

VISUALIZING GEOGRAPHIES OF PERCEIVED SAFETY:
AN EXPLORATION OF MUSLIM WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN PUBLIC SPACE

A Thesis presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
at the University of Missouri-Columbia

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
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MAY 2014

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the following individuals, without whom this thesis could not have been completed:

My advisor Dr. Matt Foulkes, and committee members Dr. Soren Larsen and Dr. Ibitola Pearce. Thank you for your support and patience as the research and thesis developed.

My colleagues at the MU International Center. Thank you for your assistance in developing my research topic and in recruiting participants. A big thank you goes out to Kristen Albrecht, who was always interested in and excited about my research. Your enthusiasm was contagious and encouraging.

Jonny Digby. Thank you for the feedback, encouragement, and chocolate. They were all needed and appreciated.

The fourteen women who participated in my study. I enjoyed getting to know all of you, and learned so much from our conversations. Thank you for sharing your experiences with me.

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VISUALIZING GEOGRAPHIES OF PERCEIVED SAFETY:
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ABSTRACT

Research on fear of crime and on intersectionality have both been growing within geography in recent decades. To explore the geography of fear as it pertains to the intersecting social identities of gender and religion, Muslim women in the United States are a unique group for study. Muslim women are easily identifiable as members of a minority group because their religious coverings, such as the *hijab*. This study uses in-depth interviews, sketch maps, and photovoice to explore women's geographies of perceived safety in Columbia, Missouri, and the factors that affect these perceptions. It focuses on the experiences of Muslim women with and without the hijab. The findings show that women's general perceptions of safety were highly influenced by environmental factors, social contact, and secondhand accounts. These general factors affecting perceived safety confirmed the results of previous studies on women's fear. Geographies of perceived safety were unique for Muslim women with a hijab. Their perceptions were influenced greatly by stereotyping, discrimination, and street harassment. The experiences of women who wear a hijab were unique in that they described experiencing less sexual harassment than their peers without a hijab, but much more religiously-focused harassment, and more street harassment overall.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study integrates several social science fields, including feminist studies, geography, sociology, community studies, and minority and ethnic studies. It explores women's geographies of perceived safety in Columbia, Missouri, specifically identifying places in which they feel safe or unsafe, and the factors that affect these perceptions. It also focuses on Muslim women and how the experiences of women who wear the Muslim headscarf (*hijab*) differ from those who do not.

Geographies of emotion have recently become an area of interest to geographers, sociologists, ethnic and minority researchers, and health professionals. This has come with the realization that emotions are often inspired by places, and places are also constructed socially. With strong ties to feminist research theories, studies on geographies of emotion employ a combination of qualitative methods to produce a visualization of the abstract emotions that are felt in concrete places.

Research on fear of crime has been growing within geography, as well as in other fields such as criminology, environmental psychology, and urban planning. Who fears what, where fear is felt, and what factors affect fear and perceived risk have all been analyzed within this field, with special interest in variability of answers based on gender.

To explore the geography of fear as it pertains to both gender and religion, Muslim women are a unique subgroup for study. Muslims in the United States have experienced discrimination, harassment, and racial profiling, especially since the events of September 11, 2001. Muslim women often bear the brunt of such harassment because

of their recognizable coverings. These women may feel marginalized and singled out in public places, and therefore may have unique geographies of emotion within their cities and unique perceptions of safety and assessment of personal risk. However, little work has been done on creating visualizations of the geographies of perceived safety of Muslim women. There is also more research needed on the experiences of immigrants or other religious and ethnic minorities in smaller sized cities, although researchers have begun to develop this area in recent years. This study serves to fill those gaps.

The current study's methodology was greatly influenced by Kwan's (2008) research on mapping emotions of Muslim women and Sutherland's (2008) Master's thesis on visualizing immigrants' geographies of emotion. I used the qualitative methods of in-depth interviews, sketch maps, and photovoice to explore and document Muslim and non-Muslim women's geographies of perceived safety in ways that are accessible to a public audience while still being subjective, so as to respect each participant's individual experiences.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

In this section, I will provide an overview and discussion of the important research that has been conducted relating to my study, specifically in the areas of feminist geography, geographies of emotion and fear of crime, and approaches to visualizing geographies of emotion. I will also explore the debates surrounding Muslims in the United States, including women who wear a hijab, and show why further understanding of this minority group is appropriate.

Theoretical Framework: Feminist Geography and Geographies of Emotion

The feminist discourse in geography that developed fully in the 1990s was a response to the male-dominated field and the invisibility of women in research. It not only examined the unique geographies of males and females, but also exposed some of the disparities experienced by marginal groups such as those of different sexual orientations, social positions, religions, and ethnicities in relation to “geographies of mobility, belonging, exclusion, and displacement” (Silvey 2006, 65). Unlike the objective, theory-seeking work of most quantitative social sciences which is often categorized as “masculine,” the work of feminist geographers seeks to explore the unique experiences of marginalized individuals and largely utilizes qualitative research, allowing for personal stories to be told with ethnographic methods. Feminist geography, as Silvey

explains, has expanded our understanding of women in spatial terms, specifically within the themes of spatial scale, place and identity, and the construction of borders (2006).

Emerging largely from within feminism in geography, researchers' focus has recently turned to impressions of everyday life. This "emotional turn," as many scholars call it, is not a new branch of geography, but a recognition of the previously-overlooked emotions that play an important role in the research, construction, and perception of space and place (Anderson and Smith 2001; Davidson, Bondi, and Smith 2007; den Besten 2010). For example, researchers may encounter emotional dilemmas while conducting research, participants may be influenced by the emotions that are inspired by certain places, and places themselves can be altered by emotions, such as fear limiting the type of people who frequent a place. Prior to the "emotional turn," most scholars tried to remain objective and separate from the research they conducted, and attempted to exclude emotional data or interference from their work. Geographies of emotion now seek to discover the emotions of individual actors in certain places or spaces, which vary depending on the subject, place, and time. Understanding a person's emotional geography can help to identify the threats they may feel in certain places within the city, or to identify the areas of safety and comfort, which can be important in developing inclusive social relations within a community (Sutherland 2008).

As geographies of emotion developed, scholars focused on the body, health, and illness, such as physical disabilities or agoraphobia (e.g. Dorn 1998; Butler and Parr 1999). Later, the scale of these emotional works widened, from the body and home outward to the city, rural areas, and nations. As these studies show, places may bring up

specific feelings for an individual or group, such as fear, awe, or comfort, while other places may incite contradictory emotions for the research participants. Studies in geographies of emotion show that place is defined by emotion, just as emotions are inspired by place, and therefore important when exploring humans and their environment (Davidson and Milligan 2004).

The issue of relevance, which has been brought up within geography many times before, is often also brought up within emotional geography. What is the relevance, for example, of knowing the emotions that an individual feels when on a city sidewalk, when a different person may have different feelings while on that sidewalk? Anderson and Smith (2001) addressed the issue of relevance by tying emotions to another highly debated topic—that of power. Emotions related to spaces are often also influenced by power structures, including culture, gender, and body politics. These power dynamics may determine “whose bodies belong where” and “how different social groups subjectively experience various environments” (Silvey 2006, 70). Public policy may also evoke very strong emotional responses and can be influenced by personal emotions. Anderson and Smith, therefore, argue that geographies of emotion are necessary if we are to grasp a complete understanding of gender, power, and public policy, and if we wish to act in response to the inequalities that are found. It is but another way in which geography continues to be a field of critical social analysis. Social change is, after all, an emotionally charged endeavor.

Geographies of Fear and Safety

When addressing the looming issue of power dynamics in public space, a common issue that is considered is safety and fear. Studies on fear of crime have had a significant position in feminist geographical research since 2000, although the topic was being developed as early as the 1980s (Pain 2000). Fear of crime includes emotions felt when one perceives a threat, regardless of if that threat is real or imagined, or if it is physical or social in nature. Fear of crime studies also often consider the responses of those who are afraid, such as avoiding fearful areas at certain times of the day. In all studies of fear of crime, it is understood that fear is not a constant and unchanging emotion. Fear is “transitory and situational,” moving with the research participants and others who occupy the space being studied, and changing as time progresses (Fattah and Socco 1989, 211).

As studies of geographies of fear progressed, several trends emerged. Many researchers agree that men and women’s geographies of fear are very different. Because of the view that women, as a socially-constructed gender, are vulnerable and have less control over the social environment, and that men often hold the power in public space, women are considered to be more fearful than men (see Pain 2000; Blobaum and Hunecke 2005; Fisher and May 2009; Rader and Cossman 2011; Wattis, Green, and Radford 2011). While this view of the fearful woman, an expression of patriarchal oppression within society, has been challenged by some studies, most geographers continue to focus on the differences between the genders’ perceptions of safety within the public space. As Valentine (1989) explained, “as a product of their fear, many women not

only perceive, but also experience, their environment differently to men” (387). It is from this theoretical perspective that the current study is formed, which is why the participants in this study are limited to women.

When discussing this area of research, fear can be viewed as general fear and anxiety, or as fear that is situated in a specific location and time. This type of situated experience is “shaped by interpretative responses to the environment, inferences about crime rates and a personal sense of vulnerability” (Jackson 2004, 963). Although this study does not focus solely on fear of crime, or even on fear exclusively, it does focus on situated rather than general feelings of fear and safety.

The Intersectionality of Gender and Religion

The focus on intersectionality within social justice movements first emerged from the black feminist movement of the 1960s, and later developed within academia in the 1980s (Collins 2012). Prior to this movement, feminist scholars focused on differences between genders. It became apparent, however, that in order to understand the complex social relationships and processes of oppression that women face, all aspects of their identities – not just gender, but also race, age, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, and so on – must be viewed together. Homosexual black women, for instance, face many different forms of oppression and inequality than heterosexual white women. All social identities, self-ascribed or otherwise, work together to form the social and political systems of advantage or oppression within which each individual lives. Those who emphasize intersectionality in their work argue that researchers and social justice

advocates must consider all aspects of identity to truly understand experiences of minorities and marginalized groups (Shields 2008; Collins 2012).

Within studies of fear and gender, several researchers have begun to analyze perceptions of fear and safety from the lens of intersectionality. Pain explores the relationships of gender, race, and age and their roles in developing perceived safety (2001). Wattis, Green, and Radford review the role of “studenthood” in women’s fear of crime (2011). Few studies, however, have investigated the intersecting identities of gender and religion. The current study, by focusing on Muslim women in the United States, aims to provide some new knowledge within that area.

As members of a minority religion in a heavily Christian nation, Muslims have been victims of discrimination for many years, which increased exponentially after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 (Center for American-Islamic Relations, 2009). The Center for American-Islamic Relations’ Civil Rights Report shows that anti-Muslim hate crimes have been decreasing in the past few years, after a sharp increase immediately following 9/11. However, discrimination in employment and housing, racial profiling, verbal harassment, and hate mail are still issues that Muslim Americans may face on a regular basis due to their religion, race, or appearance.

Female followers of the Islamic faith have come under intense scrutiny and debate in recent decades, due to the highly visible nature of their traditional head and body coverings. “Veiling” is a topic that is widely debated, and feminists have been divided on both sides of the issue. The Islamic custom of covering one’s body is said to have originated from passages in the *Qur’an*, the main Islamic scripture, and the *Hadiths* and

Sunnah, which are stories about the Prophet Mohammed's actions and sayings. The idea behind these scriptures is that Muslim women should be modest and pious, and should feel secure in the "private" space of their bodies while in public domain (Franks 2000). Although Islamic dress is often placed in the dichotomy of "veiled" or "unveiled" in the media and even among academics, there is a spectrum of coverings, including the *hijab*, or headscarf, *niqab*, or face veil, and *jilbab*, or full-length gown, as well as various regional styles around the world (Tarlo 2010). This study will not seek to explain different religious sects' preferences on covering one's head or body, but focus on the impact that any female Islamic covering, or lack thereof, has on the perceptions of safety of the Muslim women.

Muslim women who choose to cover their heads, hair, or bodies may do so for many different reasons. Wearing a covering may signify modesty, be based on cultural or family tradition, provide feelings of security when in public, or may be a way to express personal religious devotion. In non-Muslim societies, such as the United States, wearing a hijab can take on the new meaning of nonconformity, allowing Muslim women to stand out from the majority and self-identify as Muslim (Franks 2000; Tarlo 2010).

In predominantly Muslim societies, wearing a hijab or jilbab may be a tool used to safely navigate through male-dominated public places (Franks 2000). Studies have shown, though, that instead of hiding one's body or making oneself invisible through conformity, Muslim women who wear the hijab in non-Muslim societies may actually bring more attention to themselves, making them a very visible minority (Franks 2000).

This minority population is therefore quite vulnerable to discrimination, harassment, and violence.

Muslim women's choice to wear the hijab or other Islamic coverings affects not only their own bodies, moods, and self-perceptions. It can also impact the social environment and public space they inhabit, others' perception of them, and feelings of safety or insecurity, both on the part of the Muslim woman and those she encounters. Since the hijab is part of a woman's personal space, acts as part of the public space when the woman leaves the home, and has formed the identity of some nations, the issue of "veiling" is felt in all spatial scales. The intersectionality of these multiple identities, *woman* and *Muslim* in the United States, provides for a unique perspective. It is through this understanding that this study approaches the issue of Muslim women's religious attire.

Visualizing Geographies of Safety

In their editorial on geographies of emotion, Anderson and Smith (2001) addressed the issue of methodology. How does one "map" emotions, or even access the tools to collect such data? Recent studies by Mei Po Kwan and Cheryl Sutherland have adopted differing but effective methodologies for visualizing emotions of safety and fear.

In Kwan's 2008 study, Muslim women's sense of fear and restricted mobility following the events of 9/11 were explored. Kwan collected Muslim women's oral histories through in-depth interviews and documented daily activities and spatial mobility with journals and sketch maps, indicating feelings of safety or lack of safety in each

place. Using these abstract accounts of emotions and memories following the events of 9/11, as well as the journals and sketch maps which tracked the daily movement of the women, Kwan constructed an interactive 3-D visual narrative using Geographic Information Systems. By combining these concrete and abstract methods, she was able to capture the complex emotions of Muslim women in the days and weeks immediately following the events of September 11th, while also allowing others to better understand these experiences by providing a visualization tool.

Another example of a mixed-methods approach to document the complex emotions associated with minority women's personal landscapes used the self-directed photography method called *photovoice*. Sutherland's 2008 Master's thesis "Mapping Vulnerability, Picturing Place" explored Canadian immigrant women's geographies of emotion in their cities. She conducted questionnaires and interviews with 18 women from 13 countries, gathering their biographical information, as well as daily mobility data. She then requested each woman to take photos of places that represented different emotions, such as where she felt safe and happy, or vulnerable and isolated. These photos were then presented and explained at three focus group meetings in each of the two cities in which the study was conducted. Like the women in Kwan's study, these participants also created sketch maps by color-coding city maps red, yellow, or green to represent places in the city in which they felt unsafe, sometimes unsafe, or comfortable, respectively. The project concluded with a public exhibition of a selection of the photos taken by the immigrant women.

Sutherland's feminist approach to documenting immigrant women's sense of place served two important purposes: to empower the participants by providing them an outlet for their deeply emotion experiences, and to identify sectors within the cities which may be more prone to discriminatory or racist actions, such as the public transit systems. Unlike Kwan, she did not use geo-narratives to visually illustrate the immigrant women's sense of place, but was still able to make them accessible to the public through exhibits. Both Kwan and Sutherland's studies effectively documented the geographies of emotion and perceptions of safety among marginalized women, and presented these findings in ways that were accessible to others outside of the study.

These studies, however, present snapshots of the experiences of a particular group of women, in specific times and places. There are countless other opportunities for similar studies in other settings, and with other participant populations, especially those of marginalized women. As one of those studies, I built upon the methods utilized by Kwan and Sutherland to explore and create an accessible visualization of the geographies of perceived safety of women, Muslim and non-Muslim, in the mid-sized Midwest city of Columbia, Missouri.

The Current Study

As explained above, the hijab can be a way to protect one's body from public gaze, or it can exclude the wearer from the public, creating a "marginalized other" category. As the hijab is mainly worn in public places, the emotions it influences in both the wearer and others may change when moving between private and public places.

Therefore, the geography of safety of Muslim women is complex in its intersectionality, and deserves further attention.

Working from a feminist standpoint and with the works of Kwan (2008) and Sutherland (2008) as models, the current study employs various qualitative methods to assist women, both Muslim and non-Muslim, in Columbia, Missouri, in creating a visual account of their geographies of perceived safety. Allowing the participants to express their emotions through sketch maps, photovoice, and in-depth interviews not only provides a greater understanding of their experiences, but also allows for self-empowerment of the women. Through this mixed-method approach, “safe” and “unsafe” places will also be deconstructed, exposing the factors that create perceptions of safety and feelings of fear situated in those places. The experiences of Muslim women who wear a hijab will then be analyzed further to provide insight into how public space is navigated by women within this social group.

Chapter 3: Methods

Study Area

This study was conducted in Columbia, Missouri, the largest city in mid-Missouri with a population of 108,000 as of the 2010 Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Columbia is considered a “college town,” and is home to the University of Missouri, as well as several smaller colleges. This study focuses on three geographic areas: the University of Missouri main campus, the downtown Columbia area, and the City of Columbia as a whole (see Appendix A).

The city of Columbia is intersected by two major highways. Interstate 70 runs east and west, between Kansas City and St. Louis. Highway 63 runs north and south, and also runs through the capital city of Jefferson City, Missouri, just 30 miles south of Columbia. The majority of the city lies south of Interstate 70 and west of Highway 63.

The main campus of the University of Missouri sits in the center of Columbia, Missouri, on 1,200 acres of land. The University of Missouri was founded in 1839, and is a public, land-grant, research institution with nearly 35,000 undergraduate, graduate, and professional students enrolled. Of these students, over 5,000 are of an ethnic minority, and 2,200 are international students (Curators of the University of Missouri, 2014). Most of the campus is positioned immediately north of Stadium Boulevard, a main route in the city, and just south of the city’s downtown area.

“The District,” or downtown area, consists of 50 city blocks of restaurants, shops, government and private offices, art galleries, and residential space. This area has

undergone intentional development in the last three decades, lead largely by the Downtown Community Improvement District, with the aim of making it “a centrally located, live/work/play neighborhood,” with a creative, eclectic atmosphere (The Downtown, 2014).

Before beginning the study, I submitted the research proposal to my thesis committee and to the Campus Institutional Review Board, which initially approved the study on 8 August 2011. To recruit participants, I worked with the MU International Center, the Muslim Student Organization, other diversity organizations on campus, and the Islamic Center of Central Missouri. These organizations sent announcements of my study to their members through e-mail, and interested participants then contacted me directly. Additional participants were recruited using snowball sampling, and usually learned about the study from friends, classmates, or roommates. In total, 14 participants were recruited, and all interviews took place between September 2011 and May 2013. Each participant read and signed an Informed Consent Letter prior to their participation in the study.

Survey and Sketch Map Method

The methods employed in this study included surveys, individual interviews, sketch maps, and photovoice. The surveys collect participants’ basic biographical, educational, and employment information. It also asks for their country of birth and citizenship, and how long they have resided in the United States, and in Columbia, Missouri. This is also where participants indicated if they are Muslim, if they wear a

hijab, and if they would like to provide any additional comments about their choice to wear or not wear a religious headscarf (See Appendix B for the participant survey).

After signing the informed consent letter and completing the survey, participants were asked to create sketch maps using paper base maps of the city of Columbia, The District, and the University of Missouri campus. They were provided with crayons and instructions for the mapping exercise (Appendix C), which I reviewed with the participant, answering any questions they had.

