BEYOND CARTOGRAPHIES OF WOMEN'S FEAR OF CRIME: INTERSECTIONALITY, URBAN VULNERABILITY AND RESILIENCE THROUGH WOMEN SAFETY AUDITS IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY

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"… fear is always an individual experience,
socially constructed and culturally shared"
(Reguillo 2000)

Resumen: Las auditorías locales de seguridad destinadas a toda la población surgen como desarrollo de las auditorias locales de seguridad para las mujeres en Canadá. En el País Vasco se han adaptado en la forma de "mapas del miedo" o "mapas de la ciudad prohibida". Este texto trata del significado e impacto de las auditorías generales y de los mapas del miedo en el País Vasco, en relación con el debate sobre la violencia de género, con una perspectiva criminológica.

Algunos de estos proyectos tratan de combinar técnicas participativas a escala local, de carácter cuantitativo y cualitativo. No obstante, suponen instrumentos que conllevan algunas asunciones que deben analizarse dentro del contexto actual de descontento y pasividad social y las políticas punitivas de seguridad.

Laburpena: Gizarte osoari zuzendutako segurtasun-ikuskaritza lokalak emakumeentzako segurtasun-ikuskaritza lokalen jarraipen gisa sortu ziren Kanadan. Euskal Herrian, "beldurraren mapa" edo "debekatutako hiriaren mapa" gisa egokitu dituzte. Artikuluak ikuskaritza orokorrek eta beldurraren mapek Euskal Herrian duten esanahia eta eragina aztertzen ditu. Azterketa hori genero indarkeriari buruzko eztabaidarekin lotuta eta ikuspegi kriminologikotik egiten du artikuluak.

Maila lokaleko teknika parte-hartzaileak, izaera kuantitatibokoak zein kualitatibokoak, konbinatzen saiatzen dira horietako proiektu batzuk. Dena dela, onarpen jakin batzuk dakartzaten tresnak dira, eta onarpen horiek egungo testuinguruan aztertu behar dira, hain zuzen ere gizartearen pozik ezaren eta pasibotasunaren testuinguruan eta segurtasun-politika zigortzaileen barruan.

Résumé: Les audits locaux de sécurité destinés à toute la population apparaissent comme un développement des audits locaux de sécurité pour les femmes au Canada. Au Pays Basque ils ont été adoptés sous la forme de « cartes de la peur » ou « cartes de la ville interdite ». Ce texte traite de la signification et de l'impact des audits généraux et des cartes de la peur au Pays Basque, en relation avec le débat concernant la violence de genre, avec une approche criminologique.

Quelques projets essayent de combiner des techniques participatives à l'échelle locale, de nature quantitative et qualitative. Cependant, ces instruments incorporent certaines propositions devant faire l'objet d'analyse dans le contexte présent de mécontentement et de passivité sociale, ainsi que des politiques punitives de sécurité.

Summary: Local Safety Audits (LSA) for the general population are the result of the development of Canadian Women Safety Audits (WSA). We can see their adaptation in the Basque Country in the form of the so-called "fear maps" or "maps of the forbidden city". This paper deals with the meaning and impact of Basque general audits and fear maps in the debate on gender violence with a criminological perspective.

Some of these projects try to combine local scale and quantitative and qualitative participatory techniques. However, they are an instrument entailing some assumptions to be analysed within the current context of passive social unrest and punitive security policies.

Palabras clave: Mapas del miedo, auditorías locales de seguridad, auditorías de la seguridad de las mujeres, urbanismo inclusivo, prevención local.

Hitz gakoak: Beldurraren mapak, segurtasun-ikuskaritza lokalak, emakumeen segurtasunari buruzko ikuskaritza, hirigintza inklusiboa, aurrezaintza lokala.

Mots clés: Cartes de la peur, audits locaux de sécurité, audits de sécurité des femmes, urbanisme inclusif, prévention locale.

Keywords: Fear of crime maps, local safety audits, women safety audits, inclusive urbanism, local prevention.

I. INTRODUCTION: FRAMING OBJECTIVES WITHIN INTERDISCIPLINARY CRITICAL VICTIMOLOGICAL THEORY

This paper deals with the meaning and impact of Basque Country's *Women Safety Audits* (WSA). This participatory tool enables women to assess the safety of a place from their own perspective (FVI 2010a, p. 13). In the Basque Country, activists prefer the terms "fear maps" or "maps of the forbidden city" (Aldasoro and Sanz del Pozo 2002), as well as *Local Safety Audits* (LSA) or local security diagnosis with a gender perspective (Jauregi 2012). A critical account of the recent political, social and academic interests in measuring women's insecurity in Basque cities and towns is presented by connecting the concept of intersectionality to critical victimology. We contend that some of those interests might result in managerialism as a set of techniques and practices which realign relations of power within the penal system in an era of inequalities in a smaller state (McLaughlin 2001, p. 169).

