

# SEXUAL HARASSMENT OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC AREAS IN ISTANBUL

Thesis submitted to

Institute of Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Masters of Arts

in

Sociology

by

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January 2013

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*To Prof. Dr. Allen SCARBORO,  
to Laura, Jess, and my Mom&Dad*

## APPROVAL PAGE

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## **ABSTRACT**

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### **SEXUAL HARASSMENT OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC AREAS IN ISTANBUL**

This work examines sexual harassment of women in public areas in Istanbul. It draws on leading feminist and sociological work to investigate public harassment. Sexual harassment in public places, or street harassment consists of but is not limited to leering at, making sexually explicit comments to, pinching or grabbing parts of the body, exhibitionism towards, and rape of others. Street harassment is usually performed by men and is aimed at women who are strangers to those men in public spaces - buses, streets, markets, etc. The second part of the paper presents data drawn from survey with 121 women from diverse social and national backgrounds conducted at three universities in Istanbul and on data from female respondents' completion of a questionnaire on their experiences during a journey in Istanbul public spaces. My findings illuminate variations in the types of street harassment as well as some strategies women adopt in order to avoid being harassed in public and actions they sometimes take against their harassers.

**Key words:**

Street Harassment, Gendered Space, Sexual Harassment, Public Harassment, Feminism, Gender-Based Violence, Sexual Violence, Gender Issues

## KISA ÖZET

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Ocak 2013

### İSTANBUL KAMU ALANLARINDA KADINLARA CİNSEL TACİZ

Bu çalışma İstanbul'un açık alanlarında kadınlara karşı işlenen cinsel tacizleri inceliyor. Bu tez feminizm ve sosyoloji alanlarında önde gelen akademisyenlerin çalışmalarına dayanarak kamu alanlarında cinsel taciz olayını incelemektedir. Kamu alanlarında cinsel taciz, yada sokak tacizi, bahsi geçen davranışlardan oluşmaktadır: bakış atmak, cinsel içerikli yorumlar yapmak, birinin bacaklarına, göğsüne vs. dokunmak, teşhircilik yapmak ve tecavüz etmek. Sokak tacizi genellikle erkekler tarafından yapılmaktadır. Sokak tacizinde bulunan erkekler kamuya açık ve ortak kullanım alanlarında tanımadıkları kadınları hedef almaktadırlar. Tezin ikinci bölümünde, çeşitli sosyal ve ulusal kökenlerden gelen ve İstanbul'da üç farklı üniversitenin öğretim üyesi ve öğrencisi olan 121 kadın ile yapılan anket sonuçları sunulmaktadır. Aynı zamanda bu bölüm İstanbul'da kamu alanlarda 30 bayan üniversite öğrencisi ile yapılan yarı-deney sonuçlarını sunmaktadır. Araştırmanın sonuçları sokakta yaşanan cinsel taciz türlerini, kadınların kamusal tacizi önlemek amacıyla kullandıkları stratejilerini ve tacizle karşılaşan kadınların tacizcilerine karşı kullandıkları eylemleri belirlemektedir.

#### **Anahtar Kelimeler:**

Sokak Tacizi, Cinsel Taciz, Kamu Alanlarında Taciz, Feminizm, Cinsiyete Dayalı Şiddet, Cinsel Şiddet, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Sorunları



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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

N=115            115 people responded to the question



## INTRODUCTION

### WHAT IS STREET HARASSMENT?

Sexual harassment is a form of violence against women. Many scholars have researched sexual harassment (see, for example, Altinay & Arat, 2009; Cortina & Wasti, 2002; Quinn, 2002; Studd, 1996; Williams, Lam, & Shively, 1992). Most studies examine sexual harassment in the workplace, schools, and home. That is, much research examines sexual harassment by “non-strangers”: work colleagues, supervisors, teachers, family members, etc. “Stranger” and “non-stranger harassment” are relatively new concepts examined by Ross Macmillan, Annette Nierobisz, and Sandy Welsh (2000).

Non-stranger harassment is common in most<sup>1</sup> societies; stranger harassment is common, too. Stranger harassment usually takes place in the areas open to public and is therefore called public or street harassment. There are several types of public harassment: harassment based on gender, social class, race, or sexual orientation. In this thesis, I focus on heterosexual gender-based street harassment. Heterosexual gender-based street harassment is a variation of sexual harassment that “occurs when one or more strange men accost one or more women whom they perceive as heterosexual in a public place which is not the woman’s/women’s worksite” (Leonardo, 198, p. 152). Street harassment includes unwanted and often sexually explicit comments, leering, touching, grabbing or pinching parts of a woman’s body, and rape; it takes place in public- on streets and in supermarkets, malls, subway trains, busses, etc. - where people are strangers to one another (Bowman, 1993; Gardner, 1995; Leonardo, 1981).

Setting a universal definition for street harassment can be difficult since the experience of street harassment is subjective and definitions may vary from one individual to another. When a man addresses a woman in public, it is the matter of the woman's perception to define the man's act as harassing or not. Some women may be flattered by a stranger's comment on the street on how "hot" she looks today; others may take the comment as offensive and shaming or as an unwelcomed intrusion into their private space.

### **What street harassment is *not***

The range of strangers' communication in public that involve verbal or physical contact considered to be a form of street harassment is wide. Some forms of stranger communication that include the verbal on non-verbal interaction which on the surface resembles street harassment tend nevertheless not to be classified as such: for example, someone offering to escort a vision-challenged person into the metro car and does so by holding his or her arm. Though this act includes touching and engaging in a conversation with a stranger, this gesture when applied to those whom a sociologist Erving Goffman (1966) calls "open persons" is not regarded as street harassment. The "open persons" category includes, for example, members of a racial minority groups, those with visible disabilities, an individual carrying a large box down the street, etc. People of this category are "approached at will with no pretense of stranger etiquette" (Gardner 1995:93).

Carol Brooks Gardner, the author of *Passing by: Gender and Public Harassment* (1995), lists other examples of strangers' interaction in public that is not perceived as public harassment. For example, when "some obvious similarity exists between one

passerby and another”: like, people driving cars of the same brand, or having dogs of the same breed, etc. Those individuals are “all licensed to give and receive comments when confronted by those who seem temporarily their kin” (Gardner, 1995, p. 92).

Apart from the interaction between strangers listed above, and apart from simple human politeness, like holding a door for someone or offering your seat in the bus to a person standing up, sometimes it is difficult to draw an exact line separating what is street harassment and what is not. Holly Kearl in her book titled *Stop Street Harassment: Making Public Places Safe and Welcoming for Women* (2010) writes that a comment on a woman’s appearance from a stranger in public may be perceived as a flattering compliment or as an insulting or threatening remark- all depending on the persons and scenario. A man complimenting on a woman’s shapes in a dark deserted street might scare her. Take the same compliment to a populated street in the daylight, and it might only annoy, if not flatter, her. Likewise, what one woman takes as a threatening and harassing gesture, comment, etc., another might not be regarded as such by another woman in another context.

There are many different forms of communication between strangers in public spaces, as well as the many ways to interpret them. In my thesis, I focus on one particular type of strangers’ communication- the one that carries sexual intent in it.

### **Why studying street harassment is important**

As is noted above, engaging in an interaction with “open persons” in public is not a form of street harassment as long as the communication is based on mutual consent. The problem arises when the other person is not willing to receive and be the

subject of verbal or physical communication, especially when the communication carries sexual content and comes from strange persons. According to several studies, women are subjected daily and in all parts of the world to such approaches from men in public- actions which may start from a comment on woman's body and can escalate to physical aggression towards her (Bowman, 1993; Gardner, 1995; Kearl, 2010; Thompson, 1994). Deirdre Davis defines these incidents as "spirit murder," a form of interaction which includes many "micro aggressions, '[h]undreds, if not thousands of spirit injuries and assaults—some major, some minor—the cumulative effect of which is the slow death of the psyche, the soul and the persona'" (cited by Thompson, 1994 p 313). Street harassment targeting a woman daily starting from a young age can have detrimental effects both on her self-esteem and on her perception that the public realm is a safe place (Bowman, 1993; Gardner, 1995; Thompson, 1994). Deborah Thomson (1994) borrowing from Robin West writes that street harassment is the "earliest and defining lesson in the source of female disempowerment. 'If they haven't learnt it anywhere else, street hassling teaches girls that their sexuality implies their vulnerability'" (p.319).

Some women perceive what others experience as harassing in a very different light. Stephenie Chaudoir and Dianne Quinn (2010), in their study of the impact of cat-calls on women's reaction towards men, write that while "some women may perceive the comment (a cat-call) demeaning and overtly offensive [...] others may perceive the comment to be harmless and flattering" (p. 626). Indeed, some women take men's uninvited attention as a reassurance of their beauty and desirability; those women, according to Kimberley Fairchild (2008), may well be objectifying themselves. Many

scholars argue that street harassment reduces women to objects “to be looked at and touched” with the aim of providing sexual pleasure (Fairchild, 2008, p. 342). Fairchild (2008), in her study of the negative effects of street harassment on women’s lives, writes that women who are constantly exposed to this kind of objectification (street harassment is one of the tools of sexual objectification) are likely to internalize their own sexual objectification and to “chronically monitor their external appearance” (p. 343). And when a woman is not subjected to the same sexual comments that her female friends receive or that she herself used to receive in the past maybe when she was younger, or slimmer, or when she had a better hair (in her thinking), she may feel insufficient and “less” of a woman. She may try to constantly “beautify” herself in order that men start noticing her and pay compliments to her in public- the compliments that would show that she accomplished her goal of keeping up with society’s common definition of a “real” woman. And as long as those compliments and attention do not come her way, she will think there must be something wrong with her appearance. Sexual harassment on the streets by strangers is one of the earliest forms of sexism women experience. Street harassment is a constant reminder to women that their outside appearance is what they will be judged in accordance with; and not their mental abilities or beliefs. Street harassment is experienced by women daily and globally.

Turkey is also a place where many women frequently experience street harassment. Alyson Neel (2012), an American journalist who currently resides in Istanbul, wrote in the *Washington Post*,

Most of what I know about gender inequality I've learned on the streets of Istanbul, my home for the past two years [...] Not a single day goes by that I am not leered at, growled at, spit on, stalked or called a "fuhus" (prostitute). A couple of months ago, I was assaulted by a group of teenage boys 20 feet from my front door. Though I've never been raped, I am violated every day by strangers on the street. And I am merely one of millions of women who endure sexual harassment and assault in public spaces from Cairo to Istanbul to New York.

In winter 2011 in an online survey conducted by an organization called Hollaback! Istanbul<sup>2</sup>, eighteen percent of the 141 respondents reported experiencing sexual harassment in public on a daily basis; twenty-four percent said they were harassed weekly; twenty-one percent- monthly; six percent of respondents reported being harassed several times a day. A total of sixty-nine percent of survey participants reported experiencing street harassment at least once a month (Hollaback! Istanbul, 2011).

This thesis explores an area that lacks scholarly documentation. The scholarly literature shows no previous attempts to identify and describe the experiences of women in Istanbul which they perceive to be public harassment. This study tests no hypotheses- that is not its purpose. Rather, it employs a multiple operational research design to gather women's perception of behaviors and events that they find to be uninvited and unwelcomed sexual harassment in public areas: in streets and squares, on public transportation, in stores and malls, and in other public venues. Further, this study seeks to identify tactics and strategies used by women to avoid or to deal with public sexual harassment, to sketch out bystanders responses to those perceived incidents of public sexual harassment, and to note some relationships among variables that characterize the women who participated in this study, the bystanders in harassing episodes, and

women's attempts to seek safe public environments unthreatened by sexually harassing events. This study is exploratory and is aimed at examining “a thing or idea for diagnostic purposes” (Stebbins, 2001, p. 2); the researcher hopes that the documentation provided by this study will lead to further research, including hypothesis testing research.

## CHAPTER 1

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter summarizes the work of scholars in the field of gender issues, public harassment, and violence against women. As the argument narrows down to street harassment in Istanbul, the works of Turkish scholars are reviewed as well.

#### 1.1. Biology: harassment is “natural”

Some scholars explain sexual harassment with an argument that relies on a biological or “natural” construction of gender. For example, Randy Thornhill and Craig T. Palmer (2000), in their account on rape, state that “[t]he males of most species--including humans--are usually more eager to mate than the females [...]” (p. 53). Thus females, having more specimens of the opposite sex around them, get to choose with whom they want to mate. “But getting chosen is not the only way to gain sexual access to females. In rape, the male circumvents the female’s choice” (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000, p. 53). Susan Brownmiller in her book *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*, writes that rape from ancient times has been established as a reward for male aggression. Writing about rape during wars, Brownmiller delineates the atrocities committed by the soldiers against women in the occupied territories.

Down through the ages, triumph over women by rape became a way to measure victory, part of a soldier’s proof of masculinity and success, a tangible reward for services rendered. Stemming from the days when women were property, access to a woman’s body has been considered an actual reward of war (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 35).

A soldier’s reward for his aggression was usually a victory, and women of the loser’s side, among whom he could choose any and treat them as he pleased.



Fatema Mernissi (2011), in her study of gender dynamics in Morocco, explains that people in Morocco believe the social inferiority of women to men arises from differences in their biological construction. She explains women's subjugation in Muslim societies by claiming that in those societies men are seen as weak, unable to resist temptation, while women are seen as sexually aggressive and possessing seductiveness which they themselves cannot control. Mernissi argues that men's weakness resides in their inability to control their sexual desires when they see a woman. She also writes that the veil that women are required to wear in Islam does not offer a protection to women against unwanted and unrelated men, but to men against women. Veiling is forced upon women in Muslim societies to keep men in a safe place from seductive and sexually aggressive women (Mernissi, 2011).

Based on the opinions of the 506 people interviewed in Indianapolis and the surrounding area from 1988 through 1993, Gardner (1995) lists two reasons her respondents believed men harass women in public. A number of respondents supported the popular belief that "men's nature' leads to a truly awe-inspiring sex drive, which made them look at every women, even strangers in public, as potential sex partners" (Gardner, 1995, p. 179).

Social scientists challenge the belief that the desire to harass is biological (Brownmiller, 1975; Beauvoir, 1972). They contest the idea that biological differences between men and women make the latter socially inferior to the former--the difference that pushes, encourages, and gives impetus to men to assault, and women to tolerate assault. In many societies, men are construed as physically stronger, more rational; as the "bread winners," whereas women are (expected to be) passive, emotional, weak,

which makes them dependent on men. These binary oppositions based on what are seen to be biological differences contribute to male and female roles in society. Men are seen as entrepreneurs who keep the progress going, because they are smart and achievement-motivated, while women lack motivation and intelligence (Hyde, 1996), and are dependent on men. The binary oppositions set up an arena for men to create and open up “the future to which she [woman] also reaches out” (Beauvoir, 1972, p. 75). Being seen as biologically inferior, women have to obey the rules set by the “creator” — and those rules are not always fair and mild.

## **1.2. Sociocultural Factors**

Recent feminist writings “eschew the view of rape as a natural function of male biology and [...] stress instead its bases in society and culture” (Helliwell, 2000, p. 790). Anthropologist Christine Helliwell (2000) argues that “the Western emphasis on sexual difference is a product of the heterosexualization of desire within Western societies over the past few centuries” (p. 796). This heterosexualization of desire, according to Judith Butler (1990), “requires and institutes the production of discrete and asymmetrical oppositions between ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine,’ where these are understood as expressive attributes of ‘male’ and ‘female’ (p. 17). Helliwell highlights the phrase “Western societies.” Her point is that one cannot universalize the Western definition of rape mentality, sexual harassment, and gender roles because they are socially constructed and therefore vary from one society to another. Helliwell studied the Dayak community of Gerai in Indonesian Borneo for twenty months beginning in 1985. She reports hearing of no cases of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault in the

community (Helliwell, 2000). However, she narrates one event that took place during her stay with the community.

One night in September 1985, a man of the village climbed through a window into the freestanding house where a widow lived with her elderly mother, younger (unmarried) sister, and young children. The widow awoke, in darkness, to feel the man inside her mosquito net, gripping her shoulder while he climbed under the blanket that covered her and her youngest child as they slept (her older children slept on mattresses nearby). He was whispering, “be quiet, be quiet!” She responded by sitting up in bed and pushing him violently, so that he stumbled backward, became entangled with her mosquito net, and then, finally free, moved across the floor toward the window. In the meantime, the woman climbed from her bed and pursued him, shouting his name several times as she did so. His hurried exit through the window, with his clothes now in considerable disarray, was accompanied by a stream of abuse from the woman and by excited interrogations from wakened neighbors in adjoining houses (Helliwell, 2000, p. 789).

To the anthropologist’s astonishment, the neighbors and the woman herself called the man’s act stupid, rather than violating and an attempted rape.

‘He was trying to have sex with you,’ I said, ‘although you didn’t want to. He was trying to hurt you.’ She looked at me, more with pity than with puzzlement now, although both were mixed in her expression. ‘Tin [Christine], it’s only a penis,’ she said. ‘How can a penis hurt anyone?’ (Helliwell, 2000, p. 790)

Gerai is a patriarchal community to some extent; Gerai people do believe that men are “higher” than women. “Since many feminists continue to believe that patriarchy is universal--or, at the very least, to feel deeply ambivalent on this point- there is a tendency among us to believe that rape, too, is universal” (Helliwell, 2000, p. 794).

Helliwell concludes that sexual harassment does not happen in all patriarchal societies, and if it does it is not perceived as something fearsome as it is in the Western understanding of it.

As Helliwell's (2000) example demonstrates, definitions of sexual violence differ from one community to another. Likewise, women from different cultures may respond to sexual harassment in different ways. Lilia Cortina's and Arzu Wasti (2002) in their study of differences in response to harassment at work among Anglo American, Hispanic, and Turkish women, conclude that there is a difference between how Anglo American and Turkish and Hispanic women cope with sexual harassment.<sup>3</sup> Hispanic and Turkish women avoid confrontational negotiations with their harasser more often and practice avoidance/denial strategies instead, unlike their Anglo-American counterparts (Cortina et al., 2002, p. 402). Gender-roles are culturally constructed, so is sexual harassment, and women's ways of interpreting and coping with it. In my research, I examine sexual harassment in public places in Istanbul, and how women in Turkey cope with it.

### **1.3. Traditional gender roles and sexual harassment**

In addition to differences in perception of sexual harassment across cultures, there may be differences in its perception within a culture. Beth A. Quinn (2002) in her study of the gender difference in perception of sexual harassment in the work place writes that "women tend to see harassment where men see harmless fun or normal gendered interaction" (p. 386).

The most common explanation offered for these differences is gender role socialization. [...] The more one is socialized into traditional notions of sex roles, the more likely it is for both men and women to view the behaviors as acceptable or at least unchangeable (Quinn, 2002, p. 388).

We are not born feminine or masculine—rather, these represent statuses and roles we occupy. Our gender roles are what society makes of us. Contemporary feminist scholars argue that people as biological beings all go through the process of “gendering.” “Gendering” refers to the social construction (the process of assigning roles and tasks) and reproduction of gender and its maintenance in a society. Nancy Chodorow (1974) writes that the process of gendering is enacted, for example, in the distinct ways through which mothers raise their male and female children. Mothers are more emotionally attached to their daughters and unconsciously identify with them, because this relationship is a reproduction of the one with their own mothers.

A son’s case is different. Cultural evidence suggests that insofar as a mother treats her son differently, it is usually by emphasizing his masculinity in opposition to herself and by pushing him to assume, or acquiescing in his assumption of, a sexually toned male-role relation to her (Chodorow, 1974, p. 48).

Chodorow (1974) terms this process of child-rearing with difference in relation to male and female children as “normalizing”: helping children to socialize and to reproduce the same “normal” behavior as they express, be it in raising children or in some other circumstances.

Sexual harassment grows from gender roles that emphasize male aggressiveness and that require women to oblige. Kearl (2010) argues that street harassment is a product of gender-differentiated socialization.

[G]irls are socialized by the media, parents, and peers to believe that their worth is their sexuality and ability to please men. [...] [F]rom a young age women are taught that being beautiful and sexy is their way to achieve (temporary, fleeting) power over men and power in general (Kearl, 2010, p. 26).

Hearing comments on her appearance, or being stared at, grabbed, or whistled at in public, a woman is constantly reminded of her expected role as an object of the “male-gaze.” Quinn (2002) for her research on the power of “girl watching” in producing masculinity, conducted forty-three semistructured interviews between June 1994 and March 1995 with employed men and women in Southern California. The data that she gathered suggest that harassing behavior in men is a required aspect in production of masculinity. According to Quinn (2002), one of the features believed to contribute to the production of masculinity is the act of “girl watching”.

The term refers to the act of men's sexually evaluating women, often in the company of other men. It may take the form of a verbal or gestural message of “check it out”, boasts of sexual prowess, or explicit comments about a woman's body or imagined sexual acts. The target may be an individual woman or group of women or simply a photograph or other representation. The woman may be a stranger, coworker, supervisor, employee, or client (Quinn, 2002, p. 387).