When participants completed their sketch maps, I then interviewed them using semi-structured questions about the places they marked and the colors they chose for these places. For Muslim participants, I also asked if they felt that wearing or not wearing the hijab affects their feelings in the places they marked. These interviews were recorded with the participants' consent. On average, the mapping exercise interviews lasted 20 minutes. All fourteen participants completed the mapping exercise, and in total twenty-seven sketch maps were collected: 11 city maps, 11 campus maps, and 5 maps of The District.

Photovoice Method

After the mapping exercise, participants then had the option of also completing the photography exercise, with which the photovoice data was collected. I reviewed and clarified the photography exercise instructions with each participant (see Appendix D).

The follow-up meeting for the photography exercise took place at least one week after the instructions were provided. During the follow-up meeting, we looked at each

photo taken by the participant and I asked semi-structured interview questions. I asked participants to describe each photograph, where it was taken, and why they chose to share that photo. I also asked if any new insights or emotions were brought up during the photography exercise. The interviews were recorded with the participants' consent, and the average photography interview lasted 30 minutes. Nine participants completed the photography exercise, and participants shared an average of 23 photographs. In total, 207 photos were collected. Each participant was given a \$10 gift card as a gesture of appreciation for their time and involvement in the study.

Participant Descriptive Statistics

The sample size of fourteen participants is not considered to be a representative sample of all women or all Muslim women in Columbia. Instead, these interviews were designed to gain an insight into the feelings and experiences of perceived safety of women in this city and into what factors affected their perceptions. Therefore, an equally distributed sample population was not sought.

Participant Survey Descriptive Statistics				
	Sketch Map Participants	% Total Sample	Photovoice Participants	% Total Sample
Student				
<i>Undergraduate</i>	6	43%	5	56%
<i>Graduate</i>	6	43%	3	33%
<i>N/A</i>	2	14%	1	11%
Age				
<i>18-24</i>	9	64%	7	78%
<i>25-30</i>	2	14%	1	11%
<i>31-40</i>	2	14%	1	11%
<i>50+</i>	1	7%	0	0%
Citizenship				
<i>United States</i>	7	50%	4	44%
<i>Other</i>	7	50%	5	56%
Years Resident of Columbia				
<i>Less than 1 year</i>	4	29%	3	33%
<i>1-5 years</i>	6	43%	4	44%
<i>More than 5 years</i>	4	29%	2	22%
Muslim				
<i>Wears a hijab</i>	5	36%	3	33%
<i>No hijab</i>	4	29%	3	33%
<i>Not Muslim</i>	5	36%	3	33%
Total	14	100%	9	100%

Table 1: Participant Descriptive Survey Statistics

The sample included fourteen women, all living and working or going to school in Columbia. Eleven participants were students at the University of Missouri-Columbia, and one was a student at another local college. Seven participants were U.S. citizens, while the other seven were from a variety of countries. Participants had lived in Columbia for varying lengths of time, from ten days to over twenty years. Nine of the women identified

as a practicing Muslim, and five of those participants wore a hijab at the time of the interviews. Three Muslim women indicated that they used to wear a hijab, or they wear one when they return to their home country, but do not currently wear a hijab while in Columbia. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the research participants based on their survey responses.

Data Analysis

By combining several types of data, including surveys, sketch maps, participant-led photography, and interviews, all of which focus on the same topic and the same sample of women, I was able to obtain a more complete picture of women's perceptions of safe and unsafe places. I was also able to utilize GIS spatial analysis tools to examine the sketch maps, as well as grounded theory coding for the interviews and photographs.

Once the interviews and data collection were complete, I transcribed the interviews and then coded and categorized themes that emerged. I employed a grounded theory coding method, first developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). My coding process involved open, selective, and theoretical coding, as well as constructivist grounded theory, knowing that I have perceptions and views that affect the theories and the "reality" I portray in the study results (Mills, Bonner, and Francis 2006).

To code, I listened to the recorded interviews and determined general themes that emerged. I then read over the transcripts of these same interviews, searching for other places where these themes emerged, and for other connections between themes. This process of reading and coding, and reviewing and recoding, continued until large

structured themes formed from within the data. Initially, I also coded the photographs taken by participants using grounded theory, but separate from the interviews. After the themes became clearer through the transcripts, I reviewed the photographs again to code them with the larger themes as well.

To analyze the sketch maps, I first digitized each map individually in ArcGIS, categorizing each road, sidewalk, building, or park based on the color that the participant used. Since the participants were asked to track their daily route on the map, most of the features to be digitized were lines, including the roads and sidewalks. However, participants also colored campus buildings, parks, and other structures, which were then digitized as polygons. After all features were digitized, each participant's map was created in a digital form.

To prepare the data for further spatial analysis, I converted all line and polygon vertices to points. I also included a point for each photo taken by the participant in the corresponding location, since the information provided and locations specified in the photography portion of the research were often different than that of the map portion. I used the Spatial Analyst tool of Inverse Distance Weighted (IDW) Interpolation to create a continuous surface raster layer. This layer shows the predicted levels of safety and fear across the entire area of the city of Columbia, in which points that are farther from a cell have less influence on the cell's predicted value than points that are closer to it. I used this spatial analysis tool to create aggregate maps for the city and for the MU campus and downtown area, as well as maps of each subsection of the sample, including all non-Muslim, all Muslim, and Muslim with and without a hijab.

As explained by Curtis (2012), the integration of sketch maps in GIS analysis is still being explored and developed. There are both strengths and weaknesses to this method, and researchers employ many different strategies within GIS to reach the level of analysis the study requires. The IDW Interpolation method is also not without its limitations. Since the objects that were initially digitized consisted of lines and polygons, the vertices of these objects were not evenly distributed through the mapped area, but rather on corners of buildings and intersections of roads. Therefore, when creating the continuous surface raster with the IDW Interpolation method, the areas that were displayed very unsafe, for example, were often focused on intersections of roads, when in fact several continuous blocks' length of road were identified as unsafe by the participants. The power value and search radius were adjusted in attempts to reduce this data distortion, but, like any geographic analysis tool, this method produces some distortion of the data.

The type of data being mapped, sketch maps of perceptions of fear and safety, are not in themselves ideal data sets for geographic analysis. Perceptions can change based on multiple variables, including time of day, weather, or even mood of the individual. In addition, fear and safety as emotions are difficult to measure, and even more difficult to tie to a location or a point on a map. These aggregate and subsection maps do, however, provide a visual representation of the women's perceptions which others can easily interpret.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

When analyzing the various types of data collected in this study, I examined the sketch maps, photographs, and interviews separately, as well as in relation to each other. Within the analysis, themes emerged from each data type and on several different geographic scales. General trends of safe and unsafe neighborhoods within the city surfaced. Also, themes emerged regarding the factors which shape perceptions of safe and unsafe places. Lastly, by comparing the data collected from Muslim women who wear a hijab to those who do not, patterns in the experiences and safety of Muslim women also emerged.

Geographic Trends of Safe and Unsafe Neighborhoods

When asked about general safety, all but one of the fourteen women interviewed said they felt generally safe in the city of Columbia. Some women compared Columbia to larger cities, such as St. Louis and Chicago, when describing their perception of general safety, and said that Columbia felt safer than these larger cities.

Throughout analysis of the sketch maps, several regions of the city of Columbia surfaced as areas of interest. First, as you can see from the aggregate map in Figure 1, neighborhoods to the east and west of the University of Missouri campus were designated as safe. These are primarily residential areas. When asked to describe the sketch maps they created, most of the women did not mention these areas as significant to their daily route, nor did they explain why these areas were perceived as safe to them. These “safe”

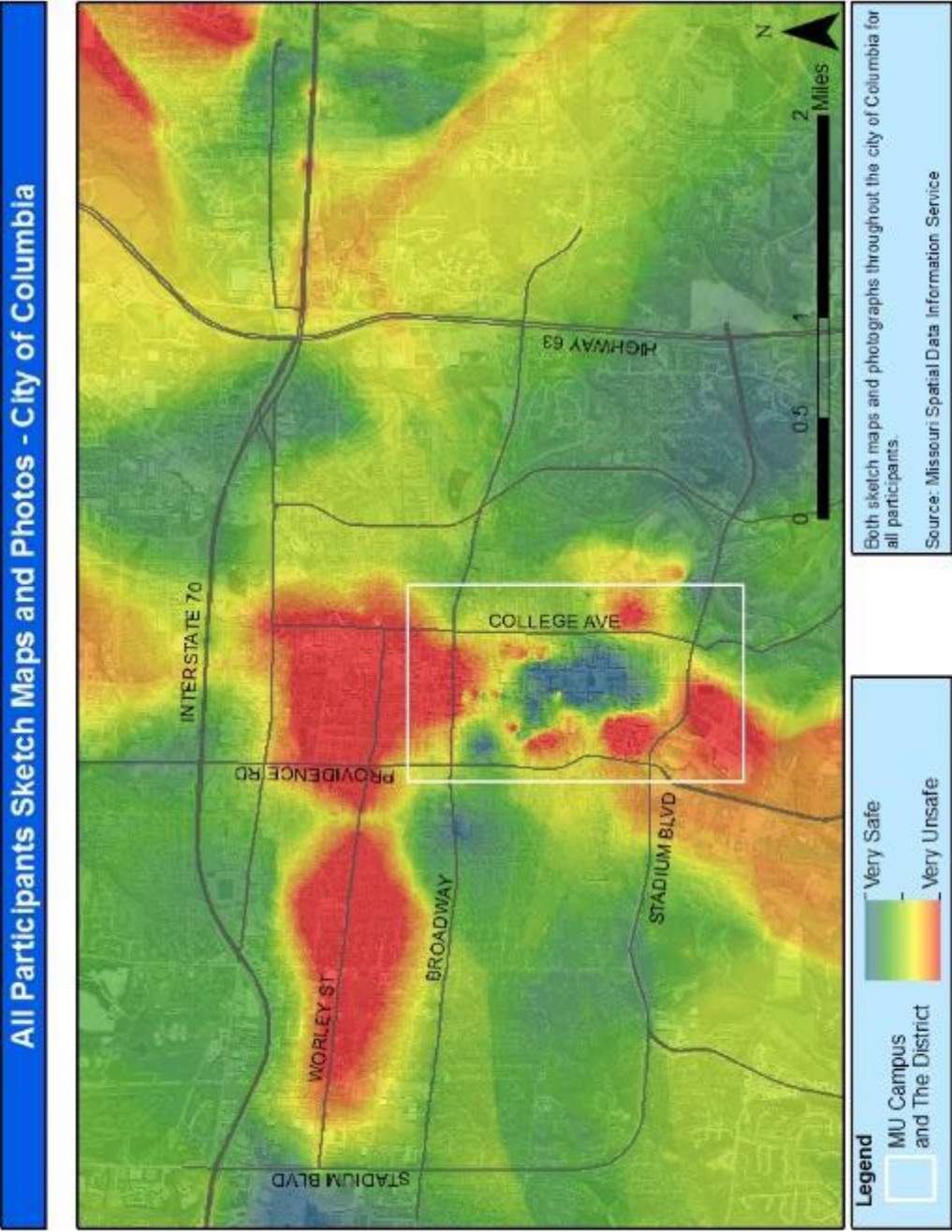


Figure 1: Aggregate map of City of Columbia

areas were not photographed by any of the participants, and appear to be perceived as “safe” by default.

By contrast, areas directly north and to the northwest of campus and The District were widely designated as unsafe. The neighborhoods which most women perceived as very unsafe were those along Worley Street and Rogers Street, between College Avenue and Stadium Boulevard. Many participants cited the prevalence of reported crimes and the large presence of African-Americans and low-income housing in those areas. One Muslim-American student described her perception of this neighborhood:

There was a burglary, and then I believe it was a murder, and I can't remember what the third one was but there was something else happening there. Maybe it was just people pointing guns at each other and nothing actually happened...And even though it was like two years ago it still kind of sticks with me.

Of the women who indicated that this area was unsafe, most of them said they actively avoided going into or through this neighborhood, whether by personal vehicle, public transportation, or walking. It is interesting to note that within this “unsafe” area is another residential college campus, Columbia College, directly north of The District along Worley-Rogers Street. This college was not mentioned by any of the participants. None of the students who were interviewed were students at Columbia College, though, which can indicate that none of the women interviewed had much exposure to or personal experience in this college campus neighborhood. Again, no photographs of this “unsafe” area were taken for this study.

When asked about the University of Missouri campus, all twelve students expressed feelings of general safety. Two of the students said they felt safer on campus than off campus in the city. MU campus and The District are adjacent, therefore the aggregate map was created showing both. However, I will be discussing the two sections separately.

As shown on the aggregate map of MU campus and The District (Figure 2), the center of the campus is perceived as very safe. This includes most of the main student activities buildings, such as the Student Center, Student Recreation Center, Memorial Union, as well as the main academic library, Ellis Library. The Francis Quadrangle, or the Quad, is the oldest part of campus and is also considered very safe. On the ends of the Quad are Jesse Hall, now used as an administrative building, and the Columns, both of which are considered to be symbols of the school as a whole. Several participants took pictures of Jesse Hall, the Columns, and the Student Center, referring to them as symbols of the school as a whole, and therefore representing a place they feel safe in general.

Unlike the aggregate map of the city, which shows one large unsafe neighborhood, the map of campus and The District shows many smaller areas which participants perceived as unsafe. These unsafe areas are primarily along the edges of campus, and aside from the southwest corner of the map, are small sections of “unsafe” areas covering only a handful of buildings each.

All Participants Maps and Photos - MU Campus & The District

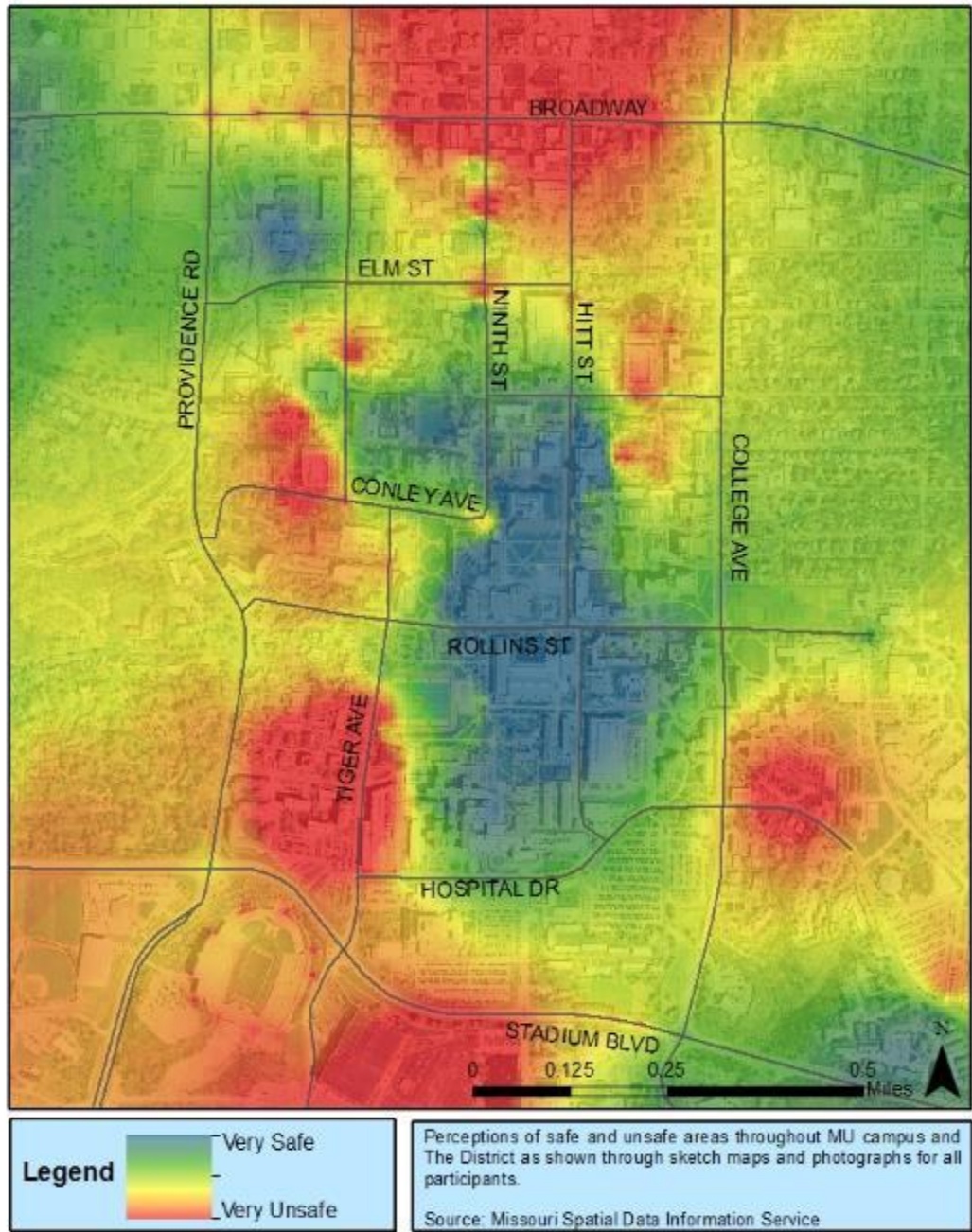


Figure 2: Aggregate Map of MU Campus and The District

The southwest corner of campus was described as unsafe by several participants, but usually in reference to different buildings, streets, or structures in that area. For instance, the large red area along and west of Tiger Avenue was designated as “unsafe” by three different participants for three different reasons: one felt unsafe in Crowder Hall (on Tiger Avenue, south of Stankowski Field), another felt unsafe in the Maryland Avenue parking garage and along the west side of Stankowski Field, and the third perceived Kentucky Boulevard, perpendicular to Tiger Avenue, as unsafe. These women’s designations as “unsafe” on their sketch maps combined during the analysis process to create a larger unsafe neighborhood within that area of campus. It is interesting to note that this “unsafe” area to the west and southwest of campus is largely associated with athletic complexes, including the MU football stadium, and a neighborhood containing many fraternity and sorority houses, also known as “Greek town.”

One possible explanation for the aggregate campus map containing several smaller unsafe areas rather than one large unsafe region, like the city map, could be the type of transportation used in that area. Most students walk while on campus, which leads them to be more familiar with the areas they perceive as safe or unsafe, and more aware of their surroundings while walking. When describing the city as a whole, most participants said they drove a vehicle or took public transportation to the different areas they visited in the city.

The downtown area, or The District, is shown on the aggregate map as the area north of Elm Street, between Providence Road and College Avenue. It is clear that participants feel less safe the farther north they go, away from MU campus and closer to

Worley-Rogers Street. Some of the “unsafe” area north of Broadway is a result of the interpolation of the city of Columbia sketch maps, as opposed to unsafe areas designated by participants on their sketch maps of The District area only.

There are some sections of the downtown area, such as along Ninth Street, in which participants had opposing perceptions of safety. Some women took photos of places they enjoyed going or spent a lot of time, such as a coffee shop, and expressed feelings of safety in and near that establishment. Others, though, felt very unsafe along Ninth Street, especially during nighttime, specifically because of some of the businesses in that area, such as bars and clubs. Therefore, the aggregate map of The District (shown with the campus map on Figure 2) shows several small blue (safe) and red (unsafe) spots very near each other along the same street.

The neighborhood near the corner of Elm Street and Providence Road, to the far west of The District, is symbolized as safe to very safe. This is largely due to the presence of the Islamic Center of Central Missouri, a mosque, located in that area. Five participants, all Muslim, indicated that this is a place where they feel safe. One participant had conflicting feelings in this location based on the time of day. Three Muslim participants said they did not frequent the mosque, and did not designate that area as either safe or unsafe. None of the non-Muslim women mentioned the mosque or this area of The District.

