

Women, social housing and urban spaces: Places to dwell and places where women are being attacked on their way home

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Abstract

Urbanization and population increase in the cities have led to crime and violence; specifically, high levels of physical, sexual and non-physical violence are committed against women, children and older people which are the vulnerable groups of society. Hence, the issue of violence against vulnerable people became an inseparable part of studies concerning women and urban space.

In this study our subject is examined by first providing a brief literature review on gender issues and women in urban space, urban violence, defensible space and crime prevention by design. A case study is presented together with observations and determinations regarding Bezirganbahçe - a TOKİ (Bureau for Social Housing Administration) Social Housing Development in Istanbul, Turkey- and the case has been analyzed in terms of security and safety measures within the context of urban violence and women. A questionnaire has been conducted with 100 people and 68 of them were included in the statistical evaluation of samples. It is found out that while the settlement is considered secure with reference to natural disasters and accidents, it was considered insecure in terms of crime.

The main objective of this study is that most social housing settlements of TOKİ that have been rapidly constructed in cities in Turkey has received criticism must be scientifically evaluated.

Keywords

Women, Urban space, Urban violence, Defensible space, Crime prevention, Social housing, TOKİ (Bureau for Social Housing Administration).

1. Introduction

Urbanization has had important consequences for many aspects of social, political, and economic life due to an increase in urban. Classical social theorists Tönnies, Marx, Durkheim, Weber, and Simmel have all discussed the decline of local attachments and the rise of mass urban society (Wirth, 1938; Fisher, 1976; Sennett, 1970; Palen, 1997, Macionis & Parrillo, 2010). Mumford (1937) explains that the city has a distinct physical form based on social exchanges of various kinds. According to Wirth's (1938) "Urbanism as a Way of Life"; large numbers of people live in the city, the settlement is dense and individual and group lives are heterogeneous. Women are a part of this heterogeneity; studies on the relationship of women and urban space deserve more attention in terms of their vulnerability to violence and crime.

In this article women are considered as a vulnerable group of the society for being attacked in urban space although many population groups as children, elderly, homeless, disabled people, ethnic minorities, refugees, and others, that today would be regarded as vulnerable; consistent with Webster's definition as "capable of being physically wounded". Mechanic and Tanner have discussed the concerns of vulnerability as follows: "Vulnerability involves several interrelated dimensions: individual capacities and actions; the availability or lack of intimate and instrumental support; and neighborhood and community resources that may facilitate or hinder personal coping and interpersonal relationships" (Mechanic and Tanner, 2007, pp.1222). The exclusion of issues of vulnerable people dominates the design of urban spaces until the beginning of the Twentieth Century; women have been a part of this also, when their position was defined as "a woman's place is in the home". Women have had to be involved in economic, social and political life in the twentieth century and they were exposed to long working hours. Therefore, they have been on their way home late at night and from their home to work early in the morning, which means there is lack of light and the design of urban spaces do not provide this; meaning, it does

not sufficiently meet the security needs of women. Even though women join social life in urban spaces as men, their mobility is still restricted to a great extent in their daily lives due to their becoming targets of urban violence.

In the Twentieth Century there has been a new wave of urban theories concerning gender and planning. Until recently, urbanists like Jacobs (1961) and Hayden (1981) who were concerned with gender issues were extremely rare. In the 1980s, with the global rise of feminism, feminist theoreticians started discussing space and spatial processes in the context of gender issues. After the 1980s, women have become much more involved in every aspect of life which has brought changes to the understanding of both space and community. These changes have transformed the interpretation of "home" and home environment being understood as women's space, along with the role of men. Acknowledgement of gender as a parameter contributes to a better understanding of living environments, when transforming the fragmented city; thus a better rearrangement against the current restrictions that will not only be a threat toward women but for the whole community (Mackenzie, 1989; Massey, 1994; DeSena, 2008).

In the following, we first discuss the gendered design of urban space, which led to creation of housing districts with the supposition of women's place being in the home; and thereby, to the presence of vulnerable spaces for women on their way home. Secondly, we discuss violence against women in the urban space, part of which takes place within housing districts. Whether on city streets, public transport, or in their own neighborhoods, women are subject to abuse, ranging from harassment to sexual assault and rape. UN Women, UNICEF and UN-HABITAT have been working with municipal leaders, as well as women's organizations, to ensure that women can join the streets and enjoy the public spaces without fear of violence and crime (UN-Women, 2011).

In this paper, housing districts are analyzed within the urban context, and the creation of defensible space for gen-

erating safer places is emphasized. We discuss how ongoing social housing projects, carried out by TOKI (Bureau for Social Housing Administration), fail to support the creation of defensible spaces within housing regions; and thereby introduce environments that prepare grounds for violence against women.