In the act of “girl watching,” the woman becomes an object of male gaze, an “open person” whose body is to be looked at, commented on, and violated. However, a female perfectly socialized into the woman’s role is not to realize the violation, but rather should see the appraisal as flattering and is in no way to respond to it.

Street harassment makes women feel out of place in public; it is a strategy that “may reproduce the gendered notions built up within society about a woman’s place being in the home” (Ilahi, 2009, p. 66). Women interviewed in Cairo say that in order to avoid sexual harassment in public they prefer to take cabs rather than to walk on the street, or to ride in all-women cars in the metro (Ilahi, 2009). Cabs or all-women metro

cars act as shells that protect women, and at the same time isolate women from the outside world, just as home or the chador does. “In this sense, street harassment accomplishes an informal ghettoization of women- a ghettoization to the private sphere of hearth and home” (Bowman, 1993, p. 520). Entering a masculine-dominated realm of public life a woman challenges her role of wife and mother at home. Harassment in public is often her “punishment.”

#### **1.4. General situation of women in Turkey**

Street harassment with sexual content is a variation of sexual harassment. Street harassment usually originates from men and is directed towards women in public areas. I argue that in order to understand how men relate to women in public spaces, it is necessary to understand how men relate to women at home and in other spheres of everyday interaction.

Turkey is one of many societies with a history of suppression and violence against women. This history has manifested itself in different forms, the most notable of which are “honor killings” and domestic violence. “Honor killing” is a ritual of killing a woman who has committed adultery, or had sex before marriage, or otherwise violated norms of female behavior.<sup>4</sup> It is usually performed by one of the woman’s male relatives (husband, brother, uncle, or cousin). In 2007, two hundred and twenty honor killings were reported in Turkey (Federation of Women Associations of Turkey, n.d.). According to official statistics, 1091 women were murdered in the so-called name of honor between 2000 and 2005 (Shafak, 2011). However, there is a high rate of under-

reporting “honor killings”, so “[p]ublished figures can never do justice to the actual numbers of women who suffer violence” (Shafak, 2011).

Domestic violence is another common form of violence against women in Turkey. It includes (but is not limited to) slapping, shoving, beating, and sexual assault; and is performed by persons on their family members. Ayse Gul Altinay and Yesim Arat (2009) in their study titled “Violence against Women in Turkey. A Nationwide Survey” report that the large majority of domestic violence in Turkey is committed by men on their female family members. Interview findings provided by an organization called UN Women in 2011 reveal that 39.3% of women living in Turkey have experienced physical violence from their “intimate partners” in their lifetime. And 41.9 percent of the women interviewed have experienced “physical and/or sexual violence” in their lifetimes. As points of comparison, the numbers are 18.9 percent and 28.4 percent respectively in the UK in a study published in 2005, and 31.0 percent and 46.3 percent for Ecuador in a 2004 study (UN Women, 2011). That women are violated and subjected to verbal and physical violence from men at home suggests as well that they are subjected to the same violence outside of their homes, for a family, by popular definition, is a miniaturization of society.

Women’s low rate of employment in Turkey also contributes to women’s public harassment. Women remain outsiders to the public sphere in Turkey. Women’s employment rates in 2008 amounted to 25.4 percent, while the labor participation rate for men in the same year was 71.8 percent (ILO, 2008). Women are usually employed in the agriculture or services sectors with lower wages and bigger workloads than for their male counterparts (KEIG, 2009). With the mechanization of agriculture, women



are being forced to leave their agricultural jobs. Having little or no education, they are “left with the options of either becoming a ‘housewife’ or taking on informal jobs in the cities” (KEIG, 2009, p. 5). Those employed in informal, or domestic service jobs usually have no social benefits (health care or retirement plans). Gender-based discrimination in paid-labor participation manifests itself in hiring (with preference given to the male applicants), in determining wages, and in low promotion opportunities for women. KEIG (2009) reports that the gap between men’s and women’s wages in the cities of Turkey is twenty-two percent, reaching up to fifty percent in the private sector. Persistent patriarchal values in the labor-force market are largely responsible for high rates of unemployment among women. Low income and lack of social benefits make women dependent on their fathers or husbands. Honor killings, domestic violence, and women’s unemployment are among the ways women are subjugated in Turkey.

### **1.5. Legal reforms towards the liberation of women**

After its foundation in 1923, the new government of the Republic of Turkey passed laws that provided women rights that only men previously had. “The new laws forbade polygamy, instituted civil marriage, allowed the initiation of divorce proceedings by either partner, and guaranteed equality of women before the law. In December 1934, women gained the right to vote (Yesilyurt Gunduz, 2004). New employment and education opportunities opened up for women.

The legal reforms on elimination of gender-based discrimination continued, and in 1998, a law on domestic violence- Law on Family Protection- was adopted (UNFPA, 2007). In November 2001, the new Turkish Civil Code was passed and

abolished the supremacy of men in the conjugal union and established the full equality of men and women with respect to rights over the family abode, marital property, divorce, child custody, inheritance and rights to work and travel (Kandiyoti, 2011, p. 1).

Year 2004 brought further changes to the Turkish Penal Code. From then on a life-sentence was to be given to those found guilty of “honor killings”. Marital rape and sexual harassment at work were criminalized (Articles 102 and 105 of the Turkish Penal Code). Practices like in-court discrimination between virgins and non-virgins in sexual crimes and the reduction of sentence for who rapists married their victims were abolished (Kandiyoti, 2011).

In 2011, Turkey signed a treaty called the Council of Europe “on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence. [The treaty] requires the signatories to criminalize the practices of forced marriage, female genital mutilation, forced abortion and sterilization, sexual harassment and stalking” (“Turkey becomes first signatory of treaty on violence against women,” 2011). The need for such a convention has long been known and was only strengthened after a case of domestic violence in Turkey was brought up in the European Courts of Human Rights in 2009. The case was brought to the ECHR Strasbourg, France by Nahide Opuz. She together with her mother suffered domestic violence and harassment at the hands of her husband. Ms. Opuz’s attempts to enforce Turkish law and authorities on her abusive husband since 1995 proved futile.

Her husband, Huseyin Opuz, was convicted of trying to run over Ms. Opuz and her mother in a car, but his three-month sentence was later commuted to a fine. Mr. Opuz was also fined for stabbing his wife in 2001 (Park & Birch, 2009).

He shot Ms. Opuz's mother dead in her attempt to flee the house. The Court found Turkey guilty in "violation of its obligations to protect women from domestic violence" and required the Turkish government to pay a 30,000 Euro fine to Ms. Opuz (Interights, 2011).

The Turkish state has been trying to deter violence against women through legal reforms. However promising the reforms may sound, they have failed to stop the violence practiced against women. The Turkish governments' efforts to eliminate gender-based violence and to provide equal rights for women citizens did not prove themselves effective. The oppression of and violence against women continues. According to the World Economic Forum's The "Global Gender Gap Report" for 2012, among 135 countries Turkey comes as the 124<sup>th</sup> in the countries' gender gap overall rating list, followed by Oman (125<sup>th</sup>) Egypt (126<sup>th</sup>), and the Islamic Republic of Iran (127<sup>th</sup>).

### **1.6. Street harassment in Istanbul**

Domestic abuse, violation of women's human rights and the wide gender gap that persists in Turkey create an unsafe and at times hostile environment for women at home and in public. The unsafe environment outside is the unwanted sexual attention and sexual approaches women receive daily from men in public.

Alina Lehtinen (2011) in *SES TURKIYE in Istanbul* writes, "Istanbul is unfortunately a city where street harassment is a part of daily life. This is not a new problem, and is largely linked to the population hike in Turkey's recent history. [...] Because of migration and urbanization, street harassment has become more common".

Indeed there has been a constant influx of immigrants to the city from different parts of Turkey and abroad. From 1935 to 2010, the number of people residing in Istanbul increased by approximately 1300%.<sup>5</sup> As the population increased, so did the unemployment rate. TUIK (the Turkish Statistical Institute) reports that 17.8% of the labor force was unemployed in 2008 in Istanbul. Ilahi (2009) in her study of street harassment in Cairo, targets unemployment as one of the reasons why men roam aimlessly on city streets and harass women.

Istanbul is a metropolis with a population of thirteen or more million people, accounting for eighteen percent of Turkey's overall population (TUIK, 2011). Georg Simmel (2010) argues that in a city, every move requires a person to think. Every move within a city involves, in Simmel's term, "intellectualistic" activity; and every event a rational response. He puts this intellectualistic activity in a metropolis in opposition to the emotional relationships practiced in villages and small towns.

Instead of reacting emotionally, the metropolitan type reacts primarily in a rational manner, thus creating a mental predominance through the intensification of consciousness, which in turn is caused by it. Thus the reaction of metropolitan person to those events is moved to a sphere of mental activity which is least sensitive and which is furthest removed from the depths of the personality (Simmel, 2010, p. 104).

This mental activity creates a shield around an individual and his or her emotional responses against outside influences. The same shield provides a sense of anonymity to an individual. This anonymity renders protection to harassers, which gives them the impetus to harass.

There is a kind of unspoken normative communication among strangers in public. Goffman (1966) calls this communication “civil inattention”. Garnder (1995), referring to Goffman’s work, defines civil inattention as “a ritual between strangers of eyes met, eyes dropped, then a studiously indifferent and non-threatening middle-distance look,” which “conferred the benefit of recognition while also conveying that the other was of no special threat” (p. 92). Allen Scarborough (2009) in his study of people’s interaction in public places in Turkey, notes that civil inattention ritual “make[s] life in cities possible”: recognizing the other prevents us from bumping into them, and after a brief recognition people are not obliged to engage in a conversation with every passerby. However, there is no recognition of the other in public areas in Istanbul. “Rather, eyes are downcast as pedestrians negotiate the streets, sidewalks, lobbies, bus and metro platforms, and other shared areas” (Scarboro, 2009, p. 8).

Since any kind of engagement between strangers in public spaces is uncommon in Turkey, a woman’s brief stare and smile to a stranger may be misinterpreted as an invitation to flirt, thus she may easily become an object of unwanted sexual attention from men in public. Emanuela Guano (2007) writes that women modify their behavior and even their physical appearance in public in order to avoid unwanted sexual attention from men. In farther chapters, I will discuss how women alter their appearances in public and what strategies they adopt in order to evade unwelcome attention.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY

My research examines and documents forms of street harassment in Istanbul, its relevance with women's dress, the coping strategies women use, and bystander reactions to harassment.

I used three instruments to gather data for this research. They were a survey (*see Appendices A and B*), a story-sharing exercise included in the survey as the last question, and a quasi-experiment with a questionnaire that followed (*see Appendix C*). This chapter presents a detailed description of the data collection through the survey, the story-sharing exercise, and the quasi-experiment.

#### **2.1. Instrument: Survey**

The first and primary instrument for my data collection was a survey I distributed among students and staff on three university campuses in Istanbul. The number of respondent totaled one hundred and twenty one people.

The survey was a set of eleven questions (*Appendices A and B*). On average, it took a person fifteen to twenty minutes to answer those questions. The questions were constructed to allow gathering the needed demographic information about the respondent, types and frequency of street harassment, places of harassment, strategies women adopt in order to avoid or stop the harassers, and bystanders' reactions to harassment. The survey contained three question types: Likert-scale questions (questions 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10), multiple choice questions (questions 2, 3, and 4), and a

yes-no question (question 6). The questions I asked in the survey measured frequencies of encounter of each type of street harassment and the frequencies of the victims' and bystanders' response to it.

### **2.1.1. Participants' profile**

My research aimed at gathering data on women's experience with street harassment, thus only female participants selected for this research. I surveyed women at three different universities- Fatih University, Yildiz Technical University, and Istanbul University. I chose these three universities, because I knew students and staff there who could help me gather data. In addition, the campuses of these universities are located in different parts of Istanbul. Thus students and staff attending those universities commute through different areas of the city. Their accounts of their experiences with street harassment paint a broader landscape of the overall experience with street harassment in the different parts of the city. Figure 1 summarizes the participants' profiles.

**FIGURE 1:  
SURVEY PARTICIPANTS' PROFILE**

	Fatih University		Yildiz Technical University		Istanbul University		Total of 121 subjects	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Ave. age of participants in years	21		23		22		22	
Occupation								
Student	86	96%	13	87%	15	94%	114	94%
Other	4	4%	2	13%	1	6%	7	6%
Wearing headscarf	44	49%	2	13%	1	6%	47	39%
Not wearing headscarf	24	27%	9	60%	12	20%	45	37%
Country of origin								
Turkey	70	78%	15	100%	15	94%	100	83%
Other	20	22%	-	-	1	6%	21	17%

As seen in the Figure 1, ninety of the total 121 surveyed women are from Fatih University, fifteen from Yildiz Technical University, and sixteen from Istanbul University. The number of surveyed at the three universities are disproportionate. That is, the number of respondents from Fatih University is greater than of those surveyed at Yildiz Technical and Istanbul University together. I had greater access to research subjects at Fatih University, which I attended for the duration of my baccalaureate and



Master's studies, than in the other two schools. Figure 1 also shows the average age of the survey participants as twenty-two. However, the number can be overestimated due to participation of *Other* which constituted faculty members, and whose age is greater than that of the students. Thirty-nine percent of those surveyed reported that they were wearing a headscarf at the time of their last harassment, thirty-seven percent did not, and the other twenty-four percent left the question unanswered.

Most of the participants were Turkish students; the proportion of those who identified themselves as non-Turkish was the largest at Fatih University. I asked participants to identify their country of origin because I had planned to see if Turkish and non-Turkish respondents reported different frequencies of harassment. Many of the foreign women I knew had earlier told me that they believed *yabancı* [non-Turkish] women are harassed more than are Turkish women. However, after my data were gathered, I was faced with a difficulty of performing such an analysis. I explain that issue in the *Conclusions and Further Research* chapter.

### **2.1.2. Survey: procedure**

Distributing surveys and gathering data took approximately two months: from the first week of March 2012 to the last week of April 2012. Participants were told the goals of the survey and that participation in the research was voluntary and all participants gave their informed consent.

Some participants I met personally when distributing surveys in the classrooms at Fatih University. Those I usually met once. However, in one case I had to meet a group of respondents twice: they were the first group I interviewed in March at Fatih

University. After they completed the survey, I detected some mistakes in my questions. I had to correct the mistakes and re-survey them again in April.

The surveying process was different at Istanbul University and Yildiz Technical University from the procedure at Fatih University. While at Fatih University where I was present during the whole surveying process, I handed copies of the survey to two colleagues at Istanbul University and Yildiz Technical University; they distributed the surveys among students and staff on their campuses. After the surveys were completed I met with the colleagues to pick them up.

## **2.2. Instrument: Story sharing**

In the last question of my survey (question 11), I asked participants to share their most recent story of sexual harassment in public. Sixty-four of 121 survey respondents answered this question. The story sharing exercise provided an open space for survey participants, where they wrote about their last encounter of street harassment without any boundaries that are imposed in the multiple-choice questions. Stories participants shared gave me a new set of data that contributed to the research. I cite the stories throughout the paper.

## **2.3. Instrument: Quasi-experiment**

The third instrument that I used to collect data for my research was a quasi-experiment set in the city with a total of thirty participants. All participants were female undergraduate students in the Department of Sociology at Fatih University. Students were awarded extra credit in one of their Sociology classes for their participation in the quasi-experiment.

### **2.3.1. Quasi-experiment: procedure**

Thirty quasi-experiment participants– separately from each other- traveled in the city from one point to another via *metrobus*<sup>6</sup>, tramway and taking a short walk. Due to the large number of participants, they were divided into two groups that took the route on two separate days.

I met with the two groups of participants in Avcilar (a district of Istanbul) on the main street at noon. In order to avoid confusion during transit each participant was given a number on the first-come first-served basis. They were to board the metrobus from Avcilar to Zeytinburnu, a journey taking approximately twenty minutes; the tramway from Zeytinburnu to Eminönü, a forty- minute ride; and then to take a three-minute walk from Eminönü tramway station to New Mosque<sup>7</sup> taking turns in accordance with their numbers.

Participants were instructed to be alert during their trip to harassment behavior directed at them. In the end of the trip, they were given a survey (*Appendix C*) containing questions on their experience with public harassment during the trip. The data collected from the questionnaire distributed among the participants of the quasi-experiment added to the findings of the previously conducted survey.

### **2.4. Translations and corrections**

Survey respondents were both Turkish and foreign women studying or working at the three universities in Istanbul. I conducted the survey in two languages- Turkish and English. The number of participants who took the survey in English is thirty-nine, and the number of those who took the survey in Turkish is eighty-two. I and my

colleagues who helped distribute the surveys among Yildiz Technical and Istanbul University participants gave them the right to choose the language in which they wanted to complete the survey. As for the quasi-experiment questionnaire, I had the list with the names of the participants beforehand. And since the names listed indicated that only Turkish students volunteered for the quasi-experiment, all copies of the questionnaire were in Turkish.

Among the stories shared by the participants in the story-sharing exercise some of the stories were written in Turkish, and others were in English. Citing participants' stories in the chapters to follow, I translate into English those stories originally written in Turkish, I include the original version in the *Endnotes*. I also edited for grammar and syntax the stories originally written in English, trying to keep the sentence structure as close to the original as possible.

## **2.5. Data analysis and limitations**

I present a descriptive analysis of data collected through the three instruments. Most questions in the survey were constructed in a way not conducive to performing a comparative study of different variables, like question ten in the survey (*See Appendices A and B*). That question aims at measuring frequencies of occurrences of each type of the active and passive responses to street harassment, but not whether active responses are more common than the passive responses. A respondent could say she very often distances herself from the harasser, and the same respondent (in the same question) could indicate that she very often addresses her harasser verbally. The way the question was constructed does not allow setting active and passive responses as variables in

order to measure which is more preferred. Similarly, question eight in the survey measures frequencies of each type of bystanders' action and bystanders' inaction, but not the difference in regularity of their occurrences.

Due to the reason listed above, in my thesis I outline results in frequencies of each type of street harassment, of each way my survey participants respond to harassment as victims and as bystanders. I also cite stories from the story-sharing exercise throughout the paper assigning them to the relevant sections of the study.

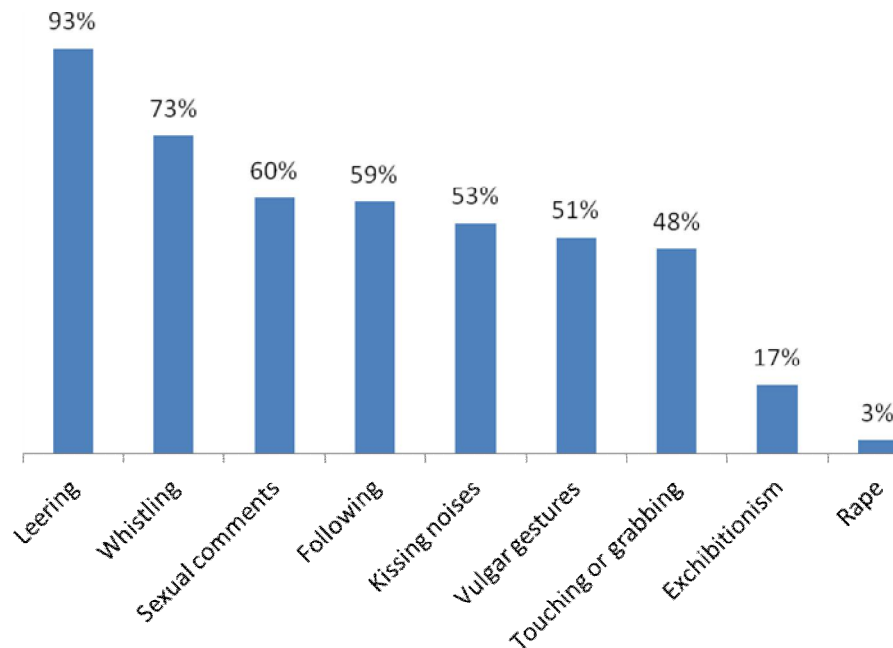
To answer the research question about relation of headscarf to the level of street harassment a woman receives a T Test was performed in the SPSS data analysis software. To do the T Test, I summed up frequencies of each type of street harassment reported by the survey participants; and compared the total of occurrence of street harassment with the respondents' answers to question six in the survey (*See Appendices A and B*) which asked whether the respondent wore a headscarf during her last incident of street harassment.

## CHAPTER 3

### TYPES OF STREET HARASSMENT

Women I surveyed for my research reported experiencing different types of unwanted approaches from men in public: from comments on their appearance to physical assault. Among the most common types of street harassment reported by my survey respondents were leering (ninety-three percent), whistling (seventy-three percent), sexual comments (sixty percent), and following (fifty-nine percent) (*See Figure 2*).

