specifically questioned about fear of crime, women's foremost concerns are male violence and sexual harassment.

Women's strategies for coping with fear of crime in urban areas consist primarily of avoidance and creativity. These methods allow them to navigate public spaces while managing their safety concerns. Women exhibit avoidance behaviors to reduce their exposure to risk or danger, refraining from activities like going out alone, staying at home, isolating themselves, not answering the door, avoiding social situations, not communicating with men, and reducing outdoor activities to lessen their exposure to crime. As a result, they withdraw from public spaces. On the other hand, women who utilize innovative tactics are still venturing out, albeit in various manners. These techniques represent women's micro-resistance in their everyday experiences in public spaces. They go out with someone, e.g., partners, spouses, brothers, friends, or they take something with them, e.g., smartphones, headphones, keys, animals to accompany them. Sharing the taxi license plate or live location with people they trust via WhatsApp, going out with something or somebody, pretending to be talking on the phone, to create the impression that someone is waiting for them at the end of the road can be given as examples of these strategies. In their daily lives, women spend lots of time thinking about developing and using these strategies. But still, even when they do go out, they do not go to potentially unsafe places at potentially dangerous times, they do not use underpasses and tunnels, they do not walk through poorly lit streets, and they do not go to empty parks, recreation areas and stops. This results in a very limited use of public space by women compared to men. These restrictions limit women's use of the city in terms of time, space, and behavior. In particular, women's fear of sexual harassment and assault and exposure to male violence in the public space is seen as one of the most prominent obstacles for women to appropriate the urban space freely.

In the literature, the findings of some part of the studies on women's fear of crime (Uşaklılar, 2022; Tandoğan & İlhan, 2016; Çardak, 2012, Ünal-Reşitoğlu, 2017; Temurçin, Kılıç & Aldırmaz, 2020) show that women are carrying precautionary tools like pepper spray, pocketknife, electroshock weapon, or needle in case of possible exposure to crime to respond to the perpetrators. It revealed that women carried these tools, albeit in a small percentage of the sample of these studies. However, the findings I found show that women do not carry a precautionary tool with them, or even hesitate to carry it. This is both because they do not know how to use those tools and they also think that they cannot cope with the possible consequences when they use it. More importantly, it is acknowledged that women's self-defense is not widely accepted or legitimized by the state and can be punished by legal authorities.

One of the triggering factors in fear of crime studies is the nighttime of the day. It is stated that women experience the fear of crime in public, mostly when they are alone at night. It is seen that the relevant literature frames the night as a dangerous time period for women. Therefore, the main question of these studies is: “How safe do you feel walking on the street alone at night?”. Historically and socially, the night and the streets are dangerous for women, and the safety of the home has a great influence on women's fear of crime. The results I obtained in this study showed that the night and the streets are a triggering factor for women's fear of crime, while the environmental effect came to the fore. Some of them even stated that the difference between night and day did not affect their fear of crime much, and that they experienced a high fear of crime during the day depending on the characteristics of the environment. There were participants who stated that their fear of crime changed according to which neighborhood they were in rather than at what time. According to the findings, therefore, place was a more important factor than time in terms of their triggering effects of the fear of crime among women. As an example, it can say that they prefer not to be in Ulus not only at nighttime but also during the day. This is because they try not to go to places, they mark as unsafe on their mental maps unless they have to, regardless of the time of day. It, therefore, can be argued that this fear of crime stemmed from not only social but also spatial factors.

Another finding of this study is that there is a strong relationship emerging between distrust towards the state and the legal institutions and regulations and fear of crime among women. One of the actors that triggers women's fear of crime is law enforcement officials e.g., police officers and night's watchmen. In particular, the number of women who prefer not to go to Kızılay is high due to the great number of law enforcement officials. There were even those who stated that they were trying to change places and create safe spaces of their own, almost as if they were playing a corner snatching with the state. For instance, it is seen that the relocation in Ankara has shifted from Gençlik Park to Seğmenler Park, and from Seğmenler Park to Portakal Çiçeği Park, over the years, and people are trying to create temporary safe spaces for themselves by relocating. Indeed, my study reveals a contradiction in the relationship between the dynamics of crime, security, and gendered urban public space experience. On the one hand, this study examines the ways in which women are disproportionately victims of the fear of crime and how this affects the ways in which it creates a barrier to women's democratic participation and use in urban public space. On the other hand, the findings can identify myriad ways in which both local and central states violate democratic public space in the name of crime prevention: excessive surveillance, over-presence of armed forces and the like may look like security apparatuses that would work to the benefit of women and their perception of security. However, the women I interviewed show that such security apparatuses are counterproductive to women's sense of security and actually increase women's fear of crime. Since the state and law enforcement officials are the providers of male-dominated status-quo, it creates a feeling of insecurity rather than security in women. Therefore, respondents do not believe that the solution to reducing their fear of crime is to increase the security forces and their apparatus. This is because it turns out that there is a strong relationship between the securitization of cities and places by the state and women's insecurity.

I, finally, would argue that the porosity between public and private spaces for women is created by male violence and the threat of male violence. It is through violence, or the threat of male violence, that women differentiate between public and private spaces and connect them in experience. This is because the findings also indicate that despite women's fear of sexual harassment and sexual violence in public spaces, they

do not feel completely safe at home, and that the porosity between public and private spaces also applies to patriarchal violence. Many of interviewees described their fear of crime as lasting until the door of the house is closed. Respondents described the home as the place where they felt safest and which they tried to reach or not leave unnecessarily. In fact, they say that they are not safe until the door of the house is closed, and until then they are filled with fear and anxiety. On the other hand, it is usually in the private space that women are most likely to be exposed to male violence, and by a man whom they already know. The relationship between these two spaces and the porous structure that exists between them is therefore evident. Therefore, I argue that fear of crime in the private space is one of the main causes of women's fear of crime in the public space. For this reason, it is important to carry out future studies on women's lives in private space in order to reveal the ties of patriarchal power in both spaces, and in order to make visible the relationship between these two spaces.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Giriş