These maps are an effective way to spatially represent women’s fear and safety in Columbia, Missouri. By examining the aggregate sketch maps and the locations that the photographs were taken, we can begin to develop an image of the sites, buildings, and

neighborhoods that these women perceive as safe or unsafe. The maps are not a complete picture of the women's experiences, though. They are instead a conglomeration of many different experiences, good and bad, over the months and years they have lived in the city. Some of the women's experiences are felt more deeply than others, and remembered more clearly. Therefore, in order to examine why these places are perceived as safe and unsafe, we cannot rely solely on maps. We must also consider the factors which affect the development of these perceptions by examining the women's interviews more intently.

Factors Affecting Perceptions of Safety

A large development within studies of the geographies of fear is that certain factors within public space can contribute to individuals' fear of crime. These factors include "fear-provoking cues" (May and Fisher 2009) in the environmental characteristics, such as areas of low visibility (prospect), areas of concealment for offenders (refuge), and areas of blocked escape of victims (entrapment) (Fisher and Nasar 1992). Social factors also play a large role in constructing perceptions of safety, including interactions with others and second-hand information from family, friends, or the media (Valentine 1992; Pain 1997; Day 1999). Researchers agree that women simultaneously consider all of these factors when evaluating a location for safety prospects.

Within this study, similar themes emerged from within the participants' descriptions of safe and unsafe places. Not all participants expressed their perceptions of safe spaces in each of these specific terms, but every participant did describe their experiences being shaped by a combination of these elements. The main factors cited include the natural and built environment, social interactions, and second-hand accounts of crimes. These factors affected the perceptions of safety of all participants, both Muslim and non-Muslim, and are therefore considered factors of perceived safety for women in general.

The Natural Environment

The natural environment, for purposes of this study, is the space that has been left fairly unaltered by humans, or factors which cannot be controlled, such as the weather.

The natural environment is therefore describing only outdoors spaces. These factors were cited in every participant's perception of safety in the city and on the college campus.

When discussing the natural environment, foliage such as trees and bushes, and open fields often come to mind first. These characteristics were mentioned in several of the women's interviews. Trees and other foliage were most often discussed in relation to lighting and shadows. By blocking light from the sun or street lamps, trees generally had a negative effect on the perceived safety of a location. The negative effect was amplified in areas that were viewed as "confined" or not open. One participant, a non-Muslim international student, took two pictures to show how trees and confined areas change her feelings of safety on campus during the day:

This is the walkway I use every day (Figure 3). So I would pass through here to walk to my classes. So I think this is a pretty safe place because it's open air and a lot of people walking about...It shows a lot of space in between the buildings and not a confined space.



Figure 4: "Open air" walkway on campus that is safe



Figure 3: Confined walkway described as unsafe

To contrast the open air walkway, the same participant took this photograph (Figure 4), and said:

I think this is unique because you don't actually feel that safe here, I don't know why but maybe because I'm not familiar with this area. And as you can see when I took this picture it was maybe 11am, and there is not much space compared to the area that I showed you before. As you can see here it is more confined and there are a lot of trees, and here, the other picture, there are more open area.

Other studies on fear of crime produced similar findings in regard to open spaces and confining foliage. May and Fisher's 2009 analysis of fear-provoking cues list foliage as a major factor influencing perceptions of danger and safety due to its restriction of light and visibility. In my findings, however, foliage was a minor factor described by some but not all participants.

In contrast to the confined area described above, open areas such as city and campus parks were mentioned by nine of the fourteen participants. Three of those women said a city park was their favorite place in Columbia, and many women said they frequent parks or trails by themselves and perceive those areas as safe. A Muslim woman who wears a hijab took photos of her favorite place, Shelter Gardens (Figure 5), and said:



Figure 5: Shelter Gardens, one participant's favorite place in Columbia

We went there a lot when I was little... and we could just watch the fishes and listen to the birds. So I also have nice memories there, and aside from that it's a really beautiful place... But yeah you should go over there in the summer or the late spring, and you can see all of the flowers blooming and the animals, and the fish. It's really pretty. It's really nice.

The parks mentioned by the women were viewed as places of exercise and recreation or relaxation. During the day, city and campus parks were described as beautiful and welcoming, and were generally associated with positive feelings. This may be due to the open-air environment of parks, even though participants did not expressly use those descriptions.

Daylight and darkness are important variables in the natural environment, and the time of day greatly affected women's perceptions of safety. Six participants said they would not go to a park at night. Time of day also affected perceptions of safety throughout all of the places the women described. Eleven of fourteen participants said that they change their walking patterns based on the time of day. Whether this means avoiding certain places or making sure that someone else is walking with them, these women base their behavior on the perception that public space is less safe after dark.



Figure 6: Peace Park during the day

One Muslim student suggested that people should avoid going to parks at night when describing Figure 6:

You should have walked around the park, don't cross it if it's at night.

It's not that well-lit, that's what it is. It's not that dark, there are lamps

there, but yeah, you never know what is behind the bush. I don't know, some people said I became, friends from back home would say that I have become more paranoid somewhat, but I'm not afraid of going out, but I would have caution. So I have a route to go from where to where, so if it's during daylight, I would take the shortcut, but I would have choose a different route if I walked alone at night.

Another international student chose to take pictures of sidewalks in a main part of campus to show places she felt unsafe. She took several photos, of which Figure 7 is an example, and said the following:

Participant: Campus at night - this is the place where I wouldn't go there at night. I was with a bunch of friends in the car. And I was like, okay come here so we can take pictures. So that is unsafe.

Courtney: So anywhere on campus, or is it just this picture?

Participant: No, anywhere on campus, but I have a specific place. This is right next to Memorial (Union) because at the back it is scary.



Figure 7: Campus at night, depicting a space that is unsafe

Decreased visibility was most often cited as the reason night was less safe than daytime. Some women also cited certain types of people who may be in those places at night, and would not be there during the day, such as intoxicated people near bars. All of the participants, though, said that they feel less safe at night in certain areas, specifically outdoors.

This finding of the decreased safety at night is supported by many other studies. Kristen Day (1999) looked at the types of places college women fear sexual assault most. Similar to the views expressed by women I interviewed, she found that women were most fearful of being alone in the outdoors at night.

In my study, only one student said that daytime positively affected her perception of a space, and she reflected more on her mood in the place than safety. This participant,

a non-Muslim international student, described the building in which she spent most of her time:

I like that (place) in the morning because there is sunshine. But at night, it's still okay because I can see across the street and then Jesse Hall. And sometimes there are some lights in Jesse Hall. It's pretty. Different times, different feelings, different sceneries.

Closely associated with time of day, the weather conditions and seasons were also factors in women's perceived safety. The most obvious affect is in the shortening of the days during winter. Although this was not stated specifically by participants, it can be inferred by their strong emphasis placed on nighttime hours being less safe.

Two participants mentioned seasons in relation to academic semesters. There are fewer people on campus during the summer break, they said, which therefore made them feel less safe. These two participants also said that the weather can affect both their mood, and their feelings of safety. Inclement weather, such as snow, hinders walking, which can negatively affect safety for pedestrians. "Good" weather, such as warm and sunny conditions, can positively affect women's perceptions. Reflecting on her emotions while taking photographs of The District during the photovoice exercise, one international student said:

*I feel like around here is still very beautiful, very fascinating...
Columbia is very lovely when it is warm and sunny... A lot of places*

with sunshine and warm weather, and seldom windy. Sometimes I feel that Columbia is cute on those days.

The natural environment was a significant factor in forming perceptions of safe and unsafe places for the women interviewed. By and large, the time of day was the most predominate natural factor. That finding was not surprising when keeping in mind that the women in this and other studies expressed great fear associated with nighttime, darkness, and being alone outdoors. However, time of day cannot be viewed independently of confining foliage, which can reduce visibility by blocking light, or the weather conditions, which can change the amount of light available and the overall “mood” of the outdoor environment. In addition, the natural environment cannot be separated from the built environment, including structures, streetlamps, sidewalks and roads, or from the “human” environment, the number and types of people present. All three of these large factors interact simultaneously to create perceptions of safety.

The Built Environment

The built environment for the purposes of this study includes features which people have altered or created, such as buildings and roads, or safety-related aspects of an outdoor environment, like streetlamps or security poles. The built environment and the natural environment are often very closely related, even overlapping. This is especially true on a college campus where open fields are designed as part of the landscape.

Unlike the natural environment, which initially brings up thoughts of wide open fields, the built environment is most often associated with buildings and the indoors.

Most of the places participants identified as unsafe were outdoors, including sidewalks, roads, or parks at night. The places they said were specifically safe or comfortable were primarily inside buildings or their own homes.

One simple explanation for why the indoors are associated more with safety is that being inside a building or structure provides protection from the “natural elements.” When you are indoors, the seasons, weather, and time of day have little to no impact on you. As one participant explained, “Because I am inside, it is no different whether it is the daytime or night.” Another factor that makes indoor places safer is that buildings can have restricted access, limiting who can enter them and when.

Only a handful of participants indicated that they did not feel safe when inside a certain building. All of these participants’ feelings were influenced primarily by the other people present in those buildings, and not the building itself. The effect of other people on perceived safety will be explored in more detail in the next section.

The location, size, and visual features of a building can also have an effect on the outdoor environment. For example, two students expressed discomfort near the University Power Plant at Fifth Street and Stewart Road. Both of these women said they felt uncomfortable walking past this area because of the height and color of the building, and the persistent sounds coming from the power plant itself. One of the participants, an international student, took this photo (Figure 8) to show a place she feels unsafe, and said:



Figure 8: University of Missouri power plant, an unsafe area

There are a lot of high rise building and I don't know why but the red color looks creepy to me. There are very few cars passing by in broad daylight and this is a place I don't feel safe even during the day... because there is the very tall power plant. But sometimes I have to walk from the engineering building to somewhere, so I go around that area.

Another instance in which buildings can negatively affect women's perceptions of safety is in the case of alleyways and other confined spaces near or between buildings. Alleys were described as unsafe areas by four of the participants. An international student took this photo (Figure 9) of a downtown alley, and said:

When I pass through the shops, I notice this alley. Me and my friends also notice this alley. I've never seen this before in my country because

it's a street road and an alley and it's quite big. There is a chance during the day that I would actually walk through the area, but we were saying I wouldn't do so at night, because it is actually a lonely alley... During the day, I wouldn't say it is safe, but it is at least better than at night.



Figure 9: An alley in The District

Alleys have been perceived as unsafe by participants in other research as well, such as in Fisher and Nasar's study (1992). Their research was built from the theory of "prospect and refuge," and argued that people prefer environments that allow for high prospect, or visibility, to see potential threats to their safety. People also prefer areas which provide refuge or a place of protection if the individual was facing potential harm (Appleton 1975).

Fisher and Nasar provided further depth to this theory by showing that high prospect and areas of refuge would also be the type of place an attacker would prefer. Take, for instance, the purpose of a tree stand for a hunter. The hunter would have a wide open view from a significant height, providing excellent prospect. That hunter would also ideally be protected from the view of others, in this case the hunted animal. This type of refuge is also called concealment, as the hunter is concealed from view. As with the hunter, an attacker would prefer a place which allows for high visibility of the surrounding area and potential victims, and which provides places for concealment. The researchers also added the concept of entrapment, or a victim's blocked escape from a potential attacker. Even if an attacker has prospect and concealment, a victim could flee from the attacker if they have an available exit. To summarize, people generally feel safer when they can see all of the places around them, where there are no small or dark corners for an attacker to hide, and in places that have one or more easily accessible exits if danger were to exist (Fisher and Nasar 1992).

This alley is a true example of an unsafe area based on the prospect-refuge-escape theory. There is low victim prospect due to the high walls and shadows created by the buildings. There are also many corners and recesses along this alley which would provide full concealment for an attacker. Both the poor prospect and high concealment would be amplified at night. In addition, the victim would have limited options for escaping an attacker if walking down this alley.

Aside from buildings, participants also referred to various security measures, primarily on campus, which they have noticed and which affect their perceptions of

safety. Examples of the security measures mentioned include street lamps, campus emergency poles, surveillance cameras, and pedestrian safeguards.

As with the time of day, artificial lights have a very large effect on women's feelings of safety in outdoor areas. The more light available in an area, the safer the area is perceived to be, and vice versa. A Muslim international student took several photographs while on her walk from campus to her apartment along Ashland Road. She explained how the lighting levels changed throughout her walk, thus varying her feelings of safety on this route home at night:



Figure 10: A well-lit footbridge over College Ave at night

The other day I took pictures when I walked home. Part of the pictures don't have people, but I still find lots of people on my way home... I didn't use flash, so this is on the bridge by the (Plaza) 900 (shown in Figure 10), and it's very well-lit. But when you get to the ground – because I don't use flash at all, so this is how dark it is (shown in Figure 11).



Figure 11: Photograph showing the lack of lighting near Schurz Hall and Ashland Road

This same participant also took several photographs of blue emergency poles around MU campus and at her apartment complex. Figure 12 shows an emergency pole with a blue light on top, which is on the grounds of her apartment complex. She was the only participant who mentioned these security poles, and also the only woman interviewed who had completed the MU Police Department's Rape Aggression Defense,

or RAD, class. She attributed her awareness of these emergency poles to the lessons she learned in the RAD class. As we were discussing the emergency poles, she said:

When I first got here, I posted those emergency poles pictures in my Facebook. I have a friend who is taking her Master's in the UK, and she had a comment, like "Americans are so paranoid. Why do you have so many emergency poles?" ... I was thinking that it helps me feel safe. But apparently she was thinking the other way around... I think in her mind, she feels that it's unnecessary. You don't need that many. We have like 240 here on campus... Because like in every dorm building they have at least one. It's not always the pole, the yellow thing. It's everywhere... I think that helps create the image of safety.



Figure 12: A red emergency pole that is located on the grounds of a local apartment complex

Other intentional security measures on campus also affected some of the students' perceptions. Three participants discussed the presence of surveillance cameras, and said that knowing there were surveillance cameras in various parts of campus or downtown increased their feelings of safety. Although these specific security measures were only brought up by three of the fourteen women interviewed, their impact on these few women's perceived safety was clearly apparent.

Other studies have produced conflicting findings on whether the visibility of law enforcement officers increases or decreases fear (May and Fisher 2009). Emergency poles and surveillance cameras are not the same as seeing a police officer or patrol car because there is no social interaction involved with the security measures. These features do provide some comfort to the women in this study, though, since it is an ever-present reminder that the MU Police Department officers are nearby if needed. As one participant described these poles, she said it adds to "the illusion of safety" while on campus.

Another aspect of the built environment that had an effect on perceptions of safety is pedestrian safeguards. The absence of sidewalks in certain high motor traffic areas was noted by several participants as being very dangerous. An international student who used public transportation often took this photo of a bus stop (Figure 13), and said:



Figure 13: A dangerous bus stop with no sidewalk for pedestrians

Why I don't like the bus stops? The bus stop on the road is very dangerous. Like these two pictures... You see it's very dangerous, no sidewalk. And especially when it's dark, and the drivers maybe can't see the people, so I think it is very dangerous.

While the absence of sidewalks is perceived as a substantial safety hazard to pedestrians, the absence of vehicle traffic has the opposite effect. Two students said they appreciated that sections of certain campus roads were blocked off to vehicle traffic during the day. One took a picture of one of these blocked roads (Figure 14), and said:

I also appreciate that this is 9th street, I like that they closed the street. Also Rollins. Because we can go all around campus without really worrying about getting hit by a car.



Figure 14: Part of Ninth Street on MU campus is blocked to vehicle traffic during the day

Within the built environment, many different factors can affect women's perceptions of safety. Each woman evaluates and weighs the characteristics of buildings, roads, sidewalks, and lighting, or lack thereof, as she encounters them. Less noticeable aspects of the built environment, such as emergency poles or surveillance cameras, still have an impact on some women's perceptions of safety, but rarely are they considered in everyday routes. As the natural environment and built environment coalesce, areas of high and low prospect, refuge, and escape are created. However, these elements of Fisher and Nasar's (1992) construction of perceived safety would be irrelevant without other people present. The social aspect of public space is another very important aspect of the construction of perceived safety of women.

Social Contact

Although interaction with other people is part of the overall environment of any given place, social contact emerged throughout the research as a key factor in perceptions of safety. The number and type of people a woman encounters in a place can greatly affect her perceptions of safety, regardless of the other security measures that have been put into place in that location. Therefore, social interaction with others is analyzed independently.

Nearly all of the women interviewed expressed feeling safer when there are more people present. Some participants further explained that their feelings of safety depend on the presence of others because if an emergency were to come up, the other individuals in that area would assist. When asked if she felt safe in general on MU campus, one participant said, “There’s always a lot of people on campus, so I never feel like I’m alone, like if something happened to me nobody would see it.”

Several other participants described feeling the same way, and that they preferred not to be in locations where there were no other people visibly present. Some women went so far as to avoid walking through or near places that felt isolated and secluded, or where they knew they would not see others present while they were there. When describing a picture of her neighborhood (Figure 15), one student said:



Figure 15: A neighborhood with few people outside of their homes

You can see there is almost nobody there, so I do not really like this place, although the house is really in good condition. But I like being surrounded by many people, and although I can't talk with them or communicate with them, but I feel safe with many people there.

For most of the women, even though they felt unsafe walking outside in areas with few people, their feelings of safety considerably increased if they had just one friend or classmate walking with them. This was true during the day or night. Even walking across campus during the day with a friend changes perceptions of safety, as this Muslim participant explains:

This semester, because I have class with my friend there, so we usually walk together here. I would feel more safe than usual I guess when I'm walking with her because I'm not alone.

Feelings of unease and insecurity are so strong for women walking alone that they may even restrict the places that they go to protect themselves from perceived risks. Three of the participants said they wouldn't go to certain places without a friend or escort walking with them. For several participants, walking with a male friend or escort made them feel safer, specifically at night. One woman said she avoids walking home alone at night, and if she has to, she will ask a male friend to walk her home, and he returns to campus by himself. Another participant, a non-Muslim American who has a small child, said she felt the same way:

I definitely don't park in a parking garage at night and if I do I always walk with someone to my car. And I usually have my son with me too, so that makes me even more nervous. But if we are here after hours I always get an escort to my car or one of my male friends.

Fear of being outdoors alone at night is not an unusual finding. Many other studies examining women's fear of crime came to the same conclusions (see Valentine 1989; Pain 1997; Day 1999; Wesely and Gaarder 2004). Gill Valentine's early examination of women's fear of crime explains that while "women identify specific isolated places as frightening during the day, they express a fear of all public space alone

at night” (1989: 388). This statement also rings true with the Columbia women interviewed.

One reason isolated areas with few people are feared is because they are associated with “hidden attackers.” These individuals, usually male strangers, may be hiding in dark shadows, behind objects, or around corners, waiting to attack individuals who are walking alone. Six women mentioned a fear of being attacked by hidden individuals. They referenced hidden attackers in relation to parking garages and lots, campus sidewalks, and city parks at night. An American student described her perception of a local apartment village:

The University Village, they say it's safe, but it looks really creepy at night... That is really intimidating. There are a lot of dark crevices, and places people could hide and jump out and attack you. I wouldn't go over there at night either.

A fear of hidden attackers is another common theme within other studies of women's fear. As discussed in relation to the natural and built environment, a place's level of safety is often evaluated based on factors of prospect, concealment, and escape. Hidden attackers would prefer areas which provide high levels of concealment and high prospect for them, such as dark corners in the apartment complex mentioned above.

For many women, this fear of individuals hiding and jumping out to attack was established based on stories from others. One woman who wears a hijab expressed her fear of hidden attackers in parking lots, and recognized that this type of attack was not likely to happen:

I guess percentage wise these kind of things don't really happen that often. And the whole 'guy in the bushes waiting to jump out at you' does not happen that often, but that fear is still there.

In addition to the number of people present in a place, the type of people present is also a large factor in perceived safety. Participants mentioned military or police officers, and individuals associated with “incivilities,” such as public intoxication, drug use, and harassment.