2. Urban space and women

Increase in the number of women in both educational and professional fields of spatial studies, rise of eco-feminism and discussions about space, time-space relations and identity issues in the postmodernist context brought the feminist attention to "space". Suzanne Mackenzie (1989) suggests in "Women in the City", that in today's social and economic reconstruction era; the feminist approach has become almost focal in geography studies which make it crucial for future urban policies. Gender inequalities and social patterns that created them have been the focus of research on women and urbanism. Two main ideas emerged. One was the recognition that different places meant different social worlds for both men and women. The other was the understanding that industrial urban life, contrary to the Nineteenth-Century image of the city as a deadly and dangerous place for women in both physical and moral or social respects, actually was associated with relatively more equality between the genders. Beall (1997) argues that the "gendered city" is designed by men and for men, but is inhabited by both women and men; who have diverse interests and needs at different stages of their lives, and different family and community contexts. Planners cannot always anticipate the different ways in which women and men use and experience cities. Urban planning and urban institutions have been deeply influenced by gender stereotyping (Wilson, 1991; Wright-Isak & Fava, 1997).

History shows men's needs rather than women's have been given the priority for the design of urban spaces (Michelson, 1991). Women's needs and priorities, on the other hand, have always been disregarded in terms of the design of settlements, the choice of lo-

cation of housing and the provision of urban services. Massey (1994) argues that the modern city and its space have been gendered and that women have been confined to this ideological, if not always in practice. DeSena (2008) in "Gender in an Urban World" examines the influence of gender in shaping relations within urban spaces and places. The authors investigate ways in which urban world is gendered, and roles of women and men in creating and transforming urban life. Urban and suburban women fall victim to restrictive zoning ordinances and the tendency of the city toward social and functional homogeneity, coupled with inaccessibility and inadequacy of various public services vital to women's changing roles. Concerning home and the design of urban environment, writers have focused on, women's lack of input in open spaces and park facilities (Peterson, 1991), crime and defensible-space issues for women, and the missing community services and public and commercial spaces in our environment (Lofland, 1984).

2.1. Urban violence and women

Women have been exposed to street violence and also domestic violence in the cities (Hayden, 1981; Vadera, 1997; Kirkland, 1997; Patel, 1997). High levels of physical, sexual and non-physical violence are committed against women more intensely in cities than in the countryside. Crime and fear of crime are very powerful forces that shape women's lives. Street violence is a phenomenon that makes people be afraid to go out, and it creates fear of crime (Jacobs, 1961; Patel, 1997). Research on gender issues has shown that women fear being attacked in certain city streets and parks particularly in the evening (Allen, Massey & Pryke, 1999; Pain, 1991; Valentine, 1989). As more violence cases are observed in cities, safety is becoming a more urgent issue for the home and urban environment, and women's mobility is being intensely restricted. Women's participation in social spaces is therefore prevented by the fear of violence as much as by the violence itself (Beall, 1997). Investigation on violence against women has shown that those who have been exposed to

or witnessed acts of violence tend to avoid social life and become restricted in their daily lives, and their freedom and efficiency are being seriously hindered. Urban violence acts against women take place in public places, on public transport, in streets and parks which are either too crowded or empty for the city dwellers to observe the acts are most difficult to control.

Today half of the world's population lives in cities, a figure that will reach 60% by 2030 and 70% by 2050 (World Urban Campaign, 2009). As developing countries' populations rapidly urbanize in the coming decades, the need for development assistance to address crime and violence is likely to increase. European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) and International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) have organized a colloquium focusing on urban violence. EUISS European Strategy and Policy Analysis System (ESPAS) 2030 forecasting project report and research show that urbanization will increase dramatically in the next twenty years, and one of the report's key conclusions highlights the growing role of cities in tomorrow's world, with a very likely high degree of potential violence in these urban environments (Apraxi et al., 2012).

2.2. Violence, urban space and women in Turkey

Violence and crime against women worldwide has increased, and across Turkey as well. While the violence women are exposed to be partly domestic, the part taking place outside home and urban spaces is also significant. The unofficial media scan by Bianet (Independent Communication Network) highlights that the number of such violent situations increased (Bianet, 2005). Violence against women is a serious problem in Turkey despite legislative changes that look positive on the surface. In the case of rape it is an acknowledged major worldwide problem of women that does not only apply to Turkey. While there is not enough research data on the threats women are exposed to in urban spaces, it is not wrong to say that women are actually experiencing several types of violence. Precautions are to be taken, reinforced

with an interdisciplinary approach that requires research on violence in urban spaces and its relationship with urban design. The protection of women as a vulnerable group must be handled as a serious socio-economic problem and a design problematic. Moreover, to avoid acts of violence and crime in the vicinity of housing areas, neighborhood relationships must be fostered to ensure close security ties. Hence, the design of the home, but mostly the design of its environment becomes a very decisive issue. The history of housing design has taught designers some lessons, in terms of successful and unsuccessful examples concerning the home environment and the open spaces included in them; which the following will discuss.