**FIGURE 2:  
TYPES OF STREET HARASSMENT REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN  
EXPERIENCED AT LEAST ONCE IN ISTANBUL (N=121)**



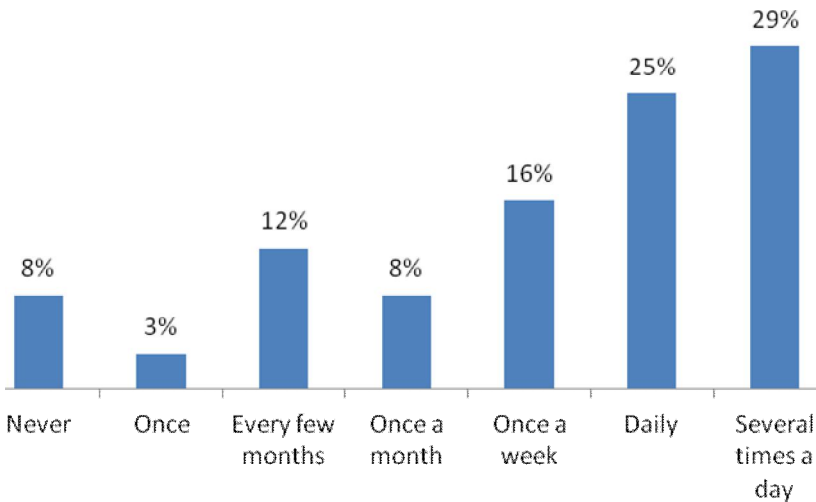
This chapter is dedicated to the discussion of each type of street harassment listed in question 1 in my survey in details, drawing on data from the participants’

responses to the question and from the stories they wrote in the story-sharing exercise-question 11 (See Appendices A and B). Detailed charts on frequencies of each type of street harassment will be included in each section.

### 3.1. Leering

Leering, or staring in a sexual way, is the most often experienced type of street harassment in Istanbul, as the survey results show. More than half of the survey respondents (fifty-four percent) indicated they endure leering from unrelated men in public places at least once a day. Only eight percent of the respondent said they have never been leered at by men in public (See Figure 3). One of the survey respondents wrote, “When I was on the bus alone, a man who sat in the opposite seat stared at me, I didn’t do anything, only I looked the other way, and was stressed while getting off of the bus [*sic*].” Another woman wrote that she was exposed to leering from a man sitting opposite to her in a tramway car. She changed her seat.<sup>8</sup>

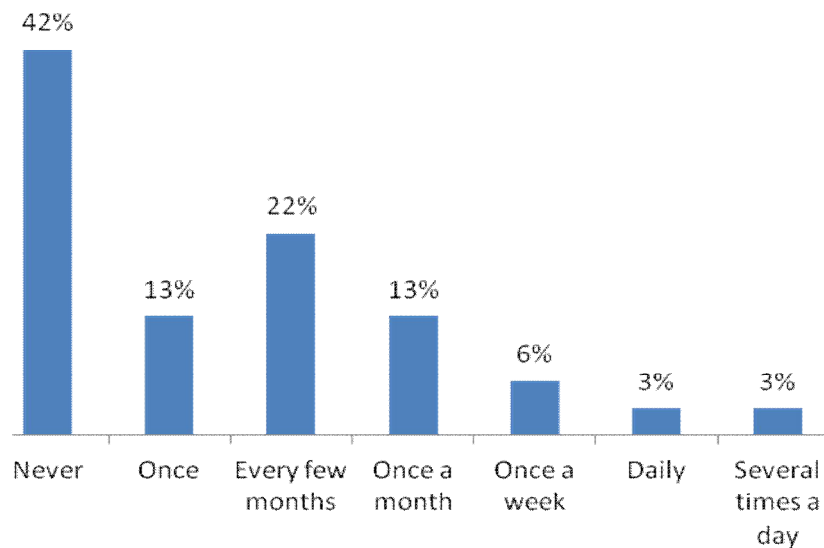
**FIGURE 3:  
LEERING**



### 3.2. Sexually explicit comments and singing

Sexually explicit comments, or evaluative comments on women’s bodies and their appearance in public, are another very common type of street harassment, according to my survey results. A total of sixty percent of my respondents said they have experienced sexually evaluative comments from strangers in public places at least once; three percent of the respondents indicated that they hear those type of comments several times a day (See Figure 4).

**FIGURE 4:  
SEXUALLY EXPLICIT COMMENTS**



One survey respondent narrating her story of street harassment wrote, “I was standing at the entrance to a shopping mall. Then a man said something rude to me and stared at me. [sic]” (Fatih University, 20).



Another woman, a twenty-three year-old student at Yildiz Technical University shared the following,

I just started working at a coffee shop. A man in his 60s, who I found out later was a regular customer there, said how beautiful I am, even though we did not share any intimate bond with him. In an attempt to change the subject I asked him what he would like to drink.<sup>9</sup>

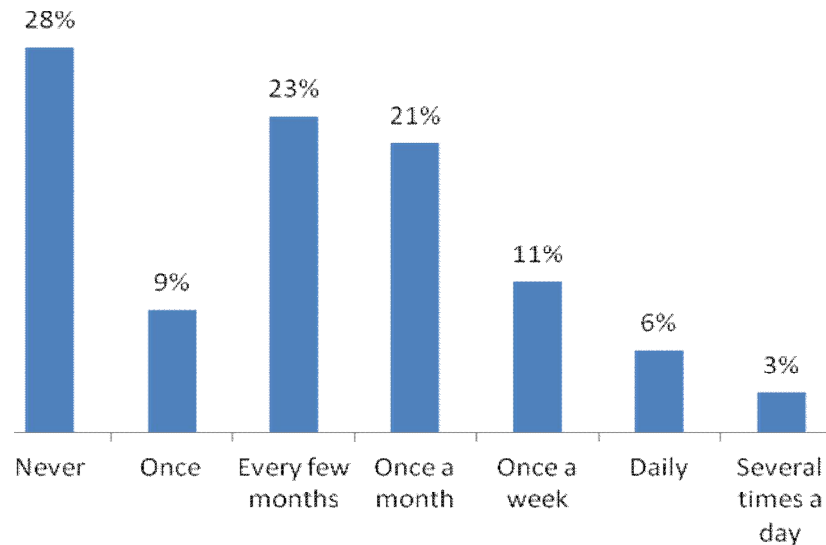
Among the stories that the respondents of my survey shared, I have disclosed a type of harassment I had not encountered in my review of the scholarly literature. Women reported hearing a passerby man singing a song with “suggestive” content. “I was walking on the street when someone behind me started singing [to me]. I ignored him, and then he went his own way,” (Yildiz Technical University, 28). Another respondent wrote, “On the escalator in a shopping mall, a man was singing and staring at me”.<sup>10</sup> Women did not specify what the songs or the lyrics were. As an example, the lyrics could contain anything to attract the target’s attention, like “Aşkım, baksana bana” (*My love, look at me*) (Oncel, 2006), or evaluative comments on woman’s body, like “Senin o gözlerin var ya” (*Ah these eyes of yours*) (Grup Koridor, 2007).

### **3.3. Whistling and kissing noises**

Whistling is another frequently encountered street harassment in Istanbul. According to the survey results, seventy-three percent of women have been whistled at by men in public places in Istanbul at least once (*See Figure 5*). “When crossing a metrobus footbridge two guys whistled at me. I yelled at them”.<sup>11</sup> “He whistled at me

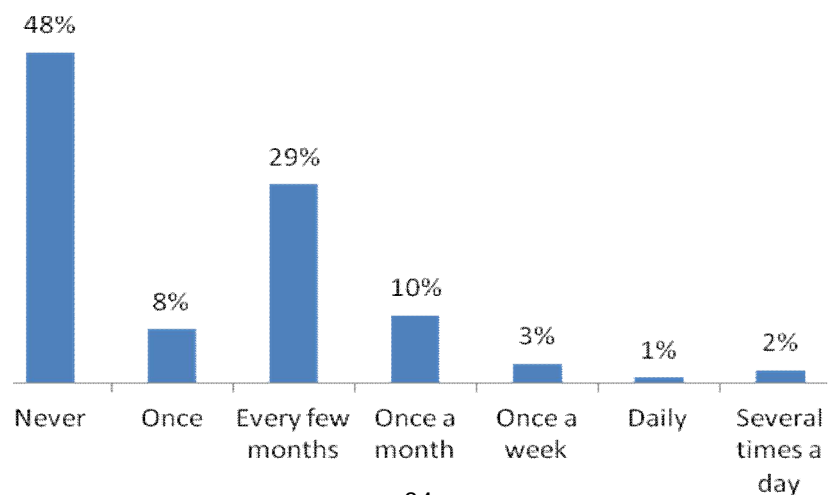
and said things like “come here”. I left fast. He was a street seller, so he could not follow me”.<sup>12</sup>

**FIGURE 5:  
WHISTLING**



Half of the survey respondents (fifty-three percent) reported hearing kissing noises addressed to them in public at least once (*See Figure 6*). A twenty year-old Fatih University student wrote, “I was walking on the street when a man in his forties blew a kiss my way. I left the place fast”.<sup>13</sup>

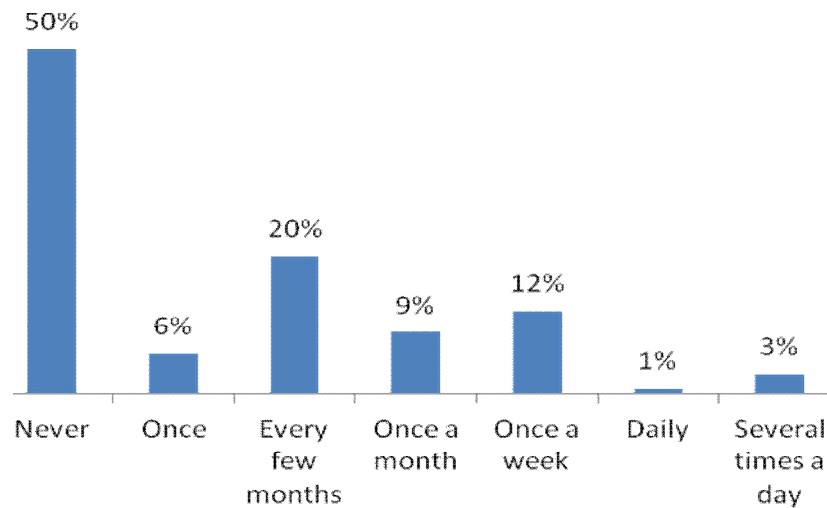
**FIGURE 6:  
KISSING NOISES**



### 3.4. Vulgar gestures

Vulgar gestures, by which I mean sexually explicit and/or inviting body gestures, had been experienced by half of my survey respondents (fifty percent) at least once (*See Figure 7*). There was no mention of vulgar gestures in the stories that the respondents shared.

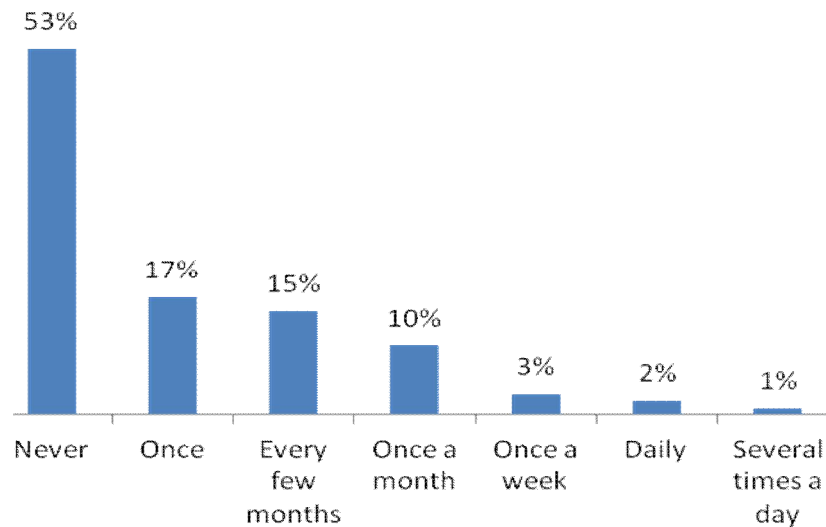
**FIGURE 7:  
VULGAR GESTURES**



### 3.5. Sexual touching or grabbing

Touching, groping, pinching or grabbing parts of a woman's body is another common type of sexual harassment in public places in Istanbul. My survey results demonstrate that forty-eight percent of women have experienced it at least once (*See Figure 8*).

**FIGURE 8:  
SEXUAL TOUCHING OR GRABBING**



A twenty year-old Fatih University student wrote,

When walking on one of the commercial streets with my friend, some pervert approached me from the back and touched me. I screamed. As if nothing happened, he locked his hands behind his back and continued walking and smiling. There was no police around. The event left an unpleasant impression on me.<sup>14</sup>

Another respondent wrote,

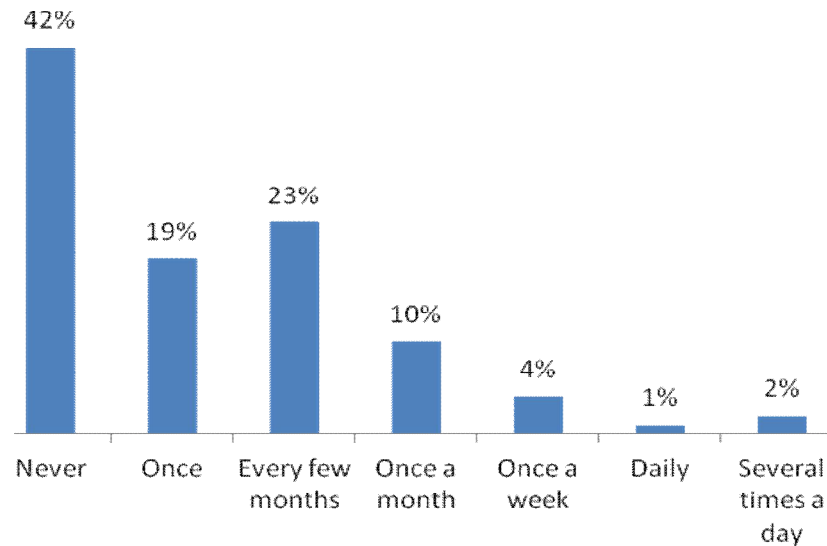
I took a bus and I didn't sit. Someone came close to me. I was annoyed, I wanted to go to the other side but I didn't. I was confused because he touched me; I was very shocked. And then I yelled at him and I looked at him angrily. After that I got off of the bus (Fatih University, 20).

### **3.6. Following**

Following is probably one of the most damaging types of street harassment, since the woman who is followed is only left to guess the extent to which her harasser

might go. He might follow her for a few meters whistling or shouting obscene things at her; he might follow her all the way home and find out where she lives to continue harassing her. Being followed at least once was reported by fifty-nine percent of my survey respondents (*see Figure 9*).

**FIGURE 9:  
FOLLOWING**



Following stories were among the longest and most intense stories that women shared in the end of the survey.

It was around seven or eight p.m. when somebody followed me through the metrobus car all the way to the stop I got off at. He continuously stared at me and came very close so that I could feel his breath. He did not leave me alone even though I told him that what he did was morally unacceptable. I called my family and asked them to pick me up from the metrobus station.<sup>15</sup>

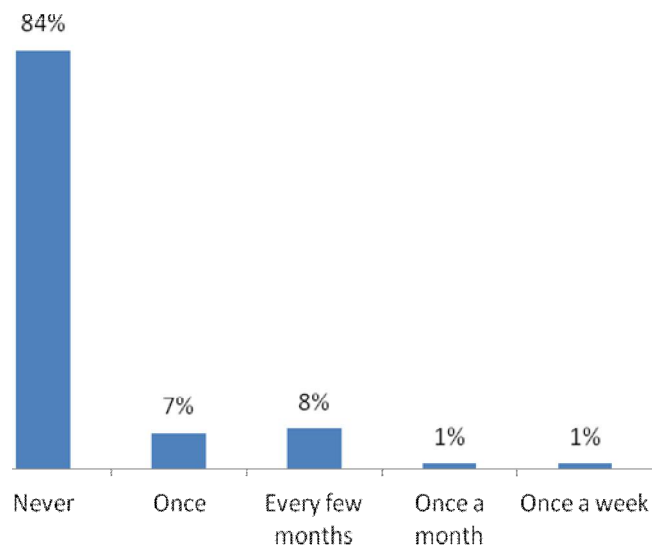
Another respondent wrote,

I was in high school then. I got on a bus and saw a young man getting on after me. He got off at the same bus stop with me and followed me all the way home. I quickly went into the apartment building and called my mother to come pick me up downstairs. When home, I looked out the window and saw him standing there. He must have left after, I never saw him again.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.7. Exhibitionism and rape

Exhibitionism, or intentional exposure of one's private parts in public, is reported to have been witnessed by seventeen percent of the survey respondents at least once. Figure 10 shows the frequencies of encounter with exhibitionism in Istanbul as reported by the survey takers.

**FIGURE 10:  
EXHIBITIONISM**

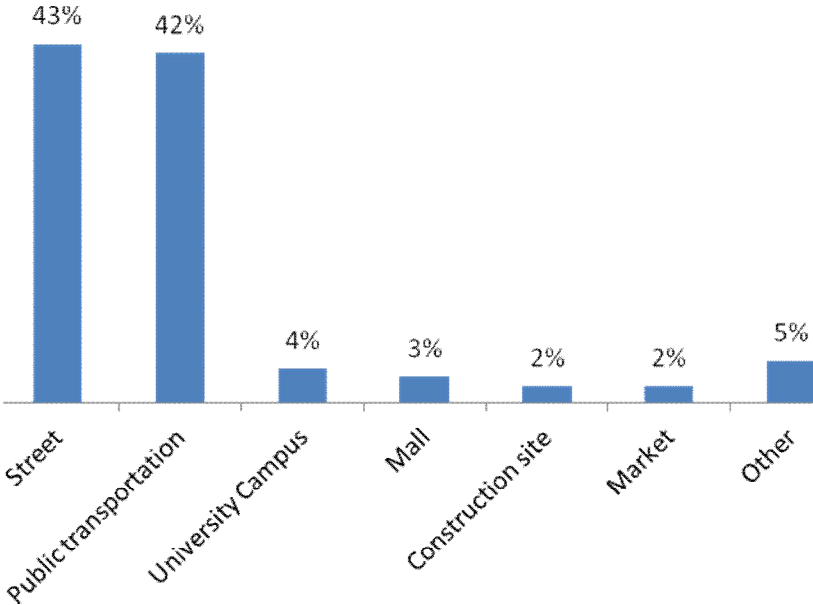


Rape as a form of street harassment was excluded from the discussion due to the low incidence report.

### 3.8. Conclusion

Public harassment happens in places open to public such as streets, supermarket, markets, public transportation, university campuses, etc. The two most common places that my survey participants reported experiencing harassment at are streets (forty-three percent) and public transportation (forty-two percent) (See Figure 11). Out of sixty-four stories of harassment in public that my survey participants shared, forty-two percent took place on public transportation and forty-three in the street.

**FIGURE 11:  
FREQUENCIES OF HARASSMENT IN DIFFERENT PUBLIC SITES**



Harassment happens in the male-dominated public sphere where women are situationally disadvantaged- the term used for people standing out as different in public, for example a person in a wheelchair (Gardner, 1995). The coffee shop worker (in part 3.2. *Sexually explicit comments and singing*) was harassed at what seemingly is her place of advantage- her work place. However, women are disadvantaged in the male-dominated public space. Through leering, sexually evaluative comments, touching, pinching, etc., women are turned into objects of pleasure and entertainment for men.



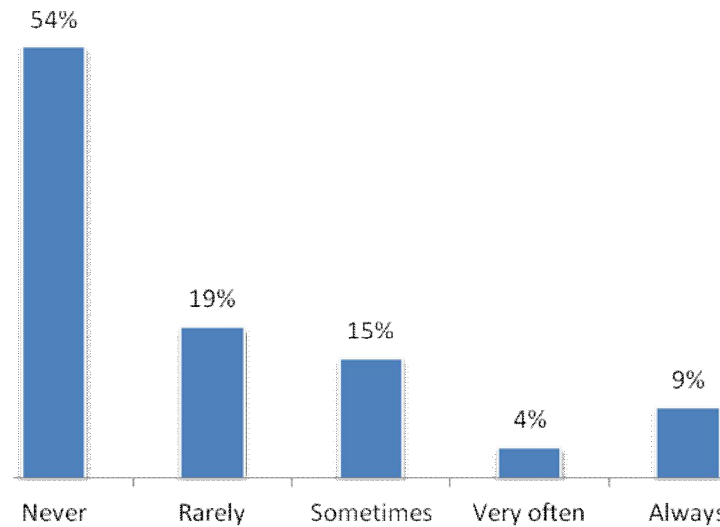
## CHAPTER 4

### WOMAN'S DRESS

A popular attitude in Turkey holds that a woman's dress influences the level of harassment she receives: if she wears something revealing or highlighting her body parts (tight blouse, or a mini skirt, for example), she is then more open to harassment than are women who dress more modestly, and she even calls men to harass her. On the other hand, if a woman dresses modestly- nothing "provocatively" tight and open- she receives less or no harassment in public. This chapter presents a discussion of public opinion on sexual harassment in relation to women's dress, based on data gathered through survey.