Four participants mentioned military officers, ROTC members, or law enforcement officials in their interviews, and the effects of these individuals on perceived safety were varied. One Muslim woman specifically mentioned active or retired military men at her workplace as being “really nice,” and thought that their positive interactions with her were likely “because they’ve had exposure to those countries and other cultures.” Two students referred to the MU campus’ Army ROTC program housed in Crowder Hall. One, a non-Muslim international student, said the presence of military personnel in uniform made her feel safer because they would come to her aid if she needed help. The other student, a Muslim American, did not share her view, and said she felt uncomfortable in Crowder Hall around the ROTC participants. She explained:

I'm pretty obviously a Muslim and I do know there is a lot of racism and propaganda within the Army itself. So even though I know people in the Army who are pretty cool people, but still that's there.

Three women said that the presence of police officers or the locations of police stations affected their perception of safety in that area. Again, the views were mixed, with two of the women feeling safer near a police station or by seeing a police officer or patrol car. The other participant said she felt less safe in a downtown area, and specifically cited the local police station as one cause.

These mixed findings are similar to findings of other studies done on fear of crime and police visibility. A more frequent presence of police may cause individuals to feel as though they are more protected, since it may deter crime. On the other hand, though, some may perceive the large police presence as a response to heightened levels of crime, making them more fearful of potential dangers. As Fisher and May explained in their study, “the effects of the visibility of the police on fear findings at best are mixed and hence the relationship between police visibility and fear of crime is somewhat inconclusive” (2009, 305).

The relationship between perceived safety and certain “incivil” behaviors is much more conclusive, as was shown in both my study and many others. Social and physical incivilities and their effect on fear, safety, and neighborhood value have been researched extensively since the early 1980s (see Skogan 1990; Day 1999; Ross and Mirowsky 1999). Physical incivilities include characteristics of the environment that suggest a lack of care for the neighborhood, such as graffiti, littering and trash, abandoned buildings and cars, and so on. Social incivilities can include loitering, public drinking and drug use, fighting, excessive noise, and street harassment. All of these aspects of a community have a negative effect on views of neighborhood safety and social control (Ross and Mirowsky

1999). Within this study, participants only mentioned social incivilities, specifically public drinking, drug use, panhandling, and street harassment.

The most widely referenced incivility was public drinking. Eight participants mentioned intoxicated people, people in or near bars and clubs, or party-goers on campus. All of the women who mentioned this type of person said it negatively affected their perception of safety in that area. They felt less safe in areas with many bars or clubs, or where people may be drunk. They actively avoided going to those areas at night or on the weekends, especially if alone. These women described drunk people as unpredictable and potentially confrontational. Most of the places mentioned in relation to intoxicated people as safety risks were in the downtown area, The District, which boasts “over 90 bars and restaurants” (The Downtown, 2014). One participant, a Muslim-American, explained her concern with this area:

Downtown here along Broadway at night, I'm not real comfortable when I know I'm getting close to a bar. Because I know when guys get drunk, you know I don't want to be around that area.

Another Muslim-American woman said she consciously changes her walking behavior to avoid encounters with individuals who may be intoxicated. When describing Figure 16, a photo she took to show where she felt unsafe, she said:

There is one side of the street (downtown)... And (in one bar), it's really hot inside apparently so all the people are always walking outside to smoke or get some air. So I don't like to walk by there

because I feel like it's again people who are probably kind of liquored up and standing out on the street, and I'm minding my own business. And I guess out of concern for what drunk people may or may not say or do, I just generally walk on the other side of the street, even if my destination is on the same side of the street I was walking. I'll walk across the street for a block between and I'll cross back over.

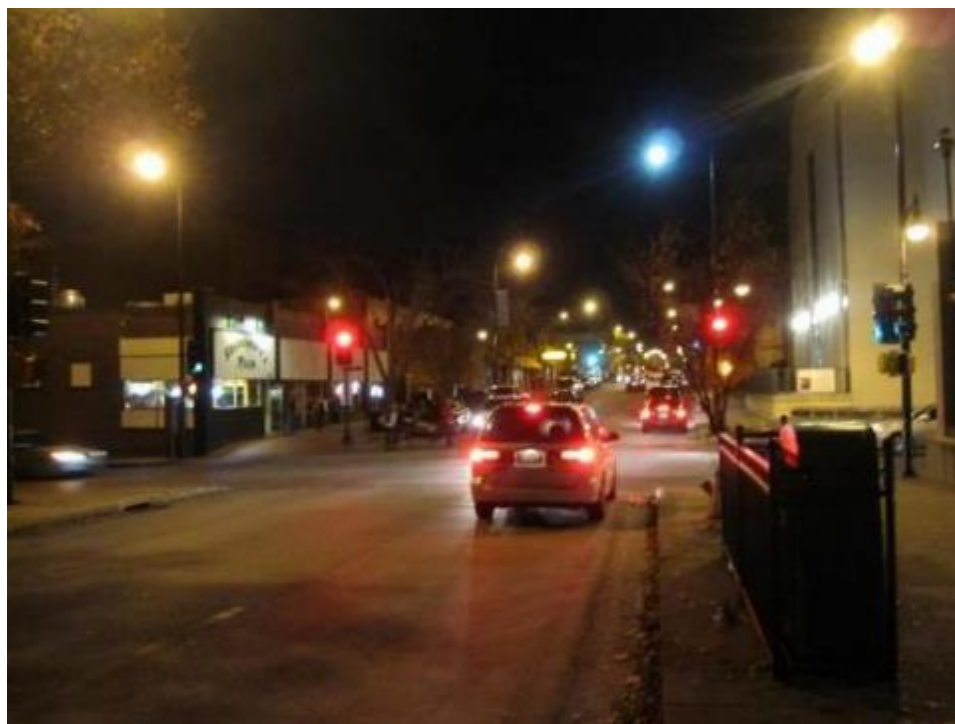


Figure 16: A photo of 9th street in The District at night, showing where this participant feels uncomfortable

Women also felt uncomfortable when encountering intoxicated people on the University of Missouri campus. A few participants said they may encounter intoxicated people walking to or from a bar on various campus roads, or anywhere on campus during home MU sporting events. The area on campus that was most frequently associated with

drunk people, though, was Stankowski Field, the outdoor recreational track and field open to all students. This field, located in the middle of campus on the corner of Maryland Avenue and Rollins Road, is officially open 5:00 AM to 1:00 AM, and is available to club sports or to individuals. Across Maryland Ave from the field is the edge of what students refer to as “Greek Town,” an area heavily occupied by fraternity and sorority houses. Several participants cited the close proximity of these houses as the reason for their discomfort near Stankowski Field. A non-Muslim international student describes a photo (not shown) she took from Stankowski Field of the house across the street:

So this is (from) Stankowski Field. I think that this is a frat house. So this is a place where, during my first week here, I hear so many groups of people partying on a Friday. I always remember this place because it's near Stankowski Field, so at times you feel safe and at times you can feel unsafe, and especially it's a frat house so there are a lot of parties there. So especially at night, I don't feel that safe.

Another participant, an American, expressed similar perceptions of this area, which represents a place she could feel safe or unsafe, depending on time of day and the people she may encounter. She described the photo (Figure 17) she took of Stankowski Field at night:

That is a place where I can feel safe or unsafe or uncomfortable depending on the time of the day, essentially. So if I'm there at the

daytime it's perfectly fine, I've gone running there anytime from dawn until late at night... I think one time I went running at like 5 am or midnight, and it's right next to Greek town so there are kids using it to walk across and they are clearly drunk. And honestly I get nervous that they might do something crazy when I'm just trying to run on the track. So that's a place where I can feel safe or unsafe.



Figure 17: Stankowski Field at night

Intoxicated people were the most frequently cited category of people who affect perceptions of safety. They were also the largest negative impact of any type of people mentioned. Drug use and panhandling were also described as negatively affecting perceived safety. These social incivilities generally occurred together and in The District neighborhood. One Muslim student described her encounter with a drug user:

I've had comments from people, like the meth addicts. I don't know if you've ever had that, they approach you and ask you for money. That happens quite often. A couple of weeks ago I was sitting outside of (a downtown business) and there was a woman who was clearly a meth addict based on some of the sores on her face. So that made us very uncomfortable.

Half of the women interviewed told stories of being victims of harassment in public places, usually on a sidewalk downtown or on campus. The women described the incidents as being threatening, rude, or in the least annoying. One non-Muslim international student told of a time she was harassed near her place of employment:

I feel unsafe because I've been verbally attacked around this corner when I was waiting for a shuttle, and someone drove past by here and they just rolled down their window and said something unpolite to me...I was shocked at that time. I was standing there and they just rolled down their window and shouted at me.

For this woman, the fear caused by that harassment is now linked with that street corner. This incident, and others like it, clearly does have a negative effect on perceived safety in general and in the specific place. Street harassment was much more common among Muslim women, and will be discussed further in later sections.

The presence of and interactions with other people strongly affected the women's perceptions of safety in their everyday environment. Generally, a greater number of

people present were seen as a positive factor. The perception of safety, though, could quickly turn to a negative atmosphere based on the behavior, appearance, and identity of the other people in that area.

Secondhand Accounts

The natural and built environments and social interactions all had very large effects on women's perceptions of safety within a place. Second-hand accounts of safety risks, however, had just as significant an impact on this perception, and in some cases even more. Second-hand accounts include stories from friends, family, and classmates, as well as information received from news sources, including Jeanne Clery Reports released by the MU Police Department.

Women gather information on safety risks and crimes through more than just personal experience. In fact, throughout my research, only one woman disclosed that she had been victim of a crime, pickpocketing. For all other participants, street harassment was the only offense that they disclosed they had experienced personally. Even though they had not experienced other types of offenses, such as attack, stalking, sexual assault or rape, they still feared the possibility of it happening.

Six of the women interviewed mentioned obtaining information on crimes or about unsafe places from friends, family members, or classmates. They received warnings from these individuals to avoid certain areas, or to be more aware of their surroundings if in dangerous places at night. For some women, they personally knew individuals who had been victims of crimes. For others, they knew a friend of a friend, or

simply heard stories of other unidentified victims who had experienced crime in certain areas. While describing an unsafe area designated on her sketch map, one international student said:

I don't go there, I have never been, but it's more like hearsay.

Especially my dad was really nervous about it. He said don't go in those areas or you'll find a lot of blacks, African Americans. Some of my friends even told me that.

Aside from people they know, participants often received second-hand information from the media, including television news highlighting specific local offenses, and articles discussing safety in general. The most common source of information of crimes on campus, however, was Clery Releases, which are e-mailed campus-wide from the MU Police Department.

The Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act was enacted partially in response to colleges and universities downplaying campus crimes and not responding appropriately to the prevalence of crime on their campuses. The Clery Act requires U.S. higher education institutions to inform students and campus members of crimes that occur on or near the school grounds. While many believe this is a step in the right direction, the Clery act does have its critics. One main critique is that the law does not require reporting of all instances of crime, and therefore provides an uneven view of the types of crimes that occur on college campuses. For instance, the Clery Act requires violent crimes, such as sex offenses, assaults, and homicides, to be reported, but does not include theft and many other nonviolent crimes.

This reporting requirement can lead college students to believe that there are far more sexual assaults, rapes, or aggravated assaults that occur on campus than other “lesser” crimes (Wilcox, Jordan, and Pritchard 2007; Woolnough 2009).

From January 2007 until May 2013, when interviews for this study ceased, the MU Police Department released 46 Clery reports on crimes on or near campus (University of Missouri Police Department 2014). The table in Appendix E shows the date, time of day, location, and type of assault for each of these releases. There were far more Clery Releases sent out to campus while the interviews were taking place, September 2011 through May 2013, than in any of the prior years. Thirty-two offenses, or about 70 percent of the total, occurred at night, and 83 percent occurred outdoors or in parking garages or parking lots. These factors all support women’s perceived fears of being alone at night outdoors or in parking garages.

Seven participants, all MU students, mentioned the Clery Releases in their interviews. They all referred to these reports of crimes as a reason they avoid certain areas of campus, or why they are more aware of their surroundings when outdoors. None of the women said these Clery Releases made them feel safer, but some did say it made them think more about their own safety habits. One Muslim-American student commented on her feelings of Clery Releases:

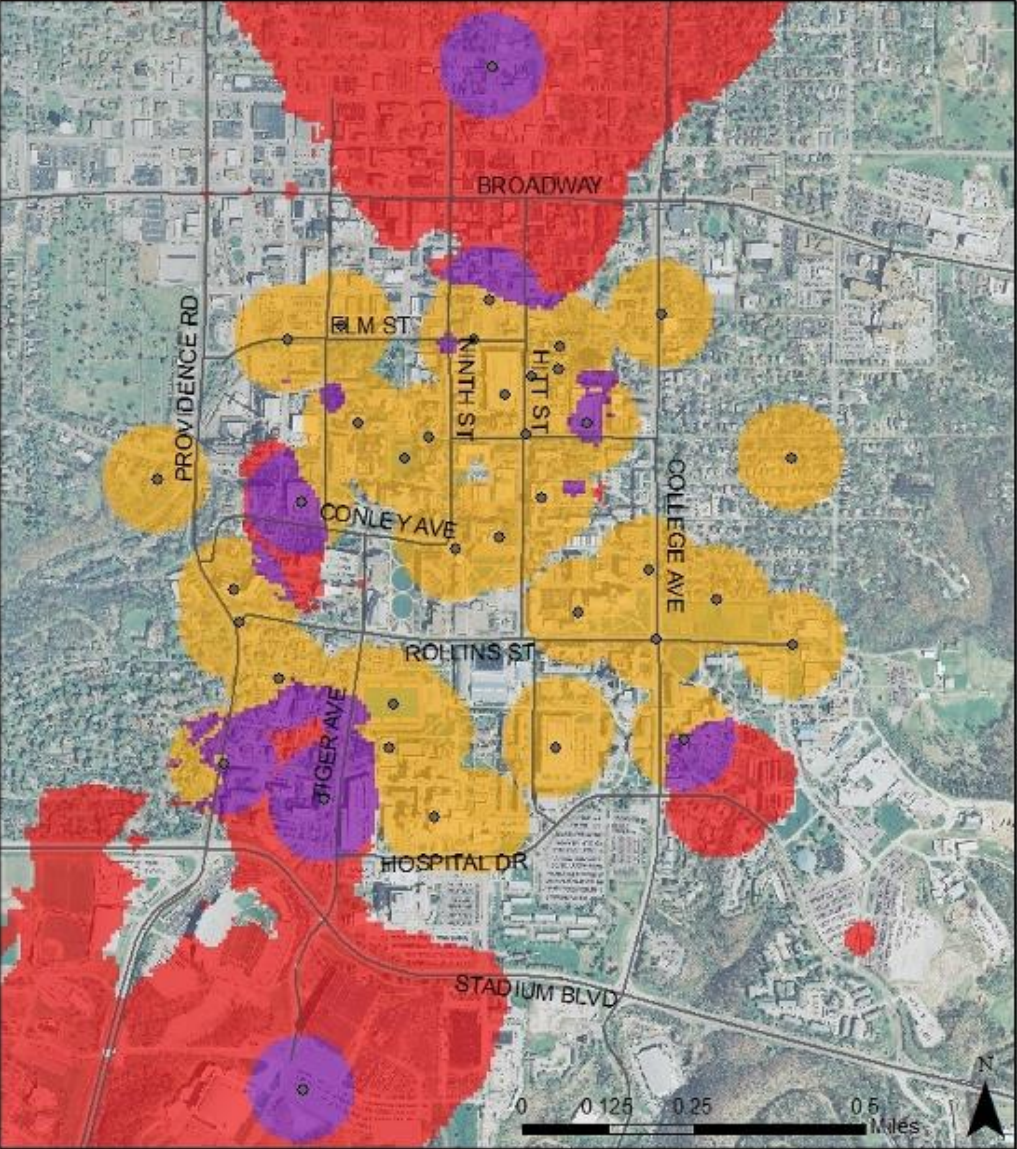
I think a few weeks ago or a few months ago there was a police Clery about someone who was accosted or one of those things around the area of the track (at Stankowski Field). And it just made me nervous, because it’s right next to the Med School and if I’m walking from a

coffee shop late at night, the parking garage is right south of there. It makes me think twice about being aware, about where I am, about my personal safety.

When reviewing the locations of these Clery Releases in relation to the areas that the women designated as unsafe, there is less overlap than would be expected. The map in Figure 18 shows the areas on MU campus where women felt very unsafe compared to the approximate locations of the Clery Release incidents. These Clery incidents were given a 100 meter buffer area to compensate for the vague location descriptions, as well as to illustrate the negative effect Clery Releases may have on women's perceptions of safety in not only the exact location of the offense, but also a wide surrounding area.

As you can see from this map, there is very little overlap between the areas women indicated as unsafe through their sketch maps or photographs (red), and the 100 meter area around Clery-reported incident sites (yellow). Only approximately 13 percent of women's perceived unsafe areas coincided with the Clery Release sites (shown in violet). This indicates that while Clery Releases do have a significant effect on women's perceptions of safety on campus, their perceptions of where these crimes are taking place is not always accurate. Also, women may be responding to those Clery Release offenses by altering their perception of general campus safety, or of specific types of areas to avoid, such as parking garages, instead of their perception of the sites of the actual offenses.

Comparison of Perceived Safety and Clery Reported Incident Sites



Legend	
■	Areas perceived as unsafe
■	Perceived as unsafe & near Clery incident
■	Clery Reports Buffer area
●	CleryReports

A comparison of areas designated as unsafe by participants, and a 100 meter buffer area around approximate locations of Clery Act reported incidents.
 Source: Missouri Spatial Data Information Service and University of Missouri Police Department

Figure 18: Map comparing perceived unsafe areas with Clery-reported incident sites

Information about crime and unsafe neighborhoods can have a profound effect on women's perceptions of safety, as well as the places they go to regularly or the places they avoid going. Valentine's article discusses the exchange of information among women, and argues that this exchange has five forms of social contact, all of which are supported in my study (1992).

First, Valentine says women discuss events and news of crime that are reported in the local media. This spreads information about crime occurrences to those who did not originally hear or read the report. Several students mentioned hearing stories about crimes from their friends, and they further spread the information by telling me about the incidents in the interviews.

Second, by discussing the reported crimes, women also evaluate the victim's vulnerability, such as discussing if the victim was a woman alone at night in a known "bad" area of town. By evaluating the vulnerability of the victim, women can then determine if they could be victim to this type of crime based on their own patterns of behavior and safety conscious habits. The student who took the RAD class with the MUPD expressed similar feelings:

Before taking this class and discussing it, before taking the RAD course, I was thinking that okay that happens to other people. I don't drive, I don't care, because it mostly happens in the parking garage. At night, or near downtown. I don't hang around there at that time, so I have a feeling that I won't, I have the impression that that's not going to happen to me. That's my frame of mind before I take my class.

The third process that occurs in the exchange of crime information is “vicarious victimization,” or the sharing of stories of crimes that happen to individuals women know personally or to a friend of a friend (Valentine 1992: 27). This type of information can be more impactful than the first two processes because it is a crime that happens to someone close to the individual. Many women in my study also described a friend or friend’s friend who had been a victim of a crime.

The fourth type of social contact, general unsubstantiated rumors, was referred to during several women’s interviews. These rumors did have an effect on the spatial behaviors of women, but perhaps not as significant of an impact as the official reports or individual stories. The fifth process Valentine describes, specific warnings by others, was also discussed by several participants. These warnings, such as the one described below by a Muslim student, color women’s views of “dangerous” places or “rough” areas to avoid in more general terms:

I think it’s very peer mediated because I have one friend who is very into self-defense, and I think she has friends who probably have been affected or been attacked or even approached late at night, so based on her warnings to me – and this is like a girl who doesn’t wear a scarf. She’s like in law school. And based on her warnings to me I became cognizant about where I was walking. So again, it’s like accumulated warnings rather than personal experience.