3. Design principles for safe places

Planners and architects have thought and developed design principles for creating safe places for people. There are three schools; Defensible Space; Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED); situational crime prevention/2nd generation CPTED /SCP for creating safer places that affect designing out crime from the environment (Colquhoun, 2004). Oscar Newman's research in 1972 about defensible space, which is considered to be one of the most extensive studies and which focused on 63 public housing sites around the United States, had become a guide book that had been a base for safe housing policies. Defensible space theory has received strong supporting evidence from studies of public housing in Britain and the United States and from studies of residential street blocks in the United States (e.g. Newman and Franck, 1980, 1982; Perkins, Meeks and Taylor, 1992; Taylor, Gottfredson, and Brower, 1984; see Taylor, 1987, for a review). Newman (1972) noticed a set of practices and designs that he believed caused problems for people and proposed four physical principles for the construction of a space that defends itself. These principles are (1) Territoriality, (2) Natural surveillance, (3) Image, and (4) Milieu (Environmental setting). Newman's work on defensible space has met with great critical acclaim and

massive criticism, both of which it deserves (Krupat, 1985; Taylor, 1987).

Recently, sophisticated and powerful models have been developed which have been applied to the issues of disorder at site, block, and neighborhood levels and should continue to be useful (Taylor & Harrell, 1996). Researchers considered more carefully the impact of physical features of urban spaces on fear and victimization and upgraded their theoretical studies about territorial behavior and cognition with the second generation defensible space theory. CPTED strategies have evolved over time (Crowe, 2000). While many of the actual techniques have been in use for hundreds of years, it has only been in the last few decades that urban experts such as Jane Jacobs and Oscar Newman have explored the relationship between the built environment and criminal behavior. Each of the following CPTED strategies offers guidelines which, as a property owner, builder, or remodeler, you can apply to reduce the fear and incidence of crime and improve the quality of life. These design guidelines are intended to stimulate design professionals to address urban security problems. Project teams are encouraged to be innovative in developing solutions which limit the exposure of urban communities to incidences of crime. CPTED is based on four elements: (1) natural surveillance, (2) natural access control, (3) territorial reinforcement, (4) maintenance. According to the model of defensible space and CPTED, urban and architectural designs must be taken into consideration in an attempt to create the unconscious network of voluntary social control in urban places, streets and parks. Jacobs (1961) calls these the "eyes on the street". Through close examination of the scenes of the crime the design of the lonely and dark places must be modified for better control possibilities. Out-door playgrounds for children must be designed in such a way as to enable close observation and control by the neighborhood and other inhabitants. Cozens (2008) also indicates in his article, that the review of environmental criminology and CPTED can assist in anticipating, reducing and understanding the crime

risk in New Urbanism. It is possible for urban people to cope with stress, fear of crime, form close relationships with others, and develop the heterogeneity in environments in which they live. It is equally possible for them to feel in control of their lives and their environment; yet, this requires great effort, educational upgrading, and planning precautions. The city can be a safe and good place to live for women (Un Women, 2011). For this reason, local authorities, universities, institutions and the police must be aware of and in work in cooperation with contemporary studies on urban space and ensure security and safety for the people of the city; safety being the most essential need of all (Un-Habitat, 2011).

UN-Habitat-Gender Issue Guide explains;

"Streets, parks, bus stops, sports fields, squares, parking lots, etc. design must have certain characteristics that have been planned and designed according to the specific safety needs of women and girls; easy access to and from the location and easy movement within the location, good lighting so that users can see and be seen, easy-to-read signs to help users find their way, clear and well-kept paths where users can easily see each other. Inclusion of mixed uses, provisions for different seasons provisions for young children and the elderly (because women are often caretakers), e.g. in urban areas this could mean low, wide sidewalks for strollers, wheelchairs, and walkers, and areas with slow-moving traffic, access to clean, secure, easily accessible toilet facilities with space for changing children's diapers. The work of the movement for safer cities for women offers many experiences and guidelines for safety in the cities." (UN-Habitat, 2012, pp.47-48).