Orhan Çeker, a professor in the department of Theology at Selçuk University in Turkey, stated that women who dress openly are being provocative and are themselves to blame for sexual harassment (Samanci, 2011). Based on the attitude that holds women responsible for their own harassment I asked my survey participants whether they would hold the violated woman responsible for her own harassment. Twenty-eight percent of respondents said they would at least sometimes condemn the victim, and fifty-four percent of women indicated that they would never do that (*See Figure 12*). Thirty-five percent of women said they would not wear tight clothes or clothes revealing parts of their body as a way to prevent being harassed in public (*See 5.2. Appearance modification*).

**FIGURE 12:  
THOSE WHO EXPRESS THEIR DISAPPROVAL OF THE VICTIM'S  
DRESS OR BEHAVIOR (N=112)**

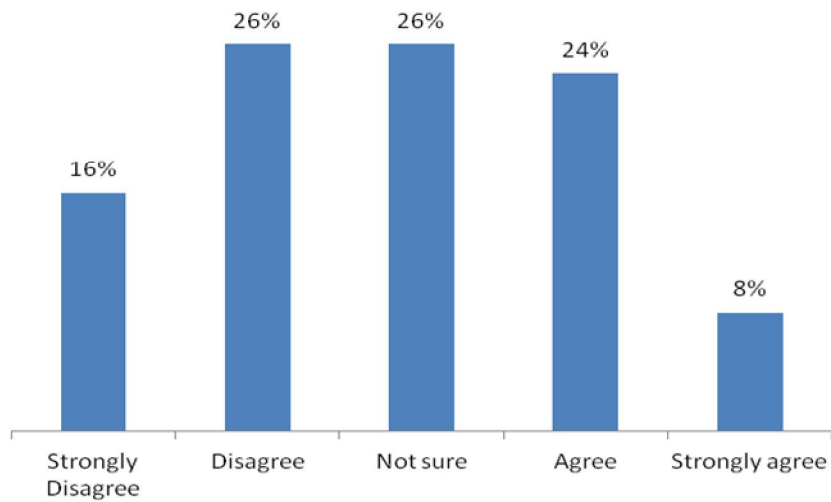


A common belief in Turkey holds that covering one's hair with a headscarf protects women from sexual harassment on the streets. The headscarf is believed to be the sign of the wearer's modesty and that the wearer adheres to higher moral values than do those women who dress openly. In my survey, one question aimed at collecting opinion on the headscarf and level of harassment issue (*See question 5 in Appendices A and B*). The question, comprised of four parts, is explained below.

One, respondents were asked- independent of whether they wear a headscarf or not- to indicate their level of agreement with the following statement: "Women who wear headscarves experience less harassment than do other women". Of the respondents, thirty-two percent hold the opinion that women who wear headscarves

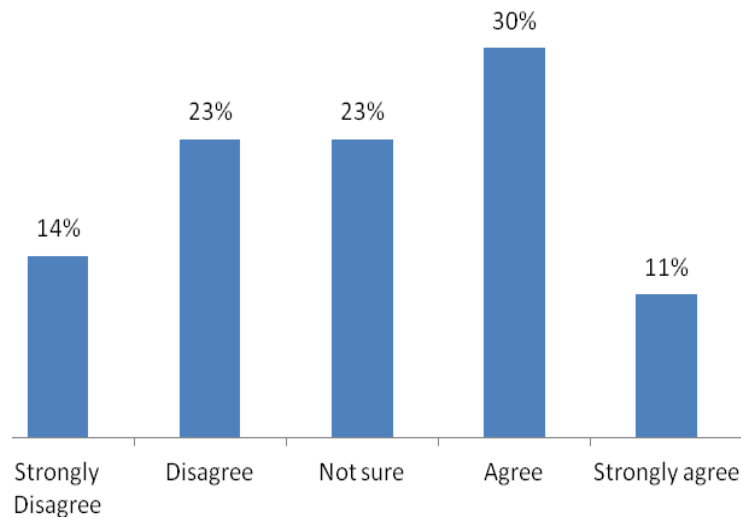
experience less harassment than do other women; forty-two percent disagree (See Figure 13).

**FIGURE 13:  
WOMEN WHO WEAR HEADSCARVES EXPERIENCE LESS  
HARASSMENT THAN DO OTHER WOMEN (N=119)**



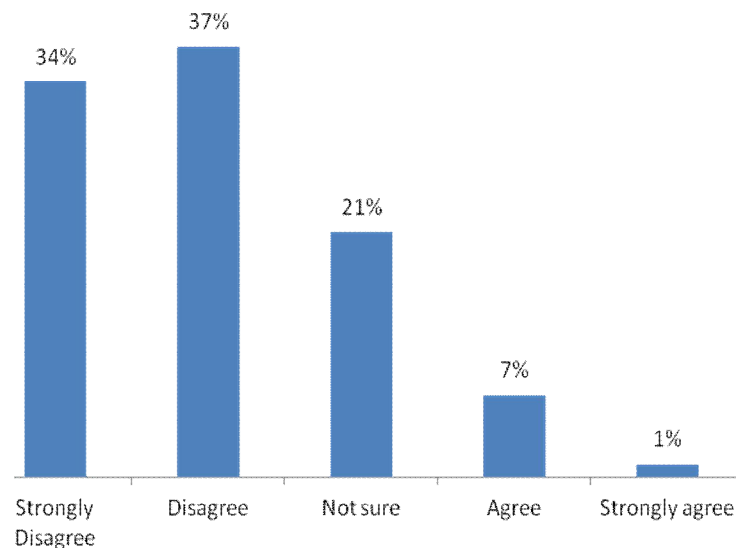
Another part of the question asked respondents who wear a headscarf to indicate their level of agreement with the statement, “I am harassed less frequently than are my friends who do not wear a headscarf”. Of the sixty-six women who answered the question, forty-one percent agreed with the statement, and thirty-seven percent disagreed with it (See Figure 14).

**FIGURE 14:  
THOSE WHO WEAR A HEADSCARF ARE HARASSED LESS  
FREQUENTLY THAN THOSE WHO DO NOT WEAR A HEADSCARF  
(N=66)**



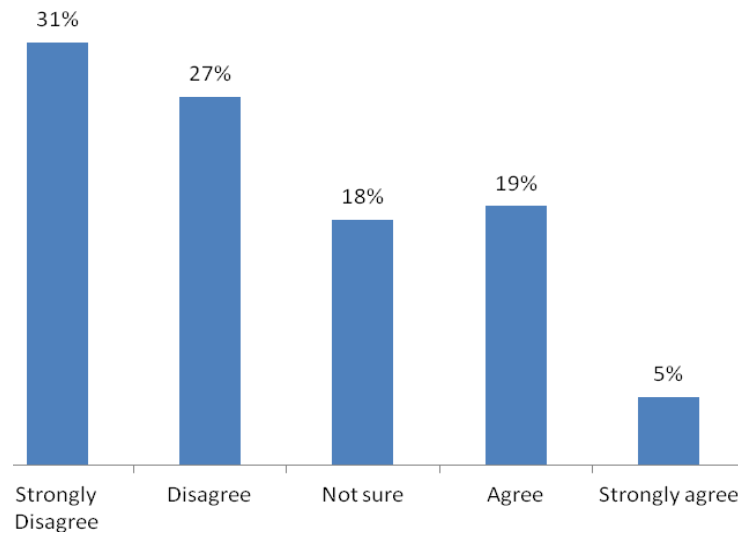
Only eight percent of women who do not wear headscarves agreed that they are harassed less frequently than their friends who wear headscarves (*See Figure 15*).

**FIGURE 15:  
THOSE WHO DO NOT WEAR A HEADSCARF ARE HARASSED LESS  
FREQUENTLY THAN THOSE WHO WEAR A HEADSCARF (N=71)**



Finally, women- independent of whether their wear headscarf or not- were asked if they think that women who do not wear headscarf are inviting men’s attention. Twenty-four percent agreed with the statement, and fifty-eight percent of respondents disagreed with it (*See Figure 16*).

**FIGURE 16:**  
**THOSE WHO THINK THAT WOMEN WHO DO NOT WEAR A HEADSCARF ARE INVITING MEN’S ATTENTION (N=114)**



Seventy-one percent of women who do not wear headscarf disagreed with the statement that they are harassed less than women who wear headscarves (*See Figure 15*). This could mean that the former group of women thinks they are harassed more than or at the same amount with the latter group (women who wear headscarves). Slightly less than a half, forty-one percent, of women who wear headscarves agreed that they are harassed less frequently than women who do not wear headscarves (*See Figure*

14). These data reflect the popular opinion that the level of harassment depends on women's clothing.

So, does hiding women's body under layers of clothes really protect women from sexual attention of men in public? According to the results of a survey conducted by the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights in Egypt in 2008, the answer is "no" (Knickmeyer, 2008). Seventy-two per cent of the interviewed women indicated they were veiled at the time of harassment. Some of them pointed out that the veil does not only fail to serve as protection against harassment, but even fuels it (Knickmeyer, 2008). Kearl (2010) writes that women's veiling may have no impact on street harassment in countries like Egypt and Turkey, where most women wear a veil (or headscarves). "[B]eing veiled [does] not lessen the harassment, because wearing a veil in public is so common" (Kearl, 2010, p. 10). Egyptian author Qasim Amin wrote that the veil and public harassment are the results of male power and dominance in the societies like his (cited by Benard & Schlaffer, n.d.). He argues that for some men the veil is a sign of women's inferior status, which encourages those men to treat women with disrespect and to "take liberties" (cited by Benard & Schlaffer, n.d.). Gardner (1995) writes that some forms of clothing, like the Muslim veil, while believed by many to form a protective shell, must also be considered as the means for exploitation by strangers. As Amin noted it earlier, together with protecting women from unwanted sexual attention, the veil may also provide another impetus for men to harass veiled women in public (cited by Benard & Schlaffer, n.d.).

A nineteen year-old female student from Istanbul University responding to my survey wrote:

I wear a headscarf. Men stare at me and comment on my body in tramway, metrobus, etc. I ignore them most of the time. There is no difference between those women who wear a headscarf and those who don't.<sup>17</sup>

However, the analysis I performed on data gathered through the survey leads to a different conclusion. After performing a T Test with the data (which tells us that 47 women who answered the survey wore headscarves, and 45 did not at the time of their last harassment), the following result was obtained:  $t=-4.329$ ,  $df=84$ , and  $p<.000$ . Therefore, I conclude that wearing a headscarf makes a difference in the level of harassment. Subjects not wearing headscarves are harassed more frequently. The mean of students being harassed with a headscarf on was 2.3 incidents, while those not wearing a headscarf had a mean frequency of harassment of 3.1.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **AVOIDANCE AND NON-CONFRONTATIONAL COPING STRATEGIES**

Women adopt various strategies to avoid being harassed in public and to deal with their harassers. They change their routes or plan them ahead of time in order not to pass through certain neighborhoods where they may have been harassed before or where they feel unsafe; they change their physical appearances (clothes, shape of body, etc.); they avoid making eye contact with or smiling at strangers in public; some try not to leave home unescorted. The above I call predict-and-avoid strategies, because women knowingly keep away from anything they think could lead to harassment. When these strategies fail and harassment happens, women move to coping strategies. I divide coping strategies into passive and active. Passive strategies are those that stop or prevent further harassment from happening without requiring a woman to address her harasser. Ignoring a harasser and distancing one's self from a harasser are examples of passive strategies. Active strategies, on the other hand, require a woman to address her harasser and to take actions against him. Those strategies include responding verbally or physically to a harasser and may include reporting him to an authority. In this chapter, I discuss the predict-and-avoid strategies and the passive coping strategies women use to deal with harassment after it happens. I combine these two in one chapter because none of them requires a direct communication with harasser.

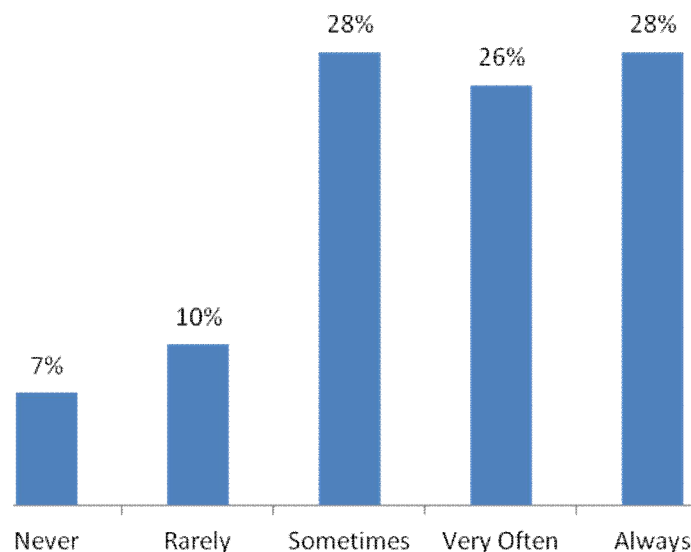


### 5.1. Engagement avoidance

Some women try to predict and avoid places where and times of day when public harassment is more likely happen to them. My survey respondents reported engaging in practices such as keeping away from certain places, avoiding men who they see as potential harassers, and not engaging in behavior that they think may lead to harassment.

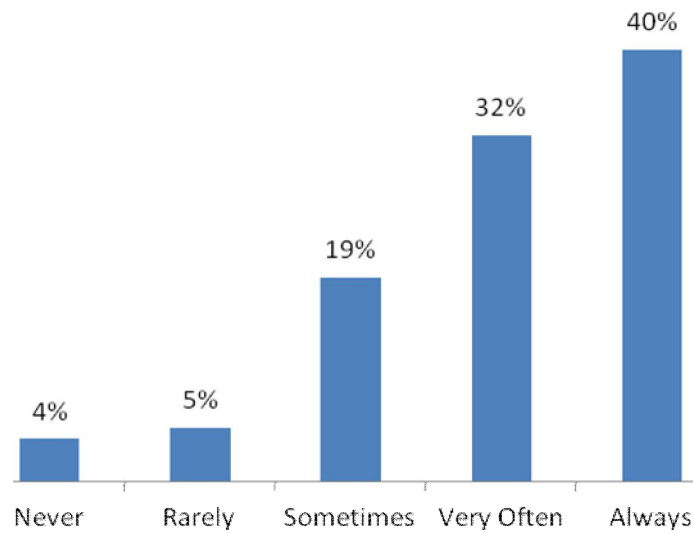
One of the predict-and-avoid tactics is to create an invisible wall between one's self and people in public. There are different ways to do this; and one is to look busy while in public, for example, texting or talking on the phone, listening to music, etc. Sending text messages or reading a book requires one's eyes to be cast down at the source, which allows the person not to engage in the common non-verbal interaction between strangers in public: making eye-contact with strangers or smiling at them. Twenty-eight percent of my survey respondents said they always try to look busy when in public places (*See Figure 17*).

**FIGURE 17:  
THOSE WHO TRY TO LOOK BUSY IN PUBLIC IN ORDER TO AVOID  
BEING HARASSED (N=116)**



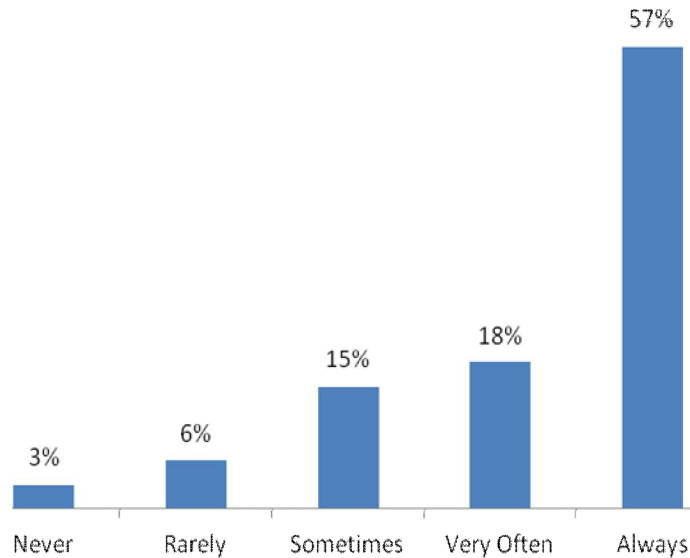
Deliberately avoiding eye contact with strangers in public places is another strategy practiced by women to avoid harassment. Forty percent of my survey respondents said they always avoid eye contact with strangers in public (*See Figure 18*).

**FIGURE 18:  
THOSE WHO AVOID EYE CONTACT WITH STRANGERS IN PUBLIC  
IN ORDER TO AVOID BEING HARASSED (N=118)**



Not smiling at strangers is yet another tactic always used by fifty-seven percent of my survey respondents as a harassment avoidance strategy (*See Figure 19*).

**FIGURE 19:  
THOSE WHO AVOID SMILING AT STRANGERS IN PUBLIC IN  
ORDER TO AVOID BEING HARASSED (N=117)**



In his study of interaction of strangers in public spaces, Scarboro (2009) writes that smiling at strangers in shared space is not common in Turkey not only between members of opposite sex, but among all people.

As I walk the sidewalks, I meet face after face set in serious mien or stoic solidity. Most faces are expressionless although often enough I meet a scowl. Most often, faces in public spaces give off a determined air, as if the wearer were moving towards a meeting with a disappointed bureaucrat or a determined dentist. On buses, faces show few emotions other than fortitude, endurance, patience, or disinterest. On stairways or lobbies, faces discourage dalliance but rather show indifference or studied disengagement. In the markets or shops, faces do not invite interaction (Scarboro 2009, pp. 7-8).

Examining images taken at a Turkish bazaar, Scarboro (2009) points out a distinction in people's behavior in shared and private spaces. In the first two images we

see *bazaar* customers with either indifferent or serious look on their faces- men as well as women. The third image shows a vendor behind his stand that separates him from the shared space of *bazaar* customers, creating a “private zone” for him. The vendor is smiling.

The vendor in this image stands in a socially private location while the shoppers stand in a public one. We see in this image the characteristics of both the private and the public arenas and the line dividing the two areas (Scarboro, 2009, p. 12).

Engagement avoidance that women practice in public in order not to be harassed is similar to the above. When a woman is in “shared space”, or public, her body becomes a “public space”, i.e. her body becomes “open” to harassment. And as one of the strategies to avoid harassment when leaving the private setting- home- she puts on an unsmiling face and avoids eye contact with strangers. And even though the normative non-verbal communication between strangers in public is not common in Turkey, women can still use the engagement avoidance as a tactic to shun harassment.

A Turkish woman, who had lived in the US for many years, and who was interviewed for the *Hurriyet Daily News* newspaper said that in public places in Turkey,

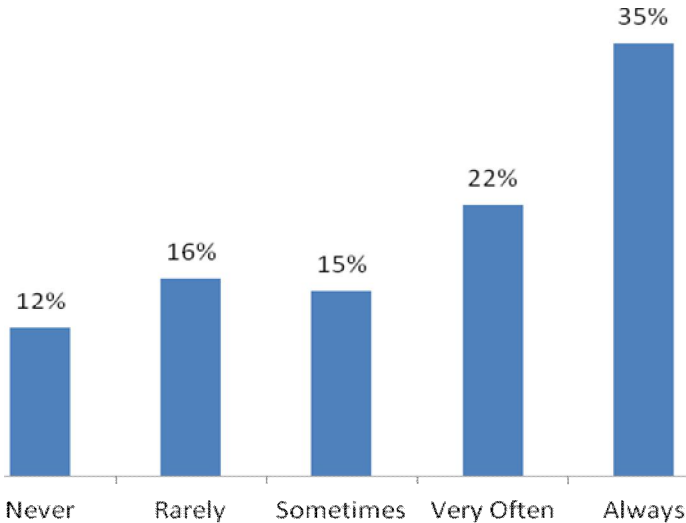
the women she smiled at looked surprised, and worse, the men she smiled at looked aroused [...] I realized that those men took my smile as a sexual hint [...] One of them even began to follow me in a very excited mood! (Akyol, 2012)

## **5.2. Appearance modification**

Another predict-and-avoid tactic women use is appearance modification. In this case, wearing tight clothes or clothes revealing parts of woman’s body are avoided.

Thirty-five percent of my survey respondents said they always engage in this strategy  
(See Figure 20).

**FIGURE 20:  
THOSE WHO CHOOSE NOT TO WEAR TIGHT CLOTHES IN ORDER  
TO AVOID BEING HARASSED (N=119)**



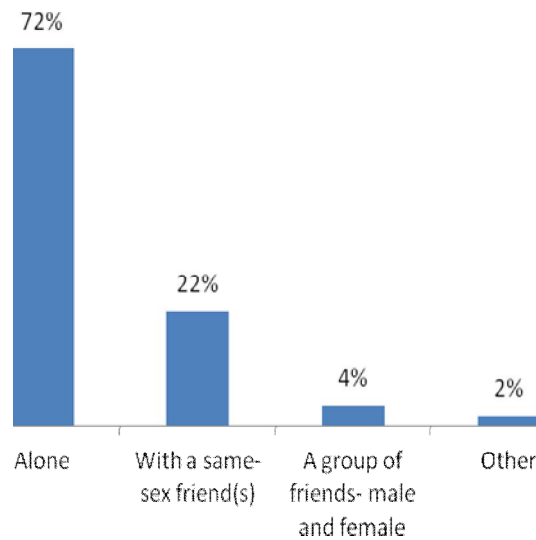
**5.3. Men as women’s protectors in public**

Some ways to fight street harassment have dual functions. They can be used by women to both predict and avoid street harassment, and, in case it already happened, to stop it. One of such strategies is having someone- preferably male- to escort woman in public and to intervene if she is harassed.