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, Ankara’da yaşayan kadınların suç korkusunu, bu korkunun, kamusal alanı kullanımlarına etkisini ve bununla baş etme yöntemlerini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Kadınların kamusal alan deneyimleri erkeklerin deneyimlerinden farklılaşmakta ve suç korkusu nedeniyle daha kısıtlı kullanım ve erişime sahiptirler (Pain, 1991; Riger ve Gordon, 1981; Valentine, 1989; Day vd., 2003; Loukaitou-Sideris, 2005). Bu korkunun sosyal işlevi, kadınları kontrol etmek ve evde kalmalarını sağlamaktır (Pain, 1991; Riger ve Gordon, 1981; Valentine, 1989; Kern, 2020). Dolayısıyla kadınların suç korkusunu toplumdaki diğer gruplardan ayıran en önemli unsur, korkunun onları evde tutacak toplumsal bir işleve sahip olmasıdır. Bu da, erkek şiddeti, cinsel saldırı, taciz ve tecavüz tehditi korkusuyla sağlanır. Buradan hareketle, bu çalışma kapsamında kentte yaşayan kadınların suç korkusunun gündelik yaşamlarındaki mekansal hareketliliklerini ve davranışlarını nasıl sınırladığını anlamak, kadınların kendi deneyimlerine ve seslerine yer vererek anlamayı amaçlanmaktadır.

Çalışmanın Önemi

Kentsel kamusal alanda kadınların suç korkusunu incelemek, Türkiye’deki akademik literatürün görece eksikliğine katkıda bulunmasının yanı sıra ayrıca üç ana konuyu gündeme getirmesinden dolayı önemli olduğuna inanıyorum:

a) Geleneksel kriminoloji ve suç sosyolojisi, 1970’lerde ikinci dalga feminizmin müdahalesine kadar kadınları her açıdan büyük ölçüde görmezden geldi.

Kriminolojik bilginin inşası, üretimi ve yayılması, ve araştırma konularının öznelere erkekler tarafından domine edilmiştir (Morris ve Gelsthorpe, 1991; Kahle, 2017). Bu sebeple, kadınların gerçek deneyimlerinden o kadar kalmışlardır ki, kadınların suç korkusunu mantıksız, gerçekçi olmayan ve bir paradoks olarak tanımlamaktadırlar. Yapısal nedenleri göz ardı eden geleneksel kriminolojinin başarısızlığına karşı, bu korkunun kadınların toplumsal kontrolünün bir biçimi olarak işlev gördüğünü ve erkeklerin toplumdaki statükoyu korumalarına olanak sağladığını açıklamaya alan açtığı için önemli bir müdahaledir.

b) Kadınların suç korkusu üzerine çalışmak, toplumsal cinsiyet ve mekansal oluşumlar arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemek, görünür kılmak ve ikisi arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya çıkarmak için uygun bir alan sunuyor. Kadınların ikincil konumunu ve cinsiyet-mekan ilişkisini ortaya çıkarmaya hizmet eden kamusal ve özel alanların ayrılması teması, ataerkil bir toplumun toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini nasıl tanımladığını gösteriyor ve bu da cinsiyetlerin tabakalaşmasının sürdürülmesine katkıda bulunuyor. Dolayısıyla kadınların erkek şiddetine, cinsel tacize ve tecavüze maruz kalma korkusunun bu ayrımın sürdürülmesindeki toplumsal işlevi mekân ve cinsiyet arasındaki ilişkiye ışık tutmaktadır.

c) Kadınların kamusal alanda suç korkusu konusu, kadınların kentsel kamusal alandaki günlük deneyimlerinin ne ölçüde, hangi olanaklar ve sınırlılıklar çerçevesinde gerçekleştiğini göstermektedir. Kadınların kentsel kamusal alandaki suç korkusunun günlük yaşamlarında nasıl gerçekleştiğini, bu korkunun kamusal alan kullanım deneyimlerini nasıl etkilediğini ve buna karşı baş etme stratejilerini nasıl geliştirdiklerini incelemek, kadınların kentteki görünürlüğünün ve koşullarının incelenmesini sağlıyor.

Literatür Taraması

Suç korkusu kavramı, ilk olarak 1930'lu yıllarda toplumun suç davranışına verdiği tepkileri anlamak ve açıklamak amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Ancak 1960'lı yıllarda, suç ve mağdur araştırmalarının yapılmaya başlamasıyla suç korkusu kavramına ilişkin

çalışmalar hız kazanmıştır. Suç korkusu, kriminoloji, psikoloji, sosyoloji, şehir planlama, sosyal coğrafya gibi birçok disiplinin yıllar boyunca incelediği bir olgudur. Dolayısıyla, bu konuya birçok farklı görüş ve yaklaşımı da beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu nedenle suç korkusunun ortak bir tanımını yapmak zordur.

Suç korkusu üzerine yapılan önceki çalışmalar genel olarak bireylerin suça maruz kalma kaygısını ölçmeyi amaçlamaktaydı. Bu çalışmalar, "Suç mağduru olmaktan ne kadar endişeleniyorsunuz?" veya "Hava karardıktan sonra sokakta yalnız kaldığınızda kendinizi ne kadar güvende hissediyorsunuz?" gibi yönlendirici sorular sorarak kişinin suç korkusu düzeylerini ölçmeye çalışmaktaydı. Fakat, anketlerde kullanılan bu sorular, yönlendirici ve suç mağduru olma ihtimaline ilişkin yargılara işaret etmesi sebebiyle çokça eleştirilmiştir.

Genel olarak suç korkusu terimi, kişinin tehdit altında olduğu hissinden kaynaklanan korku ve güvensizlik duygusudur. Yani kişinin suç mağduru olma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya olduğu duygusunu yansıtan duygusal bir sıkıntı içinde olmayı tanımlamak için kullanılır. Rachel Pain (2001), suç korkusunun tanımının, insanların suçla ilgili endişelerinin günlük yaşamları üzerindeki güçlü etkisini vurgulamak için bireylerin ve toplulukların herhangi bir yerdeki suça ve düzensizliğe karşı gösterdiği çeşitli duygusal ve pratik tepkiler olduğunu belirtmektedir.

Mağduriyet Perspektifi

Mağduriyet perspektifi kendi içerisinde iki yaklaşımı içermektedir: Biri doğrudan (Skogan, 1987; Liska ve diğerleri, 1988), diğeri ise dolaylı mağduriyet perspektifidir (Lavrakas ve Lewis 1980; Arnold 1991; Klecha ve Bishop 1978; Gates ve Rohe 1987).