The global use of the term *intersectionality* constitutes an attempt to capture "the interdependency of different categories of inequality" (Kron and zur Nieden 2003, p. 5)[1]. One of those categories is gender, but there are many others that relate to additional concepts and disciplines beyond gender studies. We argue here for an interdisciplinary approach –coming from critical victimology (Walklate 2007)–, in order to understand the interdependency of inequalities in relation to security at the local level.

In WSA women are conceived as potential victims but victim is not a value free concept. Critical victimologists warn us about the risk of taking victims as a monolithic and uniform category opposed to considering the offender category. What critical

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1. These authors quote the work of Kimberlé CRENSHAW (1991), *i. a.*, and value the earlier debate on different race power relations in the United States and Europe.

victimologists call *concurrence of vulnerability factors* can be related to the term *intersectionality* in gender studies (DeKeseredy 2015). What critical victimologists refer as *recovery and resilience factors* can be translated as *empowerment contexts* in gender studies. Among these contexts social prevention is important (Slocum et al. 2013). By contrast, an increasing pressure for spatiotemporal computer analysis of crime can be observed in police management and criminological research. This kind of analysis focuses on situational crime prevention ignoring the unequal distribution of security in time and space. Critical victimology tries to approach this inequality by examining the concepts of fear, victimization and space[2].

Different social categories can be seen "as tools to describe and make visible the production and reproduction of (power) relations and asymmetries, as well as their interdependencies" (Kron and zur Nieden 2003, p. 6)[3]. Micro, meso, and macro contextualization is needed to understand how victimization inequalities are linked to criminalisation and crime control stigmatization (Walklate 2007). This view could avoid contributing to the naturalization of so-called hot spots and their correlated victimization maps where fear can be seen as an anticipated form of victimization.

The thesis of this paper is that maps of fear of crime in the Basque Country do not represent well the plurality of women's perceptions and experiences because they take for granted the concepts of 'crime' and 'victim' without integrating other social data. Despite their deficiencies, these maps are being promoted by local authorities of different political parties in what can be called a mere symbolic participation. Our line of argument takes into consideration previous studies based on literature review and empirical research on fear of crime, WSA and LSA within the context of the Basque Country (Author 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2013). There we used a broader content analysis of fear maps elaborated in the Basque Country, focus groups with local police members, and interviews of experts in the criminal justice system, along with activists of the local community[4].

II. BACKGROUND OF WOMEN SAFETY AUDITS: CONNECTING THEORY WITH WOMEN'S GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS IN THE CITY

Current development of Community or Local Safety Audits (LSA) (Cavanaugh 1998) originates from the Canadian Women Safety Audits (WSA), initiated at the end of the 1980s by the Metropolitan Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children (METRAC) in Toronto. WSA makes use of a more participatory and apparently a less technological methodology than LSA when making maps relevant to women's safety in concrete urban areas.

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2. Critical cartography is also helpful in conceptualizing space. Cartography is the science and art of map making to represent reality. More and more digital cartography seems closer to reality, but "the menu is not the food." Given the enchantments of the digital visual culture, it is easy to overlook this fact (HARLEY 2001). This is particularly true regarding maps which claim to reflect fear of crime or unsafety in cities and towns. The maps contain different notions and assumptions of gender, equality, crime and/or victimization.

3. KRON and zur NIEDEN refer to (post-)colonial entanglements and propose working with the concept of diaspora as developed by different authors (2013, p. 9). In the case of Angela DAVIS (1981), she "demonstrates how taking into account different and multiple perspectives can result in a diasporic form of alternative and non-essentialised history writing".

4. Details on the methodology can be found in the quoted works of the author.

The pioneering work of METRAC (1987; 1992; 2006; Michaud and Chappaz 2001; Whitzman 2007) was based on three assumptions:

a) women are experts on their own security,

b) local actions are needed,

c) partnership between local governments and women's organizations should be promoted.

Women safety audits were envisaged as a way to diagnose women's safety in a specific town or neighborhood. The final product should be a report with the results analyzing focus groups and exploratory walks. Exploratory walks in the city aim at gathering women's everyday experiences regarding insecurity. Thus certain places prone to aggressions or harassment can be identified. The final objective is women's inclusion and equality in public spaces.