4. Housing settlements of TOKİ and the urban space

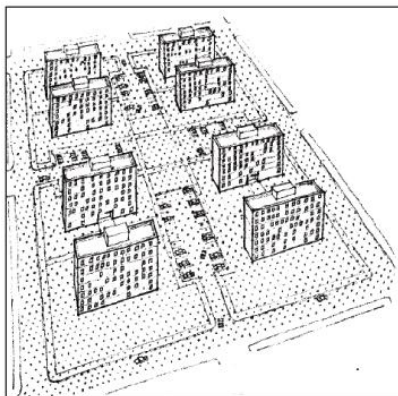
TOKİ, Turkey has produced 615 749 housing units between 2003 and 2013 (December) as it has announced in its official website (www.toki.gov.tr); 512 661 of these units are social housing. It is suggested here, that social housing units that were produced by TOKİ all across Turkey, with the same set of design principles regardless of the place, or the environmental context, need to

be subject to an investigation in terms of safety measures, as to whether they are designed according to precautions against violence and crime. It can be easily observed here that the settlement patterns of these houses are very similar to the examples Newman (1972) has criticized. Outer spaces existing between housing units (Figure 1) do not define a sense of place in terms of being an enclosure for the dwellers and these spaces are poor in terms of safety conditions, since they are penetrable from any direction easily. Housing blocks are placed in void, not forming any kind of outer space which relates one housing block to the other also (Figures 2, 3, 4).

The discussion of defensible space for housing environments in Turkey is further developed here, with a case study of one of the TOKİ ; Bezirganbahçe Social Housing Development.

5. Case study: Bezirganbahçe Social Housing Development¹

Bezirganbahçe Social Housing Development is in Halkalı, İstanbul. The same plan typology repeats in 55 blocks and in 2695 flats here; demographic feature is 12.000-16.000 people, the density is 125, 4 housing units per acre. A study has been conducted in this settlement in 2010 concerning the evaluation of TOKİ housing settlements within sustainability measures. A questionnaire which included the five-level Likert scale has been conducted with 100 people and 68 of them were included in the evaluations. 18 of the samples were female and 49 male,



(Newman, 1996).

Figure 1. Oscar Newman, (1972).



Figure 2. View from TOKİ housing, Turkey.



Figure 3. TOKİ Çıplaklı Housing Development, Antalya.

1 unanswered. As in most TOKİ social housing projects and as can be seen in the figures illustrated below, block layout implementations are not efficient in creating either physical or psychological territories. Newman's "Defensible Space" (1996) can work as a complete assessment tool for the productions of TOKİ; this section has referred frequently to that study (Figure 5, 6).

5.1. Elements related to security and safety in Bezirganbahçe

Timothy Crowe (2000), author of the book, CPTED, explains that "The physical environment can be manipulated to produce behavioral effects that will reduce crime". The analyses and observations focused on entrance, lighting, and security for checking four

¹ Istanbul Bezirganbahçe Social Housing Development is analyzed here as a case study, that has been conducted by Turan for his MSci thesis study under the supervision of Tiftik in which the housing areas are studied within the security.



Figure 4. TOKİ Mamak Housing Development, Ankara.



Figure 5. TOKİ Bezirganbahçe Social Housing Development, Istanbul.



Figure 6. TOKİ- Bezirganbahçe Social Housing Development, Istanbul.²

² Out-door playgrounds for children have not enabled close observation and control by the neighborhood and other inhabitants.

elements which CPTED is based on: Natural surveillance, natural access control, territorial reinforcement, and maintenance in Bezirganbahçe.

5.1.1. Entrance

The settlement has three entrances two being located on the main street. Nevertheless, the lack of designed boundaries around the settlement and territorial reinforcement has caused accessibility from many spots around the settlement. There are not physical barriers that show ownership of a property by the use of fences, landscaping, signage, pavement designs and lighting. The entrances are not visible, well lit and overlooked by windows. Clearly defining entranceways and controlling other points of access to a building is important to natural access control.

5.1.2. Lighting

There are questions to inhabitants about good lighting for surveillance and visibility that users can see and be seen, easy-to-read signs to help users find their way, clear and well-kept paths where users can easily see each other. Answers of subjects show that (Figure 7) there is not sufficient light at night and in the early morning (%70) in the streets. The residents have complained about typical places which are dark doorways and parks at night, empty and badly lit streets that cause fear and insecurity for women.

Natural Surveillance is the observation of areas by people. A criminal is less likely to commit a crime if they can be seen by others.