Doğrudan Mağduriyet

Doğrudan mağduriyet perspektifi, suç korkusu ile mağduriyet arasında doğrudan bir ilişki olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Yani suça konu olan bireyin suç korkusu oranı, suçu doğrudan deneyimlemeyen bireye göre daha yüksektir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında

belirli bir suçun doğrudan mağduru olmak, suç algısını etkilemekte ve suç korkusunu etkileyen bir faktördür (Skogan, 1987; Liska ve diğerleri, 1988).

Doğrudan mağduriyet yaşamının suç korkusuna etkisi konusunda tartışmalı çalışmalar olsa da kişisel mağduriyet yaşamının suç algısı üzerinde dolaylı bir etkisi olduğu hala kabul edilmektedir. Doğrudan suç mağduru olmak kişiyi daha ihtiyatlı hale getirebilir, ancak bunun onları daha korkulu hale getirip getirmediği hala tartışmaya açıktır (Hale, 1996).

Dolaylı Mağduriyet

Doğrudan mağduriyetten farklı olarak dolaylı mağduriyet, kişinin tanıdığı başkalarının mağduriyetini duymasının veya mağduriyetin başka kaynaklardan duyulmasının kişinin suç korkusunu artıracığı bakış açıdır. (Lavrakas ve Lewis 1980; Arnold 1991; Klecha ve Bishop 1978; Box ve diğerleri 1988; Skogan ve Maxfield 1981; Gates ve Rohe 1987). Çünkü insanlar kendilerini fiziksel, ekonomik ya da duygusal olarak koruyamama hissinden dolayı kendilerini bir başkasının mağduriyeti durumunda hayal edebilmekte ve suçla nasıl baş edebileceklerini düşünebilmektedirler.

Medya Etkisi

Suç haberlerini alternatif veya geleneksel bilgi kaynakları aracılığıyla tüketen kişi, dolaylı mağduriyet yaşamaktadır. Önceki çalışmaların çoğu, suç korkusu ile mağduriyet haberlerinin tüketimi arasında bir ilişki olduğunu göstermiştir (Näsi vd, 2000; Heath, 1984).

Savunmasızlık Perspektifi

Savunmasızlık perspektifi, bazı grupların kendilerini daha savunmasız hissetmeleri nedeniyle diğer sosyal gruplardan daha fazla suç korkusu duygusuna sahip olduklarını ileri sürmektedir.

Suçun kişisel savunmasızlığı Skogan ve Maxfield tarafından iki kategoriye ayrılarak analiz edilmiştir: biri fiziksel, diğeri sosyal savunmasızlık. Fiziksel savunmasızlık, “saldırıya açık olma, saldırıya direnme gücünde olmama ve saldırı durumunda travmatik fiziksel (ve muhtemelen duygusal) sonuçlara maruz kalma” anlamına gelmektedir (Skogan ve Maxfield, 1981, s. 69). Bu yaklaşıma göre örneğin kadınlar ve yaşlılar, genç bir erkeğe kıyasla fiziksel bir saldırıyla baş edemeyeceklerini hissedebilirler.

Kişisel savunmasızlığın sosyal boyutu ise, "insanlar, kim olduklarından dolayı sıklıkla mağduriyet tehdidinde maruz kaldıklarında ve mağduriyetin sosyal ve ekonomik sonuçlarının üzerlerine daha ağır bastığı durumlarda, sosyal olarak suça karşı savunmasız" olmasıdır (Skogan ve Maxfield, 1981, s.73). Suçun sonuçlarıyla başa çıkmak için gereken kaynaklara erişim eksikliği olabilir.

Cinsiyet

Kadınların yüksek suç korkusu ile gerçek mağduriyet riskleri arasında bir karşıtlık olması anlamında, korku düzeyi ile gerçek risk düzeyi arasında bir paradoks vardır. Erkeklerin suça maruz kalma olasılıkları daha yüksek olmasına rağmen kadınların erkeklere göre daha fazla suç korkusu yaşadıklarını sıklıkla dile getirdikleri tartışılmıştır (Stanko, 1995; Hale, 1996; Skogan ve Maxfield, 1981; Warr, 1985; Smith, 1988; LaGrange ve Ferraro, 1989; McGarrell vd, 1997).

Bu paradoksu açıklamaya çalışan savunmasızlık perspektifi, kadınların ve yaşlıların suç korkusunun daha fazla olmasının temel nedeninin, kendilerini daha savunmasız hissetmeleri olduğunu öne sürüyor.

Öte yandan kadınların yaşadığı suçların erkeklere göre daha az rapor edildiği görüşünü de dikkate almak gerekir. Kadınlar sıklıkla cinsel saldırı ve şiddet içeren suçların mağdurudur ancak genellikle daha düşük ihbar oranlarına sahiptirler (Smith, 1988; Stanko, 1995; Hale, 1996). Ancak kadınların suç korkusunun yüksek düzeyde olması, önceki çalışmalarda bildirilen kadına yönelik şiddet oranlarının son derece düşük olmasına rağmen, kadınların korkusunun mantıksız olduğu ve korkularının

yanlış bilinçlerine dayandığı varsayımına yol açmıştır. Bu nedenle bu bakış açısı, kadınların temelde zayıf ve pasif kurbanlar olduğunu iddia ederken, erkek şiddetinin yapısal nedenlerini göz ardı etmesi nedeniyle de eleştirilmektedir.

Yaş

Yaşlıların suç korkusu ve bunun yaşlıların yaşam kalitesine etkisi kriminoloji disiplinde çok sayıda çalışmada yer almıştır. İlk araştırmalara göre suç korkusu ile yaşlılık arasında pozitif bir ilişki vardır. Yani insanlar yaşlandıkça daha çok korkuyorlar, bu nedenle yaşlı bireylerin suç korkusunu bildirme olasılıkları genç yetişkinlere göre daha fazladır. (Clemente ve Kleiman, 1976; Braungart vd, 1980; Skogan ve Maxfield, 1981; Garofalo, 1981; Ollenburger, 1981). Suç korkusu ile yaş arasında pozitif bir ilişki olduğunu iddia eden ilk çalışmalara rağmen, son araştırmalar yaşlıların aslında gençlerden daha fazla korkmadıklarına dair bulguları paylaşmaktadır (Yin, 1982; Ferraro, 1995; Ziegler ve Mitchell, 2003). Mevcut çalışmalardan elde edilen bulgular, yaşlı bireylerin her zaman gençlere göre daha yüksek düzeyde suç ve mağduriyet korkusu yaşamadıklarını göstermektedir; aksine, gençlere göre daha az suç korkusu bildirmiştir (Ferraro, 1995; Ziegler & Mitchell, 2003).