WSA have been promoted in different countries by networks like *Femmes et villes international (FVI)/Women in cities international (WICI)*. WICI is a not-for-profit network founded in Montreal in 2002 (FVI 2003; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010a; 2010b). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and UN-Habitat conferences in Paris (1994) and Istanbul (1996) have favored a network of researchers, activists and practitioners beyond Canada. Women's safety audits have been used as a tool for empowerment and change in the city. WICI has collaborated with the *International Union of Local Authorities* and has organized international conferences on the safety of women since 2002.

Throughout time, WICI "has also embraced a broader concept of women's safety beyond safety in public space, extending its focus to work with girls, and on a range of issues including diversity and disability, and women's access to water and sanitation"[5].

Femmes et villes international has fostered training sessions, materials and publications on WSA (2012a; 2012b). Different United Nations agencies, such as the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT 2007)[6], the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations Development Fund

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5. Extracted from http://www.femmesetvilles.org/index.php/en/about-us/mission. One of the latest *main projects developed by WICI is the "Gender Inclusive Cities: Increasing Women's Safety by Identifying and Disseminating Effective and Promising Approaches to Promote Women's Equal Access to Public Spaces" (2009-2012)*. Funded by the UN Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence Against Women, it has been administrated by Women in Cities International (WICI) and has been implemented by four project partners: International Centre and Network for Information on Crime in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Jagori in Delhi, India; Information Centre of the Independent Women's Forum in Petrozavodsk, Russia; and Red Mujer y Habitat de América Latina in Rosario, Argentina.

"Gender Inclusive Cities seeks to identify the factors that cause and perpetuate inequalities and exclusion, as well as the policies and programme approaches that enhance women's inclusion and right to the city" (extracted from http://www.wikigender.org/index.php/Women_in_Cities). See also HANIFF-CLEOFAS and KHEDR 2005).

6. UN-Habitat took into account the work developed by governmental and private agencies such as the US National Council for Crime Prevention, International Centre for the Prevention of Crime in Montreal, the European Forum for Urban Safety and Crime Concern in England. Cfr. Bodson (2008) and European Forum for Urban Safety (2000; 2007).

for Women (UNIFEM)[7], have also promoted general and women's safety audits in different parts of the world (Massolo 2005).

In terms of managerialism, the gender perspective has dissolved in relation to other related local police led initiatives focused on situational crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). In connection with the broken windows theory, CPTED theory born in the USA in the 1970s and has also taken root in the Basque Country and Europe overall with greater emphasis recently[8]. Following rational choice and opportunity theories in criminology, CPTED seems more centered on a technological approach rather than gender[9].

III. DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT OF THE SO-CALLED MAPS OF FEAR IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY WITHIN A CLIMATE OF MANAGERIALISM AND PUNITIVISM

Since the 1980s a gender perspective in urbanism has been present in Spain via different NGOs activities, political agencies and academic research (Sánchez, Bruquetas and Ruiz 2004). This perspective grew from urbanism as a new theory and practice of planning and living which originated in the USA, as expressed by Jane Jacobs' "eyes on the street"[10]. All these initiatives have come from local equality for women and urban planning departments rather than the local police.

In 2010 the Housing Department of the Basque Government edited a methodological handbook of urban analysis with a gender perspective[11]. In order to approach this perspective, it was key to have some local women participate. The handbook synthesized the local experience of fear maps in the Basque Country starting in the nineties.

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7. Now United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (UN-Women). See Zonta International Foundation and UNIFEM (2008).

8. On the impact in EU standardisation regulations, see the technical requirements for urban planning and buildings of the EU Committee for standardisation. According to this view urban planning should include a reflection on hot spots and specific requirements on design that prevents crime.

9. Cfr. SHAW and ANDREW (2006); VARGAS (2007); WHITZMAN (2008a; 2008b); SHRADER (2011); and Naredo and Praxágora Cooperativa (2010). According to the web page of its international association (see at http://www.cpted.net/), Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) is defined as "a multi-disciplinary approach to deterring criminal behavior through environmental design. CPTED strategies rely upon the ability to influence offender decisions that precede criminal acts by affecting the built, social and administrative environment". Cfr. the European Designing Out Crime Association (e-doca) on situational crime reduction in partnership theory (SCRIPT). This perspective proposes that competence on crime prevention should engage urban planning and design, as well as the media.

10. The author of the classical *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) referred to the need of visibility and diversity in the use of public space as well as the promotion of inclusive social cohesion. These three elements should be related. Visibility is not enough if we recall the indifference show in the New York Kitty Genovese case. Cfr. DECOIN (2010).

11. *Manual metodológico para la realización de mapas de análisis urbanístico desde la perspectiva de género y vida cotidiana de la ciudadanía* (ALBENIZ et al. 2010).