5.1.3. Security

A criminal is less likely to commit a crime if they can be seen by others. Hence the residents have not been willing to pay for the wall that was planned to be built felt insecure due to the crime / fear of crime which they could not prevent because there are not boundaries around the settlement which have created territorial reinforcement and maintenance. Therefore a staff of security personnel has been employed since 2007 when the housing units were made ready for the residents to settle in. During the first two years a high level of crime was observed where

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theft, drug sales/abuse and prostitution were rampant. As crime rates have relevantly decreased today, security units have been lessened to the number of 10. Due to the shift-system there is only three permanent security staff at a time. It has been pronounced that the security staff is not sufficient (Figure 8).

5.2. Assessment of security in Bezirganbahçe

According to the figures in Table 1, the settlement is considered “secure” in terms of “fire, natural disasters and traffic accidents”, while it is considered “dangerous” and “very dangerous” in terms of sociologically significant crimes as theft and murder.

While no distinguishing responses between genders were spotted in terms of “fire, natural disasters and accidents”, “theft and murder” with the responses as “dangerous and very dangerous” had distinguishing importance related to gender (Table 2).

The subjects were asked to assess the security topic in general for their families and themselves. Responses as “definitely not safe” and “not safe” were pointing to a very high rate as of 60.3 % (Table 3, Figure 9) (Turan, 2010, pp. 140-141).

Although the security staff was employed when the high rate of the “uncertain” responses had increased, it is not wrong to say that the feeling of security in Bezirganbahçe Social Housing is “very low”. Also, the architectural design of the housing settlement is not taken into consideration in an attempt to create the unconscious network of voluntary social control in urban

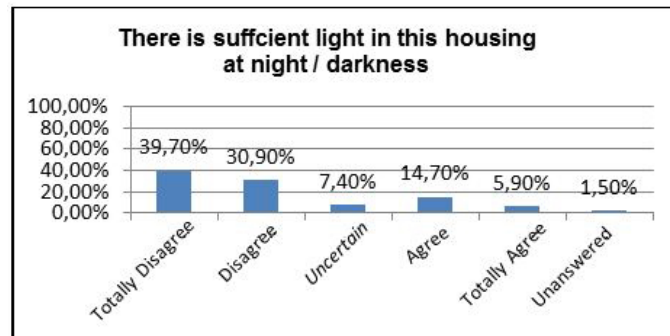


Figure 7. Lighting in Bezirganbahçe Social Housing.

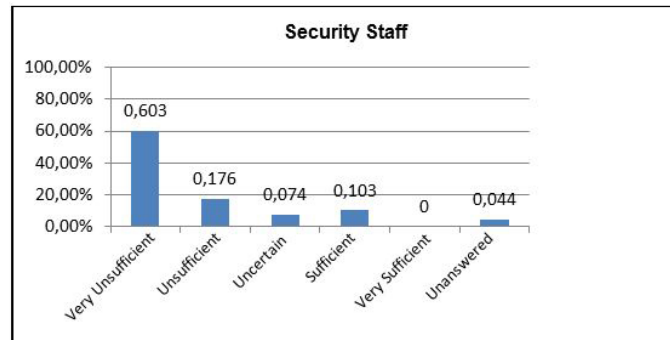


Figure 8. Security staff in Bezirganbahçe Social Housing .

places, streets and parks via mixed use programs. The fact that there is security staff within the settlement does not contribute to the creating of security conditions. It is possible to define a clearer general opinion on security based on this assessment.

UN-Habitat’ Safer Cities Program has been recommended police station and security staff for preventing crime especially against women if surrounding is not secure, but also has stressed that it is a job too big for the police or security staff alone (2007, 2011, 2012).

6. Conclusion

Today’s violence and crime can be

Table 1. Assessment of security Bezirganbahçe Social Housing.

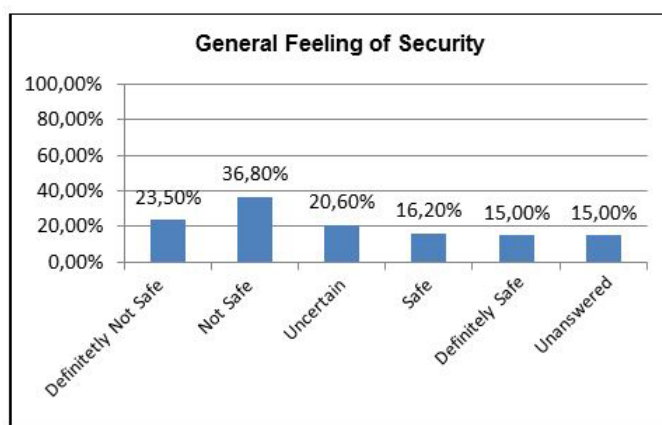
Security % Values (N=68)	Very Dengerous	Dengerous	Uncertain	Secure	Very Secure	Unanswered	Total
Fire	11,8	22,1	20,6	42,6	1,5	1,5	100
Natural disasters	13,2	17,6	32,4	32,4	1,5	2,9	100
Traffic accidents	7,4	14,7	22,1	45,6	4,4	5,9	100
Theft	48,5	33,8	10,3	5,9	-	1,5	100
Murder	17,6	33,8	32,4	10,3	1,5	4,4	100

Table 2. Perception of security according to gender in Bezirganbahçe Social Housing.