Second-hand accounts, such as warnings from friends or family members, or reports of crime in the news and by Clery Releases, have a very strong impact on

women's perceptions of safety. These factors also build off of one another, and perpetuate the views of neighborhoods or types of places that are generally safe or unsafe. One woman who wears a hijab explained how these second-hand accounts combined to create her mental map of safety:

When you hear stories of other people, it makes you more, like it gets more into your psyche like what's safe and unsafe. I used to be a lot more, like I wouldn't even think about where I was walking or what time it was. I would walk into a parking garage at 3 AM. But then I'd hear stories from other people and then I actually cared about reading police Clery reports. So it's like, okay I probably shouldn't be walking anywhere where it's completely dark at two in the morning. That's not smart for anyone really.

It's like a psychological game with it because nothing has happened to me so I'll always not be afraid of it because I don't have the firsthand experience. But that doesn't mean there is not that probability or likelihood that something could potentially happen to me. So they (Clery Releases) don't freak me out but they do make me think, like okay I shouldn't walk at XYZ parking garage alone.

Unlike the environmental or social factors of a place, these warnings can change a woman's perception of safety in a place without her needing to experience that place directly. As Valentine argues, women's perceptions of public space are shaped by these

second-hand accounts from a very young age, and continue to change her mental maps of safety and fear with every new account (1992).

Parking Garages: The “Perfect Storm” of Fear-Provoking Cues

Throughout the course of the interviews, parking garages, and to a lesser extent parking lots, were time and again described as unsafe and feared. Upon further analysis, I found that physical features, social environment, and secondhand information all contributed to the reputation of “creepy” parking garages. The unique characteristics of parking structures combine to create a “perfect storm” of fear-provoking cues and the perpetuation of that fear through social contact and reported crimes.

Eight of the fourteen women interviewed expressed feeling unsafe in or near parking garages. Some of them said they avoid going to a parking garage alone or at night. Others avoided being inside of a parking garage altogether. One non-Muslim international student describes the lengths to which she goes to avoid entering a parking garage:

Participant: Yeah, I really don't like walking past the parking garage.

Courtney: So have you ever been in a parking garage?

Participant: Yeah, I actually, if I had rode a bike to church, sometimes I would actually park and walk in from the parking center. And sometimes I really choose not to ride a bike because I don't like to go into the parking center.



Figure 19: Image of a campus parking garage at night

The physical characteristics of a parking garage are unique in that it is a structure with a roof and walls, like any other building, but it does not provide complete protection from all elements (see Figure 19). Generally garages have no windows, and are primarily concrete with no insulation or aesthetic features. Therefore, when it is very cold or windy, being inside a parking garage can be comparable to being outdoors. The open nature of parking garages also allows for free access to nearly anyone, unlike other campus buildings which can be locked at night, or may have doors restricting access.

Parking garages are also unique in their structural design. Instead of being evenly-spaced stories, as in multi-level buildings such as Ellis Library, parking garages have angled sections of the floor to allow for cars to drive to higher and lower levels, and to allow for a greater capacity of vehicles. The sloping floors and ceilings can create a

confining, almost claustrophobic appearance. One international student cited this confining quality as one of the reasons she disliked parking garages, and explained more as she described these photos (Figure 20 and Figure 21):

Previously I mentioned about car parks. I took several pictures of them. This (Figure 20) shows a very wide and open space car park, and later you can see I took another picture of a car park inside of a parking garage (Figure 21). The difference is for this one (Figure 20), I feel that it's okay because it is beside a main road and there are a lot of people walking by and its right beside the student center, and there is more space you can see. So it's definitely a better feeling to walk through this type of car park than the ones where there is smaller space between the roof and the floor (Figure 21).



Figure 20: A campus parking lot



Figure 21: A confining parking garage

In addition to the unique layout, many of the women interviewed said that parking garages were not well-lit. During the day, inside a garage is usually much darker than outside. At night the inside is dimly lit, and may have areas of darkness or shadows due to poor lighting design or to burned out lights. As discussed earlier, lighting, both natural and artificial, plays a very large factor in perceptions of safety and contributes to the level of prospect in the “prospect-refuge-escape” principle. This Muslim woman’s comment shows how unpredictable lighting can be in certain parts of a garage:

I remember when I was telling my friend she was smart because she parked in a well-lit area. But she did that not on purpose. So when I complimented her, she was saying “I didn’t realize I was doing this,” because when she parked there it was still 5 PM so she wasn’t considering that she was there under a lamp or something. So she didn’t consider where she parked, but we benefit from that because she parked in a well-lit area so we know there is no person behind the car.

Parking garages were also perceived as being unsafe due to the lack of other people present. For most women, presence of others adds to perceived safety because if they were to be injured or attacked, they could call out for help and someone would come to their aid. Parking garages are not a social environment, though. People tend to park their cars and quickly leave the structure. The women often felt that there would be no one present in parking garages to help in the case of an emergency, or that others would

not hear their cries for help. Also, since it is not a place of social interaction, any interaction from others, especially strangers, could be perceived as potentially threatening.

When applying Fisher and Nasar's "prospect-refuge-escape" principle, parking garages do not fare well (1992). The sloping floors and ceilings, poor lighting, and countless vehicles come together to provide very low levels of prospect for victims. There are many places of refuge or concealment, such as behind cars or in the shadowy corners. Within my research, however, I found that women tended to focus more on places offenders could hide, or concealment, rather than places they as victims could seek refuge.

If an offender were to exploit characteristics of a parking garage, namely the low prospect and many places for concealment, they could easily attack a woman and leave her with limited options for escape. A victim could be trapped between vehicles, in dark corners, or even in staircases. Parking garages tend to provide many advantages to offenders, and many disadvantages to victims. Therefore, it is understandable why parking garages have such an unsafe reputation.

Parking lots were also described as unsafe by several women, but not to the extent of parking garages. Parking lots, as described by the participant above, are not covered and therefore provide more prospect, at least during the daytime. Also, although there are many places for concealment in parking lots, there are also opportunities for escape.

When discussing the discomfort associated with being inside a parking garage, many women referenced second-hand accounts as a reason they were fearful of those

places. One Muslim international student took several photos (Figure 22) of a parking garage at night to show a place she felt unsafe. This participant said:

And then I have (pictures of) the garage. That is a specific place.

Because I hear a lot of stories about crimes and everything happening at the garage for some reason, I don't know why. So I always avoid the garages. Even if I come at night for a study session or something, I do not park my car in the garage. I park it on the sidewalk where it is an open area and out in public. I do not like garages.



Figure 20: A campus parking garage at night, taken to show an unsafe place

The second-hand accounts that women referenced in regard to dangerous parking garages came from a variety of sources. Some women described stories they had heard from friends or family, including general warnings regarding where women should and shouldn't go. One Muslim woman explained that "parking garages in general as a woman, not even as a Muslim woman, but parking garages are not generally the safest places in the world." Another international student based her judgment of parking garages on an article on safety:

I read before an article that says it's not safe for a girl to walk through a parking garage, especially when, if you park your car beside a van and the van windows are tinted, people might just come out and kidnap you.

Clery Releases again played a large part in shaping the perceptions of campus safety for students with respect to parking facilities. Three students referenced specific Clery Releases as affecting their view of parking garages or lots on campus. In actuality, assaults and offenses occurred less often in parking garages compared to other types of locations, such as outdoors on a sidewalk or street corner. Of all Clery incidents reported from 2007 to May 2013, just over a quarter of the incidents (twelve of forty-six total) occurred inside or near a parking garage or parking lot, while more than twice as many, 56 percent, occurred outdoors, including on a sidewalk, street corner, or outside of a campus building (see Appendix E).

There was also no pattern to the types of offenses that happened in parking garages. Reported offenses varied, including robberies, assaults, and sexual offenses,

such as sexual assault and indecent exposure. Seven of those twelve incidents (58%) took place during nighttime hours, when women seem to find parking garages most uncomfortable. On the other hand, of the offenses that were reported to have taken place somewhere other than a parking garage or lot, 71% happened at night. Therefore, while parking garages do pose a potential threat as evidenced by Clery-reportable offenses, they do not appear to be any more dangerous than other places on campus.

A combination of factors have shaped women's perceptions of parking garages as very unsafe, especially at night. A cold, dark, confined structure with few people but many places for an offender to hide is an environment that does not produce feelings of warmth or comfort by any means. Numerous stories and warnings of the danger of parking garages continue to perpetuate that reputation, and the offenses that do occur in parking garages seem to affect women more than any other reported offense that happens inside a structure.

Focus on the Intersectionality of Gender and Religion

One focus of this study was to explore the perceptions of safety specifically for Muslim women who wear a hijab, and comparing those experiences to women who do not wear a headscarf or other religious attire daily. Throughout the study, it became apparent that there is no “typical” Muslim experience, nor is there a “typical Muslim” on which to base findings. The Muslim women I interviewed ranged from local American-born Muslims, to international students from predominantly Muslim nations, to Americans who had converted to Islam during their adult life. I interviewed five women who currently wear a hijab, two women who used to wear a hijab but did not while I was conducting research, two Muslim women who said they have never worn a hijab, and one international student who said she was not a Muslim by religion, but wears a hijab in her home country, as per local practice.

The experiences and perceptions of safety of these Muslim women varied as much as their own stories. The environmental characteristics, social factors, and secondhand accounts mentioned previously did all contribute to the experiences Muslim women had, and shaped their perceptions of safe and unsafe areas. Throughout the interviews and analysis, however, many commonalities specific to Muslims arose within the intersecting identities of gender and religion.

Many participants recognized that they needed to be more cautious or more aware of their surroundings while in public space due to their gender alone. This was true of both Muslim and non-Muslim women, but came up in the interviews with Muslim

women more often. When asked if she felt safe in general on MU campus, one student who wears a hijab commented:

Generally pretty safe. I guess. I mean like as a woman, I guess Muslim or not Muslim, that aside, I don't always feel that safe, especially with things that have happened or also because rape culture is so prevalent on campus so often.

Several Muslims also described incidents in which they felt very uncomfortable in public space because of their religious beliefs, gender notwithstanding. Muslim students expressed discomfort in situations in which their religion and the religion of others could lead to confrontation. For instance, one Muslim student said she avoided going near the Speaker's Circle on campus because oftentimes there are Christian preachers proselytizing to students who walk by. She also described her apprehension when discussing religion in classes:

I anticipate the moment when the professor would mention Islam or would mention the Middle East or something like that because I know, like 100%, that people around me have misunderstood images and misconceptions about the whole religion. So that's why I'm like, oh boy here we start, when people start discussing stuff, and I'm like you don't know what you are talking about. You are just saying this from the media and it's totally wrong, that's not it. So this kind of puts pressure

on me, like, I need to get up and explain to them, but at the same time it's too big, it's too huge. I don't know if they understand.

Muslim women who were interviewed also specified places in which they felt comfortable and safe. Places on campus dedicated to inclusion, such as the International Center, Black Culture Center, Women's Center, and non-denominational campus chapels were described as being safe and welcoming. The Black Culture Center, AP Green Chapel located in Memorial Union, and the chapel in the University Hospital were specified by Muslim women as safe and convenient places to pray, which they do five times per day. Figure 23 shows a prayer rug in the hospital chapel, which one participant took a photo of to depict where she feels safe and comfortable.



Figure 21: A prayer rug in the hospital chapel

When analyzing geographic patterns of safe and unsafe areas, the aggregate maps for Muslim women differed greatly from the maps for non-Muslim women. Figure 24 shows the interpolation of safe and unsafe areas for all non-Muslim participants. In this map, there are large areas designated as unsafe, specifically the area west of Providence road and south of Interstate 70. There is also a large region designated as “very safe” in blue. However, there are very few areas designated as “very unsafe” in dark red.

The aggregate map for all Muslim women, shown in Figure 25, differs greatly. This map shows many specific regions, both in the MU campus and downtown area and within the wider city landscape, in which Muslim women feel very unsafe. Similar to the aggregate map for all participants, Worley Street is designated as very unsafe by Muslims. Also, the area near the Providence Road and Stadium Boulevard intersection, where the MU football and basketball stadiums are located, is perceived as unsafe. Apart from these particular unsafe neighborhoods, the majority of the city of Columbia is perceived as safe by Muslim women.

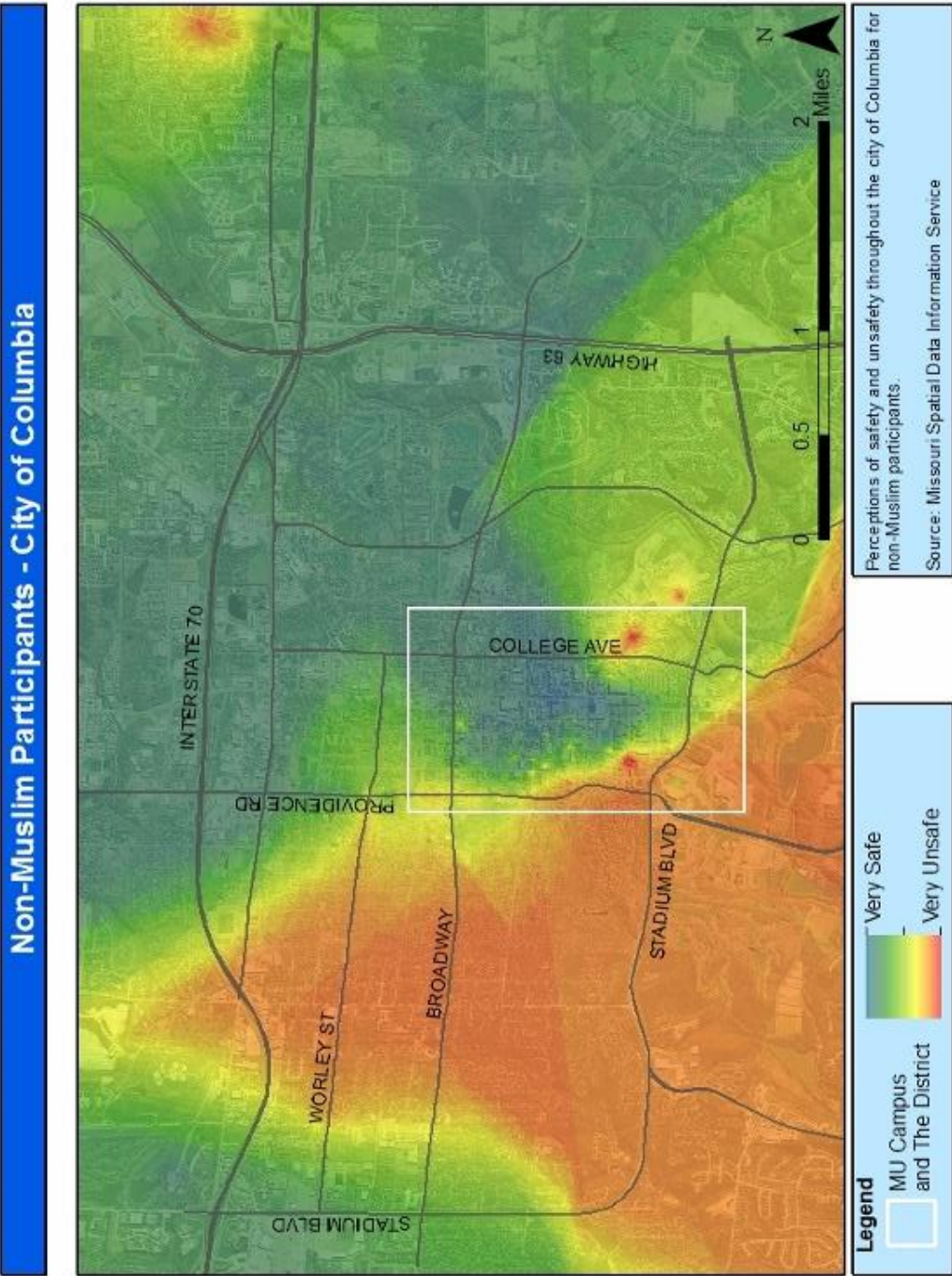


Figure 22: Aggregate map of safe and unsafe areas in Columbia for all non-Muslim participants