### 5.3.1. “Men as protectors”: predict and avoid

Women are often advised not to go out unaccompanied. A woman alone on the street is an easy target for harasser. Seventy-two percent of my survey takers indicated they were alone at the time of their last harassment (*See Figure 21*).

**FIGURE 21:  
WHO RESPONDENTS WERE WITH AT THE TIME OF THEIR LAST  
HARASSMENT IN PUBLIC (N=113)**



A woman needs to be escorted in public, preferably by a man. The male company changes her status from “open” to “taken”, which is believed to reduce the amount of sexual attention she receives from other- unrelated- men. Some women interviewed by Gardner (1995) in Indianapolis report having experienced less harassment when accompanied by a male friend (or husband, or a male relative, etc.) in public places. And “[o]f the nearly 300 women interviewed, all but 20 mentioned that accompaniment was an advantage” (Gardner, 1995, p. 98).

### **5.3.2. “Men as protectors” as a passive coping strategy**

In the highly patriarchal Turkish society, it is common to have a man as a protector who can step into a situation where the woman is violated and to fend off the perpetrator. A survey respondent from Fatih University wrote, “We walked faster and tried to get out of the sight of those guys; called our brother on the phone [...]”. Another woman wrote that when a stranger directs his attention to her in public, she purposefully displays her engagement ring.<sup>18</sup> This strategy of showing the existence of a man in woman’s life – a man who may not even be physically present there- is supposed to prevent the harasser from taking further steps. The existence of a “protector” makes a woman feel that “she has the right to remain unmolested not because of her own rights as an individual, but because she has a husband or a boyfriend” (Gardner, 1995, p. 97).

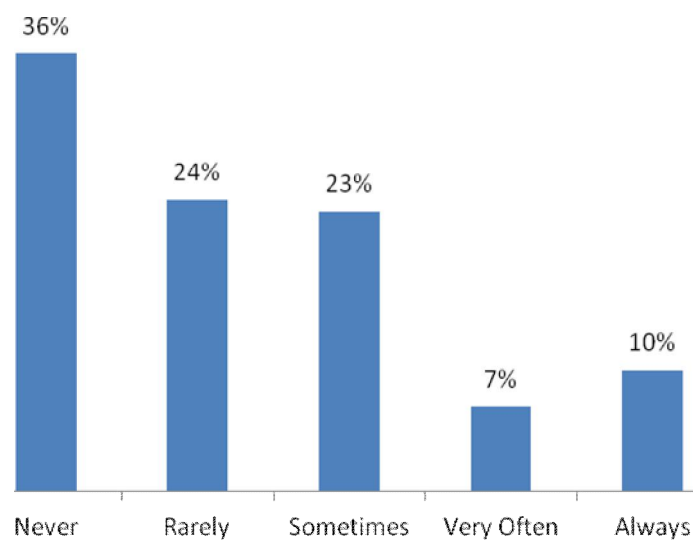
Cortina et al. (2002) call Turkey a collectivist society: that is, members of a group (family members, co-workers, friends, etc) are closely related to each other and call on each other’s help in a critical situation. Cortina et al. in their study of how Turkish women cope with sexual harassment at work, highlight the importance of family intervention as a means of dealing with the situation. In Turkey,

sexually harassed women who did not fear blame often coped by relying on their male support network- arranging for their fathers, brothers, husbands, relatives or friends of higher status to intervene in the situation and step in as protectors (Cortina et al., 2002, p. 396).

After being followed and closely approached by a man inside a metrobus car, a respondent from Fatih University got off of the metrobus and to avoid further harassment she called her parents to pick her up from the station (*See 3.6. Following*). Another respondent, a nineteen year-old Fatih University student, wrote that a man in his 60's followed her around a shopping mall for two and a half hours, following her into every shop she entered and smiling at her. Refusing to acknowledge his presence, she called up her friends; together they took a cab and left the place.<sup>19</sup>

In the collectivist Turkish society, relying on a family member to step in and help solve the situation where a woman is sexually harassed is preferred to seeking advocacy with the authorities (Cortina et al., 2002). When sexually harassed in public thirty-six percent of my survey respondents would not report harasser to authorities (*See Figure 22*).

**FIGURE 22:**  
**THOSE WHO REPORT HARASSER TO AUTHORITIES (N=115)**





However high the chances of deterring harassment the male company may provide for women in public, it simultaneously increases women's dependence on men.

To need a companion indicates the need for protection by, implicitly, someone who is incompetent to protect him- or herself, such as children of tender years who should not go into public places without a parent or other elder (Gardner, 1995, p. 206).

Further, once she separates from her escort, a person becomes "open" to harassment again. This "highlights how fragile a woman's presence in public is and how much this presence requires bolstering" (Gardner, 1995, p. 96).

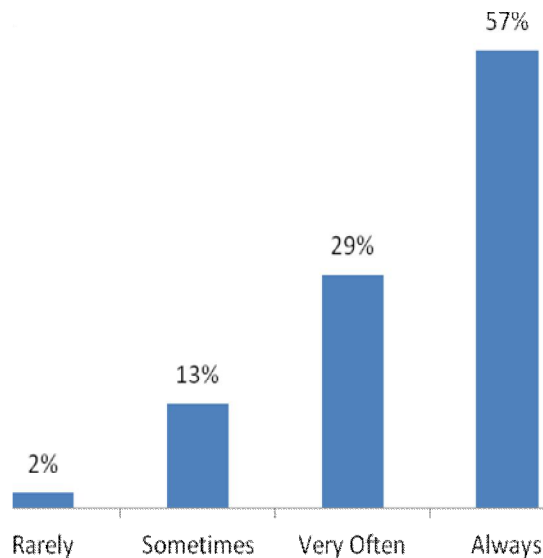
#### **5.4. Mobility**

The fear of being sexually harassed restricts women's mobility in and access to public places (Gardner, 1995; Kearn, 2010). In previous studies, women report crossing the street when they see someone they perceive as dangerous, changing routes they previously used to take to go to work, going to a gym instead of exercising in the more heavily populated parks, etc (Bowman, 1993; Gardner, 1995; Kearn, 2010). A twenty year- old Fatih University student from an African country, responding to my survey, wrote that she was going to the bus stop to take a bus to school when a man shouted something insulting and of sexual content at her. She got so upset, instead of going to school she turned around and went home and avoided going out for several days. Street harassment limits women's mobility in public spaces through two different ways. A woman may avoid places (parks, certain neighborhoods, busses, etc) where she has previously experienced harassment, or avoid men (passing by men standing or walking in front of her, sitting next to men on the bus, etc) whom she thinks might harass her.

### 5.4.1. Mobility: predict and avoid

To the question in my survey of how often the respondent puts distance between herself and the person whom she perceives as a potential harasser, more than half of the respondents indicated that they always do it (See Figure 23).

**FIGURE 23:  
THOSE WHO PUT DISTANCE BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND THE  
PERSON THEY PERCEIVE AS A POTENTIAL HARASSER (N=120)**

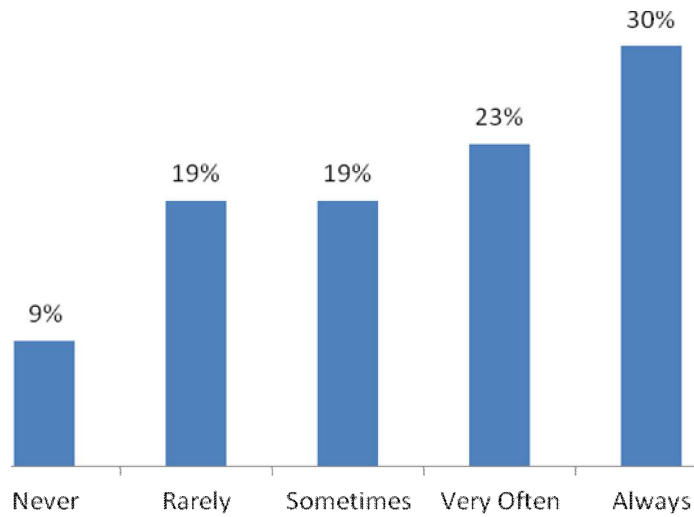


A 21 year-old Fatih University student respondent wrote that she and her sister stopped taking the street for a few days after a group of men had followed them there.

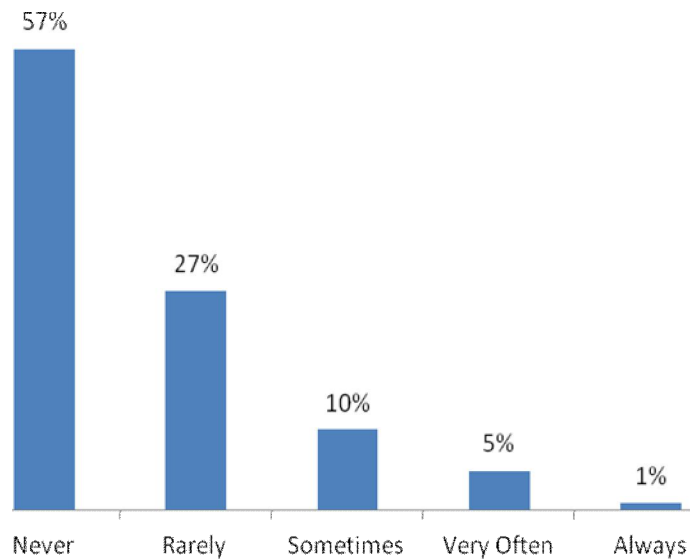
Not only do women avoid certain places because of fear of being sexually harassed, some also avoid going out at certain times of the day. Thirty percent of women said they always avoid going out in dark, and sixteen percent of women

indicated they try to completely avoid public places at least sometimes (See Figures 24 and 25 respectively).

**FIGURE 24:  
THOSE WHO AVOID GOING OUT IN DARK (N=118)**



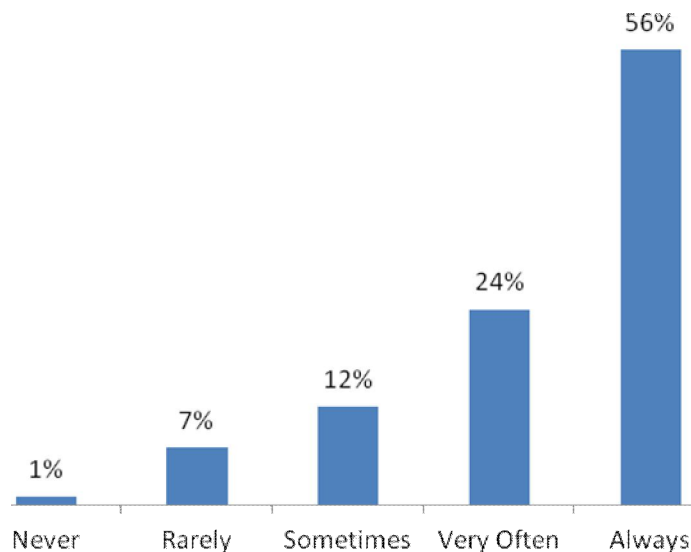
**FIGURE 25:  
THOSE WHO AVOID GOING OUTSIDE (N=116)**



#### 5.4.2. Distancing as a passive coping strategy

Distancing could also be a passive coping strategy women use to deal with harassment when or after it happened. A woman may choose to move away from the harasser to be out of his reach and attention. As in the case with predict-and-distance, women who distance themselves from the harasser after they were already harassed constitute a majority of my respondents (*See Figure 26*).

**FIGURE 26:  
THOSE WHO MOVE AWAY FROM HARASSER TO BE OUT OF HIS  
REACH AND ATTENTION (N=115)**



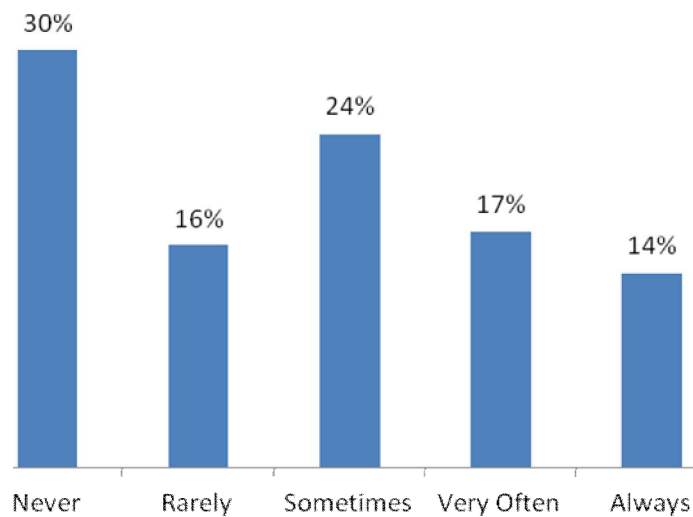
A survey participant wrote that she and her friend had to go out of their way in order to escape their harasser:

I was walking with my friend on a street. While going across the street, a man who was across from us said very unpleasant things. Then we changed our way and went into a shop. Till the man left, we did not go out of the shop (Fatih University, 20).

### 5.5. Ignoring- a passive coping strategy

Some women believe that ignoring a harasser and his act is a way to disengage him and prevent further harassment. Fourteen percent of the survey participants indicated that they always ignore the harasser and seventeen percent said they do it very often (See Figure 27).

**FIGURE 27:  
THOSE WHO IGNORE THEIR HARASSER (N=117)**



In the stories women shared, they clearly stated that ignoring is a tactic to end or prevent further harassment.

As I remember, I was in the metro with my friends. [...] we saw a group of young guys. Then they began to stare at us. Then we had a seat and didn't look at them. But they continued to look at and talk about us. But we seemed not to realize and didn't interest with them! In these circumstances, I don't give so much attention to the harasser and leave the place and ignore them (Fatih University, 21).

Another Fatih University student shared her pessimistic observation: she usually ignores the harassers “because the number of those people is not few. So maybe we are all used to these events without realizing”.

In the stories that the survey participants shared, I have noticed a reoccurring pattern of reasons to why women ignore their harassers, a point noted as well by Gardner (1995). Some ignore the harassers with the thought that if they did so the latter will stop harassing them. In other cases, ignoring the harasser is a spontaneous reaction rather than a deliberate strategy. Some respondents report being shocked at the moment of harassment to the extent that they are not able to respond to the harasser, and have to ignore him instead. A twenty-two year-old Fatih University student wrote,

I was coming home from school. There were not many people on the street. I was carrying an umbrella and had my earphones on. The music volume was very low. A man in his forties approached me from the other side of the road. He came very close and said something of sexual content. He was so close I felt his breath. At that moment I felt disgusted and ashamed of myself and of my gender. It made me sad that the man was of my father’s age. I wanted to hit him with my umbrella. But I was so shocked I could not do anything. I pretended I did not hear him and continued walking.<sup>20</sup>

There is yet another reason to why women remain silent and ignore the harasser: when they are faced with ambiguous situations an appropriate response is difficult to identify (Gardner, 1995). In some situations a woman cannot tell if what the man did was harassment or not: if a hand brushed quickly against a woman’s buttocks in a crowded bus was intentional or accidental. Lost in the “what if”s, she refrains from

responding to the perpetrator: “what if he did not mean to touch me? If I answer back what if he says I made it up?”

A twenty-four year old Yildiz Technical University student was riding a metrobus car during rush hour when she noticed a man in his thirties constantly staring at her.

I tried to move away from him as far as could; and I saw him following me to where I went. I could not tell him anything thinking that he would say “why do you think I am looking at you?” [...] It ruined my day knowing that I could not do anything in this situation.<sup>21</sup>

Some women ignore the harassers fearing that their response might provoke the latter to violence. A twenty-two year-old student at Yildiz Technical University shared her story of ignoring the harassers out of fear that not ignoring him might put her to danger.

My twin sister and I were walking on the street. A group of boys followed us and whistled at us. We didn't look at them, and they sang a song and they called us. We didn't look again. Finally they threw a snow ball at us. We were only two people- my sister and me, and there were five boys in the group. So we moved away from the group, we had to [*sic*].

## **5.6. Conclusion**

Avoidance and passive coping strategies that women adapt in order to avoid public harassment are double-sided: when helping woman protect herself from the unwanted attention coming from strangers in public, these strategies also tend to seclude her and to remind to her that she has to try harder (than her male counterparts)

to become a rightfully equal member of public space. These strategies render woman relatively invisible in public, and mute her voice.

Further, some passive coping strategies, like ignoring a harasser, proved ineffective. Ignoring a harasser may anger him because the woman of his interest is not reacting. In the above story from a Yildiz Technical University student, after having been ignored whistling, harassers went further and got physical (throwing snowballs at the girls). Another survey participant, a twenty year-old Fatih University student from an African country, said that her harasser got physical- he grabbed her buttocks after she ignored his verbal assault. What is more, a rapist can do a “rape-testing” on a woman prior to proceed to the act of rape (Bowman, 1993). This can include “lewd or insulting remarks, to see if she can be intimidated”; and “[i]f the target reacts in a passive fashion to the harassment, the rapist may assume that she will probably not fight back, and he is more likely to rape her” (Bowman, 1993, p. 536).



## CHAPTER 6

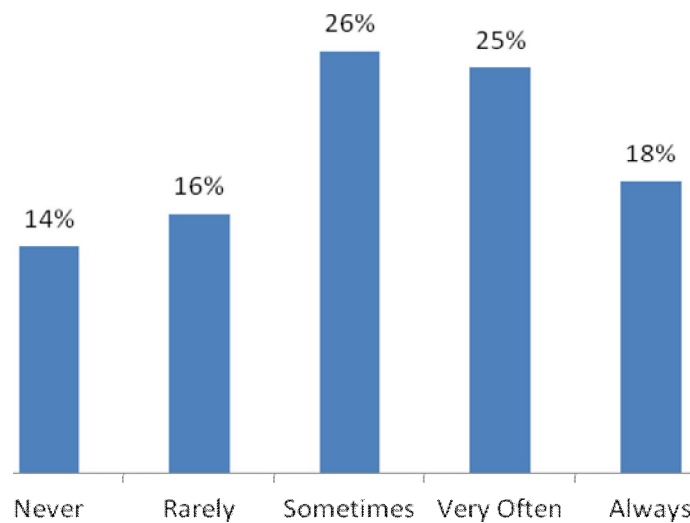
### ACTING BACK

Some women deliberately prefer to leave the episode of harassment unnoticed; other women respond to the harasser. Ways in which women respond to and address the harasser vary from a verbal warning to the perpetrator to reporting him to the authorities.

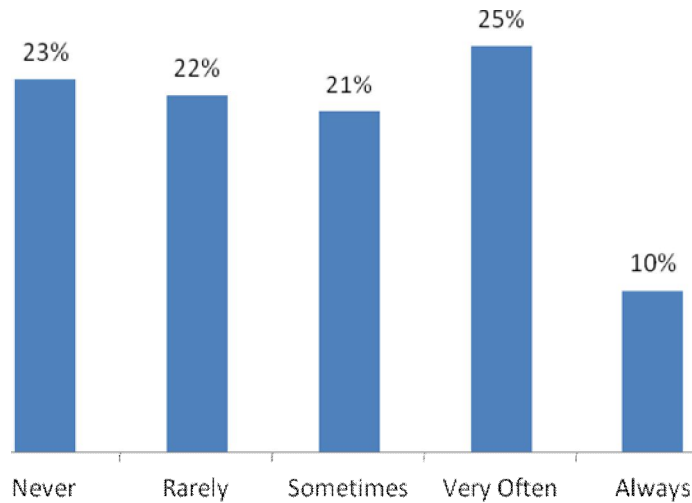
#### 6.1. Verbal response

Almost half of the respondents- forty-three percent- specified that they always or very often tell the harasser to leave them alone (*See Figure 28*). Twenty-five percent of the respondents said they very often engage in a verbal fight with the harasser, and ten percent of women always do so (*See Figure 29*). Some illustrative stories from my survey participants follow.