Sosyo-ekonomik Durum

Araştırmalara göre suç korkusunun diğer önemli faktörleri gelir, ırk ve eğitimidir. Etnik azınlıklar, yoksullar ve daha az eğitilmiş olanlar, zengin, beyaz ve daha iyi eğitilmiş insan grubuna göre daha fazla korkma eğilimindedir. Maddi ve sosyal kaynakların eksikliği, bireysel düzeyde mağduriyetle daha az başa çıkabilmelerini sağlayabilirken, temaların, örgütsel kapasitenin ve siyasi ağların eksikliği, toplumsal düzeyde mağduriyetle daha az başa çıkabilmelerini sağlayabilir (Hale, 1996). Bütün bunlar çaresizlik ve savunmasızlık duygusunu ve dolayısıyla suç korkusunu artıracaktır.

Düzensizlik Yaklaşımı

Düzensizlik yaklaşımı, suç korkusunun belirli çevresel faktörlerden ve göstergelerden etkilendiğini, bunun da kişinin deneyimine veya suça karşı savunmasızlık duygusuna bakılmaksızın suç korkusuyla sonuçlandığını savunur. Düzensizlik perspektifi, bu suç korkusu ile insanların yaşadıkları yerden, içinde buldukları fiziksel ve sosyal çevreden aldıkları işaretler arasındaki etkiyi anlamaya çalışmakta ve bu işaretler günümüze kadar çeşitli şekillerde isimlendirilmiştir. İnsanların algılarına göre yakın çevredeki toplumsal karışıklığa işaret eden nezaketsizlik işaretleri; terkedilmiş binalar, vandalizm, duvar yazıları, terk edilmiş arabalar, kırık camlar, yıkık evler, toplu içki içme ve uyuşturucu kullanımı olabilir.

Diğer yandan bu perspektif, bir topluluğu, insanları, alanları ve tehlike işaretlerini (örneğin evsizler, terk edilmiş alanlar) hedef aldığı için de eleştirilmektedir. Çünkü bu bakış açısı yapısal eşitsizlik ile suç arasındaki bağı güçlendirmektedir. Bunu sosyal ve fiziksel bozuklukların olduğu alan ve mahalleleri hedef alarak yapıyor. Bu düzensizlik belirtilerini ve failleri sapkın, rahatsız edici ve istenmeyen biri olarak görmelerine neden olarak kriminalize ediyor. Böylelikle politika yapıcılar ve yetkililer, toplulukları hedef alınması gereken, kırık camların olduğu alanlar olarak etiketliyor ve bu alanlar, politikaların oluşturulması ve polis güçlerinin düzenlenmesi için meşru temeli sağlıyor.

Sosyal Kaygı Yaklaşımı

Suç korkusu modellerinden biri de suç korkusunun bireyde olduğu toplumsal koşullara dikkat çeken toplumsal kaygı perspektifidir. Suç korkusunun sosyal yönlerini gözden kaçırmamak için sadece bireysel özelliklere odaklanmak yerine, bireylerin suç korkularını mahalle veya topluluk düzeyinde inceliyor.

Fakat, bir toplulukta sosyal kontrolün ve sosyal dayanışmanın suçu azaltan bir şey olduğu ve dolayısıyla suç korkusunun o toplumda baskı yoluyla sosyal kontrolün sağlanması amacına hizmet eden politik bir araç olabileceği varsayımı da eleştirilmektedir. Dahası, toplumsal kaygı perspektifi suçun sorumluluğunu, bu

ortamlarda yaşadıkları için sıklıkla bu suçların mağduru olan kişilerin omuzlarına yüklemektedir. Toplumsal ilişkilerin niteliğini ve niceliğini suçun sıklığıyla ilişkilendiren bu tür bakış açıları, topluluk üyelerinin “çifte mağduriyeti” durumuna yol açıyor.

Risk Değerlendirme Perspektifi

Suç mağduru olma tehdidine karşı algılanan duygusal tepkileri araştırmak amacıyla, suç korkusunun duygusal ve bilişsel değerlendirmeleri arasındaki bağlantıya ilişkin psikolojik bir bakış açısı geliştirilmektedir. Olasılığın kişisel değerlendirmesi en önemli özelliktir. Ferraro'nun (1995) öne sürdüğü gibi, bu tür öngörüler korkunun önemli bir yordayıcısıdır ve kişinin suç kavramıyla ilişkilendirdiği sembollere ilişkin ortam algısının etkisine büyük ölçüde aracılık eder. Çünkü Ferraro için sadece bir sorun olarak suç korkusunu ölçmek değil, aynı zamanda suç riski algısını da ölçme ihtiyacı önemlidir. Çünkü suç korkusu, suç riski algısını arttırmaktadır ve suç korkusunun önemli bir belirleyicisidir.

Kadınların Suç Korkusu

Önceki araştırmalar, cinsiyet ile suç korkusu arasında önemli bir ilişki olduğunu ampirik olarak doğrulamıştır ve bu nedenle suç korkusunu etkileyen birçok faktör ve etkileyen özellikler arasında en göze çarpanının cinsiyet olduğu uzun zamandır belirtilmektedir (Akers vd. 1987; Braungart ve diğerleri 1980; Clemente ve Kleinman 1977; Ferraro 1996; Lebowitz 1975; Liska ve diğerleri 1988; Stafford ve Galle 1984; Warr 1984). Çalışmalar, kadınların erkeklerden daha yüksek düzeyde korku ifade ettiğini belirtmiştir. (Akers vd. 1987; Braungart vd. 1980; Clemente ve Kleinman 1977; Ferraro 1996; Lebowitz 1975; Liska vd. 1988; Stafford ve Galle 1984; Warr 1984). Tjaden ve Thoennes (1998) erkeklerin yaşamları boyunca "cinsel bir şey yapmaya zorlanma" olasılığının kadınlara göre yaklaşık on bir kat daha az olduğunu bildirmiştir.