The handbook was also meant as part of a public drive to use exploratory walks and participatory processes to evaluate "the actual quality of the public space" (Albeniz et al. 2010). Partnerships were encouraged through the collaboration of women, politicians and public officials in the municipal areas of equality and urbanism.

Basque women's fear maps were developed following the Canadian experience of women's safety audits and the non-binding international declarations on women's rights to the city (Harvey 2003)[12]. This trend can be related to the guides and tools of different UN agencies and NGOs listed previously. They contribute to the analysis of multiple data on safety for designing and implementing concrete local policies for women's empowerment.

All fear maps in the Basque Country have included women's walks to identify places of insecurity or vulnerability areas with the help of photographs, paper records, or digital maps of their community[13]. Most of those areas refer to streets with insufficient street lights; untidy and lonely places; spaces with a lack of visibility; or places where social groups meet, usually related to bars, drug dealing and sex trafficking. Mobility, family care, and other issues concerning street order also arise. Perceived problems are discussed with other professionals and practitioners. Finally, a report is delivered in order to influence the political agenda on urban planning and design.

IV. FEAR MAPS UNEASY RELATIONSHIP WITH VICTIMIZATION AND FEAR SURVEYS

Any study on insecurity should consider whether gender is a main or another demographic characteristic (Henson *et al.* 2010)[14]. Until now there has not been

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12. This international influence on Basque projects has been effective nevertheless the small-sized and rural character of the villages and towns developing fear maps.

13. See an example in annex. In the case of digital maps, due to anonymity, it cannot be verified the participant's gender.

14. According to their empirical study with students, gender's effects worked largely through delinquent lifestyle. These results allow the authors to discuss the possibilities of an age-graded and gendered routine activity theory. Following HENSON et al. (2010, pp. 307-308):

> "Thinking about gender specifically, scholars have drawn upon the principle of homogamy in suggesting that women (girls) are at lower risk of victimisation because they engage in lifestyles with less risky (i.e., lower-offending) groups, namely those consisting disproportionately of other females (COHEN et al., 1981; JENSEN & BROWNFIELD, 1986; LAURITSEN et al., 1991)... On the one hand, there have been several studies of European adolescents suggesting that risk factors for victimisation –unstructured leisure, aggression, and alcohol use, in particular– are similar for males and females (BJARNASON et al., 1998; PEDERSON, 2001). On the other hand, several studies of U.S. adolescents and young adults have challenged the notion of nongendered, generalizable applicability of routine activity theory".

Drawing on feminist and routine activities perspectives, the findings of XIE, HEIMER and LAURITSEN (2012) show that "changes in the status of women have both positive and negative associations with violence victimisation, and that comparative analyses of different types of violence are necessary for clarifying the sources of violence against women".

a clear link between Basque maps of fear and victimization surveys[15]. This can be explained because of the divergent development and approaches of each tool.

This is an uneasy relationship. The maps of fear hold a different origin and perspective compared to the few victimization and fear of crime surveys that have been mainly undertaken for the general population in the Basque Country. Notwithstanding the diversity of maps of fear, we have structured those differences in the following table.

Similarities and contrasts among different instruments aiming at capturing women's perceptions and experiences of insecurity at the Basque local level

	Maps of fear	Victimization and fear of crime surveys
Objective	– Intervention through empowerment regarding women's insecurity/fear in a concrete city or town.	– Quantify mostly general population perceptions.
Key stakeholders	– Women's associations in the community, local department on gender equality, Housing Department of the Basque Government.	– Universities, National Institute for Statistics, Eurostat.
The concept of crime and victimization	– Mainly violent aggressions on the street.	– Interpersonal crime in the public sphere.
Perspective	– Feminist perspective within urban planning and design (new urbanism).	– Victimology and Environmental Criminology.
Main methodology and techniques	– Participatory action research. – Exploratory walks. – Use of photography and paper and digital cartography.	– Quantitative studies, with representative samples, via telephone or personal questionnaires. – Crime or fear of crime mapping through GIS for computer spatiotemporal crime analysis. – Maps are not open to public participation or consultation.

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15. Cfr. some security surveys developed by the Interior Department of the Basque Country and the fear studies developed though personal interviews in 2003 in Bilbao, Vitoria-Gasteiz and Donostia-San Sebastián by SAN JUAN, VERGARA and GERMÁN (2005) and in Donostia-San Sebastián by SAN JUAN and VOZMEDIANO (2009). These authors related personal fear with neighbourhood issues and point out how risk perceptions are lower at the cyberspace.

	Maps of fear	**Victimization and fear of crime surveys**
Impact	– The results have to do with other issues beyond crime. – Political impact and media coverage. – Looking for public participation. – Follow-up relevance.	– Scarcity of surveys and studies. – Inconsistent results. – Limited political impact and media coverage.