**FIGURE 28:  
THOSE WHO TELL HARASSER TO LEAVE THEM ALONE (N=114)**



**FIGURE 29:**  
**THOSE WHO RESPOND VERBALLY TO HARASSER (N=115)**



A twenty-three year-old Fatih University student from a former USSR republic wrote,

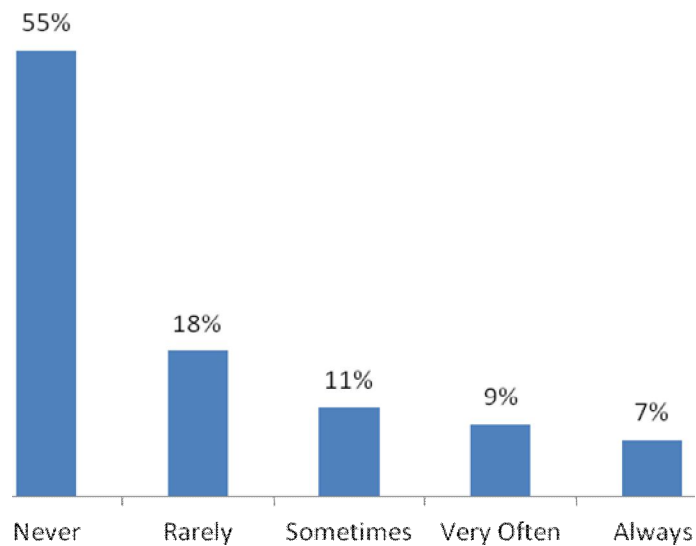
Once on the bus, a man tried to touch me. First I did not respond in any way, because it was crowded. I just tried to move away from the man. He insisted on continuing. This is when I started yelling at him. The other passengers noticed that something is going on, and the man got off at the next stop.

A twenty-eight year-old respondent from Istanbul University wrote, “I was on the foot bridge when I noticed a guy leering at me. I looked at him and said ‘What are you looking at?’ He turned his head the other way”.<sup>22</sup>

## 6.2. Physical response

Nine percent of my survey respondents said that they very often and another seven percent said they always launch a physical attack on their harassers (*See Figure 30*).

**FIGURE 30:  
THOSE WHO RESPOND PHYSICALLY TO HARASSER (N=115)**



In her story, a twenty year-old Fatih University student from an African country wrote that she hit her harasser- who grabbed her butt on the street- with her book bag till he ran away.

Another respondent from Fatih University, who did not specify what exactly happened to her, wrote that while riding a bus she pretended to have dropped her purse; and when picking it up, with her elbow she punched the harasser in the stomach.<sup>23</sup>

### **6.3. Response to leering**

Among the stories of harassment some of the survey takers shared, I have noticed a common way of coping with leering. Most wrote that they stare back at the harasser; and the latter averts his gaze. A nineteen year-old Istanbul University student wrote, “Without taking my eyes off I stared at the man who shoot gazes at me in metrobus. After this, he stopped staring”.<sup>24</sup>

A twenty-one year-old Fatih University student’s story: “A man sitting in the opposite seat in metrobus continuously stared at me in a disturbing way. I shot angry glances at him, and I breathed angrily”.<sup>25</sup>

### **6.4. Reporting to authority**

Reporting a harasser to police is an unpopular coping strategy among women who took my survey. Only ten and seven percent of the respondents indicated that they always and very often complain about harassment to authorities. Thirty-six percent of the respondents said they never report harassers to authorities (*See Figure 22*). Among the stories that the survey takers shared, only one contained a story of a report, though unofficial, to a security guard.

We were six people- all women- walking on the street at night. Two guys in their twenties started following us. We started running; they did too. When we saw a security guard of a close-by apartment building we ran up to him. Those guys ran away.<sup>26</sup>

The Turkish Penal code passed by parliament in 2004 has three articles that deal with harassment, assault, and defamation of personas. Under the Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code, anyone who

undermin[es] the honor, dignity or respectability of another person or who attacks a person's honor by attributing to them a concrete act or a fact, or by means of an insult shall be sentenced to imprisonment for a term of three months to two years, or punished with a judicial fine (Turkish Penal Code, 2004).

The punishment is also applicable for any act “committed by means of a spoken, written or visual message addressing the victim” (Turkish Penal Code, 2004).

Article 105 of the Turkish Penal Code states that anyone “who sexually harasses a person, upon a complaint filed by the victim, shall be imprisoned for a term of from three months to two years or a judicial fine” (Turkish Penal Code, 2004). This Article also covers sexual harassment at work, school, and in family. Article 102 foresees a seven to twelve year imprisonment to anyone who sexually abuses and rapes a person with applying physical force, a weapon, or with the cooperation of other persons. Under this Article, a life sentence is given to the perpetrator in case if the victim enters a vegetative state or dies.

The under-report of street harassment in Turkey can be due to numerous reasons. A violated woman may not bring the subject up with the officials if she feels ashamed about and guilty for what happened to her. She could be afraid that by reporting sexual harassment a private issue, that sexual harassment is for many women, may become public, and that that would stain her “honor” and the “honor” of her

family. A woman's decision not to report the incident of harassment also may result from her knowledge of the previous failures of the legal system to protect women from sexual harassment and abuse (as in Nahide Opuz's case). Other women might not simply know their rights as citizens and as humans to protection that the law offers to them.

### **6.5. Conclusion**

Like the passive coping strategies with street harassment, active coping strategies are double sided: they may stop harassment or propel further harassment. The backlash of active coping strategies, like physical or verbal response to the perpetrator, may anger and provoke him to further violence.

## CHAPTER 7

### BYSTANDERS' RESPONSES

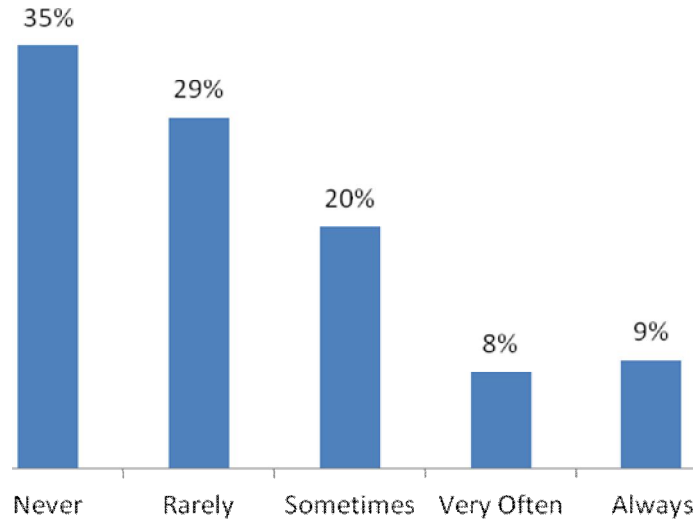
Scarboro (2009) in his study of interaction of strangers in public in Turkey concludes that actions in public spaces are “specifically individualistic” rather than social: people do not smile at each other, they do not queue, they do not recognize you in public, they avoid making eye-contact, etc. In my research, I attempted to find out whether people’s behavior remain individualistic when they witness sexual harassment in public, that is if they choose not to acknowledge it is happening; or if their behavior changes towards a collective action against harassment. My conclusions here are inferential; no item on my questionnaire specifically addressed this topic. This chapter discusses the behavior and the role of bystander in street harassment.

“Bystanders are defined as individuals who witness emergencies or criminal events and by their presence may have the opportunity to provide assistance, do nothing, or contribute to the negative behavior” (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2005, p. 21). Bystanders in public harassment act can ignore the situation and go on his or her own business, they can help the victim of harassment, or they can join the harasser in his act.

#### **7.1. Bystanders’ inaction**

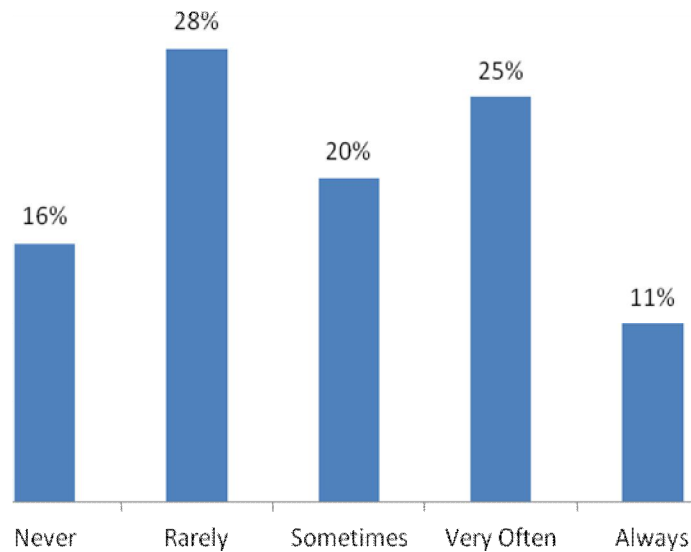
When witnessing harassment in public seventeen percent of the survey respondents said they very often ignore the situation (*See Figure 31*).

**FIGURE 31:  
THOSE WHO WHEN SEEING SOMEONE HARASSED IN PUBLIC  
IGNORE THE SITUATION (N=112)**



Thirty-six percent of the survey respondents indicated that they prefer to leave the scene altogether (*See Figure 32*).

**FIGURE 32:  
THOSE WHO LEAVE THE SCENE WHEN WITNESSED A WOMAN  
BEING HARASSED (N=114)**





The following story, shared by a student from Yildiz Technical University, illustrates bystander inaction in the scene of sexual harassment on public transport in Istanbul.

Last harassment happened to me in a tramway car. I was standing in a tramway car leaning on the wall. A middle-aged man approached me. He pressed himself against me. People watching us could tell that I felt uncomfortable. The man was constantly rubbing against me as the car moved; and he came even closer when I tried to step back. I saw other passengers watching me as I changed my place. They were aware of harassment, and did not do anything about it.<sup>27</sup>

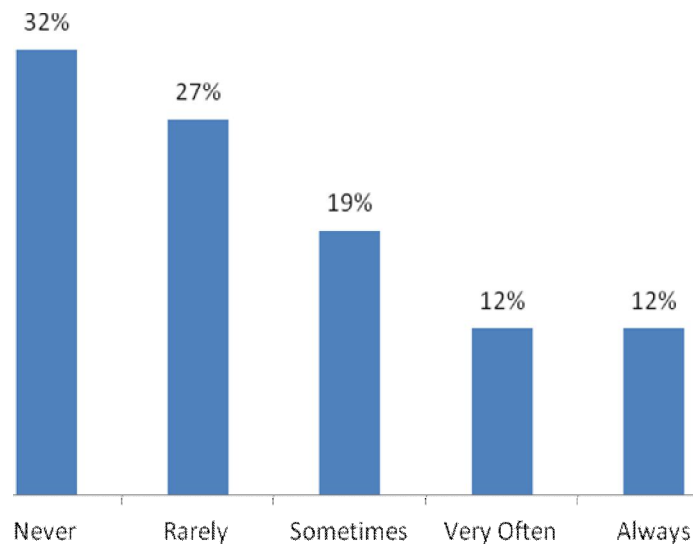
Studies of bystander behavior point out two main reasons why people witnessing harassment or an emergency situation fail to intervene (Banyard et al., 2004). One, the greater the number of witnesses, the higher becomes the “diffusion of responsibility”, or the expectation that someone else will help. Another situation when bystanders remain inactive is when the perception of an emergency is ambiguous (Banyard et al., 2004). When a person witnesses street harassment, questions like “What if it is not what I think it is?”, or “What if I am overreacting?”, or “What if she enjoys it?” might stop him or her from intervening in the scene.

## **7.2. Bystander intervention: directed at harasser**

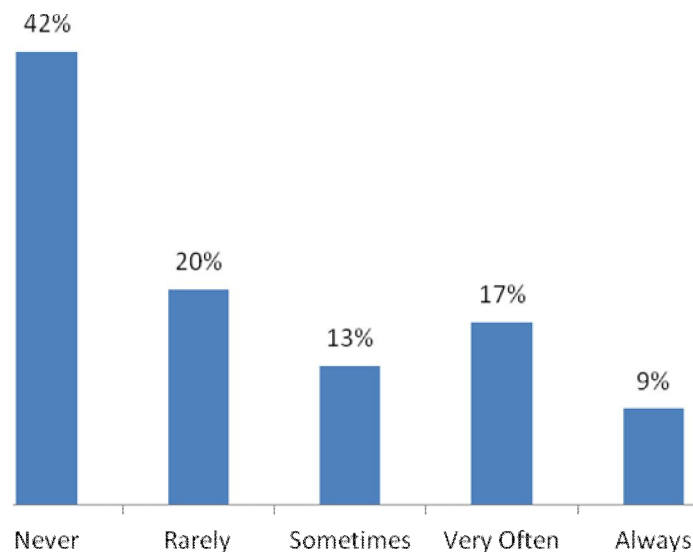
In the country where interaction between strangers in public spaces is on the most part individualistic, some people nevertheless stand up for the sexually harassed women in public, as my survey results evidence. When witnessing harassment, twenty-four percent of the respondents said they very often condemn the harasser with words

like *çok ayıp*, which means “shame on you” and is believed to be an effective phrase in Turkish (See Figure 33). Twenty-six percent indicated that they begin a verbal attack on the harasser (See Figure 34).

**FIGURE 33:  
THOSE WHO WHEN WITNESSING HARASSMENT CONDEMN THE HARASSER (N=113)**

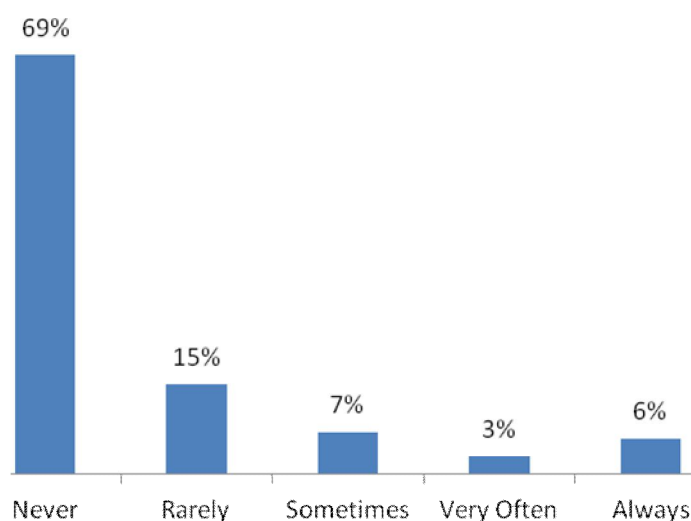


**FIGURE 34:  
THOSE WHO WHEN WITNESSING HARASSMENT VERBALLY ADDRESS HARASSER (N=112)**



Nine percent of the survey respondents said they would very often start a physical attack on the perpetrator when they witness harassment (*See Figure 35*).

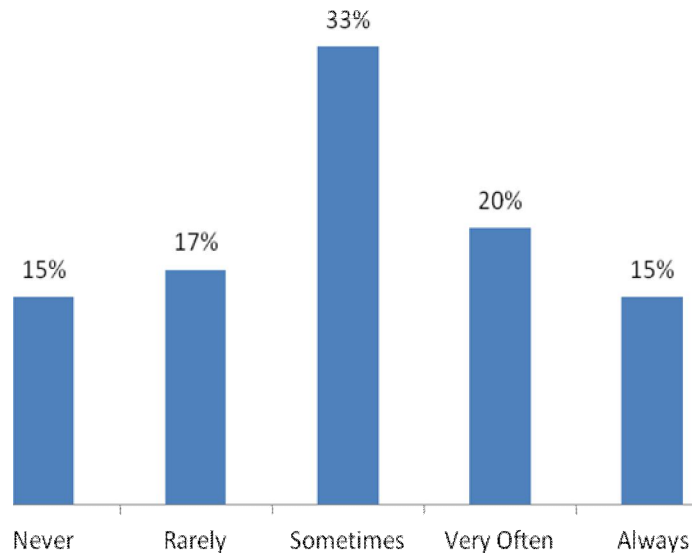
**FIGURE 35:  
THOSE WHO WHEN WITNESSING HARASSMENT START A  
PHYSICAL ATTACK ON HARASSER (N=114)**



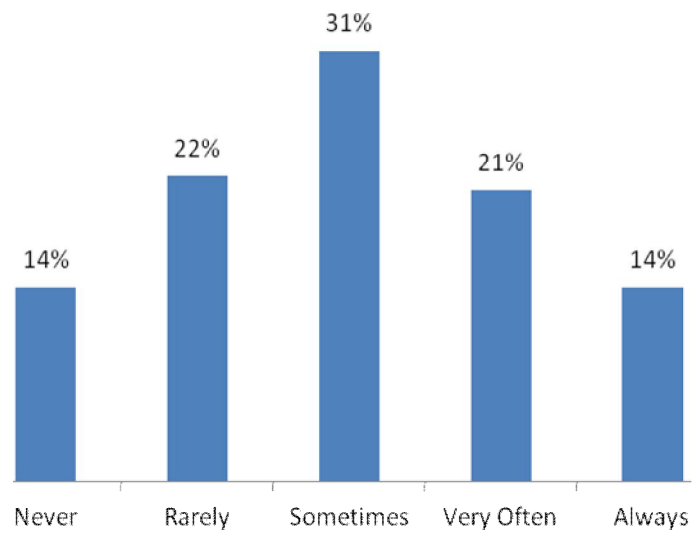
### **7.3. Bystander intervention: directed at victim**

Data gathered through the survey shows that the victim-oriented bystander reactions are more common among the respondents than those directed at the harasser. Thirty-five percent of the respondents indicated that they very often ask the victim if she is okay (*See Figure 36*). And thirty-five percent would offer her help (*See Figure 37*).

**FIGURE 36:**  
**THOSE WHO ASK THE VICTIM IF SHE IS OKAY (N=109)**



**FIGURE 37:**  
**THOSE WHO OFFER HELP TO THE VICTIM (N=111)**



#### **7.4. Bystander presence**

Sometimes a street harassment bystander does not have to intervene to stop or prevent further harassment; it is only his or her mere presence that does so (Banyard et al., 2004)

One day around three or four p.m. I was about to enter my apartment building when I noticed someone changed his way and starting walking towards me. I entered the building and headed to the elevator. I heard him entering the building after me and following me to the elevator; I decided to take the steps instead. I heard his footsteps getting faster. On one of the floors, I saw a man at his apartment door, I went to him. This way I prevented the first guy from following me. After waiting on that floor for a while, I went up to my apartment and saw the guy leaving our building.<sup>28</sup>

Yet another story about another person's mere presence that stopped the harasser:

It was about seven or eight p.m. I was on the street. It was dark. After following me for some time in a car with tinted glass, a man got out of it and started following me on foot. We came to a deserted street, I quickened my pace. The man stopped following me and walked away when he saw a woman coming from the opposite direction.<sup>29</sup>

#### **7.5. Conclusion**

It is important for a target of public harassment to know there is somebody to stand up for them. This assurance by others and the community at large will give victims and witnesses the impetus to respond to, and take actions against harassers. Only then will public places become safe and welcoming for everyone. However, my findings indicate that there is a long way to go.

Banyard et al. (2004) suggest that we must not stop at teaching women how to defend themselves against sexual assault and men to be respectful gentlemen on the streets. We need to move further and engage the community in violence prevention. Engaging bystanders to intervene when they witness harassment is one of the ways to do so. A certain set of values, a new atmosphere, has to be created in which not only legal punishment but also community members will condemn public harassment. For instance, in Turkey, bus passengers are honest about paying for their ride. Busses in Istanbul at times get so packed, that it is possible to remain unnoticed by the *muavin*- the bus fare collector who monitors new passengers who still have not paid the bus fare - or the driver (who sometimes performs the task of *muavin*). However high chances may be of riding for free, especially when the bus is packed, passengers are honest about paying for their ride. Is it because they think it'd be wrong not to pay; or because they are afraid that people around them will think they are doing wrong by not paying the bus fare? It is likely that the person in question is afraid of disapproval of the fellow passengers. Similarly, there has to be a kind of collective consciousness to disapprove of street harassment and of the person who performs it. In this case, a person who is about to perform an act of harassment would think twice before he did it.

## CHAPTER 8

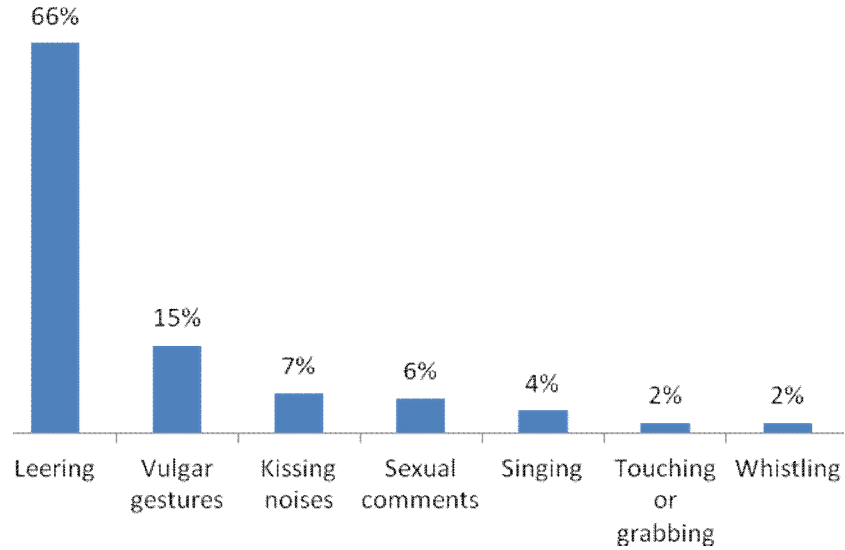
### QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL STUDY RESULTS

To collect data for this research three methods were used. The results of the first two- the questionnaire and story sharing- were delineated in previous chapters. The third method used to collect data was a quasi-experiment which took place in Istanbul in spring 2012 with a total of thirty participants (*See 2.3.1. Quasi- experiment: procedure*). This chapter presents data, which encompasses types of street harassment and bystanders' reaction to it, collected through the questionnaires distributed among the quasi-experiment participants upon the completion of their journeys.