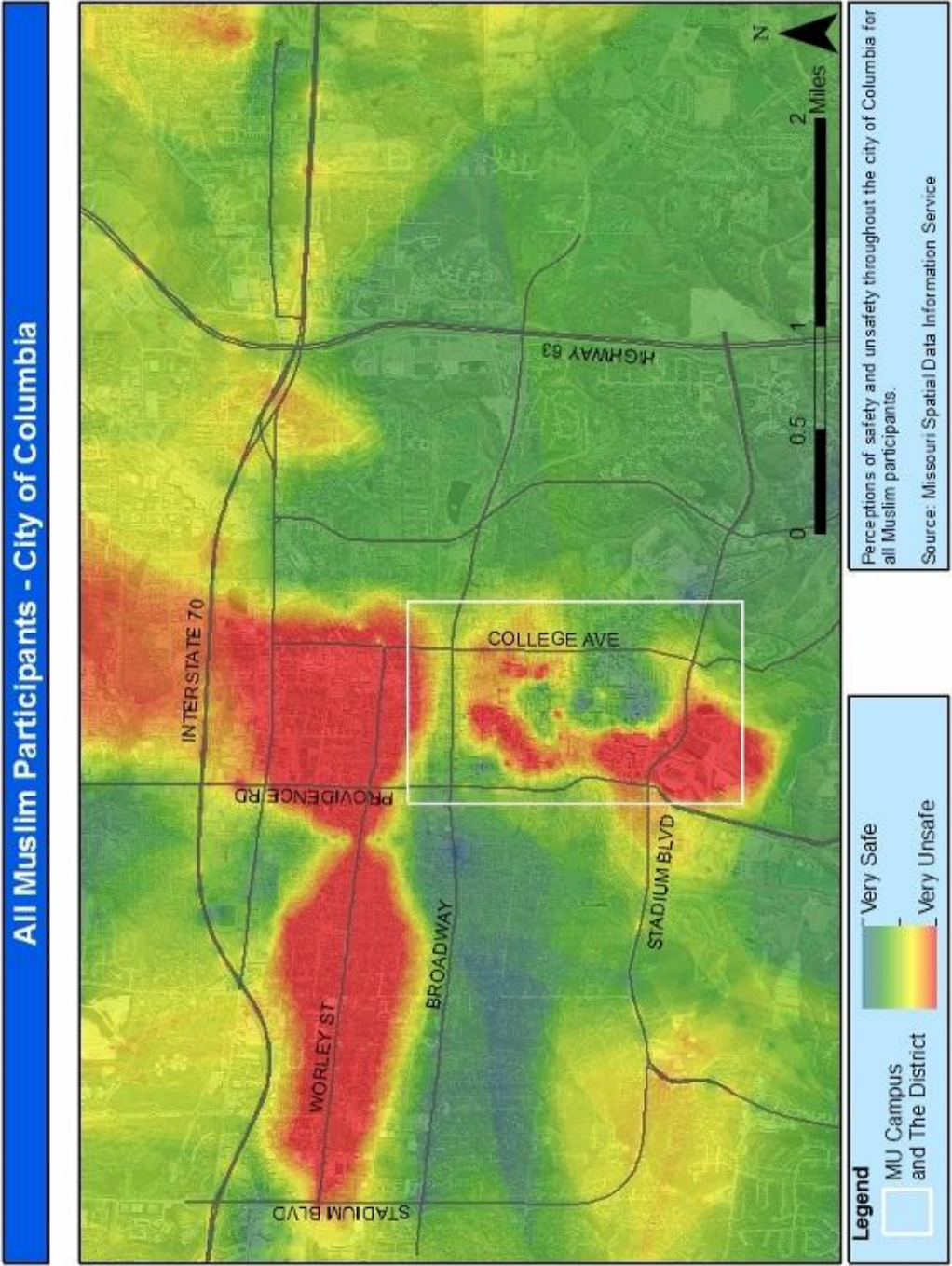


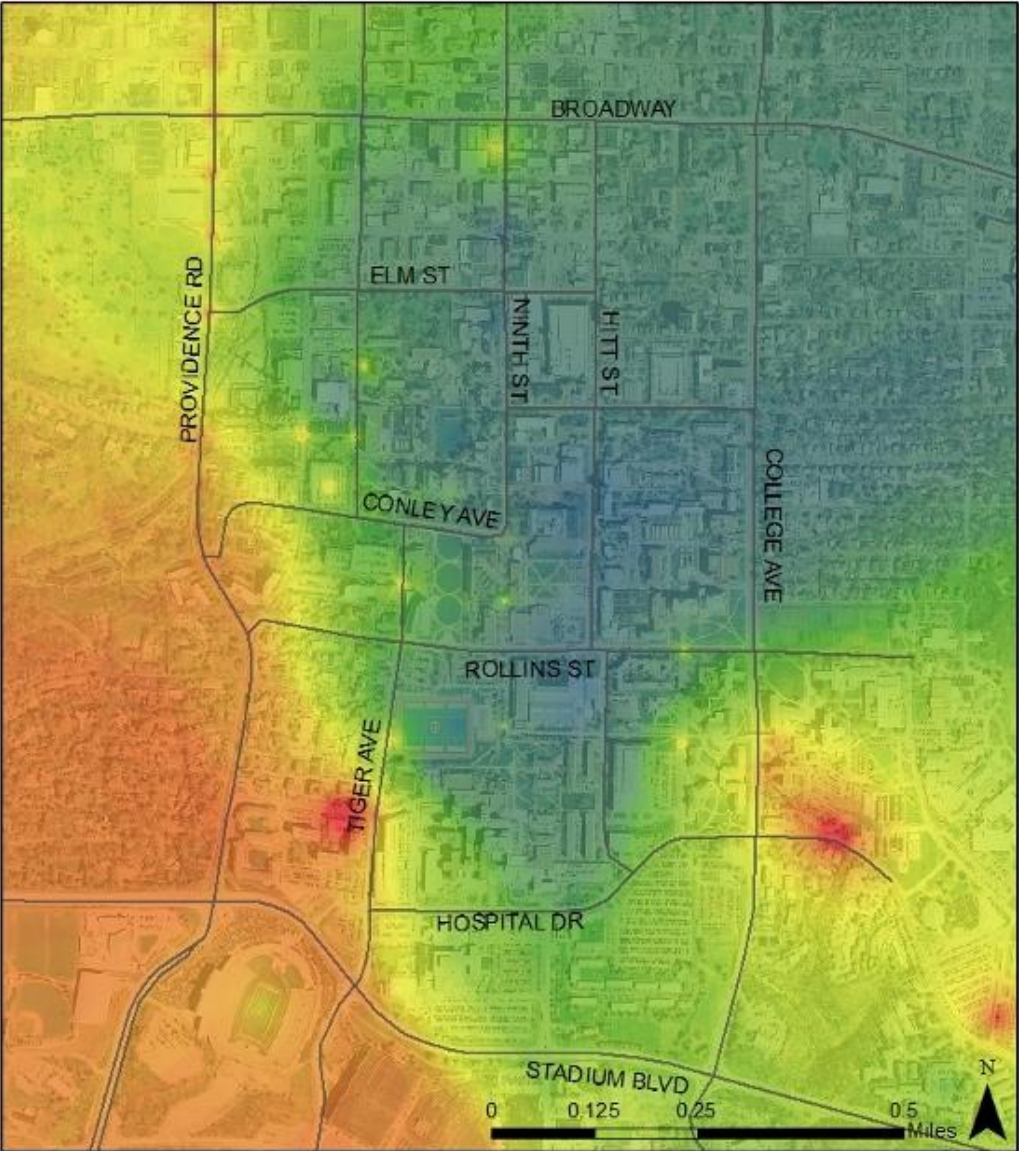
Figure 23: Aggregate map for all Muslim participants

When reviewing maps of only MU campus and The District, the differences in perceptions of safety become even more apparent. Figure 26 shows the perceived safety for non-Muslim participants, and Figure 27 for Muslim participants. Non-Muslim participants identified a large majority of campus and downtown as very safe (blue), and only three small and defined areas as very unsafe, in red. In contrast, the Muslim women's aggregate campus and downtown map shows a large proportion is very unsafe, including both small specific points, as well as general regions of campus. There are few areas of this map that are designated as "very safe," but still much of it is considered "safe" (in green).



Again we see that the southwest corner of campus, along Tiger Avenue and the area south of Stadium Boulevard, is considered very unsafe by Muslim women. One Muslim student who wears a hijab described her unease in this region of campus while completing the sketch map exercise:

I put Faurot Field as red, and Mizzou Arena as red (unsafe). I go to a few games a year, and there aren't any incidents, but I just always have a feeling of being out of place at those events, even if I am with a bunch of friends just having a fun time. I really enjoy football and basketball, but just like the looks I get and a general feeling of unwelcomeness. So that's why I put that as red.

Non-Muslim Participants - MU Campus & The District



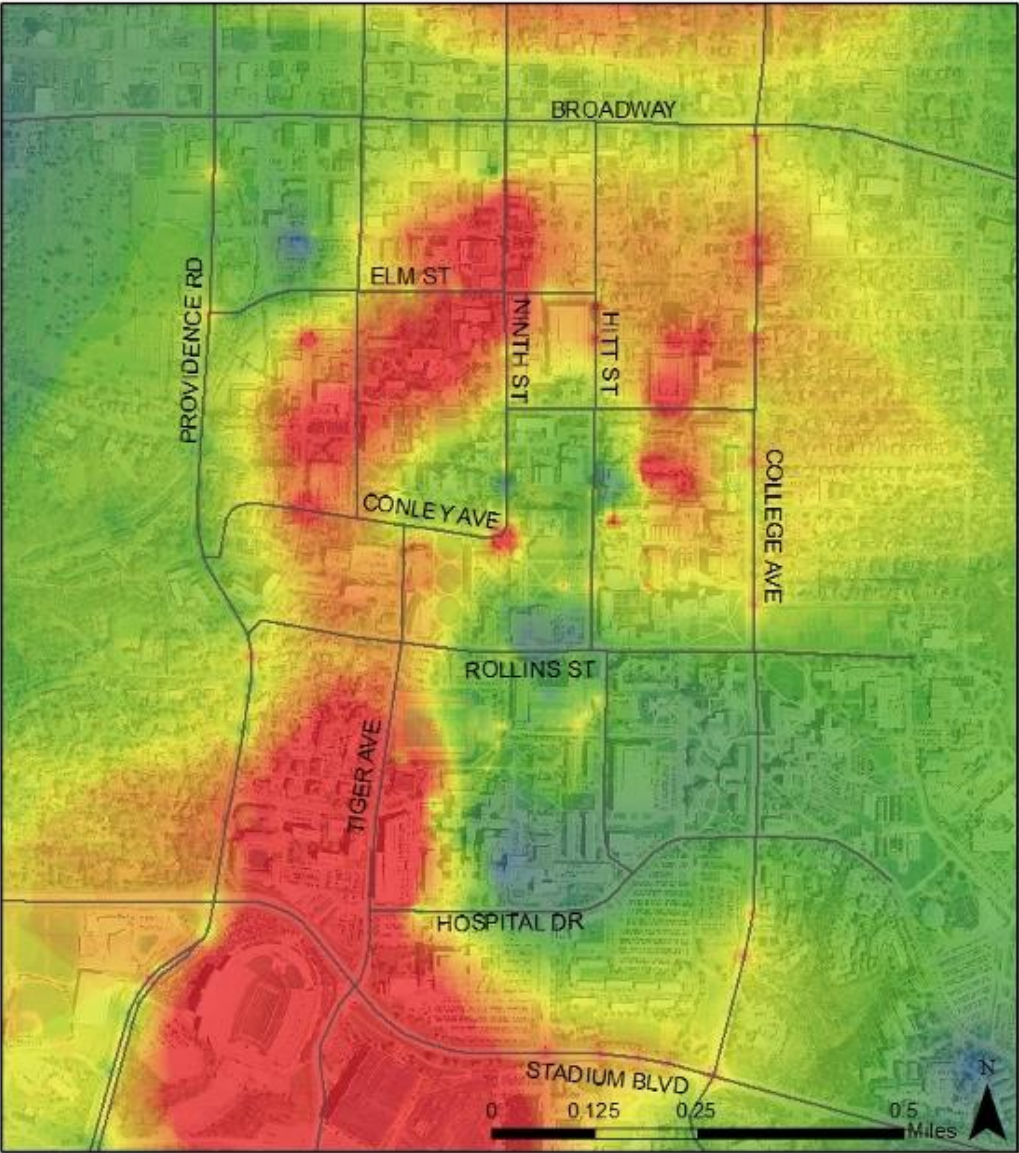
Legend

	Very Safe
	Very Unsafe



Perceptions of safe and unsafe areas throughout MU campus and The District for non-Muslim participants.
Source: Missouri Spatial Data Information Service

Figure 24: Campus and District map for all non-Muslim participants

All Muslim Participants - MU Campus & The District



Legend

	Very Safe
	Very Unsafe

Perceptions of safe and unsafe areas throughout MU campus and The District for all Muslim participants.

Source: Missouri Spatial Data Information Service

Figure 25: Campus and District map for all Muslim participants

All nine Muslim women, both those who wear or wore a hijab and those who do not, were asked if they felt that wearing a hijab influences their feelings in each place we discussed. The answers were split among participants. Six of the women said yes, they felt that wearing a hijab does or would affect their perceptions and feelings in public places. Possible effects of the hijab include feeling as though they stood out more in public, that they were more judged by others, and other people feeling uncomfortable or timid approaching a woman in a hijab. One Muslim student who wears a hijab explained times when she felt like she attracted more attention:

When I'm doing something that might to some people not fit their stereotype of a Muslim woman. Like, I don't know, I guess the first time I went to a Feminist Student Union meeting, you know. Like when I didn't really know a whole lot of the people there. Or if I'm at an event that most people don't expect someone who is wearing a hijab to be at, then I'm a little bit more aware of it.

The Muslim women who used to wear a hijab but currently do not also expressed a difference in their experiences with and without a hijab. These women emphasized that others were uncomfortable and didn't know how to act around them when they wore a hijab. One international student discussed her experiences with and without a hijab:

It feels awkward, like they don't know if it's okay to shake hands with me, and what subjects should we talk about or anything. But right now, (without a hijab) they don't look like, I'm not wearing something that

says what religion I am, which is good because people can approach me before judging where I am from... Then they feel as though they are okay with asking questions, which is great because I want them to know more. When I was covered they didn't want to ask, they felt like, I don't know, maybe I would just get mad or I don't want to talk about it or something.

Three Muslim women said that they didn't think wearing a hijab would change their experiences or how others interacted with them. One international student who has not worn a hijab in the U.S. based her answer on the experiences of her mother, who does wear a hijab and visited her in Columbia. She said everyone was very welcoming, and that it was a "positive experience." An American woman who converted to Islam many years ago compared her experiences before and after becoming Muslim, and said it did not affect her perceptions:

No, I don't feel Muslim unless I'm doing something that concerns me at the mosque...because I do feel very comfortable, but I don't know that it has changed that much unless I'm walking somewhere and someone looks at me funny for wearing a hijab. I don't feel Muslim at all. I'm just walking around. And I think that's why, you know right after 9/11 everyone was saying, "Oh we got, you know, these rude comments to us" or whatever. Other Muslim women had told me that. I never did, and I think, because I don't feel like I'm any different, I feel like I did 17 years ago. And I don't think I act any different.

Although there were varying answers to the question of “does a hijab affect your perceptions,” the aggregate maps for Muslim women who wear and don’t wear a hijab are much more conclusive. Figure 28, the aggregate city map for Muslim women who do not wear a hijab, shows once again the Worley Street-Rogers Street neighborhood as very unsafe. Much of the rest of the city, including the MU campus-District neighborhood, is designated as safe to very safe.

The aggregate city map for Muslim women who wore a hijab at the time of the interviews is shown in Figure 29. This map is quite different in that the unsafe areas are focused solely on the MU campus and downtown “District” areas. These sections of the city are designed for more pedestrian traffic than most of the rest of the city, and residents are encouraged to walk and bike in this area. The pedestrian nature of this area creates more opportunities for interpersonal interactions, especially with strangers. On this map, the majority of the city outside of MU campus and The District is designated as safe to very safe, with the exception of the Columbia Mall area to the west of Stadium Boulevard, which is considered neutral.

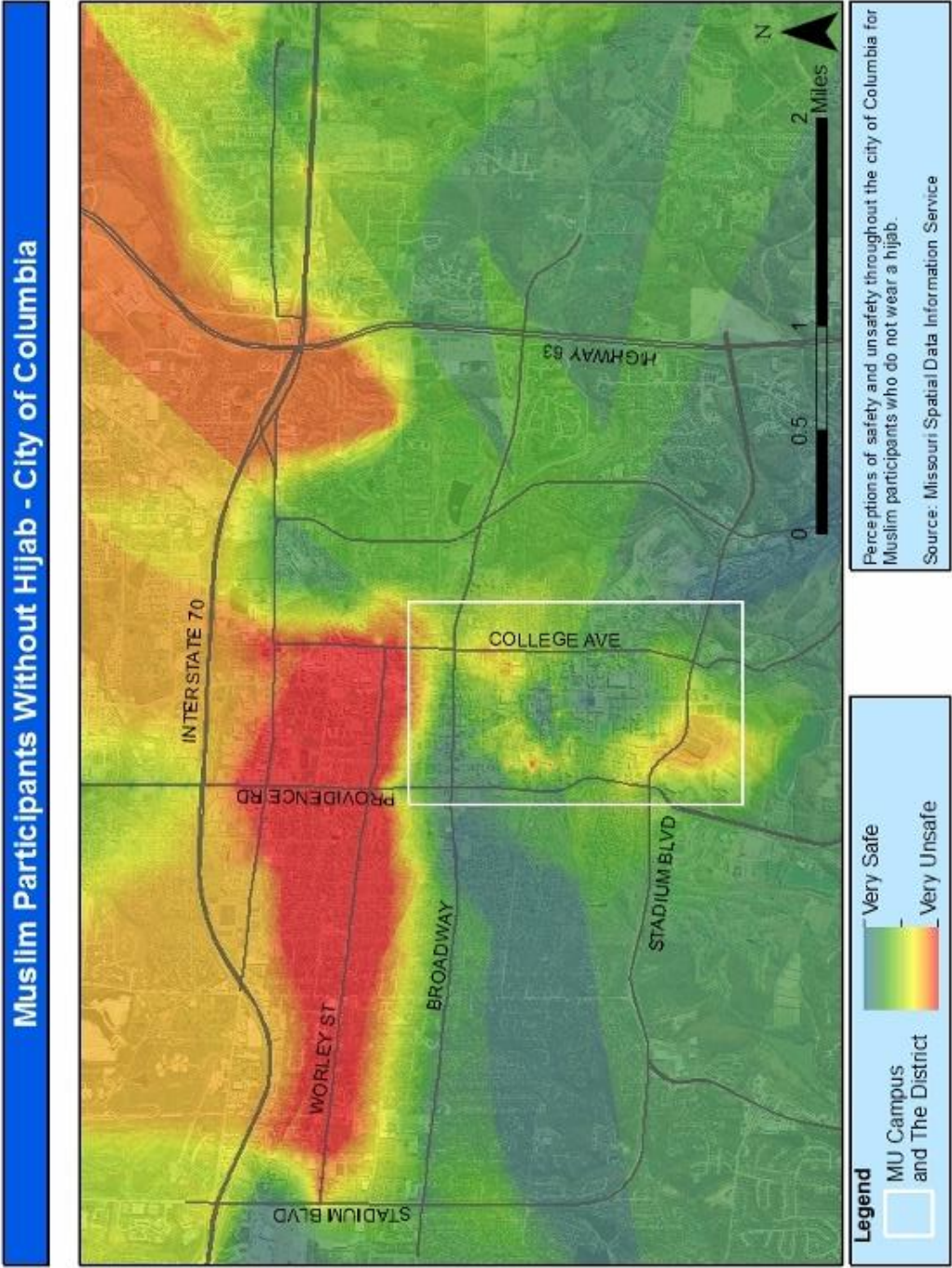


Figure 26: Aggregate city map for Muslim women who do not wear a hijab

Muslim Participants With Hijab - City of Columbia

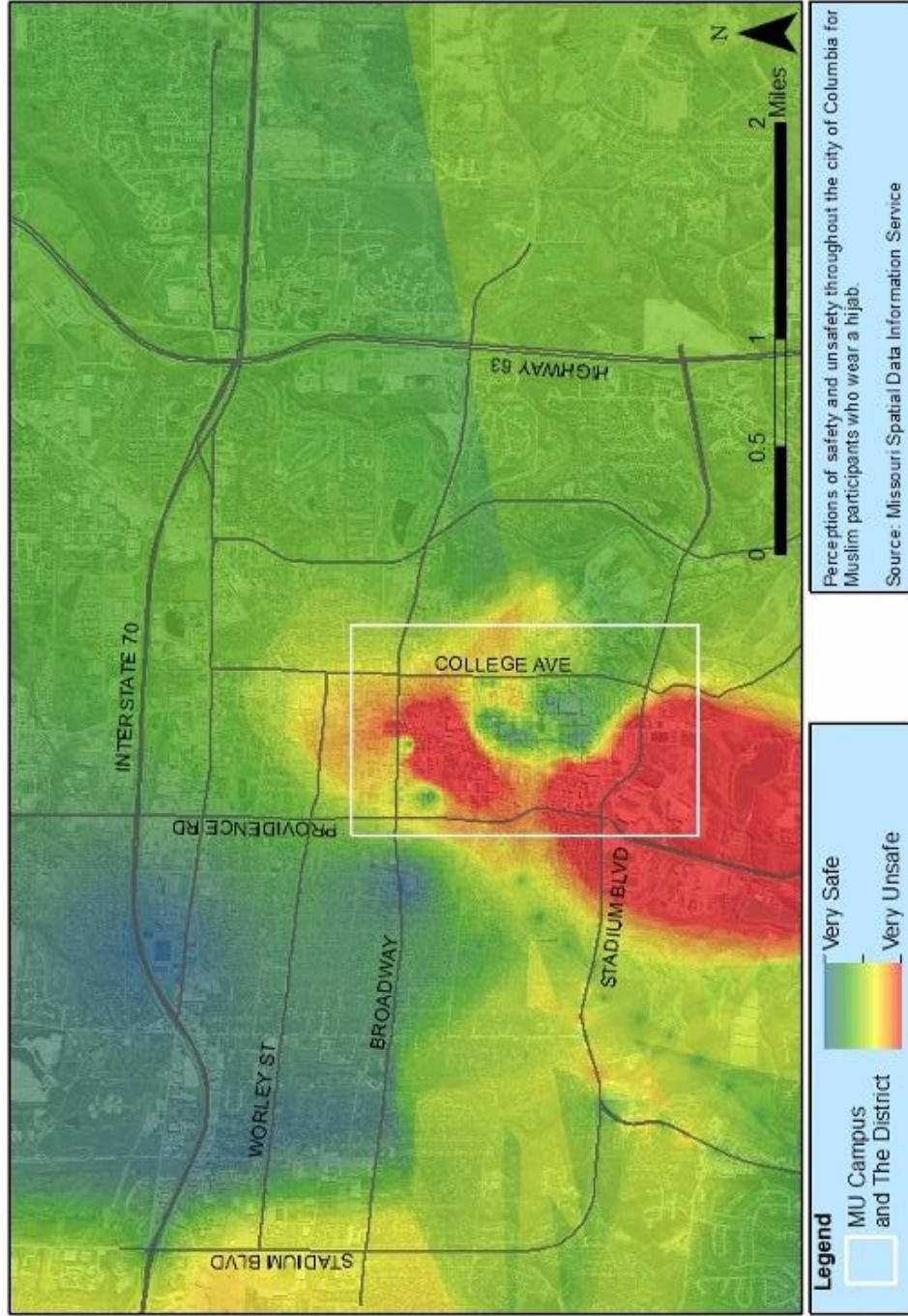


Figure 27: Aggregate city map for Muslim women who wear a hijab

The difference in perceived safety is even more apparent when the focus is on the MU campus and The District neighborhoods only. Figure 30 and Figure 31 compare the areas perceived as safe and unsafe by Muslim women who do not wear a hijab and those who do, respectively. The first map shows only three small points designated as very unsafe, which is near the MU power plant, which was described as unsafe by several women. A large majority of the map is considered safe to very safe. The second map of perceptions with a hijab shows close to half of the map area as very unsafe in red. These unsafe regions are larger and encompass various types of locations, including campus buildings, parks, residences, and businesses.