Thus we have different tools to measure security that should be related in order to broaden the academic and public debates. However integration is difficult due to the divergent assumptions in understanding the concept of security. These considerations include the stakeholders' role and the methodology. Many victimization and fear surveys neglect to consider the relevance of women's participation through qualitative methodology. General local safety audits also risk losing a true gender perspective.

V. CRITIQUES OF FEAR MAPS THROUGH THE APPARENT FEAR PARADOX IN TWO CASE STUDIES: CONTRASTING MAPS OF FEAR WITH POLICE DATA AND OTHER SOCIAL SURVEYS ON URBAN VULNERABILITY

Fear maps cannot represent the broad plurality of women's perceptions and experiences including simultaneous, previous, or successive offending and victimization experiences[16]. They cannot visualize domestic violence, organized or white-collar crime (Szockyj and J. G. Fox 1996), cyber violence[17] or victimization in custodial settings and in other kinds of total institutions. Some maps might even exacerbate crime or victimization stereotypes and stigmatize certain neighborhoods and populations. This is also the case for other emerging social minority safety audits.

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16. According to some researches:

– "Women in prison have high rates of sexual abuse victimisation histories...

– *Penal environments are designed and built with an ethos of power and control and are often retraumatising for female offenders with a sexual abuse victimisation history...*

– *Further research is required to test how the implementation of the key frameworks of trauma-informed care and practice, and gender-responsive frameworks would occur"* (Stathopoulos *et al.* 2012, p. 1).

Cfr. the link between the sexual exploitation of young women and their offending behaviours in order "to develop new child-oriented strategies considering these girls primarily as victims rather than as criminals", as studied by Phoenix (2012).

17. Even though there are studies concluding the opposite (Adam 2005), in the study of HINDUJA and PATCHIN (2008), no statistically significant difference was found in victimisation by cyber bullying in relation to gender. They consider:

"*that certain demographic characteristics such as race and gender are rendered less relevant in an environment where interpersonal communication occurs predominantly through electronic text. An alternative explanation is that historically less powerful groups may be more powerful (or at least not disadvantaged) when on-line in offending or victimisation by gender or race*".

In theory, participation and social trust appear as key elements for current governance in the European context of crisis. Nevertheless, there is a risk of rhetoric use for political purposes. Politics is more related to fear of crime maps for reasons including:

a) their promotion comes from local governments,

b) they are designed for public participation, visibility, follow-up and impact. All political groups are in favor of any gender-friendly perspective and maps obtain media coverage[18].

Because of the political and media manipulation of fear of crime and victimization, there is a risk that the emerging women's right to the city is expressed as a right against others. There is also a risk of naturalization of hot spots through an ontology of place instead of emphasizing social relationships at different levels, which include power unbalances and inequalities[19]. Finally, by concentrating on street crime or domestic violence, many forms of white collar crime are underestimated.

Inclusive urbanism, as the reinterpretation of Jane Jacobs' new urbanism, is a concept that can alert us to those risks. Inclusiveness understood as interdependent and indivisible human rights, makes it easier to view the right to the city as a right along with others, especially with different populations. The right to the city refers to public/private and off line/on line human relationships.

Fear maps from a gender perspective have to face different dimensions and elements of the complex, and more frequently political concepts of "fear of crime", insecurity and victimization[20]. Critical views should include that women's interests and expectations are not just the opposite of men's, and that women's interests themselves are very diverse and dynamic. Insecurity is a much broader concept beyond fear of crime, which considers equality in local or urban security that entails gender, ethnic, employment, housing, social and political issues. Finally victimization refers to the actual process of having suffered a crime.

Most of the Basque projects focus on fear of crime, but they don't tell us much about insecurity and/or victimization. Some try to combine local and global scales and triangulation of quantitative and qualitative participatory techniques. However, they are instruments entailing some questionable assumptions within the sociolegal construction of crime, the current context of passive social unrest, racism, xenophobia and punitive security policies in Europe (Sessar et al. 2004; Sessar, Stangl and van Swaaningen 2007; European Union 2010). Thus political, media and market use of insecurity is translated into punitivism.

The gender variable does not appear determinant in actual victimization according to international victimization survey results, which usually concern property crimes

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18. There was a political and public limited debate in the case of the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz when choosing between a general local audit with a gender perspective or a specific fear of crime map for women. See media coverage related to politics in the case of Irun in *Bidasoaldia.com* 27.11.12.