#### 8.1. Types of street harassment

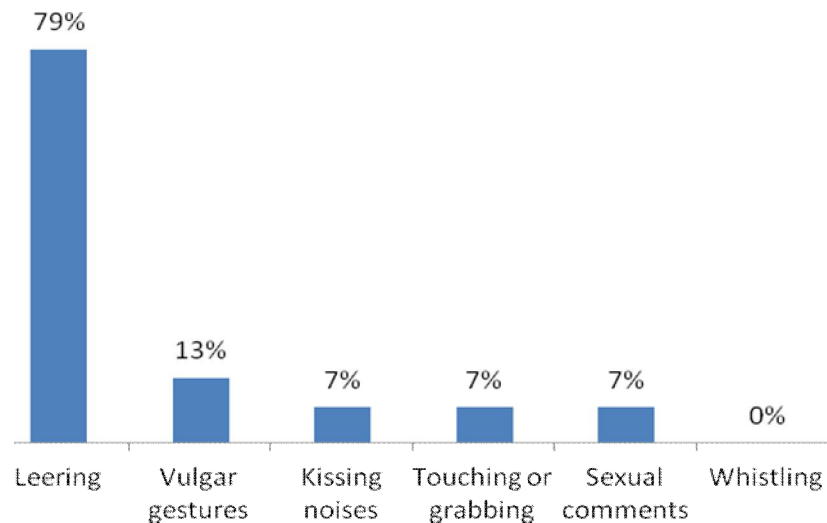
Leering was the most frequently encountered type of harassment during the journey from the Avcilar metrobus station to the New Mosque in Eminonu. "Singing" as the type of street harassment obtained from the story-sharing exercise results, was added as a type of possible harassment to the quasi-experiment questionnaire; and singing was experienced by four percent of the participants. Figure 38 demonstrates types of street harassment reported to have been experienced at least once by the quasi-experiment participants for the duration of the whole journey from Avcilar to New Mosque.

**FIGURE 38:  
QUASI-EXPERIMENT. TYPES OF STREET HARASSMENT (N=30)**



Further, the results are divided into the three stages of the journey that the quasi-experiment participants took - metrobus, tramway, and a walk. Leering was most frequently experienced in metrobus as compared to the other two stages of the journey, and amounted to seventy-nine percent (in metrobus). Frequencies of each type of public harassment in metrobus are shown in Figure 39.

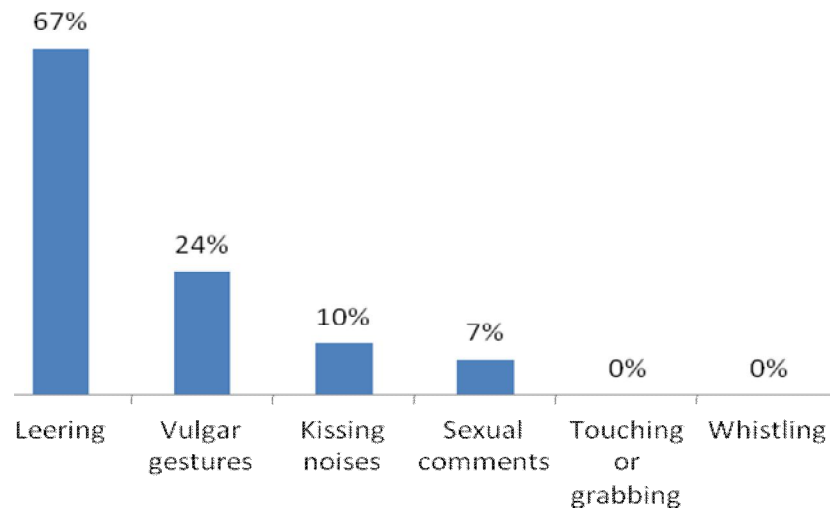
**FIGURE 39:  
TYPES OF STREET HARASSMENT IN METROBUS EXPERIENCED AT LEAST ONCE**





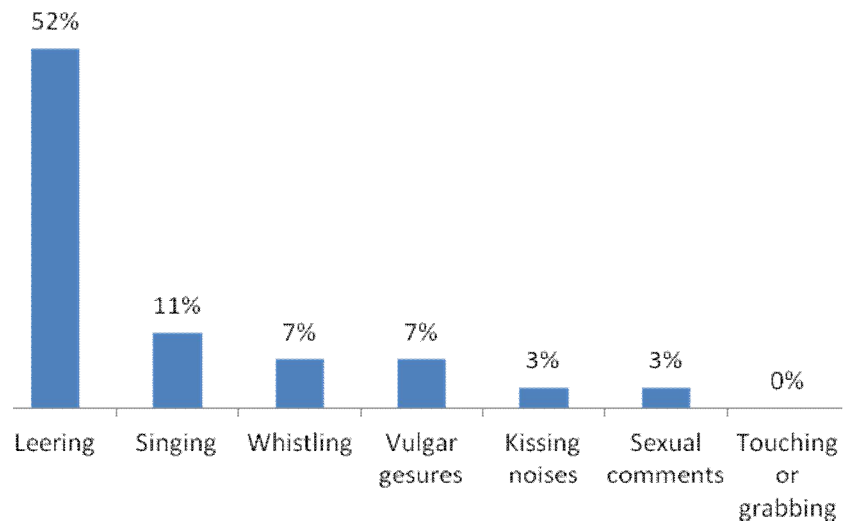
Results of frequencies of each type of public harassment in tramway, with leering (sixty-seven percent) and vulgar gestures (twenty-four percent) as the most pervasive, are shown in Figure 40.

**FIGURE 40:  
TYPES OF HARASSMENT IN TRAMWAY EXPERIENCED AT LEAST  
ONCE**



Results of frequencies of each type of street harassment experienced by the quasi-experiment participants during the short walk from Eminonu tramway station to New Mosque are shown in Figure 41.

**FIGURE 41:  
TYPES OF HARASSMENT EXPERIENCED AT LEAST ONCE DURING  
THE WALK FROM THE EMINONU TRAMWAY STATION TO NEW  
MOSQUE**

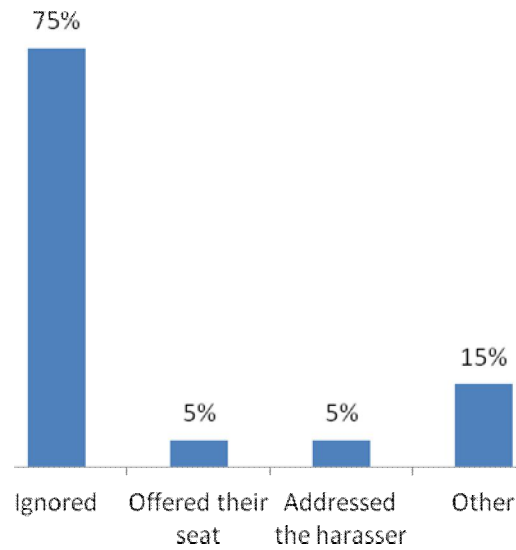


According to the figures, leering, vulgar gestures and kissing noises top the list of the most frequently experienced types of street harassment.

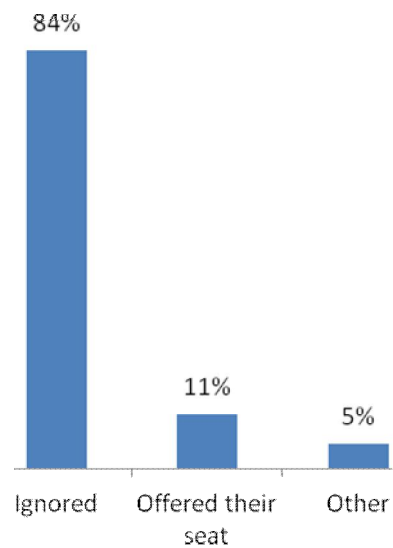
## **8.2. Bystanders**

The quasi-experiment questionnaire also aimed at collecting data on the harassment bystanders' actions. Most of the quasi-experiment participants faced bystander inaction at the time of harassment (*See Figures 42 and 43*).

**FIGURE 42:  
REACTION OF THE PASSENGERS TO HARASSMENT IN  
METROBUS**



**FIGURE 43:  
REACTION OF PASSENGERS TO HARASSMENT IN TRAMWAY**



### **8.3. Conclusion**

On the whole, the quasi-experiment results confirmed the findings of the earlier survey: leering is the most common type of street harassment in Istanbul. The quasi-experiment results supported Scarborough's observation and definition of Turkish public as individualistic, for in more than half cases of harassment reported by my survey participants people around did nothing to stop it.

## CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This research outlines common types of street harassment in Istanbul, women's strategies to avoid or fight it, and harassment bystanders' actions. The study also explores the link between women's clothes and street harassment: whether women who wear headscarves receive different levels of sexual attention from men in public than those women who do not wear headscarves.

Streets harassment takes place in the areas open to public, such as streets, shopping malls, busses, metro, etc. As the results of the survey showed, the two most common places in Istanbul where women experience harassment are on public transportation and in the streets. The most encountered types of street harassment in Istanbul- in descending order with the most frequently encountered first- are leering, whistling, vulgar gesture, sexual comments, and following. However, as it is noted in the *Introduction* to thesis, types of street harassment are hard to define, and all definitions are subjective: a certain behavior coming from a man in public can be interpreted in different ways by different women. I have come to the understanding that defining street harassment is a matter of perception when running the quasi-experiment. During the quasi-experiment and in the debriefing afterwards, I interacted with the participants in person (unlike the surveying process during which I did not even have to be present in the room). At the end of the trip of the quasi-experiment after completing the questionnaire, one of the participants came up to me and told me that in her answers she reported having experienced a vulgar gesture from a man. She told me how a man

on metrobus or tramway pushed her aside rudely. This did not sound like a type of street harassment that I was doing my research on- street harassment of sexual intent. It could have been the matter of translation of the phrase “vulgar gestures” from English into Turkish (the questionnaire was in Turkish and all quasi-experiment participants were native-Turkish speakers) that the girl interpreted it in a different way. “Vulgar gesture” in translation to Turkish is “kaba el hareketleri”, which if translated back into English would be “rude hand gestures”. The Turkish translation does not on the whole, if at all, carry the meaning of sexuality included in the English version of the phrase.

This research studied the impact of women’s clothing on the level of harassment they receive in public. And as the study showed, these two are related. The popular notion, which is also shared by my survey participants, that headscarf protects women from sexual attention in public, is confirmed by the results of the T Test performed on data gathered through the survey.

However, the sample size of the 121 respondents limits the permissible generalizations from this study. Moreover, in the survey, respondents were asked to indicate whether they wore a headscarf during their *last incident* of street harassment, but when performing the T Test, I assumed that women were covered- or not covered- for the whole period of time given in question 1 in the Appendices A and B.

I conclude that women who do not wear a headscarf are harassed more often than do those who wear a headscarf. However, in Turkey there are at present as many types of headcovering pieces as ways of wearing them. It can be a turban, an *esarp*, or a

*yazma*; and by the way in which women tie them can reveal which political party or an Islamic community they belong to, or what part of Turkey (urban, rural, East of Turkey, etc.) they are from. A covered woman may be harassed based on the message her headscarf conveys, which is not necessarily sexual harassment. A woman-my survey respondent- who indicated she wore a headscarf at the time of her last harassment wrote “I was in the street walking and a car stopped and said a sentence about his political view implying to insult me. I smiled and went on my way.” Types of headscarves and types of street harassment their wearers receive (not exceptionally sexual) could be a subject for further research.

In my survey, forty-seven women, thirty-nine percent of the total number of women who answered the question, said they were covered at the time of their last harassment, which I assume was sexual harassment, in public. However, it is not only a headscarf- or the lack of it- that conveys a message to strangers on the street; a person’s whole appearance, her clothes, the shape of her body matters on the street. Some covered women may wear a heavy make-up, or a tight blouse (which is the case in Turkey), the length of their skirts or the height of their heels may send a message to the strangers. One should distinguish between the ways covered women dress, because street harassment is mostly about the overall look of her body, rather than about the message of her modesty and religiosity (or any other message) that her headscarf conveys. Whatever a woman may be- a deeply religious person, a scholar, a housewife, or a student studying for her third degree, - or whatever her body may look like or

whatever she may be wearing on the street she is “at the bottom perceived just like any other woman on the planet, as merely ‘meat on the market’” (Thompson, 1994, p. 324).

When I first began this research on street harassment, I planned to investigate the difference of levels of harassment Turkish and foreign women experience in Istanbul (*see Methodology*). In the survey and the quasi-experiment questionnaire, I have included a question on the subjects’ country of origin. However, after all the necessary data were gathered and ready to be analyzed, it proved impossible to define the Turkish vs. foreign women variables: some of the survey respondents indicated Germany as their country of origin, but it does not necessarily mean that they were ethnically German. The respondent could have been a Turk born abroad. And since the foreignness of a woman in Turkish public places in some cases deduced from her looks, from just knowing the country of origin of a survey/quasi-experiment participant it would be hard to determine who of the subjects “look foreign”. Besides, an ethnically German woman may not fit the stereotypical look of a German person; she could as well have the stereotypical appearance of Turkish woman. It is hard to determine how a foreign woman looks in the eyes of the harassers: is she a tall, blond woman, does she have blue or green or brown eyes, does she wear clothes different from what Turkish women usually wear?

I wanted to study foreignness and street harassment because, as Helliwell (2000) puts it, rape and sexual harassment is not only about women as “other”, but also about “other women”, or foreign women. The common belief held by “some Turkish males that European and non-Muslim women are sexually loose” permits and in some way



encourages Turkish men to sexually harass foreign women (Yukseler, 2004, p. 59). Indeed, many Turkish males- and females- hold certain stereotypes of foreign women in Turkey. One of such stereotypes is the “Russian Natasha”, “as women thought to be prostitutes are derogatively called” in Turkey (Yukseker, 2004, p. 57). Deniz Yukseker (2004) in her study of Laleli- a district of Istanbul where the so-called “shuttle trade” takes place between small-scale predominantly female traders from the former Soviet Union and small-scale Turkish “entrepreneurs who have set up shop there to cater to the traders” demands” (p. 48) - writes, sometimes an intimate relationship develops between the two parties of the opposite sexes. Those female traders are those who mostly constitute the stereotype of “Natashas”. Since many see the female traders in Laleli as ready-for-intimacy “Natashas”, “the district attracts many young men in search of adventure who often end up harassing foreign women on the streets” (Yukseler, 2004, p. 58). But, of course, sexual harassment of foreign women is not limited to this certain district of Istanbul and only to “Russian Natashas”; further research is required where the harassers would be interviewed to find out what type of woman looks foreign for them (whether she has a certain look or behavior or dress that reveals her foreignness). Only then could the variables that draw a distinct line between who are Turkish women and who are foreign women and how they both look could be set.

Women employ different ways to cope with street harassment. I distinguish between active and passive coping strategies. Passive strategies, or non-confrontational, are those when a woman, in order to avoid harassment or stop it, ignores the harasser- or a person she thinks of as a potential harasser, - or distances herself from him rather

than answering back or taking actions against him. Among the most frequent non-confrontational strategies employed by women are distancing themselves from and ignoring the harasser. Women also tend to eliminate any contact with strangers in public, avoiding eye-contact and brief smile at a passer-by or a fellow passenger, as the means of fending off any unwanted attention. Although the common basic communication- like Goffman's "civil inattention"- among strangers in public (men as well as women) is not common in Turkey, women still use engagement avoidance as a tactic to protect themselves from harassment. Among the active coping strategies the most common is a verbal response to harasser. This one-to-one confrontation with the harasser was proved to be a more popular tactic among the surveyed women than reporting the harasser to authorities.

Even though passive coping strategies render women less visible in public and do not send out any disapproval message to the harassers, it is not clear whether active coping strategies are always effective and stop street harassment in the long run. It cannot be said that responding to harasser is always the best strategy to stop him. Further research on coping strategies' impact on harassment needs to be done.

I distinguish between two ways of bystanders' reaction to street harassment: active and passive bystander responses. According to the main data collection method- the survey- the most common inactive bystander response to harassment is to walk away. The study showed that among the active bystanders' responses to harassment, asking the violated woman if she is okay and if she needs any help is more common

than addressing the harasser. Only women were surveyed for this research. And women, already afraid for their own safety in public, may prefer not to address the harasser, afraid that he could direct his attention at her. Influence on prevention of street harassment according to bystander's gender needs to be studied.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> I use “most” as a reminder that there are some societies in which street harassment does not occur. Those are usually small communities, like villages, where people know each other and everyone exists as an individual, not a sex object (Bowman, 1993).
- <sup>2</sup> Hollaback! Istanbul is a non-profit organization that specializes in raising community awareness about street harassment.
- <sup>3</sup> In all their hypotheses, Cortina et al. grouped Turkish and Hispanic women together and put them in contrast with the Anglo-American women. The scholars based their combination on the argument that Turkish and Hispanic cultures are close to each other in terms of their high reliability on collectivism, power distance, and patriarchy. This makes Turkish and Hispanic women an “interesting contrast” to their Anglo-American counterparts (Cortina et al., 2002).
- <sup>4</sup> Filiz Kardam’s (2005) research shows even more reasons for honor killings: being kidnapped and/or raped, being in a relationship with a man without marrying him, and so on.
- <sup>5</sup> In 1935, 883.599 people lived in Istanbul (Gercek & Demir, 2008, table 2.3.1).
- <sup>6</sup> Metrobus “is the name of the bus rapid transit (BRT) system implemented and operated in İstanbul, Turkey. The name Metrobus was coined by the transit agency to suggest that this system is a hybrid between a metro train (Turkish: metro) and a bus” (“Metrobus (Istanbul),” n.d.).
- <sup>7</sup> New Mosque (*Yeni Cami*) is located next to the Spice Bazaar in Istanbul’s Eminonu district.
- <sup>8</sup> Tramvayda dörtlü koltukta karşıdaki adamın pis bakışlarına maruz kaldım. Yerimi değiştirdim.
- <sup>9</sup> İşyerinde (bir kitap kafe) oranın müdavimi olduğumu sonradan öğrendiğim, 60 yaşlarında bir adam, kendisine “hoşgeldiniz” dedikten sonra, işe yeni başladığımı farkederken, hiçbir samimiyetimiz olmamasına rağmen, ne kadar güzel bir kız olduğumu söyledi. Ardından, konuyu kapatmaya çalışarak ne içmek istediğini sordum ve yanından ayrıldım.
- <sup>10</sup> Alışveriş merkezinde yürüyen merdivenlerden çıkarken arkamdaki adam şarkı söylüyordu bana bakarak (Istanbul University, 20).

- <sup>11</sup> Metrobüste üst geçitten geçerken 2 çocuk bana ıslık çaldı. Bağırđım ve sözlü olarak cevap verdim (Fatih University, 21).
- <sup>12</sup> Sokaktaydım, ıslık çalmalar buraya gel sözleri falan. Hızla uzaklaştım. Satıcı birisiydi gelememi zaten peşimden (Fatih University, 20).
- <sup>13</sup> Yolda yürürken 40 yaşlarındaki adam öpücük attı ve ben de oradan hızla ayrıldım.
- <sup>14</sup> Bir alışveriş sokağında arkadaşım ile yürürken sapık arkamdan yaklaşır temas haline geçti ve ben çığlık attım. Ne yapıyorsun sen, diye. O da elini arkadan birleştirmiş hiçbir şey olmamış gibi gülümseyerek yürümeye devam etti. Polis yoktu. Bu durum çok etkilemişti beni.
- <sup>15</sup> En son akşam yedi, sekiz civarı metrobüs beklerken biri beni inebileceğim durağa kadar takip etti. Üstelik sürekli bakarak ve nefesini yüzüme vererek. Ne kadar rahat bırakmasını, yaptığının ahlaksızlık olduğunu söylesem de gitmedi. Ben de ailemi arayıp beni indiğim yerden almasını istedim (Fatih University, 20).
- <sup>16</sup> Lisedeyken otobüse binmişim ve arkamdan birinin bindiğini gördüm. Genç bir adamdı. Ve ben inince o da arkamdan indi ve eve kadar geldiğini gördüm. Aceleyle eve girdim ve arkamdan baktım ve hemen annemi aradım ve aşağı kadar geldi. Ben eve öylece çıkabildim ve camdan dışarı baktığımda o kişi dışarıda duruyordu. Sonradan herharle ayrıldı, ama ben onu daha sonra görmedim (Fatih University, 21).
- <sup>17</sup> Ben başörtü takıyorum. Tramvayda, metrobüste bana da bakıyorlar, laf atıyorlar. Genelde takmamaya çalışıyorum. Ancak başörtü takan ile takmayan arasında hiç fark yok.
- <sup>18</sup> Genellikle evli olduğumu ima amaçlı yüzüğümü göstermeye çalışırım.
- <sup>19</sup> Alışveriş merkezinde t-shirt bakıyordum. 60-65 yaşlarında deri ceketli, dar pantolonlu gözlüklü bir adam beni takip etmeye başladı. Her girdiğim mağazaya benimle girdi durup durup yüzüme bakıp gülüyordu. 2 saat 25 dk. benimle her mağazaya girdi. Takip etmeyi bırakmayınca arkadaşlarımı aradım ve taksikle oradan uzaklaştık.
- <sup>20</sup> Okuldan eve dönüyordum. Yolda pek kimse yoktu. Kulağında kulaklık vardı ve elimde şemsiyem. Müzümü çok kısık sesle dinliyordum. Karşı yoldan 40-50 yaşları arasında bir adam hızlıca iyice yanıma yaklaşarak fazlasıyla ağır cinsel ilişki içerikli şeyler söyledi, nefesinin sıcaklığı kulağıma geldi. O an kendimden çok tiksindim, cinseyitimin kız olmasından. Ve o adamın yaş ortalamasının babamla aynı olması beni üzdü. Yani babam yaşında birinin böyle bir şey yapması üzdü. O an durup ona şemsiyeyle vurmamı istedim. Ama çok şoka girdim o an hiçbir şey yapamadım. Sadece adamı duymamış gibi yaptım ve yoluma devam ettim.