Kadınların korkusunu çözmeye yönelik ilk açıklamalar temel olarak üç merkezi paradoksa dayanıyordu: i) korku-risk paradoksu, ii) şiddet deneyimi ile korku

deneyimleri arasındaki paradoks ve iii) mekansal paradoks. Korku-risk paradoksu, kadınların yüksek düzeydeki suç korkusunun, fiili mağduriyet risklerinin düzeyiyle çeliştiğine işaret etmektedir (Balkin 1979; Gordon vd. 1980; Hough ve Mayhew 1983). Risk-korku paradoksu, kadınların suç mağduru olma olasılığının daha düşük olduğunu, kadınların ise erkeklere göre daha yüksek düzeyde suç korkusu sergileme olasılığının daha yüksek olduğunu öne sürüyor. Şiddet deneyimi ile korku deneyimleri arasındaki paradoks, şiddetin yaygınlığı nedeniyle kadınlar arasında şiddete ilişkin yüksek düzeyde endişenin var olduğu fikrinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Mekânsal paradoks, çoğu kadının kamusal alanı tehlikeli görmesi, kadına yönelik suçların çoğunun ise özel alanda işlenmesi durumunu ifade etmektedir.

Kadınların korkusuna ilişkin açıklamalar, kadınların yüksek düzeydeki suç korkusunun gerçek mağduriyet risklerinin düzeyiyle çeliştiği şeklindeki korku-risk paradoksuna dayanıyordu; bu da kadınların suç korkusunun rasyonel ve makul olmadığı sonucuna varılmasına yol açıyordu. Bu durum onların genel olarak irrasyonel olarak algılanmalarına ve korkularının nesnel olmaktan çok öznel temelli olduğunun düşünülmesine neden olmuştur (Stanko, 1987). Pain'in (1997) belirttiği gibi bu açıklamalar politik ve mekansal perspektiflerden uzaktı. Bu açıklamaların çoğu, toplumdaki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğine ve kamusal alana yansıyan güç ilişkilerine odaklanmak yerine, kadınların kırılganlıklarının çok fazla öne çıkarılmasının bir sonucu olarak görme eğilimindeydi. Bu, kadınların gerçek fiziksel ve cinsel saldırı deneyimlerinin temsil edilememesiyle sonuçlandı (Stanko, 1988).

Stanko'ya (1988) göre kadına yönelik şiddet olaylarının tespitini zorlaştıran şey, geleneksel kriminoloji çalışmalarının kapalı kapılar ardında işlenen suçlardan ziyade dışarıdaki sokak suçlarına odaklanmasıdır. Valentine (1989), halka açık yerlere duyulan korkunun, kadınların rollerine ve kullanımları için uygun görülen yerlere ilişkin geleneksel anlayışı yeniden ürettiğini ileri sürmüştür. O zamandan beri, korku-mağduriyet paradoksunun yanıltıcı olduğu, kriminologların kadınlara karşı suçları tanımlama ve ölçmede temsili olmayan bir yöntem ürettiği gösterilmiştir (Stanko, 1988). Bunun nedeni, önceki suç araştırmalarının, kadınların tanındıkları erkekler tarafından mağdur edilmesini gözden kaçırmasıdır; çünkü bunlar, kadınların bir koca, eski koca, erkek arkadaş veya akrabalar tarafından fiziksel ve cinsel

istismarını ortaya çıkarmak için özel olarak tasarlanmamıştır (Smith, 1988). Kadınların suç korkusunu anlamak için bunu hesaba katmak gerekir. Bu nedenle, bu ilk açıklamalar kadınların şiddet içeren suçlara maruz kalması, erkek şiddeti ve kadına yönelik saldırganlık gerçek riskleri ortaya koymaktan uzaktır.

Metodoloji

Bu tezin temel amacı kadınların kentsel kamusal alandaki ortak deneyimlerinin anlatılarından hareketle kadınların suç korkusu coğrafyasını ele almaktır. Bu bağlamda bu tezin kapsamını kadınların suç korkusunun kentsel kamusal alanlardaki günlük yaşamlarını ve kentle olan ilişkilerini nasıl etkilediği oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın örneklemini, şehrin coğrafi yapısını iyi bilmeleri ve şehirdeki sosyal, kültürel ve fiziksel değişimlere tanık olmaları sebebiyle en az beş yıldır Ankara'da yaşayan kadınlar oluşturmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda araştırmanın yanıtlamaya çalıştığı temel sorular şu şekildedir:

- Kadınların suç korkusu ve bunun kentsel kamusal alan kullanımına etkileri günlük yaşamlarında nasıl işliyor?
- Kadınlar kentsel kamusal alanda suç korkusuyla nasıl başa çıkıyor?

Kadın korkusu konusuna ilişkin nedenlerin, düşüncelerin ve duyguların derinlemesine araştırılmasına olanak sağlayan yapısı nedeniyle nitel araştırma tercih edilmiştir. Araştırmanın bu şekilde yürütülmesi, tezin edindiği feminist araştırma ilkeleri doğrultusunda, kadınların kendi ifadeleriyle gerçek deneyimleri üzerinden bilimsel bir bilgi yapısının inşa edilmesini daha mümkün kılmaktadır. Buna uygun olarak araştırma bulguları, Ankara'da yaşayan 21 kadınla yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmelerden elde edilen anlatılara dayanmaktadır.

Araştırmanın bulguları, “erkeklerinkinden daha eksiksiz ve daha az çarpıtılmış bilgi iddiaları için potansiyel bir temel sağladığından” (Harding, 1987, s. 184-185) ampirik kanıt olarak kadınların somut deneyimlerine dayanacaktır. Bu nedenle çalışma feminist bilginin temelini oluşturan kadın bakış açısı ön planda tutularak

yürütülecektir. Feminist bakış açısı kuramı, kadını araştırmanın merkezine koyuyor ve bilimsel bilgiyi inşa etmeye kendi yaşamlarından ve deneyimlerinden başlıyor (Brooks, 2007). Bu bağlamda feminist bakış açısı bize “toplumu bir bütün olarak incelemek için kadınların deneyimlerini bir mercek olarak kullanma” fırsatını veriyor (Brooks, 2007, s. 59).