19. Cfr. WEISBURD, GROFF and YANG (2012) and ZIMRING (2012).

20. Including hidden, indirect, secondary, collective victimisation...

in public spaces[21]. However, gender is thought a predictive variable for the fear of crime. It is considered irrational by some that people fear victimization compared to the actual victimization experiences (the so-called fear paradox). However, some maintain that neither official statistics nor victimization surveys, which are patriarchal, and lack a gender perspective, reflect the extension of women's victimization (Falu and Segovia 2007, Stanko 1990). Other researchers point out the relevance of the so-called altruistic fear of crime, that is, women's fear for relatives' victimization (Chadee, Austen and Ditton 2007).

In any case, men and women are educated differently in terms of fear from childhood. Moreover, women tend to express fear more openly than men. This is especially remarkable when the sources of fear are different, e.g., women fear men and sexualized violence (DeKeseredy 2015).

Despite extensive global research on the fear of crime paradox, we lack consistent theories explaining it. In part, this is because there are numerous variables. Also methodological tools to measure objective and subjective security have many limitations. Moreover, the critique of Narváez of the fear paradox concept must be considered (2009). She points out that it may be a paradox because some of its premises and/ or derived conclusions are invalid. According to her, most research has focused on beliefs about crime rather than on the emotion of fear. The questions used in surveys to measure fear could reinforce classical notions of crime.

The case studies derived from the results of our research in two LSAs. They were developed in the Basque cities of Barakaldo and Irun in 2011 and 2012, respectively (Autor 2012a, 2013)[22]. We used a qualitative methodology. Our data sources came from interviews and focus groups to different criminal justice stakeholders, including some victims of gender violence, police observation, and secondary data analysis (such as police records, social surveys, fear maps and Internet news on crime in those cities).

Even though there are limitations with our LSA, some results can be underlined in relation to our argument. Despite an increasing interest in measuring violence against women, promoted by different international agencies, available scientific and reliable data on objective and subjective insecurity is lacking in the Basque Country. By analyzing Basque autonomous police data, around 10% of registered crimes cannot be located on a map. This percentage is higher if we consider cyber and transnational crime together with hidden victimization for all sorts of criminality[23].

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21. There are specific local, state and international victimisation surveys on concrete crimes including violence against women, as well as specific locations surveys, taking into account ethnic variables. Combining different data sources, including victimisation surveys, the HBCU-CSA Study (Black College and University Campus Sexual Assault) was the first to generate prevalence estimates of sexual assault on a collection of HBCU campuses. The study included the responses to sexual assault by campus law enforcement and service providers (KREBS, LINDQUIST and BARRICK 2010).

22. In the case of Irun, we will not consider the aggressions, sometimes by women against women, in relation to the *Alarde*, the major festivity in the city with controversy on gender equality in its parade.

23. According to the Basque Government Unit on Gender Violence 2012 study, *La violencia machista contra las mujeres en la CAPV: Percepciones, incidencia y seguridad*, 75% of interviewed women declaring having suffered gender violence did not report it. 9 out of 10 interviewed women defined their neighbourhood as very or quite safe, but 22.4% felt unsafe walking alone at night. Following that study, insecurity perception seems to increase in big cities and with young women.

According to social surveys, insecurity or fear related to crime is not a major concern in the Basque Country, but it is a social concern in certain neighbourhoods. As in other countries, immigrant women are over represented in Basque official statistics as victims of partner or former partner violence. This is particularly the case of women coming from Latin America. Obviously, again, hidden victimization of women is high, especially for certain crimes –including white collar crime and transnational crime– and for certain women, in public and private spheres.

As in other countries too, men who commit violent and sexual crimes against women, usually have relationships with the victims[24]. In the process of victimization, the men normally take advantage of the victims' various vulnerability factors.

Fear maps focused on women in Barakaldo and Irun (Basque Country) are a good example of the complexity of partnerships among different stakeholders: municipal political units of urbanism, equality and security, women's groups, etcetera. Moreoverthe social legitimacy of fear maps stem from participation and empowerment, terms used in the Basque to describe gender equality law.

Fear maps in Barakaldo and Irun have been described by women activists as a way of empowering women in the city, but no external evaluations verified this description. They are also limitations in maintaining the diversity of women's interests. Despite the theoretical origin –considering structural factors and inclusiveness–, final recommendations are centered on basic situational crime prevention.

In general, and considering the two cities, fear maps, social surveys on urban vulnerability –fostered by the EU[25]– and police statistics, don't completely explain the so-called hot spots or problematic neighbourhoods. This is in part due to the lack of adequate consideration for density and mobility of the population in those neighbourhoods.

Fear maps in Barakaldo and Irun show certain stigmatized neighbourhoods, mainly associated with the presence of some ethnic minorities, and certain activities of drug dealing and sex trafficking, as LSA specific surveys with stakeholders demonstrate.