Again, these maps are not holistic depictions of perceived safe and unsafe areas since they do not allow for differentiation based on time of day, seasons, or weather, or if the women are alone or with others. These maps are, however, a starting point from which to begin a discussion of the differences in perceptions.

Muslim Participants without Hijab - MU Campus & The District

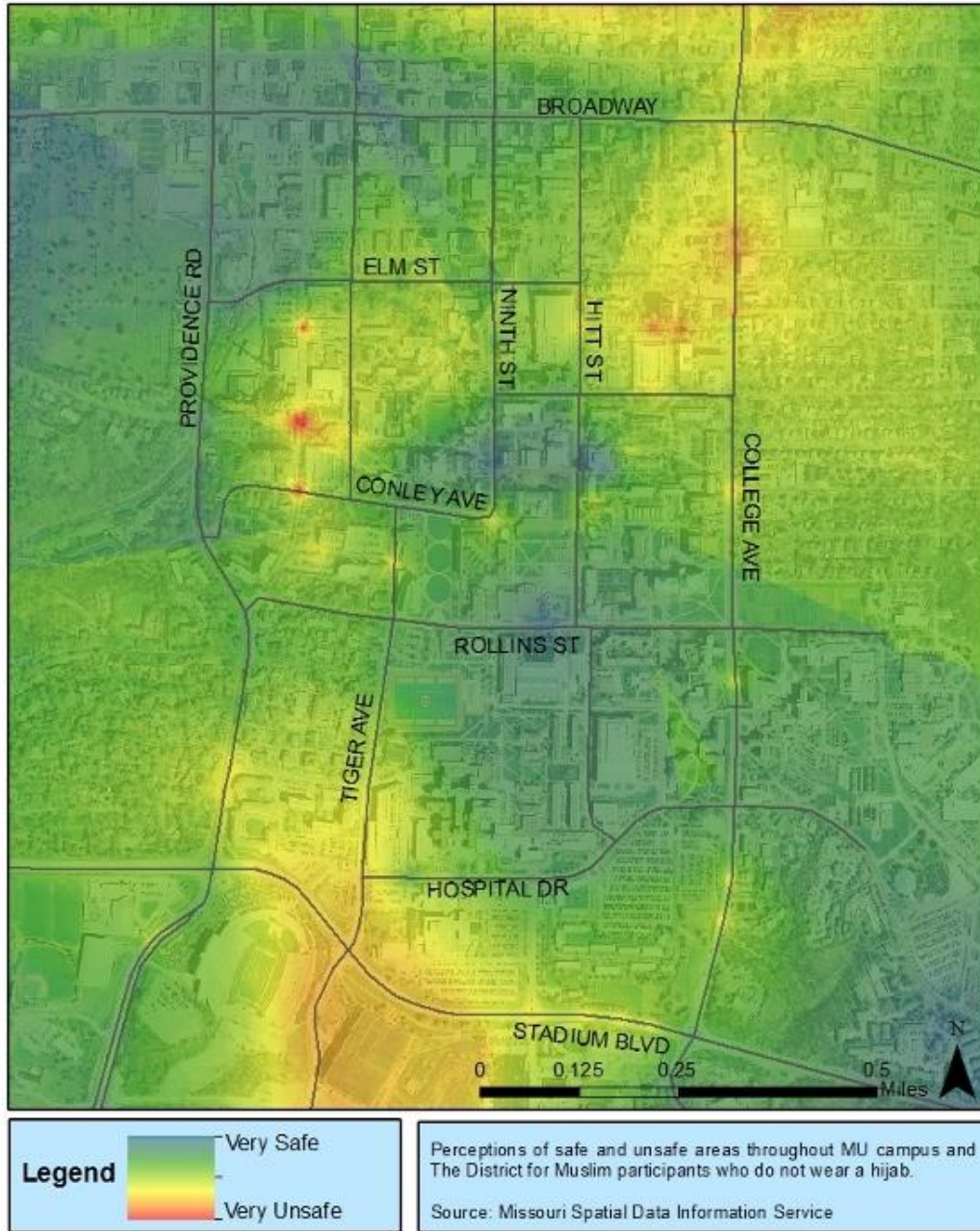
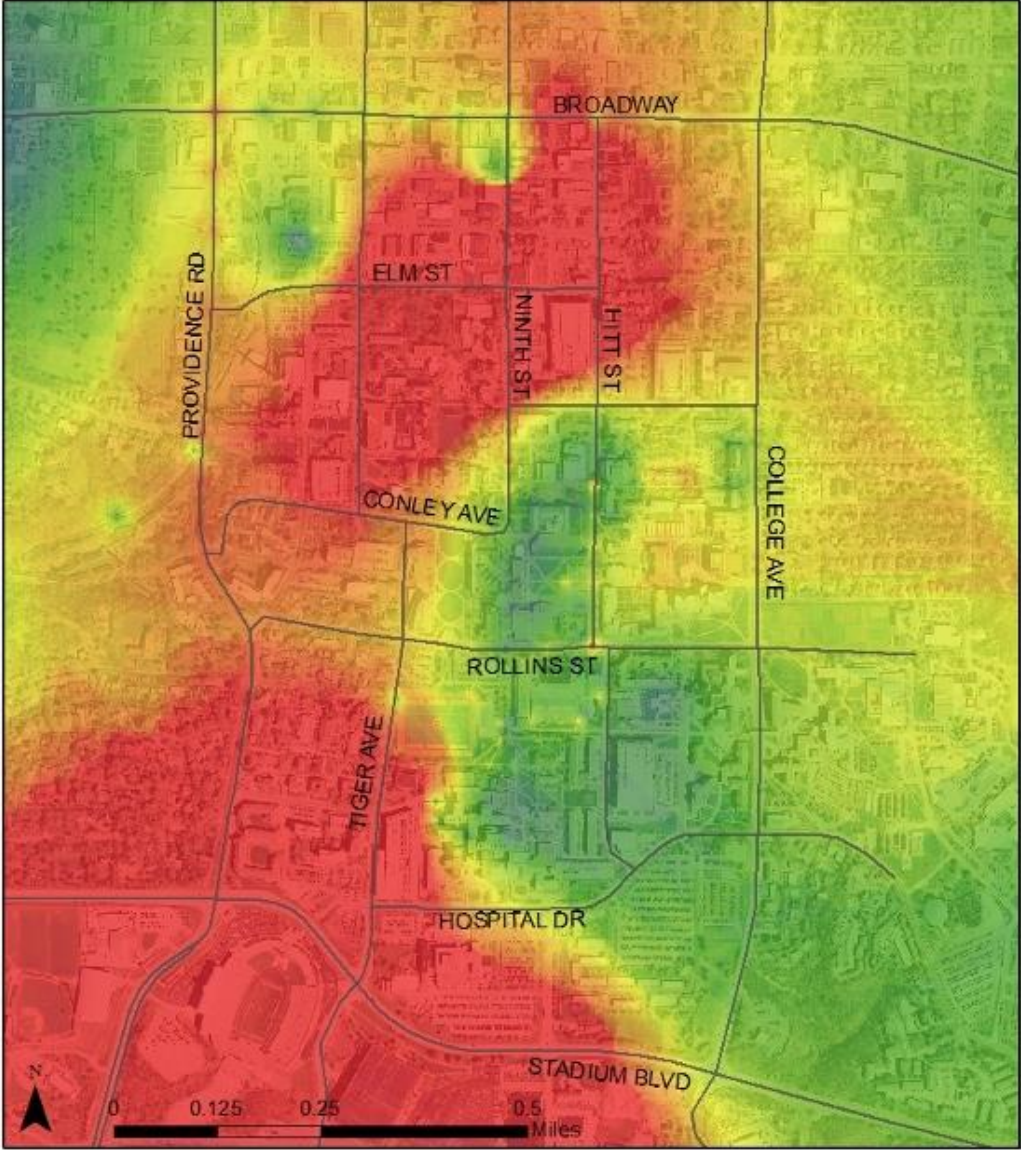


Figure 28: Aggregate campus and downtown map for Muslim participants who do not wear a hijab

Muslim Participants with Hijab - MU Campus & The District



Legend

- Very Safe
- Very Unsafe

Perceptions of safety and unsafety throughout MU Campus and The District for Muslim participants who wear a hijab.
Source: Missouri Spatial Data Information Service

Figure 29: Aggregate campus and downtown map for Muslim participants who wear a hijab

In addition to the prominent geographic trends expressed in Muslim women's sketch maps, many of the stories they shared in interviews support the proposal that wearing a hijab does affect perceived safety and encounters with others. Even some of the women who said wearing a hijab would not affect one's perceptions still described experiences in which they were treated differently or felt different in public due to their religious identity.

When describing the environmental factors that affected their perceptions of safety, and when discussing secondhand information, there was no difference between Muslim women who wear a hijab and any other woman interviewed. Muslim women with hijabs felt safest with more people around, during the day, and in areas with few places for offenders to hide. They also feared parking garages to the same extent as other women.

The majority of negative experiences women with a hijab described were based on social contact related to national or racial discrimination and social incivilities, namely street harassment. This emphasis on social contact is logical since the physical environment, unlike the social environment, does not distinguish between women who are Muslim or some other religion.

A common theme that arose frequently with veiled Muslim women was presumption of national identity. Interestingly, all five of the participants who wore a hijab were American citizens, born and raised for the majority of their lives in the United States. Four of the five women said that they have had strangers make comments or ask questions based on the presumption that they are from a foreign country. All of these

women believed that the individuals were presuming that they were foreign because of the hijab. However, not all of these comments were made with ill intent, according to the women who received them. For instance, an American who wears a hijab explained how she deals with presumed national identity:

You know they are like, “So where are you from?” and I’m like, “Originally Kansas City, Missouri.” And they are like, Oh, and they kind of walk away. And I’m like, I know what they are thinking but it’s not true.

Other women did sense that these comments were verbalized in order to make them feel like outsiders. For instance, one hijab-wearing participant had a minor confrontation with a woman in a public building. The woman told this participant to “go back to Iraq,” which she said she “found funny, because we are not from there in any way, we don’t even have ancestors from there or anything.” Other comments on national identity were made perhaps with little or no ill intent, but were received as incredibly offensive because of the ignorance they revealed. One Muslim student told this story:

I was walking with a friend (downtown)...And a guy walks up to me, and it’s just the gentry that hangs out on Ninth Street. Someone walked up to me, and it was an older gentleman, and he’s like, “If you took that (the hijab) off and you were in your country, would they kill you?” And there are so many things that were just stupid about the sentence, like one, this is my country. Two, who do you think is going to kill me in

whatever fake country you are imagining? Number three, no, people don't do that in general. And I didn't know how to address him so I was just like, "No," and I continued walking. But that's the kind of thing that would be something I'm targeted or I'm more conspicuous for.

In addition to presumptions or even discrimination based on presumed national identity, some of the women also told of instances in which they felt they experienced racial discrimination. A student who wears a hijab described her feelings of being discriminated against in a subtle, but still disconcerting way:

On the bus, it's something really simple, but sometimes, a lot of times actually, I'll notice that people avoid sitting on the seat next to me. And it's something little but it's one of those things, like okay am I just being paranoid or is this something that is an actual pattern? But I have noticed that it's a little bit of a pattern. Just talking to other minorities in general, it's something that happens pretty often. And usually if someone does sit down next to me, they are another minority person. So yeah I guess it's like how people view me, if they are afraid to approach me just because of what I wear.

Social incivilities had a very large impact on perceived safety of the women interviewed, especially in the campus and downtown areas. The offending behavior which was unique to Muslim women who wear a hijab was street harassment. Several veiled participants described more than one incident in which they were harassed on the

street by a pedestrian or an individual in a vehicle. Street harassment was cited much less frequently for women who did not wear a hijab. Some of the incidents described included general harassment, such as a person yelling something indecipherable out a car window to the hijab-wearing woman on the sidewalk. Others were obvious attacks on the woman's religious identity based on the fact she was wearing a hijab. For instance, one woman told of two different occasions when people yelled nationally or religiously-pointed offenses at her, including "God bless America," and "Do you have a bomb under there?" These offenses based on national, racial, or religious identity were specific to Muslim women who wear a hijab, and are supported in similar studies (Franks 2000).

When asked to elaborate on how these offenses affect their perceptions of safety, these women would often downplay the effect the harassment had on their fear or safety. One woman said she recognizes that this type of harassment could happen anywhere at any time, so she tries not to worry about it, and to just ignore it. Another woman said she felt that these comments no longer affected her because of their great frequency. She explained:

So today is St. Patrick's Day, and I absolutely will not be going downtown because, I think it was last year or the year before, I was walking down the street with a friend. And I didn't notice it, I mean I noticed it and someone yelled something at me from out of a car. And I never think that much about it. But my friend, she's a law student who's Caucasian. She was so shocked. She was like, "Oh my gosh, did that just happen?" And because she was shocked, it kind of registered for

me that that's not a good or normal thing that should be happening to anyone, so it kind of made me think about how maybe regular, or how used to, or how much I phase out incidents like that. And for someone else who is not used to that it's much more jarring to them.

Even though these women said they just ignored the comments, or tried to “phase them out,” these offenses had a large enough impact on their feelings of safety and fear that they remembered the location, even the day of the year, in which they happened. The women often identified the area where the street harassment took place, and designated it as unsafe on their sketch map. Therefore, these verbal assaults and discriminatory comments do play a large role in shaping veiled Muslim women’s geographies of safety within Columbia.

The effect of street harassment, often referred to as stranger harassment or hassling, on women’s geographies of fear has been explored by other researchers as well. Kristen Day (1999) found that hassling and sexual remarks were powerful fear-provoking cues for college women. Another study found that sexual harassment from strangers, such as unwanted attention (catcalls, whistles, and similar behaviors), being followed by a stranger, or obscene phone calls, had a greater effect on levels of fear than nonstranger harassment, such as sexual harassment in the work place (MacMillan, Nierobisz, and Welsh 2000). Like these two examples, most other studies on street harassment focus on offenses that are focused on the gendered identity of women – in other words, sexual harassment. Also these and other studies argue that sexual harassment from strangers on the street reinforces the idea of male-dominated public space. Men who whistle or make

sexually-explicit remarks toward women are identifying those women as sexual objects to be surveyed and judged. This action brings women's sexual identity to the forefront of the public sphere, thus making them vulnerable to the public in ways that men are not (Kissling 1991; Fairchild and Rudman 2008).

It is now a common agreement that women are more fearful in public places than men, and most of those researchers point toward women's fear of sexual assault and rape as the cause of the disparity (Valentine 1989; Pain 2000; Rader and Cossman 2011). Even though a large majority of sexual offense take places in homes, and typically the offenders are known to the victims, women still have a greater fear of sexual assault in public places and by strangers (Valentine 1992). Many studies also suggest that because street harassment is often sexual in nature, women feel threatened by this offense because they associate this harassment with potential sexual assault or rape (Kissling 1991; Day 1999; Fairchild and Rudman 2008). Therefore, it is likely that street harassment is a predominant fear-provoking cue for women, and is upholding the disparity between men's and women's levels of fear in public space.

With these arguments in mind, it is interesting to find that Muslim women who wear a hijab experienced much less street harassment directed toward their gender, and much more street harassment focusing on their religious identity. Two women said they felt that they had never received sexual harassment while wearing the hijab. One of them said:

Actually I do feel somewhat protected by the way I look. Maybe it's a false protection, I don't know. But I feel like maybe guys are a little more standoffish because of that (the hijab).

A Muslim student discussed how she would feel different if she did not wear a hijab:

Yes, I would probably be less conspicuous, but on the flip side I wonder how much unwanted sexual harassment occurs to women walking on the street. I haven't experienced it but I'm sure that would be something else to contend with if I wasn't wearing a scarf and I was still a woman walking down the street.

Later, this same woman compared her experiences to other women she knows who do not wear a hijab but do experience sexual harassment frequently. Unlike her friends, she said she had “never been catcalled in her life.” Even for women who had experienced sexual harassment at some point, they agreed that the primary focus of the harassment they experienced was their religion or race, not their gender.

As discussed above, the Islamic custom of a woman covering her body and hair is said to be a way of protecting the woman from the male gaze. The aim of wearing a hijab is to allow a woman to enter the public domain and still remain modest and secure, without feeling sexualized (Franks 2000). If this is the goal of the hijab, and if the views of the veiled women I interviewed are widely held by other American Muslims who wear a hijab or other religious covering, then the hijab is both effective and ineffective. The gendered identities of women who wear a hijab are not a primary focus of men in the

public places they frequent. Therefore, women's bodies are in that way being protected from the male gaze. However, at the same time, the hijab attracts more attention to these women, identifying them as a "religious other," and exposing them to religious and racial discrimination. If sexual harassment does have a great influence on women's fear in public space, then religious harassment appears to have just as great of an effect based on the significant disparity in the veiled and unveiled women's maps (Figure 30 and Figure 31).

Even though this study is an exploratory look at the experiences of Muslim women who wear hijabs, the findings are a significant first step in discovering the effect of all types of street harassment on women of various racial, ethnic, and religious identities. This study also provides a vital voice to those women who are frequently subjected to street harassment and discrimination. These jarring offenses are simply due to the scarf they wear over their heads, and to the negative images that are often associated with the hijab and with Islam as a whole.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The findings of this exploratory study support many previous findings in the field of geographies of fear and women's fear of crime. The participants' perceptions of safety were highly influenced by environmental factors, especially those which affected the aspects of prospect, refuge or concealment, and escape. This conclusion supports the theories put forth by Appleton (1975) and Fisher and Nasar (1992). Areas perceived as safe or unsafe were also significantly shaped by social contact. Isolated areas with few other people present, and areas associated with social incivilities, like drinking, drug use, and street harassment, are considered unsafe and avoided. The women's geographies of fear were often based more on secondhand information than personal experience. This also supports previous findings by Valentine (1992).

Geographies of fear and safety differed for Muslim and non-Muslim women, as well as for women who did and did not wear a hijab. Perceived safe and unsafe areas were most unique for Muslim women who wear a hijab. Their perceptions were influenced greatly by the discrimination directed toward their nationality, race, or religion, as well as the frequency and intensity of street harassment. The experiences of women who wear a hijab were unique in that they described experiencing less sexual harassment than their peers without a hijab, but much more religiously-focused harassment, and more street harassment overall.