- 21 Metrobüste iş çıkışı saatinde, insanlarla dipdibe gidiyoruz. [...] Uzaktan bir adamın (30-35 yaş) sürekli bana baktığını hissettim. Elimden geldiğince uzak bir noktaya geçmeye çalıştım ama onun da benim olduğum tarafa doğru yaklaştığını hissettim. Sadece bakışlarıyla rahatsız ettiği için nedense ses de çıkaramadım çünkü bağırıp çağırırsam “sana baktığını nerden çıkardın” demesinden çekşndim sanırım. Bu konuda hassas bir insan olmama ve her seferinde mutlaka tepki göstermeye çalışmama rağmen yol boyunca gerildim ve hiçbir şey yapamamak günümü mahvetti.
- 22 Üst geçitten geçerken tacizkar bakışlar gördüm. Dik dik bakarak karşılık verdim ve “ne bakıyorsun?” dedim. Başını çevirdi.
- 23 Otobüsteydi. Çantamı omzumdan düşürür gibi yapıp dirsegimle arkamdaki tacizcinin karın boşluğuna vurdum.
- 24 Metrobüste çirkin bakışlar atan adama ben de gözümü ayırmadan baktım. O, daha sonra bakmayı kesti.
- 25 Metrobüsteyken karşımda oturan bir adam gözleriyle sürekli beni süzüyordu rahatsız edici şekilde. Ben de sinirli bakışlar atıyor, sinirli bir şekilde nefes alıyordum.
- 26 Karanlıkta sokakta yürüyorduk. Altı kişiydik, hepimiz bayandık. 20-25 yaşlarında iki erkek takip etmeye başladı. Biz, tedirdin olup koşmaya başlayınca onlar da koşmaya başladık ileride bir site vardı. Kapıdaki güvenlik görevlilerin yanına gittik. Arkamızdakiler de koşarak uzaklaştılar.
- 27 En son tacize uğradığımda tramvaydaydım. Tramvay dolu olduğu için duvara yaslanarak ayakta durdum. Yanıma orta yaşlı bir adam geldi, beni iyice duvara sıkıştırdı. Etraftakiler hareketlerimden, benim rahatsız olduğumu fark ettiler. Tramvay hareket ettikçe adam sallanıyor ve bana değıyordu. İyice geri çekilmeme rağmen buna devam etti. Tramvay durakta durduğu anda, herkes yer değıştirirken ben de yerimi değıştirdim. Az önce beni izleyenlerin o esnada da bana baktıklarını fark ettim. Yani tacizin farkındalardı ve hiçbir şey yapmamışlardı.
- 28 Saat 3-4 civarında evime girmek üzereyken binanın kapısının önünde birinin yolunu birden değıştirip peşimden gelmeye başladığını gördüm. Evimin binasına girip asansöre doğru yöneldim. Peşimden asansöre yöneldiğini farketdiğimde merdivenlerden çıkmayı denedim. Hızlı adımlarla peşimden gelmeye başladı. Bir an çıktığım katların birinde yaşlı bir amcanın evinden çıktığını gördüm ve hemen onun yanına doğru gittim. Peşimden gelişini bu şekilde engellemiş oldum. Bir süre olduğum yerde bekledim ve merdivenlerden aşağı indiğini evime girdikten sonra camdan aşağıya gizlice baktığımda gördüm (Fatih University, 23).

<sup>29</sup> Sokaktayken, karanlıktı, akşam saat 7-8 gibi. Camları siyah olan bir araba tarafından takip edildikten sonra aradaki adam inip peşimden geldi. Sessiz bir ara sokaktaydım. Hızlı adımlar almaya başladım. Karşıdan gelen bayanı görünce kayboldu adam (Fatih University, 20).

**APPENDIX A**  
**SURVEY (ENGLISH)**



Dear Survey Taker,

I am a graduate student in sociology researching street harassment in Istanbul. Please take a few minutes to fill in the questionnaire. Your co-operation will contribute important data into the research field of street harassment. All answers you give will remain **strictly confidential**.

If you have any questions regarding the survey, please contact me by email  
[dina\\_ttl2006@hotmail.com](mailto:dina_ttl2006@hotmail.com)

or phone 90 507 369 7385.

Kind Regards,

Dina Nigmatullina

Fatih University

Thesis advisor: Prof. Dr. Allen Scarboro

E-mail: [soccas@gmail.com](mailto:soccas@gmail.com)

tel.: 90 212 866 3300 ext. 2289



*Sexual Harassment in Public Areas in Istanbul*

**Street harassment: definition**

Public harassment, or street harassment, is a variation of sexual harassment that occurs when one or more strange men accost one or more women whom they perceive as heterosexual in a public place. The harassers are usually strangers to those women, and harassment ranges from unwanted compliments and leering, to touching, grabbing or pinching parts of a woman's body, to rape.

**Your profile**

Age\_\_\_\_\_ Sex \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation\_\_\_\_\_

Country of origin\_\_\_\_\_

What school do you go to (if student)? \_\_\_\_\_

**Part 1**

1. How often do you experience the following kinds of behavior from strangers in public?

(Please check one box for each statement.)

	<b>Several times a day</b>	<b>Once a day</b>	<b>Once a week</b>	<b>Once a month</b>	<b>Every few months</b>	<b>Once</b>	<b>Never</b>
Leering (staring in a sexual way)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Whistling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vulgar gestures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kissing noises	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sexual touching or grabbing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sexual comments	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Following	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Exhibitionism, or public masturbation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rape	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. The last time you were harassed you were

- Walking on the street
- Walking next to a construction site
- Riding bus/ metro/ tramway/ metrobus
- In a supermarket
- In a mall
- On university campus
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

3. Who are you with when you were publicly harassed the last time?

- I was alone
- A friend (or a group of friends) of the same sex
- A friend (or a group of friends) of the opposite sex
- A group of friends with both women and men
- Other \_\_\_\_\_

4. Into what age group would you put your last harasser(s)? (Select all that apply)

- under 20
- 21- 30
- 31- 40
- 41- 60
- 61- 80
- 81+

5. For the following questions, indicate whether you agree or disagree with the statement:

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Not Sure</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
a. Women who wear headscarves experience less harassment than do other women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i><u>b. If you wear a headscarf answer this question (if not, proceed to (c))</u></i>					
I am harassed less frequently than are my friends who do not wear a headscarf	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i><u>c. If you do not wear a headscarf:</u></i>					
I am harassed less frequently than are my friends who wear a headscarf	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Women who do not wear a headscarf are inviting men's attention	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Were you wearing a headscarf the last time when the incident of street harassment happened to you? \_\_\_\_\_

**Part 2**

7. How do you feel when you are harassed in public? Indicate your answer by putting an **X** in the box.

	<b>Always</b>	<b>Very Often</b>	<b>Some- times</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
Happy					
Confused					
Neutral					
Guilty (blaming myself for inappropriate dress or inappropriate behavior)					
Annoyed					
Disgusted					
Angry					
Scared					
Insulted					
Helpless					
Sad					
Ashamed					

8. How do you react when you see someone being harassed in public? Please check one box for each statement to indicate how often you express a particular kind of reaction.

	<b>Always</b>	<b>Very Often</b>	<b>Sometimes</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
Ignore the situation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leave the scene as fast as I can	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Condemn <i>the harasser</i> by saying something like "Çok ayıp!"	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Express your disapproval of <i>the victim's</i> dress or behavior	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ask the victim if she (or he) is okay	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Offer help to the victim	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Launch a verbal attack on the harasser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Launch a physical attack on the harasser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Please check one box for each statement to indicate how often you practice the following strategies to avoid street (public) harassment?

	<b>Always</b>	<b>Very Often</b>	<b>Some- times</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
I put some distance between me and the person whom I perceive as dangerous (for example, by crossing the street)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I choose not to wear tight clothes (or clothes revealing parts of my body) when I go out	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I avoid making eye contact with strangers in public places	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I don't smile at strangers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
When outside I try to look busy doing things (like, texting or talking on the phone, or listening to music)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I avoid going out in the dark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I avoid going out	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. How do you respond to street harassment (verbal and physical harassment)? Please check one box for each statement to indicate how often you respond to street harassment in a particular way.

	<b>Always</b>	<b>Very Often</b>	<b>Some- times</b>	<b>Rarely</b>	<b>Never</b>
I smile at the harasser and keep walking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I ignore the harasser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I try to move farther away from the harasser to be out of his reach and his attention	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I tell the harasser to leave me alone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get in a verbal fight with the harasser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I get in a physical fight with the harasser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I report the harasser to police/ supervisor/ parent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Please tell us the story of when you were last harassed in public: what happened; what you were doing when it happened; how you reacted; etc.



**APPENDIX B**  
**SURVEY (TURKISH)**



Değerli Katılımcı,

Ben sosyoloji alanında yüksek lisans öğrencisiyim. İstanbul’da sokak tacizi üzerine araştırma yapıyorum. Bu anketi doldurmak için birkaç dakika ayırmanızı rica ederim. Verdiğiniz tüm cevaplar **kesinlikle gizli** kalacaktır.

Anket ile ilgili sorularınız olursa bana e-posta yolu ile [dina\\_ttl2006@hotmail.com](mailto:dina_ttl2006@hotmail.com)- yada 90 507 369 7385 numaradan ulaşabilirsiniz.

Dina Nigmatullina

Fatih Üniversitesi

Tez danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Allen Scarboro

E-mail: [soccas@gmail.com](mailto:soccas@gmail.com)

tel.: 90 212 866 3300 dahili 2289

### **Sokak tacizi: tanımlama**

Sokak tacizi, umuma açık yerlerde meydana gelen bir cinsel taciz çeşididir. Çimdiklemek, tokat atmak, ellemek, vurmak, bağırlarak söylenen müstehcen veya aşağılayıcı sözler, sinsi kinayeler ve takip etmek sokak tacizine giren davranışlardır. Sokak tacizi, birbirini tanımayan insanların arasındaki nezaketin bitmesiyle başlayıp şiddet suçlarına kadar uzanan olası olayları içeren bir taciz türüdür.

### **Profiliniz**

Yaşınız \_\_\_\_\_ Cinsiyetiniz \_\_\_\_\_

Mesleğiniz \_\_\_\_\_

Okuduğunuz/

çalıştığınız üniversite adı \_\_\_\_\_

Doğduğunuz ülke \_\_\_\_\_

## Bölüm 1

1. Aşağıdaki sokak tacizi çeşitlerinden hangisiyle ve ne sıklıkla karşılaşıyorsunuz? Her deyim için bir kutuyu işaretleyiniz.

	Günde birkaç defa	En az günde bir	En az haftada bir	En az ayda bir	Birkaç ayda bir	Bir kez oldu	Asla
Bakış atma	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Islık çalma	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kaba el hareketleri	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Öpücük sesleri	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fiziksel cinsel taciz (ör. birinin bacaklarına, göğsüne vs. dokunma)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cinsel içerik yorumlar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Takip	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teşircilik yada mastürbasyon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tecavüz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Son kez tacize maruz kaldığınızda nerdeydiniz?

- Sokakta
- İnşaat alanı yakınlarında
- Otobüste/ metroda/ metrobüste/ tramvayda
- Markette
- Alışveriş merkezinde
- Üniversite kampüsünde
- Başka \_\_\_\_\_

3. Son kez tacize maruz kaldığınızda yanınızda kim vardı?

- Tek başımaydım
- Aynı cinsiyetten arkadaş (grup arkadaş) ileydim
- Karşı cinsiyetten arkadaş (grup arkadaş) ileydim
- Kadın ve erkeklerin bulunduğu bir grup arkadaşla
- Başka \_\_\_\_\_

4. Lütfen sizi en son taciz eden kişinin (kişilerin) yaş grubunu işaretleyiniz.

- 20 yaşın altında
- 21- 30
- 31- 40
- 41- 60
- 61- 80
- 81+

5. Aşağıdaki sorular için ne kadar katılıp katılmadığınızı işaretleyiniz.

	Kesinlikle katılıyorum	Katılı yorum	Emin değilim	Katıl mıyorum	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
a. Başörtülü kadınlar diğer kadınlardan sokak tacizine daha az maruz kalır	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. <u>Başörtü takıyorsanız:</u>					
Ben başörtü takmayan arkadaşlarımdan sokak tacizine daha az sıklıkla maruz kalırım	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. <u>Başörtü takmıyorsanız:</u>					
Ben başörtü takan arkadaşlarımdan sokak tacizine daha az sıklıkla maruz kalırım	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Başörtü takmayan kadınlar erkeklerin dikkatini davet ederler	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Son kez sokakta taciz olduğunuzda başörtü takıyor muydunuz?

---

## Bölüm 2

7. Sokak tacizine uğramak size neler hissettirir? Uygun cevabı X ile işaretleyin.

	Her zaman	Çok sık	Bazen	Seyrek	Asla
Mutlu oluyorum					
Kafam karışıyor					
Hiçbir şey hissetmem					
Suçluluk duyarım (uygun olmayan elbise yada davranış için kendimi suçlarım)					
Rahatsız oluyorum					
İğrenirim					
Sinirlenirim					
Korkarım					
Aşağılanmış hissedirim					
Umutsuz hissedirim					
Üzülürüm					
Ütanırım					

8. Sokak tacizine uğrayan birini gördüğünüzde nasıl tepki veriyorsunuz? Her deyim için bir kutuyu işaretleyiniz.

	<b>Her</b>				
	<b>zaman</b>	<b>Çok sık</b>	<b>Bazen</b>	<b>Seyrek</b>	<b>Asla</b>
Durumu dikkate almam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Olay yerini hızla terk ediyorum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tacizciyi "Çok ayıp!" (vb) kelimelerle kınıyorum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tacize mağdur kalanın davranışlarını yada görünüşünü ayıplarım	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tacize mağdur kalanın iyi olup olmadığını sorarım	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tacize mağdur kalanına yardım etmeye teklif ederim	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tacizde bulunan insana sözlü olarak cevap veririm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tacizde bulunan insana fiziksel olarak cevap veririm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Sokak tacizinden kaçınmak için aşağıdaki stratekilerden hangisini ve hangi sıklıkla uyguluyorsunuz? Her deyim için bir kutuyu işaretleyiniz

	Her zaman	Çok sık	Bazen	Seyrek	Asla
Tehlikeli olarak algıladığım birinden uzaklaşmaya çalışırım (örn. Caddenin karşı tarafına geçerim)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dışarı dar kıyafet giymemeyi tercih ederim	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dışarıdayken tanımadığım insanlarla gözgöze gelmekten kaçınırım	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dışarıdayken tanımadığım insanlara gülümsemem	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dışarıdayken meşgul görünmeye çalışırım (örn. Kulaklık takarım, telefonda mesaj atarım)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Karanlıkta dışarı çıkmamaya çalışıyorum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dışarı mümkün olduğu kadar çıkmamaya çalışıyorum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



10. Sokak tacizine maruz kaldığınızda nasıl davranırsınız? Her deyim için bir kutuyu işaretleyiniz.

	<b>Herzaman</b>	<b>Çok sık</b>	<b>Bazen</b>	<b>Seyrek</b>	<b>Asla</b>
Gülümserim ve yoluma devam ederim	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Takmam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tacizde bulunan birinden uzaklaşmaya çalışırım	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bana tacizde bulunan insana beni rahat bırakmasını söylerim	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sözlü olarak cevap veririm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fiziksel olarak cevap veririm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Polise haber veririm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Son taciz hikayenizi lütfen paylaşın: ne oldu, nerdeydiniz, nasıl tepki gösterdiniz vs.

**APPENDIX C**  
**QUASI-EXPERIMENT QUESTIONNAIRE**

1) Yaşınız? \_\_\_\_\_

2) Aşağıdakilerden hangisi sizi en iyi tanımlıyor?

Türk                      Başka

3) Başörtü takıyor musunuz?

Evet                      Hayır

**Metrobüs için:**

4) **Avcılar- Zeytinburnu** tüm yolculuk sırasında oturuyor muydunuz?

- Evet, otuyordum
- Hayır, ayakta idim
- Başka

5) 1-5 (1= boş ; 5= çok dolu) ölçeğinde **metrobüsün** ne kadar kalabalık olduğunu işaretleyiniz

1   2   3   4   5

6) **Avçılar - Zeytinburnu** yolculuk sırasında aşağıdakilerden hangisiyle ve ne sıklıkla karşılaştınız? Her deyim için bir kutuyu işaretleyiniz.

	<b>Olmadı</b>	<b>Bir kez oldu</b>	<b>Birden fazla oldu</b>
Bakış atma			
Islık çalma			
Kaba el hareketleri			
Öpücük sesleri			
Fiziksel cinsel taciz (ör. birinin bacaklarına, göğsüne vs. dokunma)			
Cinsel içerik yorumlar			
Teşkircilik			

7) Sizi taciz eden kişinin (kişilerin) yaş grubunu işaretleyiniz.

- 20 yaşın altında
- 21- 30
- 31- 40
- 41- 60
- 61- 80
- 81+

8) **Metrobüsteki** tacizi gören insanlar nasıl tepki verdiler?

- Durumu dikkate almadılar
- Sana oturacak yerlerini verdiler
- Tacizde bulunan insana bir şey söylediler/ yaptılar
- Başka \_\_\_\_\_

**Tramvay için:**

9) **Zeytinburnu - Eminönü** tüm yolculuk sırasında oturuyor muydunuz?

- Evet, oturyordum
- Hayır, ayaktaydım
- Başka

10) 1-5 (1= boş ; 5= çok dolu) ölçeğinde **tramvayın** ne kadar kalabalık olduğunu işaretleyiniz

1 2 3 4 5

11) **Zeytinburnu - Eminonu** yolculuk sırasında aşağıdakilerden hangisiyle ve ne sıklıkla karşılaştınız? Her deyim için bir kutuyu işaretleyiniz.

	<b>Olmadı</b>	<b>Bir kez oldu</b>	<b>Birden fazla oldu</b>
Bakış atma			
Islık çalma			
Kaba el hareketleri			
Öpücük sesleri			
Fiziksel cinsel taciz (ör. birinin			

bacaklarına, göğsüne vs. dokunma)			
Cinsel içerik yorumlar			
Teşkircilik			

12) Sizi taciz eden kişinin (kişilerin) yaş grubunu işaretleyiniz.

- 20 yaşın altında
- 21- 30
- 31- 40
- 41- 60
- 61- 80
- 81+

13) **Tramvaydaki** tacizi gören insanlar insanlar nasıl tepki verdiler ?

- Durumu dikkate almadılar
- Sana oturacak yerlerini verdiler
- Tacizde bulunan insana bir şey söylediler/ yaptılar

Başka \_\_\_\_\_

### Eminönü- Mısır Çarşısı

14) Eminonu tram istasyonu -Mısır Çarşısı yolculuk sırasında aşağıdakilerden hangisiyle ve ne sıklıkla karşılaştınız? Her deyim için bir kutuyu işaretleyiniz.

	Olmadı	Bir kez oldu	Birden fazla oldu
Şarkı söyleme			
Bakış atma			
Islık çalma			
Kaba el hareketleri			
Öpücük sesleri			
Fiziksel cinsel taciz (ör. birinin bacaklarına, göğsüne vs. dokunma)			
Cinsel içerik yorumlar			
Teşkırcılık			

15) Sizi taciz eden kişinin (kişilerin) yaş grubunu işaretleyiniz.

- 20 yaşın altında
- 21- 30
- 31- 40
- 41- 60
- 61- 80
- 81+

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