Perception of Security According to Gender	N "Uncertain" uninvolved	Average	Standard Deviation	Statistical Significance	Ho Accepted/Reject- ed
Fire	67	3,00	1,101	0,743	Accepted
Natural disasters	66	2,91	1,063	0,915	Accepted
Traffic accidents	64	3,27	1,043	0,794	Accepted
Theft	67	1,73	0,880	0,020	Rejected
Murder	65	2,42	0,967	0,019	Rejected

Table 3. Assessment of safety in Bezirganbahçe Social Housing.

	Frequencies	% Value
Definitely Not Safe	16	23,5
Not Safe	25	36,8
Uncertain	14	20,6
Safe	11	16,2
Definitely Safe	1	1,5
Unanswered	1	1,5
Total	68	100,0

**Figure 9.** General feeling of security in Bezirganbahçe Social Housing.

lessened in the future by designing and building housing spaces within the cities and towns more sensibly by taking into account the roles of women, who are increasingly getting involved in social and economic realms; this will in turn, develop the fragmented functioning of the city not only for women but also for the whole community. According to the model of Defensible Space, TOKİ housing must be taken into consideration in an attempt to create safer places for women. The research results indicate that the feeling of security is very low and residents have fear of crime in Bezirganbahçe which is built with the same set of design principles

of the TOKİ Social Housing. Despite the fact that most of the housing of TOKİ has received criticisms, it can be easily seen that it has not been examined thoroughly, and the economic, socio-cultural and environmental structures of the housing settlements that have been rapidly constructed in cities and counties have not been scientifically evaluated.

Disciplines, including architecture, city planning, sociology, psychology, anthropology, law, geography and political science should participate in research; offering us a multi-disciplinary perspective. It is important to create healthy, sustainable communities through a holistic approach to physical, social and economic development. Suggested references to function as a guide to such an investigation are related to the defensible criteria of housing and urban spaces. Research should be carried out at places where violence takes place most intensely and suggestions should be developed to prevent crime by means of design and social mechanisms. Reorganization can be planned depending on "Crime Prevention through Environmental Design" (CPTED) principles. It is seen that lonely and dark places and out-door playgrounds for children have not enabled close observation and control by the neighborhood and other inhabitants so that these areas are insecure for residents and available for crime in Bezirganbahçe. Regarding to CPTED lonely and dark places and streets get to see and be seen including lighting, control and order of spaces by design. The boundaries of the settlement and the programmatic concerns such as mixed use of buildings and compact neighborhoods can be more effective for creating social control (eyes on the

streets) to prevent crime. According to the model of defensible space and CPT-ED, urban and architectural designs must be taken into consideration in an attempt to create the unconscious network of voluntary social control in urban places, streets and parks by mixed use programs employed in buildings.

The importance of involving women in planning studies is especially important for the reorganization of the fragmented city. Planning research and development by itself will not be powerful enough to prevent violence, especially violence against women. It is obvious that precautions taken by local authorities and security measures developed for this purpose, together with sociological and political research must be evaluated in cooperation with the urban design, leading to a consciousness of gender differences and about urban violence. It is necessary that a relevant interdisciplinary project is to be carried out and research teams to be formed. To better understand the dynamics of urban crime and violence and effectively prevent these, urban design measures should be reconsidered. Today, since these housing areas have only recently been inhabited, they are not home to violence and crime yet; precautions should be taken through design support for the areas where the design principles of these developments do not meet the needs of a secure environment. Design solutions should be developed for preventing violence, crime and fear of crime in housing settlements and in urban spaces, for women who live there to consider them as safe, both when being at home or when walking on the streets and in parks.

....As a result of their higher levels of fear of crime, women are generally more aware of those aspects of the built environment that can offer opportunities for crime and criminals and more sensitive to risks and insecurity. For this reason, utilizing women's perceptions and experiences in urban design and planning can greatly enhance overall community safety... (UN-HABITAT October 2007).