Kadınların yaşamlarından ve deneyimlerinden elde edilen bilgiler, onların bir bütün olarak toplumdaki ikincil konumlarını anlamamızı sağlar. Bunun nedeni, kadınların toplumdaki ikincil konumu ve çifte bilinç kapasitelerinin, onları ayrıcalıklı bir konuma yerleştirmesi ve onlara toplumsal gerçeklik hakkında bilgi üretme yeteneği sağlamasıdır. "Güçlü nesnellik" kavramına göre kadınlar, toplumsal gerçekliğin doğru, eksiksiz ve nesnel bir değerlendirmesini yapma konusunda erkeklerden daha yeteneklidir. Kadınların bu ayırt edici toplumsal konumu daha güvenilir ve daha az çarpık bir tasvir sağlamaktadır.

Bulgular

Kadınların Kentsel Kamusal Kısıtlamalarla Başa Çıkma Yolları: Kaçınma ve Yaratıcı Stratejiler

Biri veya Bir Şeyle Dışarı Çıkmak

Katılımcılar kentsel kamusal alanda suç korkusuyla başa çıkma için birisinin veya bir şeyin kendilerine eşlik ettiğini belirttiler. Onlar için birinin ya da bir şeyin eşlik etmesi dışarı çıkmanın bir ön şartı gibi görünüyor. Kadınların çoğu için telefon, kulaklık, telefonun şarjı, telefona olan yakınlık, telefondaki uygulamalar, kulaklık takıp takmamak hayati önem taşıyor. Olası bir suç durumunda yakınlarını hemen arayıp yardım isteyebilmek için telefonlarını yakın ve kolay ulaşabilecekleri bir yerde tutuyorlar. Dolayısıyla kadınların telefonda konuşuyormuş gibi yapmak ve daha da önemlisi telefonda konuşurken yolun sonunda birileri onları bekliyormuş izlenimini yaratmak için sıklıkla kullandıkları bir tekniktir.

Bir diğeri başa çıkma mekanizması da çoğunlukla kendilerine arkadaş, partner ya da aileden biri olabilecek bir erkeğin eşlik etmesidir. Bu sayede tek başlarına dışarı çıkmak yerine kendilerine eşlik edebilecek biriyle dışarı çıkarak suça maruz kalma korkularını azaltıyorlar. Fakat, aynı zamanda bu onları dışarıda birine bağımlı hale getiriyor.

Bir Strateji Olarak Dışarı Çıkmamak

Suç korkusuyla baş etmede kadınların kullandığı bir diğeri stratejisi ise dışarı çıkmamaktır. Kaçınma davranışı benimseyen kadınlar, tek başına dışarı çıkmaktan, gece geç saatlere kadar dışarıda kalmaktan, 'güvensiz' sokaklardan, eğitim, eğlence ve diğeri fırsatlara erişimin kısıtlanması anlamına gelse bile tanıdık olmayan yerlere gitmekten kaçınmaktadır. Evde kalarak kendilerini izole etmek, kapıya cevap vermemek, gerekmedikçe hiç dışarı çıkmamak, sosyal etkinliklere katılmamak, suça daha az maruz kalmak için açık hava aktivitelerini azaltarak suça daha az maruz kaldıkları düşünülen belirli yer, durum ve zamanlara gitmekten kaçınmaktadır. Bu durum kadınların kamusal alanı sınırlı kullanmalarına neden oluyor.

“Ne Kadar Az Görünürsem O Kadar İyi”: Sokak Tacizi Korkusu

Kadınların kamusal alanda sürekli maruz kaldıkları erkek şiddeti ve erkek şiddeti tehdidinin yanı sıra erkeklerin kişilik özellikleri ve davranışları yani beden dili ve duruşları da kadınların güvenlik algısını etkilemektedir (Gardner, 1995). Erkeklerin bağırma, hakaret etme ve beden dili gibi kabalıklarını da içeren kamusal taciz, erkeklerin kadınlar üzerindeki alan ve kontrol ayrıcalıklarını kullanmasını sağlar. Sokak tacizi çeşitli sözlü ve sözlü olmayan davranışları içerir: ıslık çalmak, dokunmak, göz kırpmak, ve kadınların fiziksel görünümü hakkında yorum yapmak.

Kadınlar toplum içinde kendilerini fiziksel olarak görünmez kılmak için çaba harcıyor ve herhangi bir cinsel taciz ve saldırıya maruz kalma riskinden kaçınmak için stratejik kararlar alıyor: eve dönüş rotasını değiştirmek, kulaklık takmak, güneş gözlüğü kullanmak, şal takmak, toplu taşıma araçlarında koltuk seçmek, ana caddeleri veya tanıdık yolları kullanmak, az aydınlatılmış sokaklardan geçmemek, alt

geçitleri kullanmamak, tanımadığı bir erkekle göz teması kurmamak, hızlı yürümek, dikkat çekmemeye çalışmak.

Meşru Müdafaaı Uygulamak ya da Uygulamamak

Görüşülen kişilerin tamamı biber gazı, çakı gibi meşru müdafaa araçlarını taşımadıklarını belirtti. Taşımamalarının ise iki temel nedeni var. Birinci sebep, bu araçları kullanacak bilgiye sahip olmamalarıdır.

Diğeri ise, bu araçları kullanmanın sonuçlarından korkmalarıdır Karşı taraftaki kişiyi kazara yaralamaktan veya öldürmekten korkmaktadırlar çünkü saldırganın kadınlar tarafından meşru müdafaa yaparken öldürülmesi durumunda kadınların meşru müdafaa uygulaması yasal otoriteler tarafından kabul edilmemektedir.

Kentsel Kamusal Alanda Güvenliğin Zihinsel Haritalanması

Çoğu kadın zihinsel haritasında güvenli olduğunu düşündükleri belirli yerlere gittiklerini belirtti. Ayrancı, Tunalı, Bahçelievler gibi yerler, üniversite kampüsleri (ODTÜ, Bilkent) ve kampüs çevreleri, farklı yaş ve kökenden kadın ve erkek insanların varlığı, gün boyu faaliyet gösteren mekan ve satıcıların varlığı nedeniyle güvenli olarak algılanmaktadır. Kadınlar kendilerini daha güvende hissetmektedirler çünkü insanların varlığı yardım alma olasılıklarının daha yüksek olduğu anlamına gelmektedir.