With further research, these findings on Muslim women and the differences within that population have many potential implications, and may provide significant

insight into the intersectionality of gender and religion. To clarify these findings, additional studies, both qualitative and quantitative, should be conducted involving both Muslim and non-Muslim women, especially the “majority” population of white Christian women, to provide context to the population-specific results. Also, there is much left to be learned about the effects that nonsexual street harassment has on women’s perceived safety. Furthermore, since this study was unique in that all of the participants who wore a hijab at the time of the study were American, more research is needed to determine if foreign-born Muslim women and international students who wear a hijab have similar experiences to these American Muslim women.

Feminist geography does not solely focus on the experiences of those considered “others,” outside of the majority and oppressed by more powerful groups. Feminist geography also seeks to correct these injustices. In the spirit of feminist theory’s fight for justice, it is important that we also analyze the findings in relation to the inequalities they illustrate and seek social change.

These findings should be viewed by the University of Missouri campus administrators and the City of Columbia officials as a serious concern relating to the campus and community climate. Both campus and The District neighborhood aim to be places of inclusion and safety for the members of its communities. As these findings show, though, not all members feel safe or welcomed in these areas. Generalized perceptions of safety could be improved through changes to the physical environment, such as upgrading lighting or general structure enhancements to parking garages. Although secondhand accounts of fear and crime are more difficult to assess and are

usually self-perpetuating, campus administrators should critically evaluate the content, method of delivery, and impact, both positive and negative, of e-mailed Clery Reports.

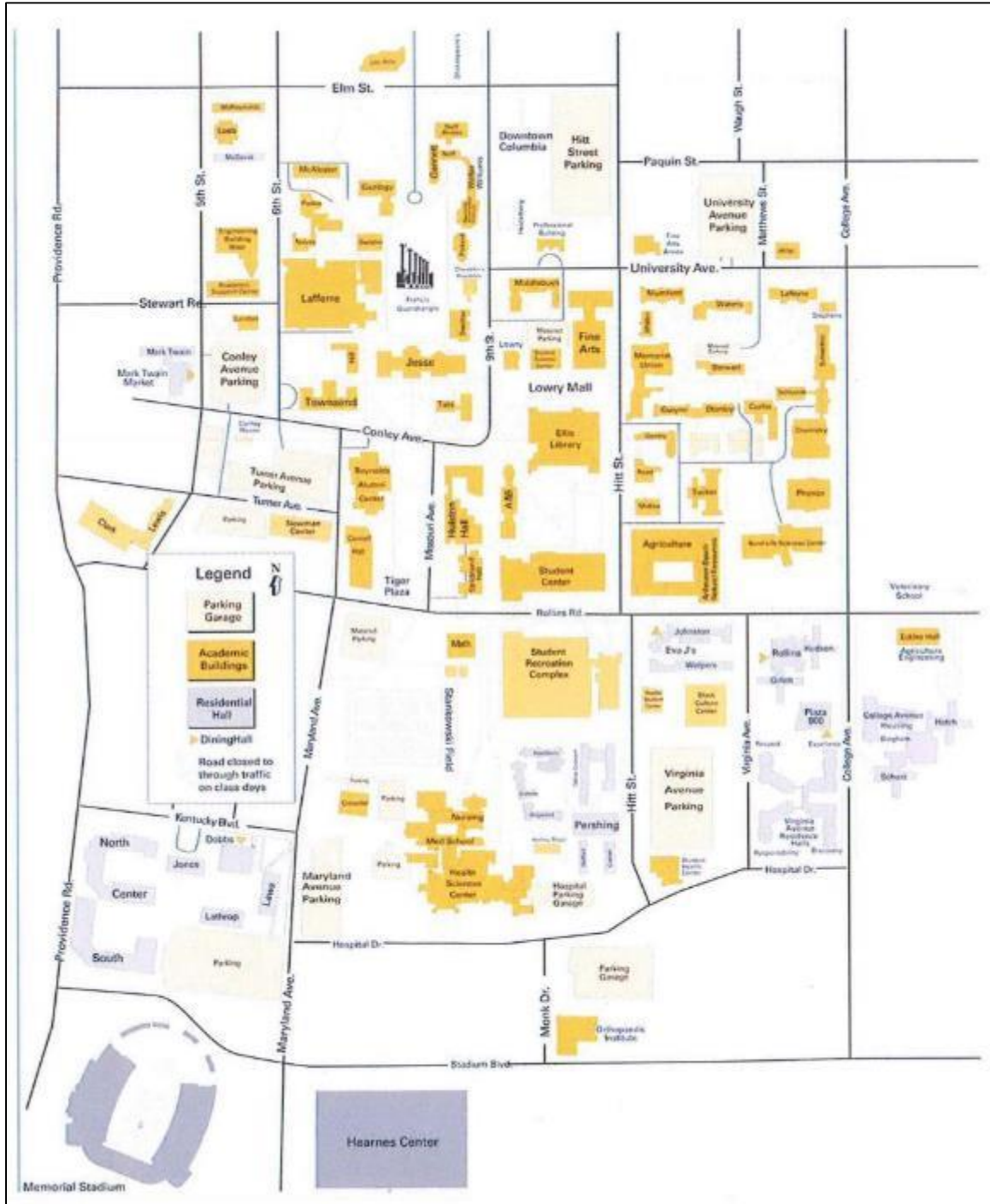
Moreover, many large sections of the MU campus appear to be heavily dominated by specific social sectors, thus excluding many other student populations. For instance, it is apparent from the maps of perceived safety in this study that the southwest corner of campus, which contains the Faurot Field football stadium and “Greek town” neighborhood, is perceived to be unsafe by many college women, especially Muslim women. These areas are often felt to be spaces of white male dominance, and are associated with public drinking and other unsafe social incivilities. Campus administrators have a duty to create spaces of inclusion, and they should do more to ensure that these areas in particular are safe and welcoming social environments for all students and MU community members.

Among of the factors affecting perceptions of safety, social contact is the factor that we as part of society have the greatest capacity to alter. Street harassment affects all individuals, both men and women, who enter the public sphere, and it creates a hostile and oppressive environment. The MU campus climate and the social climate of The District neighborhood is negatively affected by street harassment every day. A greater awareness of the harmful social and emotional effects of street harassment may begin to reduce this social incivility and change the perceptions of safety held by minorities and women. When discussing crime and safety in cities and neighborhoods, educating and warning potential victims is often the first response of authorities. In reality, though, education and awareness must be directed toward the offenders, not the victims, if we

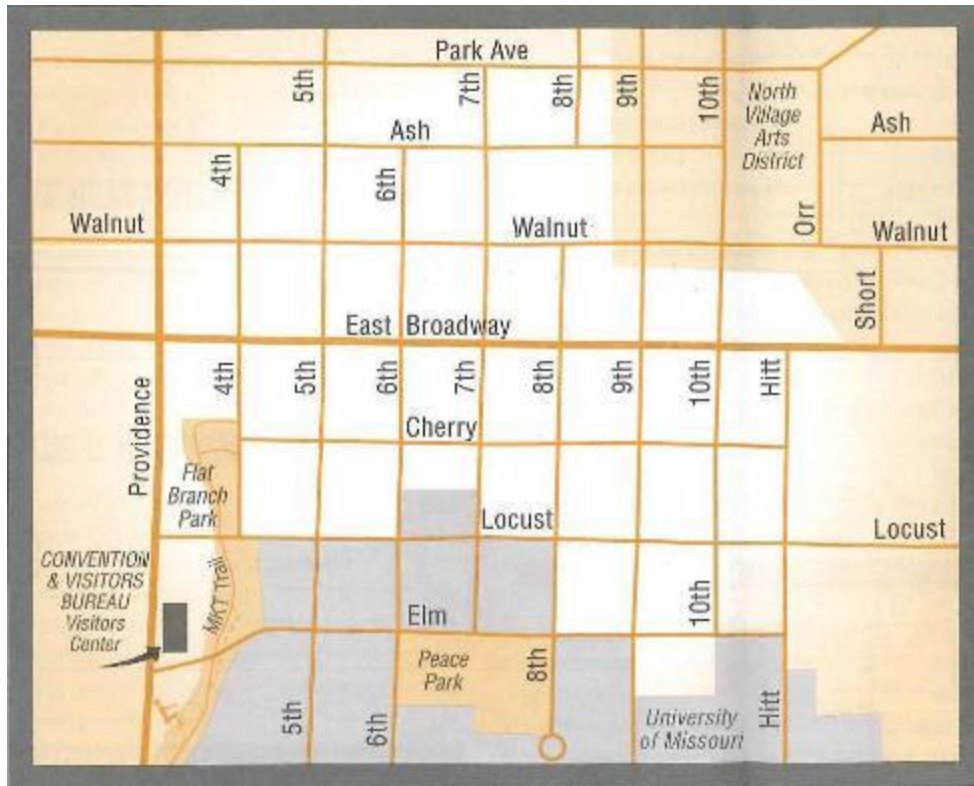
wish to create true social change. This is also the case with street harassment. By educating those who harass, those who allow the harassment to happen, and those who hold the power in public space, we can begin to change the social power dynamics, thus making women both feel safer and be safer.

Appendix A: Base Maps Utilized

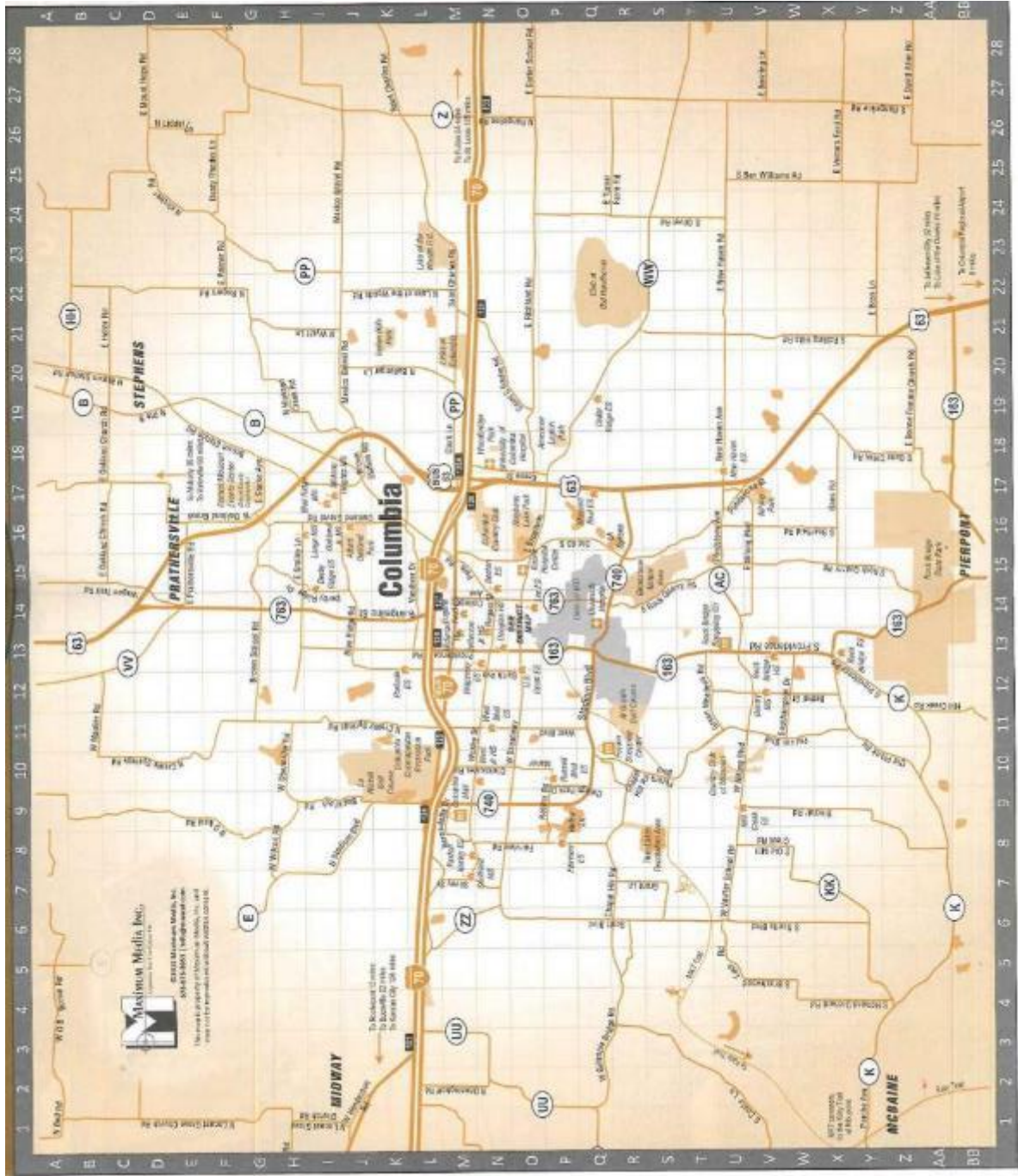
University of Missouri – Columbia Campus Map



“The District” – Downtown Columbia Map



City of Columbia, Missouri Map



Appendix B: Participant Survey

Participant Survey

Thank you for volunteering for this research project. Your help is greatly appreciated!
To begin the study, please complete this short questionnaire.

Name: _____

What is the best way to reach you? Email Phone _____

Age Group: 18-24 25-30 31-40 41-50 50+

Are you an MU Student? YES NO

 If yes, what level? GRADUATE UNDERGRADUATE

Do you work in Columbia? YES NO

Country of Citizenship: _____ Country of Birth: _____

Years living in Columbia: _____

Do you wear a *hijab* or other religious clothing when in public? Feel free to use the space provided below for further explanation.

YES NO SOMETIMES N/A (I am not Muslim)

Appendix C: Mapping Exercise Instructions

Mapping Exercise

I have provided you with a map of the city of Columbia and the University of Missouri campus. Using these maps, please draw a line to track your daily activities within the city and on campus. Think about how the places you go each day make you feel. Mark places on your daily path with colors depending on how you feel in each place:

- Green=comfortable/safe
- Yellow=Unsure/Neutral
- Red=Uncomfortable/unsafe

If you have trouble deciding how to color a place, mark it with a circle with an X through it ⊗ and we will discuss it more when we meet next time.

You may complete this activity now, and we will then discuss it. If you have questions, you may reach me by phone or e-mail.

Appendix D: Photography Exercise Instructions

Photography Exercise

I will provide you with a disposable camera. You may use your own camera if you wish. With this camera, please take at least one picture to answer each of the following questions. If you cannot think of a place for one of the questions, that is fine. If you do not feel comfortable going to a place that makes you feel unsafe, you do not have to go to that place. Please remember which places you did not wish to visit so we can discuss them during the follow-up interview. You may also take pictures of other places of significance to you.

- Where do you feel safe or comfortable?
- Where do you feel unsafe or uncomfortable?
- Are there places you must go to regularly, but do not like to visit?
- Where do you spend most of your time outside of your home?
- What is your favorite place in Columbia?
- Are there any other places you would like to show?

Please try to take at least 10 photographs. I will pick up the disposable cameras within the next week so that the pictures can be developed, and we will discuss the photos you have taken and the reasons these places are significant to you at our next interview. The photos that you take may be used in a public exhibit at the end of the research study. You are free to request any or all of your photos not to be used in the exhibit.

I will pick up the disposable camera on _____ at _____ am/pm, from _____ (location). If you wish to change this time, date, or location, please contact me at least 2 hours prior to the scheduled camera pick-up time.

Our next follow-up interview will take place on _____ at _____ am/pm, in _____ (location). If you wish to change this time, date, or location, please contact me at least 2 hours prior to the scheduled meeting time. You may reach me by phone or e-mail.

Appendix E: University of Missouri Clery Releases

MU Clery Releases 2007-May 2013				
Date	Time	Location	Location Type	Type
2007				
3/10/2007	3:49am	Virginia Ave Garage	Parking Garage/Lot	Sex offense
6/19/2007	11:00pm	College Ave, Physics Building	Outdoors	Assault
10/12/2007	9:00pm	Fifth and Elm St	Outdoors	Unwanted Sexual Advance
10/15/2007	2:45am	Health Science Center	Campus Building	Strong-Armed Robbery
2008				
2/24/2008	2:30am	Near Stafford Hall	Outdoors	Robbery and Assault
4/20/2008	3:00am	Stankowski Field	Outdoors	Robbery
9/17/2008	12:10am	EBE and Switzler Hall	Outdoors	Robbery and Assault
10/12/2008	1:15am	Francis Quadrangle	Outdoors	Robbery and Assault
12/3/2008	9:21pm	Fifth and Rollins	Outdoors	Armed Robbery
2009				
6/13/2009	10:00pm	Hitt St Parking Garage	Parking Garage/Lot	Robbery and Assault
9/28/2009	2:36am	Parking Lot HSC1 North	Parking Garage/Lot	Robbery
2010				
2/2/2010	Afternoon	24 E. Stewart Rd	Residence	Rape
2/18/2010	9:00pm	Near Pickard Hall	Outdoors	Assault
3/7/2010	2:44am	Conley Ave Garage	Parking Garage/Lot	Armed Robbery
7/31/2010	2:20am	University Ave and Hitt St	Outdoors	Assault
8/26/2010	9:45am	Providence and Kentucky Blvd	Outdoors	Bullet holes in bus
2011				
2/1/2011	2:00am	Rollins St and East Campus Dr	Outdoors	Armed Robbery
2/2/2011	12:30am	Ninth St and Conley Ave	Outdoors	Strong-Armed Robbery
3/1/2011	4:30am	Near Laws Residence Hall	Outdoors	Rape and assault
3/15/2011	2:00am	1109 Paquin St	Outdoors	Robbery
3/18/2011	2:44am	Stankowski Field	Outdoors	Indecent Exposure
3/20/2011	4:40pm	Hitt St and Paquin	Outdoors	Indecent Exposure
4/29/2011	1:35am	Campus Lodge Apartments	Parking Garage/Lot	Assault
7/15/2011	1:50pm	Ellis Library	Campus Building	Sexual Misconduct
10/10/2011	3:30am	Ellis Library	Campus Building	Fire
10/16/2011	2:10am	Natural Resources Building	Outdoors	Strong-Armed Robbery
2012				
2/9/2012	2:07am	Near Memorial Union	Outdoors	Robbery
2/26/2012	1:30am	904 Elm St	Outdoors	Robbery
3/9/2012	3:50pm	SG-4 Parking Lot	Parking Garage/Lot	Sexual Assault
5/9/2012	10:45am	Schurz Hall	Campus Building	Sexual Misconduct
6/2/2012	3:46pm	University Ave Garage	Parking Garage/Lot	Sexual Misconduct
8/8/2012	1:42am	1500 Block of University Ave	Outdoors	Assault
8/19/2012	11:30pm	College Ave and Rollins St	Outdoors	Assault
8/25/2012	1:13am	RC18 Parking Lot (near Bengals)	Parking Garage/Lot	Assault
10/1/2012	10:00pm	Virginia Ave Garage	Parking Garage/Lot	Sexual Assault
9/29/2012	2:30am	Stankowski Field near Med School	Outdoors	Robbery
10/17/2012	6:40am	812 N Keene St	Outdoors	Assault
10/24/2012	9:35am	Speaker's Circle	Outdoors	Assault
10/25/2012	4:56pm	Hitt St Garage	Parking Garage/Lot	Assault
12/11/2012	12:07pm	812 Keene St	Parking Garage/Lot	Armed Robbery
12/12/2012	8:16pm	260 Tenth St	Residence	Home Invasion Robbery
2013				
4/3/2013	5:20pm	Lewis and Clark Hall	Parking Garage/Lot	Indecent Exposure
4/6/2013	7:35am	900 Curtis Ave	Outdoors	Sexual Assault
4/19/2013	1:35am	College Ave and Anthony St	Outdoors	Sexual Assault
5/13/2013	10:59am	1111 Hamilton Way	Residence	Home Invasion Robbery
5/23/2013	11:38am	University Hospital	Campus Building	Assault

Table 2: MU Clery Releases, 2007-May 2013
Source: University of Missouri Police Department 2014

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