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Kadınlar, sosyal konut ve kentsel alanlar: Kadınların barınma yerleri ve ev yolunda saldırıldıkları yerler

Kentleşmenin ve kentlerde nüfusun artmasının sosyal politik ve ekonomik yaşam üzerinde önemli sonuçları vardır. Bu çalışmada, Webster' in "fiziksel olarak zarar görebilen" tanımı göz önüne alınarak, kadınlar da, kent yaşamında daha zor şartlara sahip çocukları, yaşlıları, evsizleri, engellileri, etnik azınlıkları içeren toplumun "savunmasız" gruplarından biri olarak değerlendirilmiştir. 20. yüzyılın başına kadar, savunmasız gruplar kentsel tasarım sürecinde göz önüne alınmamış, toplumun bir parçası olan kadınların sosyal yaşamdaki pozisyonları "kadının yeri evidir" bakış açısıyla tanımlanmıştır. Erkekler gibi sosyal yaşamın bir parçası olsa da kadınların hareket alanları oldukça kısıtlı olmuş ve kent yaşamında şiddete maruz kalmışlardır. 20. yüzyıla gelindiğinde planlamada kadın ve cinsiyet konularına daha çok odaklanan kentsel teoriler üretilmiştir. Jacob (1961) ve Hayden (1981) gibi, kent ve kadın üzerine düşünen teorisyenler ortaya çıkmış ve özellikle 1980lerden sonra, kadınları sosyal yaşamda her alana daha çok dahil ederek, mekan ve topluma yeni bir anlayış kazandırmışlar ve kadının çevresinin ya da yerinin evi olduğu kanısını değiştirmişlerdir. Bir parametre olarak cinsiyet kavramı, parçalanmış şehrin dönüşümü sırasında sadece kadınlara karşı değil, tüm toplum için, tehdit oluşturmayan daha iyi yaşam ortamlarının tekrar düzenlenmesinde etkili olmuştur. İstanbul Halkalı Bezirganbahçe sosyal konut örneğinde TOKİ tarafından yürütülen sosyal konut çalışmaları, savunulan alan, şiddet, suç ve suç korkusu bağlamında incelenmiştir.

Mekansal çalışmalarla ilgili profesyonel alanlarda ve eğitimde çalışan kadınların sayısındaki artış, ekofeminizmi, zaman-mekan ilişkilerini, kimlik sorunlarını gündeme getirmiş ve postmodernist bağlamda mekan kavramı üzerine feminist yaklaşımı geliştirmiştir. Tarihte kent planlarının ve kent kurumlarının cinsiyet kalıplarından derinden etkilendiği ve kentsel, kamusal alanların tasarımında kadınlardan ziyade erkeklerin gereksinimlerine öncelik verildiği görülmektedir.

Konut yeri seçimi, yerleşim tasarımı ve kentsel hizmetlerin sağlanması açısından kadınların gereksinimi ve öncelikleri her zaman göz ardı edilmiştir. Bundan dolayı yazarlar kadınlar için kent ve konut tasarımında, sokaklarda, açık alanlarda ve parklarda suç ve savunulabilir alan sorunlarına, kamusal ve ticari alanlardaki eksik toplum hizmetlerine odaklanma gereği duymuşlardır.

Kadınlar halen kentlerde sokaktaki şiddete ve konutlarda aile içi şiddete maruz kalmaktadırlar (Hayden, 1981; Vadera, 1997; Kirkland, 1997; Patel, 1997). Kadınlara karşı yüksek düzeyde cinsel, fiziksel ve fiziksel olmayan şiddet, kentlerde kırsal alanlardan daha yoğun olmaktadır. Kentteki sokak şiddeti insanların sokağa çıkmasını sınırlayan suç ve suç korkusunu yaratmakta (Jacobs, 1961; Patel, 1997) bu da kadınların yaşamlarını şekillendiren çok güçlü bir baskı oluşturmaktadır. Kadınlara karşı kentsel şiddet, gözlenmesi ve kontrol edilmesi en zor olan ya çok kalabalık ya da çok تنها sokaklarda, parklarda, toplu taşıma araçlarında ve kamuya açık yerlerde yapılmaktadır. Kadına şiddetin, Avrupa strateji (EUISS) ve politika analizi sisteminin (ESPAS) 2030 öngörülerinde, daha da artacağı belirtilmektedir. Kadınlara karşı şiddet ve suç, dünya çapında ve de Türkiye genelinde artmakta, ev içinde ya da ev dışında kentsel mekanlarda meydana gelmektedir. Türkiye'de Bianet (bağımsız iletişim ağı) gibi gayri resmi medya taramalarında şiddet durumlarının arttığı vurgulamaktadır (Bianet 2005).