Ancak insanların artan varlığı her zaman yardım alma olasılıklarının daha yüksek olduğu anlamına gelmiyor onlar için. Ulus, Sıhhiye, Kolej, Kızılay, Çukurambar gibi yerler hareketli ve kalabalık olmasına rağmen çoğunlukla güvenli bulmadıkları semtlerdir. Kadınlar bu ilçelerde gündüz bile kendilerini güvende hissetmediklerini, mecbur kalmadıkça gitmediklerini belirtiyor. Bu nedenle benzer düşünen insanların varlığı ayırt edici bir unsurdur.

Çünkü korku coğrafyaları çoğunlukla toplumsal tehlike ve tehdit algısıyla ilişkilidir. Korku sıklıkla insanların zihinsel haritalarını ve dolayısıyla günlük

coğrafyalarını şekillendirir ve bu zihinsel haritalar, kişinin günlük kararlar vermek için kullandığı, yaşam boyu inşa edilen ve biriken kümülatif yapılardır (England ve Simon, 2010).

Kapı Kapanana Kadar mı?

Katılımcılar evin kapısı kapanana kadar yaşadıkları sürekli korku ve tedirginlikten bahsettiler. Anahtarını çantadan önceden çıkarmak, eve doğru yola çıktığını birine bildirmek ve hızlı adımlar atmak kadınların sık sık bahsettiği şeylerdi.

Anketlerde kadınların özel alanda maruz kaldığı suçlar sorgulanmasa da kadınların, aile içi şiddetin resmi istatistiklere kaydedilmemesi de dahil olmak üzere çeşitli nedenlerden dolayı yabancı olmayan kişiler tarafından yapılan cinsel tacizi bildirme olasılıkları da daha düşük. Ancak kadınların ev dışında hissettikleri güvensizlik duygusunu anlamak, kadınların evde karşılaştıkları tehdit ve suçluluk duygusunun farkında olmayı gerektirir. Sonuç olarak suç çalışmaları, evdeki ve ailedeki erkeklerden kaynaklanan şiddet de dahil olmak üzere kadınların hayatlarında karşılaştıkları tehlikeler hakkında söylediklerini göz ardı ediyor ve tehlikeyle ilgili korku ve kaygı, dışarıdan gelen tehlikeyle ilişkilendiriliyor (Stanko, 1995).

Kamusal-özel alan ayrımının feminist eleştirisi, bu iki alan arasındaki ilişkiyi görünür kılarak her iki alandaki ataerkil iktidar arasındaki bağları ortaya çıkarmak ve özgülleşmenin tek başına bu alanlardan herhangi biri temelinde mümkün olmayacağını ortaya çıkarmak için geliştirilmiştir (Bora, 2010). Bulgularım ayrıca kadınların kamusal alanda cinsel taciz ve cinsel suç korkusuna rağmen kendilerini evlerinde tamamen güvende hissedemediklerini ve kamusal alan ile özel alan arasındaki geçirgenliğin ataerkil şiddet için de geçerli olduğunu gösteriyor.

Köşe Kapmaca: Devletten Kaçış

2013'teki Gezi Parkı protestoları ve bomba patlamaları, kadınların suç korkusunu etkileyen olaylar arasındadır. Bu olayların sonucu olarak, artan polis ve bekçi sayısı nedeniyle Kızılay'a artık gitmediklerini belirtirler. Kızılay'ın eskiden güvenli bir

bölge olduğunu ancak artık özellikle son 10 yılda Kızılay'ı kaybettiklerinin altını çizdiler. Ankara'nın merkezi sayılabilecek Kızılay'ı, Gezi Parkı eylemleri öncesi ve sonrası olarak ikiye bölerek anlattılar. Özellikle yaşlı kadınlar, Kızılay'ın ve de Ulus'un eskiden bugüne kıyasla ziyaret etmek, sosyalleşmek ve eğlenmek için güvenli ve konforlu yerler olduğunu belirtti. Kızılay sokaklarında dolaşmanın, hatta sokakta olmanın mümkün olduğu zamanları pek çok kişi hatırlıyor. Sokakların insanlarla dolup taşıdığı, herkesin birbiriyle sosyalleşebildiği, paylaşımlarda bulunabildiği, eğlenebildiği zamanların olduğunu altını çiziyorlar. Sadece kafe, bar ve restoranlara gidebileceğiniz bir yer değil aynı zamanda sokakta yaşayabileceğiniz bir yer olduğunu vurguluyorlar. Bomba patlamalarının birçok kişide korku yarattığını ve bir daha Kızılay'a gitmediklerini söylüyorlar. Katılımcılar Gezi Parkı eylemlerinin ve artan polis varlığının Kızılay ve çevresini apolitik hale getirdiğini ve bu nedenle kendilerini güvende hissetmediklerini belirtiyor.

Kadınların devlet şiddetinden korkmasının nedeni devletin erkek egemen statükonun devamını sağlamasıdır. Görüşmecilerin bu şekilde hissetmesinde, İstanbul Sözleşmesi'nin Türkiye açısından yürürlükten kaldırılması kararı da etkili olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, devletin kolluk kuvvetleri ile şehrin güvenleştirilme çabası kadınların suç korkusunu arttıran bir unsur olarak saptanmaktadır.

Sonuç

Bu çalışma, Ankara'daki sosyal, fiziksel ve politik değişimlere en az beş yıl boyunca tanık olan kadınlarla yapılan yirmi bir derinlemesine görüşmeden elde edilen bulguları sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın ana konusu kentsel kamusal alanda kadınların suç korkusu olmuştur ve bu tezin temel amacı kadınların kamusal alandaki ortak deneyimlerine dair anlatılardan yola çıkarak kadınların korku ve şiddet deneyimlerinin coğrafyasını ele almaktır. Bu bağlamda bu tezin kapsamını kadınların suç korkusunun kentsel kamusal alanlardaki günlük yaşamlarını ve kentle olan ilişkilerini nasıl etkilediği oluşturmaktadır. Bu amaçla araştırmanın cevaplamaya çalıştığı temel sorular şu şekilde tanımlanabilir: i) Kadınların suç korkusu ve bunun kentsel kamusal alan kullanımına etkileri günlük yaşamlarında nasıl değişiklik göstermektedir? ii) Kadınlar kentsel kamusal alanda suç korkusuyla nasıl başa