LSA specific surveys with stakeholders show that insecurity is not a major problem in the analyzed cities and that the concept of insecurity is more related to other issues, such as unemployment and the economic crisis in general, rather than crime. Regarding victimization prevention, LSA specific surveys with stakeholders show that many of them trust technology (e.g.: video surveillance) beyond possible violation of individual rights. However, fear maps in the Basque Country have underlined their more inclusive option more related to Jane Jacobs' "eyes on the streets" –that foster social capital integrating the gender perspective– rather than the CCTV surveillance. In any case, we might need democratically engaged eyes, not just eyes.

Finally, even though the current European trend of criminalization of "the other", both analyzed Basque cities show factors of democratic social cohesion and resilience linked to their history of Spanish and foreign immigration in their area. However,

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24. On the culturally constructed rape myths, see BOURKE (2007).

25. See Tecnalia (2012).

the risk of political manipulation of fears is also present. This is particularly true in relation to the fear of sexual assault by reinforcing criminal stereotypes (corresponding to young male immigrants coming from North Africa who lack resources).

VI. FINAL REMARKS

According to Seymour (2011):

> "*it is crucial to move beyond a focus on the gendered nature of violence, to instead think about the ways in which understandings of violence reflect, embed, and reinforce gendered discourses and the implications this has for the ways in which 'violence' is –and isn't– defined, identified, explained and addressed. This demands the (re)gendering of men; a particularly pressing issue for criminology which, in its relative neglect of men's experiences of violence, has failed to theorise men's overwhelming involvement in violence, other than to say it is so. As was observed some time ago by Stanko and Hobdell, the 'image of the invulnerable man is embedded within criminology theory' (Stanko and Hobdell 1993, p. 401): it seems that little has changed in this regard*".

Fear is an emotion transformed into social concern easily manipulated by media and politics. What might seem a gender perspective on the contrary might be the opposite. Diffuse fears can be communicated as external ones by identifying scapegoats (Bourke 2005). Cross perspectives[26] on security does not have to mean women's invisibility. A right to security is an interdependent and limited right of complex dimensions. Women's interests expressed as formal and real equality, within the right to the city, should not be constructed or implemented as a right against other groups. Interdependence is connected to vulnerability which is inherent to human condition. Understanding its diversity, dynamism, and intersections with multiple factors is important in the task of empowerment beyond paternalism.

There are examples of emerging issues in gender violence research where better explanations of the intersection of issues and contexts are required (Bartels 2011). The best contribution of Basque fear maps, WSA and LSA, in contrast to complementary quantitative victimization and fear surveys, lies in *participatory action research*, which seems a promising option in relation to "responsive nodal governance" (Braithwaite 2008)[27]. It also opens the debate on the intersections of responsibility, and competence for community crime prevention (Tilley 2013) beyond privatization in times of xenophobia and imposed austerity.

Participatory action research in local security issues, related to women's rights, together with theory triangulation, might offer a methodology that could mean a translational project (aimed at local and global action and the construction of a common knowledge fund). Here many apparently insignificant gestures and attitudes that we can observe through police and other agencies observation or ethnographic work, are relevant. This can contribute to critical and creative thinking of the concept of "local public space", always defined by conflicts. Triangulation of sources and

26. *Transversalidad* in Spanish.

27. On the democracy deficit at the intersection of crime, race, and poverty, cfr. Moore (2012).

methodology is possible by considering micro, meso, and macro factors preventing crime, and influencing victims' recovery and healing. This is true too for victimizers' reintegration and on community inclusive needs for safety. This will help us to test theoretical operational concepts (e.g.: trust) and frameworks to explain the relationship between the current economic and social crisis and crime/victimization/social control trends that might be different for diverse groups of women.

Potentialities of integral WSA face difficulties such as the lack of scientific rigor in relation to research independence; the absence of coordination among all participants regarding resources, timing and interpretation of results; the sustainability of primary and secondary resources; the inability of explaining contexts by focusing only on symptoms; the use of indicators or criteria on safety, which do not reflect social interests beyond material ones; the mere appearance of participatory and inclusive focus; the imbalances in the interdisciplinary work; the tensions and power struggles or competition brought about by that kind of work at the local level[28]; and the difficulties in overcoming political correctness in relation to ethnic minorities and violence against women.