Planlamacılar ve mimarlar şiddeti önlemek ve güvenli yerler oluşturmak için tasarım ilkeleri geliştirmeye çalışmışlar bu çalışmalardan 1. savunulabilir alan, 2. çevre tasarımı sayesinde suçu önleme (CPTED), 3. suçu dışarıda tutarak çevre tasarımını etkileyen/ ikinci nesil (CPTED / SCP) durumsal suç önleme (Colquhoun, 2004) prensipleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Newman (1972), tasarımda ve uygulamada savunulabilir alan yaratmak için bölgesellik, doğal gözetim, görüntü ve çevresel düzenlemeler (settingler) olarak dört fiziksel ilke önermiştir. Suçu önleyen (CPTED) çevre tasarımında doğal gözetim, doğal erişim kontrolü, alansallığı güçlendirme ve bakım prensipleri tasarımcıların

kentsel güvenlik sorunlarına ve şiddete karşı çözümler geliştirmesini teşvik etmektedir. UN Women, UNICEF ve UN-Habitat da daha güvenli kentler yaratmak için çevre tasarımı ile suç önlemeye (CPTED) dayalı çalışmalar yapmaktadırlar.

21. yüzyılda Türkiye'nin birçok kentinde yapılan TOKİ sosyal konut yerleşimlerinin çoğunda Newman'ın 1972 tarihinde eleştirdiği suç ve suç korkusu yaratan alanların/mekanların varlığı görülmektedir. Örnek çalışma olarak İstanbul Halkalı Bezirganbahçe sosyal konut alanı incelenmiş beşli Likert ölçeği ile değerlendirmeye alınmıştır. Bezirganbahçe alan çalışmasında doğal gözetim, doğal erişim kontrolü, alansallığı güçlendirme ve bakım olan dört unsuru kontrol etmek için giriş, aydınlatma ve güvenlik üzerinde durulmuştur. Konut alanına birçok yerden girilebildiği, yaklaşanların kolaylıkla gözlenebilmesine olanak sağlayan ve tanımlanabilen ana bir girişin olmadığı görülmüştür. Sokaklarda ve ortak kullanım alanlarında gece ve sabah erken saatlerde yetersiz aydınlatmanın ve sosyal gözlemden uzak تنها yerlerin korkuya ve emniyetsizlik hissine neden olduğu saptanmıştır. Emniyet ve alan savunması güvenlik personeliyle sağlanmaya çalışılsa da yeterli olmadığı belirlenmiştir. Bezirganbahçe kullanıcılarına göre yangın, doğal afetler ve trafik kazalarıyla karşılaştırıldığında, cinayet soygun, hırsızlık, uyuşturucu kullanımı ve satışı, ve fuhuşun çok daha büyük bir tehlike olduğu düşü-

nülmektedir. Bezirganbahçe'de sosyal gözleme olanak sağlayan karma kullanımın olmaması ve güvenliğin sadece polis ve güvenlik personeli ile sağlanmaya çalışılması, güvenlik hissini kullanıcılar tarafından çok düşük algılanmasına neden olmaktadır.

Araştırma sonuçları Bezirganbahçe kullanıcılarında güvenlik duygusunun çok düşük olduğu ve suç korkusu içinde yaşadıklarını göstermektedir. Aynı tasarım ilkeleri ile tasarlanan ve inşa edilen tüm TOKİ sosyal konutları da aynı sorunlara sahip olduğundan "çevre tasarımı sayesinde suç önleme" (CPTED) ilkelerine bağlı olarak tekrar organize edilmesi ve savunulabilir alan ve CPTED modeline göre herkes için özellikle kadınlar için daha güvenli yerler yaratmak ve binaların karma kullanımı ile sokaklarda ve parklarda gönüllü sosyal kontrol ağı oluşturmak için girişimde bulunulmalıdır. Kadınların özellikle planlama çalışmalarında yer alması kentin yeniden düzenlenmesi için çok önemlidir. Mimarlık, şehir planlama, sosyoloji, psikoloji, antropoloji, hukuk, coğrafya ve araştırmaya katılması gereken siyaset bilimine dahil disiplinler; disiplinler arası bir bakış açısı sunar. Özellikle kadına karşı şiddeti önlemek için araştırma ve planlamanın sadece kendisi yeterince güçlü olamayacağından kentsel tasarımda yerel yetkililer ile iş birlik, içinde güvenlik önlemlerini geliştiren sosyolojik ve siyasi araştırmaların yapılması ve değerlendirilmesi de gerekmektedir.