çıkıyor? Tezin ana argümanı kadınların kentsel kamusal alanda sürekli olarak suça ve güvenlik risklerine maruz kalma korkusunun oldukça cinsiyetçi bir kentsel deneyim sunduğudur. Bu durum kadınların kentsel kamusal alandaki davranış ve tutumlarını önemli ölçüde etkilemekte ve hareketliliklerini kısıtlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın bir diğer bulgusu, kadınlarda devlete ve yasal kurum ve düzenlemelere duyulan güvensizlik ile suç korkusu arasında güçlü bir ilişkinin ortaya çıkmasıdır. Kadınların suç korkusunu tetikleyen aktörlerden biri de kolluk kuvvetleri olan polisler ve bekçileridir. Özellikle kolluk kuvvetlerinin çokluğu nedeniyle Kızılay'a gitmeyi tercih etmeyen kadınların sayısı oldukça fazladır. Hatta devletle adeta köşe kapmaca oynar gibi yer değiştirip kendilerine güvenli alanlar yaratmaya çalıştıklarını belirtenler oldu. Örneğin Ankara'da yıllar içinde yer değiştirmenin Gençlik Parkı'ndan Seğmenler Parkı'na, Seğmenler Parkı'ndan Portakal Çiçeği Parkı'na kaydığı, insanların yer değiştirerek kendilerine güvenli alanlar yaratmaya çalıştığı görülüyor. Sonuç olarak, devlet ve kolluk kuvvetlerinin erkek egemen statükonun sağlayıcıları olması kadınlarda güvenlikten çok güvensizlik duygusu yaratıyor.

Son olarak, kadınlara yönelik kamusal ve özel alanlar arasındaki geçirgenliğin erkek şiddeti ve erkek şiddeti tehdidi tarafından yaratıldığını ileri süreceğim. Kadınların kamusal ve özel alanlar arasında ayırım yapması ve bunları deneyim yoluyla birbirine bağlaması şiddet veya erkek şiddeti tehdidi aracılığıyla gerçekleşir. Bunun nedeni, bulguların aynı zamanda kadınların kamusal alanlarda cinsel taciz ve cinsel şiddet korkusuna rağmen kendilerini evlerinde tamamen güvende hissetmediklerini ve kamusal alan ile özel alan arasındaki geçirgenliğin ataerkil şiddet için de geçerli olduğunu göstermesidir. Görüşmecilerin çoğu evin kapısı kapanana kadar güvende olmadıklarını, o zamana kadar da korku ve endişeyle dolduklarını söylüyorlar. Öte yandan, kadınların erkek şiddetine en çok özel alanda ve zaten tanıdıkları bir erkek tarafından maruz kaldıkları görülüyor. Dolayısıyla bu iki mekan ile aralarındaki gözenekli yapı arasındaki ilişki açıkça ortadadır. Özel alandaki suç korkusu, kadınların kamusal alandaki suç korkusunun temel nedenlerinden biridir. Bu nedenle, her iki alandaki ataerkil iktidar bağlarının ortaya çıkarılması ve kadınların özel alandaki yaşamlarına ilişkin gelecek çalışmaların yapılması önemlidir.

B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS / GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

FIRST SECTION

i) DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATIONS:

Age:

Marital Status:

Education Status:

Occupation:

Children:

Accommodation Type:

Districts:

SECOND SECTION

ii) WOMEN'S EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES IN PUBLIC SPACE

1. Do you use public transport or taxi? If so, how often and which ones do you prefer?
2. What are your reasons for going out? (such as work, education, entertainment, necessities) Which means of transportation do you use to go here? Which routes do you use?
3. Do you think that being a woman in your city is more disadvantageous than being a man? Why?
4. In which time or period do you feel more comfortable walking on the street? Why?
5. Do you feel safe walking alone on the street? a) Yes b) No
5. 1. If no, what worries you the most?
5. 2. What do you think affects your concerns the most? Why?
6. Are there any strategies or objects you carry with you to protect yourself on the street?
7. Do you have strategies or measures to protect yourself at home?
8. How long have you been living in Ankara?

9. Which district do you live in? Why did you choose to live in your neighborhood?
10. Where are the places in Ankara where you feel safest and most at risk? Can you explain why?
11. What is the place(s) you stay in Ankara the most after your home?
12. Considering the streets of Ankara, are you satisfied with the physical structuring of the place (sidewalks, underpasses, lighting, roads, etc.)? a) Yes b) No
12. 1. If no, what physical difficulties do you experience?
12. 2. Do physical difficulties affect your feeling of security? How?
13. What does being outside mean to you?
14. What does being at home mean to you?
15. Do you feel safe at school?
15. 1. If no, why?
16. Do you feel safe in your workplace?
16. 1. If no, why?
17. How often do you go out for activities? (concerts, movies, theatre, sports etc.) Do you feel anxiety while doing these?
17. 1. If yes, why?

THIRD SECTION

iii) FEAR OF CRIME

18. How worried are you about being a victim of crime and where? (mugging, theft, stalking, harassment, verbal, physical attack, on the street, at work, at school, at home/outside)
19. Have you been subjected to robbery, theft, assault, and/or violence by anyone? If yes, where, and how?
20. Have you been subjected to mugging, theft, assault, and/or violence by someone you know? If yes, where, and how?
21. Have you been verbally, physically, sexually harassed and/or attacked by anyone? If yes, where, and how?
22. Have you been verbally, physically, sexually abused and/or attacked by someone you know? If yes, where, and how?

- 23.** Has anyone you know suffered from a crime?
- 24.** Which crime victimization do you think is more likely where and by whom?
- 25.** What do you think about the crime news you see on mainstream and social media?
- 26.** Is there anything you would like to add?

C. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



00400/PHAR DULYAKI 06200
ÇAYIRAYA ANKARA/TÜRKİYE
T. +90 312 210 22 91
F. +90 312 210 39 59
aem@metu.edu.tr
www.usakr.metu.edu.tr

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Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Mehmet Barış KUYMULU

Danışmanlığınızı yürüttüğünüz Ceyda Becerikli'nin "**Kadınların Kentsel Kamusal Alanda Suç Korkusu**" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 0510-ODTÜİAEK-2022 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Sibel KAZAK BERUMENT
Başkan

Doç. Dr. İ. Semih AKÇOMAR
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Murat Perit ÇAKIR
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi A. Emre TURGUT
Üye

D. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Becerikli

Adı / Name : Ceyda

Bölümü / Department : Sosyoloji / Sociology

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TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master Doktora / PhD

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years**. *
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