The example of *Femmes et villes international* make us believe that is possible to work together from an activist participatory approach, and a scientific one, even though there will always be ways to improve. The international network resulted from the *Gender Inclusive Cities Programme* (FVI 2011a; 2012a; 2012b) determined gender violence should be approached from an equal right to the city perspective[29], which includes free access and enjoyment of public spaces and participation in decision-making around public space. According to its quoted publications, FVI proposes participatory action research to explore "the everyday experiences of a diversity of women and girls and the community through street surveys, focus group discussion and women's safety audits" in order "to obtain comprehensive and reliable, context-specific data on gender inclusion and exclusion in relation to gender based violence".

We live with increased emphasis of crime mapping, mainly by the police. Problems arise with the data that informs the crime maps, due to the hidden victimization and datasets[30]. Additionally, the assumptions in what the maps represent and the reality of our digital world as representing objective and precise information, is questionable.

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28. "Every police or institution is interested in how to sell to the public positive and immediate results in its competence area" (excerpt from an interviewed policeman in the LSA of Irun in 2012). There are four different police corps working in the Basque Country. French police collaboration should be considered in border areas as well.

29. This concept was developed by French sociologist LEFEBVRE (1968) in relation to a critique to increasing privatisation of urban spaces. This right was recognised in the 1995 European Charter for Women in the City, promoted by the European Union. As it has been mentioned before, international organisations fostering a gender perspective regarding security have also employed this term.

30. In the case of sexual violence against women in the EU, the report by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) (2012) concludes that:

"– There is a lack of available and systematically collected data referring specifically to sexual violence.

– Most often, criminal statistics are not sex-disaggregated, or separated by types of sexual violence, making it impossible to discern the cases of sexual violence committed against women...

...

Some legitimacy arises from public participation, from the science of criminology and/ or the technology of digital cartography[31].

This paper suggests that we have to analyze that legitimacy. We need to promote interdisciplinary knowledge and practices to better understand the complex issue of mapping women's perceptions and experiences of a lack of safety in cities and towns, which is ultimately linked to global insecurity. As said at the beginning, our thesis is that maps of fear of crime in the Basque Country do not represent well the plurality of women's perceptions and experiences. However all political parties at the local level seem to promote them without an epistemological and phenomenological reflection. We cannot obtain consistent results from the analysis of the conclusions by urban designers, architects, geographers, computer analysts, criminologists, victimologists, feminist activists, criminal justice practitioners, etcetera[32]. The use of different expertise language might create the impression of scientific knowledge, but there are a lot of questions currently that need to be answered with a humble "we don't know and we might not ever know". Maybe we have compartmentalized the multidimensional experience of women under theories and disciplines that have nothing to do with their real lives.

We can conclude that fear of crime is an imposed concept coming from the Anglo-Saxon criminological discipline influenced by a social and political moment. Talking of insecurity seems more adequate in relation to victimological knowledge. Insecurity is growing, for women, and for the general population, but it is in reality more related to other issues than crime.

Theoretical and methodological pluralism and debate should be welcomed by acknowledging the impossible task of correctly quantifying fear and insecurity. By considering the possibilities and limitations of qualitative studies through participatory action research we could correct the misinformation. Researchers should move beyond paternalism in the use of the concept of fear of crime by bringing in the concept of resilience[33] within the scope of social relations ecology or public health where gender is considered related to other socio-demographic variables including age, disability or functional diversity, ethnicity, sexual orientation, economic position or any other factor for exclusion.

...

– Official criminal statistics on sexual violence are not easily accessible, centrally stored or published in the countries, but rather scattered among various state actors…". See http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa. eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Crime_statistics/es**.** Cfr. data from the US in PLANTY *et al.* (2013), with reference to urban, rural and suburban victimisation contexts. According to McIlwaine (2013): "the existing data on gender-based violence makes it extremely difficult to make any accurate comparison between cities and the countryside and therefore it is more helpful to focus on the relationships between urbanization and gender-based violence".

According to her findings, cities might have greater opportunities for reducing violence. Cfr. JIMÉNEZ (2008), and GRACIA *et al.* (2013) on partner violence in the Spanish city of Valencia.

31. On the concentration of cyber cartography research in technical developments, rather than in theory, see PETERSON (2003). For an example in the field of crime analysis, see, *i.a.*, THANGAVELU *et al.* (2012).

32. On the impact of evidence-based policing, see SHERMAN (2013). Cfr. EKBLOM (2011).

33. On the concept of resilient cities in relation to human security, see Humansecurity-cites.org.

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Annex: Example of fear map in Barakaldo
(elaborated by *Argitan*, Advisory Centre for Women, in 2009)

1 Escalera del castañal
2 Túnel de renfe
3 Ribera de Galindo
4 Túnel letxezar
5 Bidegorri
6 Camino junto al cementerio
7 Parque los hermanos
8 Túneles de lutxana
9 Escaleras de Gurutzeta
10 Túnel de llano